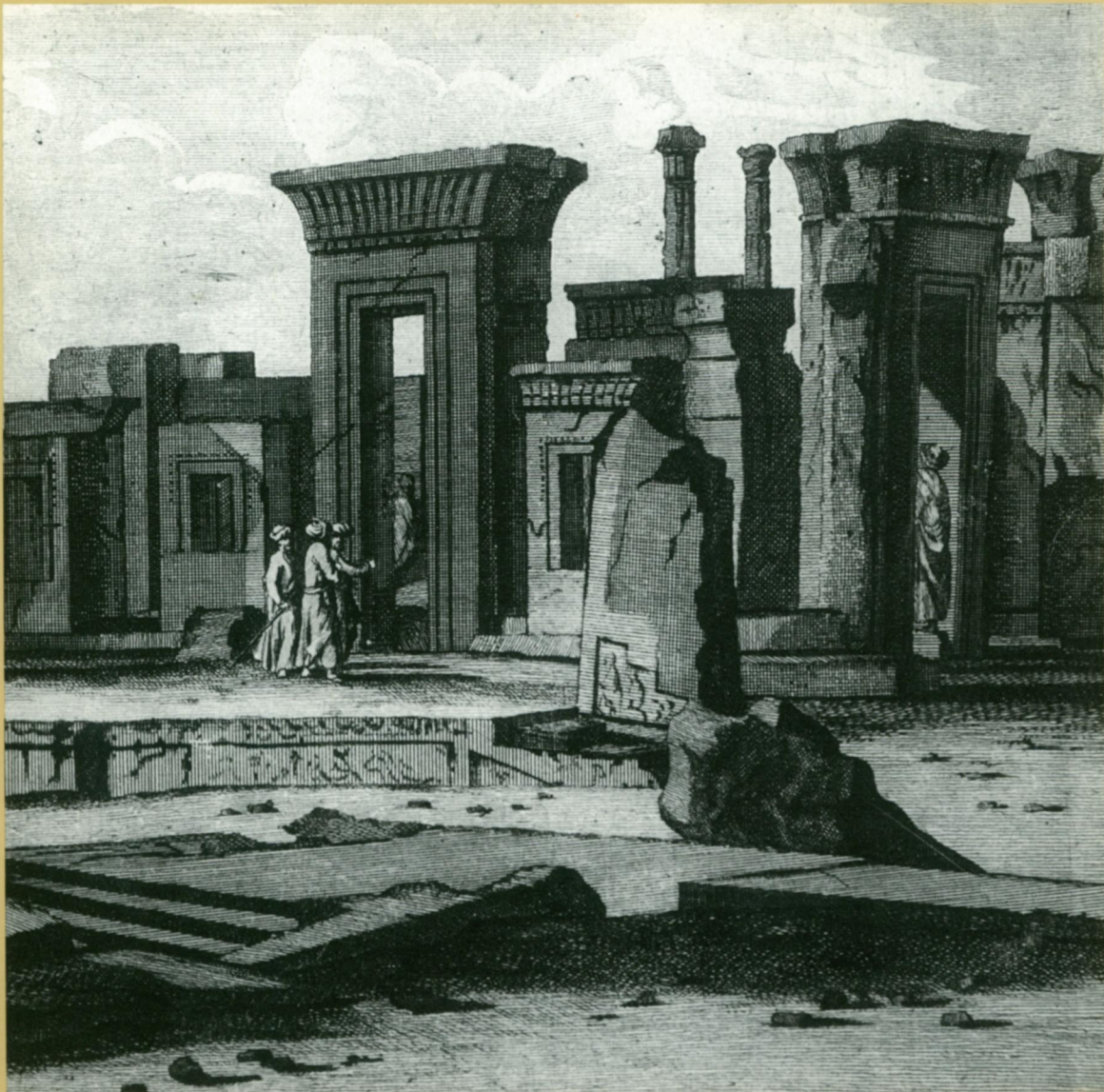


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MEDES AND PERSIANS

REFLECTIONS ON ELUSIVE EMPIRES

MARGARET COOL ROOT, GUEST EDITOR

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Preface

The idea of a project highlighting work by young scholars from North America and Iran came to me in May 1999. I was privileged to return to Iran for the first time since the 1970s, this time not as a dissertation writer but as a co-leader of the first tour organized by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. At that moment, the political barriers to cultural exchange between the U.S. and Iran were lifting after far too many years. Iranian colleagues and their students welcomed me warmly. Their interests in the study of ancient Iran intersected with those I was thrashing out with my own students at home. At the same time, they also offered differing perspectives and brought different types of information to bear on the same issues. It was clear that the field was attracting outstanding people in both parts of the world—people who deserved to be connected up somehow “on the record”—hopefully as part of an ongoing dialogue.

Scholarship on the Achaemenid Persian empire in North America as well as in Europe thrived, perversely enough, during the prolonged era of virtual isolation of U.S. citizens from Iran. This flourish was largely due to the energy and vision of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Her creation of the annual Achaemenid History Workshops brought together a wide array of scholars from various specialist disciplines for heady discussions. Through the workshops’ encouragement of theoretical historical engagement, they offered a forum for the insertion of empirical research on the archaeological record into lively intellectual debate. Meanwhile, archaeological training and fieldwork continued in Iran, perpetuating a distinguished tradition there. Analytical work on previously excavated material also continued. Unfortunately, the efforts on either “side” were not easily shared.

The last Achaemenid History Workshop (in 1990) was the first and only one to be held in the U.S. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as from the University of Michigan we were able to fulfill one of Heleen’s keenest wishes: the competitive awarding of stipends to young scholars of any nationality to participate in the roundtable sessions in Ann Arbor. Already then, Heleen was seeing the importance of passing the torch. By now, those young people of 1990 are established figures. It seems time to pass the torch again—now in a slightly different way. That 1990 workshop performance did not bring Iranians into the mix, even though a wonderful development was the increased ease in incorporating colleagues from the U.S.S.R. and the Far East. The present volume very deliberately extends the embrace of the workshop

project in the direction I think Heleen would have desired—at last hearing the voices of Iranian scholars.

As for the definition of “young” here: I set as an arbitrary upper limit a Ph.D. date of no earlier than 1997, for this described a five-year maximum between receipt of the Ph.D. and the planned publication date of 2002. The actual appearance of this 2002 issue of the journal has been greatly delayed due to sagas of international politics in the past two years that do not bear recounting here. (In some instances authors have chosen to make small changes to incorporate new material, but for the most part their research was capped two to three years ago.) Happily, all the contributors remain young despite the turmoil interjected into the lives of many of them (and their external reviewers). Papers by several eligible scholars both from Iran and the U.S. could not appear here for various personal or logistical reasons. And as I write this, a whole new cohort of Iranian and North American students (not to mention those from other parts of the world) is moving up through the ranks, with topics in the works that would also have been marvelous additions to this issue. Another time.

The good news is that there is a lot happening in the field, with these initiatives emerging from individuals poised at the beginning of their careers, with varying academic backgrounds and professional ambitions. At the early end of the specialist spectrum of our seven contributors to *Medes and Persians* is Kamyar Abdi. Although he writes here on the Egyptian deity Bes across the Achaemenid empire, his recent dissertation in anthropology is titled “Strategies of Herding: Pastoralism in the Middle Chalcolithic Period of the Western Central Zagros Mountains” (University of Michigan, 2001). He has already published widely, and among his projects in progress is a book on the archaeology of Iran from prehistory through Sasanian times. He has also achieved notable distinction in creating a large umbrella organization under the auspices of which numerous international field efforts (including U.S. involvement) are now taking place in the Fars province of southwestern Iran. At the other end of the chronological spectrum are two contributors: Jen Gates, discussing the problem of Graeco-Persian art here, is writing her dissertation on landscape and commerce in Ptolemaic Egypt (involving intensive archaeological survey in the eastern desert). Björn Anderson is working in Jordan on a dissertation in Nabataean archaeology, which fixes his temporal focus primarily on the Roman empire. His article for *Medes and Persians* examines the large class of Nabataean crenelated tombs from Hegra and Petra as indices of social resistance to encroaching Roman hegemony through systematic invocation of symbols drawn from the Achaemenid empire. Each has emerged in specialist circles as a new figure of great interest, through conference presentations and papers forthcoming.

The remaining four contributors are more centrally fixed for their long-term goals in Median-Persian studies of the first millennium. Ali Mousavi, already well-published on issues in Iranian archaeology and interpretive analyses of remains, is completing his dissertation on pre-Achaemenid Iron Age Iran. His article in this volume on the history of the exploration and archaeological investigation of the Achaemenid capital city, Persepolis, resonates compellingly on a personal as well as a professional level. His discussions trace aspects of the Persepolis tradition that intertwine with his father's archaeological career in the 1960s and '70s. Beth Dusinberre's 1997 dissertation, reflecting multiple seasons of work at Sardis, has just appeared as *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Her article here, on an excavated figural ivory for a luxurious chair or throne found in a purportedly Median fortified city in central Anatolia, reflects this longstanding commitment to Anatolian archaeology of periods and historical challenges informing Median-Persian studies. She now pursues new projects in Anatolian archaeology and in Achaemenid art and social history (including preparation of a monograph on the seals and sealings from Gordion and an iconographical study of the crossed-animal motif in the glyptic traditions of Mesopotamia and Iran with special focus on art production in the Achaemenid empire).

Shahrokh Razmjou works broadly in Iranian field archaeology as well as on a multitude of Iranian artifacts under his care in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran. His article on the life and death of the Egyptian-made statue of Darius from Susa relates closely to that realm of his career. He has published in Iranian journals and increasingly in Western contexts. His intellectual interests are closely art historical and philological, with a special concern for refined work on the Achaemenid-period Elamite administrative documents from Persepolis and the seals that ratified them. He has recently embarked on a new arm of the Persepolis Seal Project with my own former student and long-time collaborator, Mark Garrison. They will coordinate material from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets housed in Tehran with material still on study-loan at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Cindy Nimchuk's 2001 dissertation, "Darius I and the Formation of the Achaemenid Empire: Communicating the Creation of an Empire" (University of Toronto), focused on formative phases of Achaemenid ideology through explorations of text-image construction in the reign of Darius the Great. Her specialist training in numismatics at the American Numismatic Society is one of the defining features of her career in Achaemenid studies. This aspect of her profile is highlighted in the present volume through her innovative interpretation of early Achaemenid Persian coins as tokens of royal esteem—a project of great interest in discussions of the confluences of economies and visually expressed ideologies of empire.

It has been a real pleasure to work intensively with the authors here in a give-and-take about the nature of evidence and the exciting instabilities of the record. On behalf of all of them and myself, I extend special warmest thanks to Peg Lourie, who has served as Managing Editor of *Ars Orientalis* for many years—doing the copyediting, layout, and all manner of administration with the greatest intellectual engagement, skill, and patience imaginable. We all extend thanks as well to a large cadre of anonymous reviewers, who responded generously with stimulating suggestions. □

MARGARET COOL ROOT
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
SUMMER 2003

Editorial Notes

- We have left transliterations of Persian names to the discretion of each author. Thus there will be variations among different articles between the use of, e.g., Naqsh-i Rostam and Naqsh-e Rostam.
- The National Museum of Iran (the Iran National Museum) now encompasses the antiquities of the former Iran Bastan Museum of Tehran as well as Islamic art collections in Tehran. We have, however, left it to the authors' discretion which name they use for the museum.
- In places where Islamic solar calendar years are cited as well as Gregorian calendar years, the Islamic solar year precedes the Gregorian year, separated by a slash (/). The solar calendar year begins at the year of the Hegira. Its annual cycle of months does not correlate completely with the annual cycle of the Gregorian calendar year.
- In the occasional instances of citation of an Islamic date according to the lunar calendar, the lunar date precedes the Gregorian date and is designated by A.H. to distinguish it from the solar calendar dating system (S.H.).

Notes on the Iranianization of Bes in the Achaemenid Empire

ABSTRACT

These commentaries follow up on an article published in *Ars Orientalis* (Abdi 1999) entitled “Bes in the Achaemenid Empire.” The earlier study catalogued 115 depictions of the Egyptian god Bes in the context of the vast western Asiatic reaches of the Achaemenid empire. As an exercise in empirical research, it raised a number of intriguing questions. Representations of Bes revealed themselves across a wide range of artifact types and levels of quality, clearly cutting across lines of class and ethnicity. This was a significant finding, since Bes within his original milieu was, above all, the deity of the commoner, despite some notable appearances in elite contexts. He enjoyed special expertise as a protector of the home and stalwart defender against noxious agents, as a protector of women in childbirth and of ordinary soldiers. In this new discussion, some twenty-seven additional artifacts bearing the image of Bes are added to the Achaemenid repertoire. More importantly, however, questions hinted at in the first article are taken to another level here: issues of mechanisms, meanings, and chronological indices of the widespread appropriation of Bes in arenas of the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt. The study of Bes leads to a contemplation of Iranianization. This term is offered as one that can assist us in discussing complexities of cultural transmission within the multiethnic realm of an Achaemenid Persian hegemony in which directed imperial ideologies interacted with regional and personal idiosyncracies. Ultimately it is hoped that the concepts embedded in the term “Iranianization” may prove useful in a larger discourse on Achaemenid empire studies.

FIG. 1.

No. 5.4: Greenish blue frit amulet from the Persepolis Treasury. Iran National Museum acc. no. PT6 359. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.



FIG. 2.

No. 5.21: Amulet (material not cited) from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2024. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.



FIG. 3.

No 5.22: Faience amulet from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2064. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.



FIG. 4.

No. 5.23: Faience amulet from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 7631. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.



INTRODUCTION

AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN two cultures may trigger a complex process of interaction that is capable of affecting almost every aspect of both cultures—subsistence, sociopolitical organization, language, iconography, ideology, and cosmology. This interaction involves a tremendous amount of give-and-take between the two cultures. On a tangible level, it is demonstrated in two-way exchange of goods and/or one-way acquisition of items that can be recognized archaeologically. On a more elusive level, this interaction will involve transmission of behaviors, practices, sociopolitical forms, and beliefs.

A primary strategy of archaeologists and art historians is to study the transmission and modulation of artifacts through their formal qualities of style, typology, symbolism, and so on. It may be a straightforward project to recognize exotic motifs when they are discovered in a new host culture and to assign them to a specific culture of origin. But it is much harder to understand the cultural connotations of the transmission process and the reworking of a certain element from a “giving” culture to a “receiving” culture. This article takes up this challenge through an ongoing exploration of the history of the image of the Egyptian deity Bes in non-Egyptian contexts of the Achaemenid Persian empire. I propose a template for envisioning the process of transmission and modulation of images of Bes from his native Egyptian home to a range of arenas within the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt as flowing through the following stages: observation → adoption → assimilation → appropriation. The process itself, and its result, will be termed the “Iranianization” of Bes. This exercise will show that the boundaries separating the four conceptual stages from observation to appropriation are porous. Furthermore, these stages do not necessarily occur in a rigid and universal temporal sequence across the entire panorama of the cultural landscape we are looking at.

In the *observation* stage the receiver has access to the apparatus of the giving culture (in this case, observational access to images and concepts of Bes). Observation usually occurs early during the encounter between cultures, but it is important to recognize that observation may be a continually renewing element in the four-staged paradigm. The receiving cul-

ture often rather suddenly faces a cornucopia of new icons, images, and motifs associated with the cosmology and ideology of the giving culture. Most of this repertoire may be meaningless to the receiving culture without a prior knowledge of its ideological background. Regardless of the levels of knowledge acquired by the receiving culture, some elements of the giving culture will resonate with certain cultural traits in the receiving culture more than others. Presumably, these are the elements most likely to be selected for adoption. In the case of Bes in the Achaemenid empire, the observation stage will have taken place initially on Egyptian soil during the conquests of 525 and 518 B.C.E. But there is also evidence to support the observation stage through Egyptian artifacts brought to far-flung regions of the empire.

In the *adoption* stage the receiver uses an element stemming from the giving culture. Adoption can include the use of artifacts newly and locally made in emulation of the original exotic artifacts as well as the use of actual imports from the giving culture. In terms of the study of Bes, the tracing of adoption involves trying to discern occasions where Bes-images in their original Egyptian modality have been used without clear alterations in form or syntax—not by Egyptian immigrants but by non-Egyptians.

In the *assimilation* stage the receiver makes changes to received types—in this case changes to Bes-imagery—to render them more amenable to the ideology and cosmology of the receiving culture.

Appropriation is the synthetic culmination of observation-adoption-assimilation. It partakes of all three of those stages and is in a sense the ultimate essence of assimilation. In the appropriation stage the receiver incorporates received and modulated imagery into cultural contexts within the receiving culture. Here three variant modes may operate: (1) the belief system in which the image was originally embedded as a manifestation of the giving culture may be maintained, and, along with the image itself, this belief system (the original meanings of the image) may be incorporated into representational vehicles and thematic structures typical of the receiving culture; (2) only certain aspects of the original meaning of the imagery may be selected, combined with elements from the receiving culture, and ultimately incorporated into the receiving culture; or (3) the original imagery may

be completely stripped of its original cultural baggage and assigned an entirely new set of cultural meanings as it is incorporated into the receiving culture.

“Iranianization” is a term intended to characterize broadly the cultural effects of the Achaemenid hegemony across a vast and ethnically diverse empire. In their inscriptions, the Achaemenids acknowledge with explicit pride the notion that an ideological unity has been forged out of the ethnic and topographical diversity of their empire. This rhetoric also plays out in the metaphorical messages of official Achaemenid art (Root 1979; 1990). “Iranianization,” then, is used here to express the process of infusion of a spirit born of the Achaemenid imperial enterprise. It is different from, more diffuse and expansive than, the prescribed forms of “Achaemenid art” (the official art of the court). It must also be separated from notions of rigid ethnic categories.

Ethnically, ancient Iranian culture incorporated a large number of peoples belonging to the Iranian language family and sharing some cosmological and ideological background. Within that cultural arena, Persians were Iranians, but not all Iranians were Persians. Persia was only a small region in the larger Iranian world, and Persians were only one of many Iranian ethnic groups, of which the Achaemenid clan formed the noble and royal class. But the Achaemenid vision emerged out of a deep saturation in indigenous cultural traditions, such as that of the Elamites in the southwestern region of present-day Iran. My term “Iranianization” is thus an umbrella concept for something large and fluid. Iranianization was a phenomenon of acculturation reflecting the imperial hegemony that manifested itself widely and diversely in the various regions of the empire—including areas that were not homelands of specific ethnically Iranian peoples. It displayed the powerful force of ethnically Iranian impulses in the imperial situation, but it was not limited in its impact to lands and peoples of literally Iranian ethnic identity.

THE EGYPTIAN DEITY BES IN THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

In an earlier article (Abdi 1999) I surveyed images of the Egyptian deity Bes within the visual culture of

the Achaemenid empire outside the boundaries of Egypt itself.¹ This study catalogued 115 objects displaying the Bes-image, divided into eleven categories: (1) cylinder seals, (2) stamp seals, (3) seal impressions, (4) pottery vessels, (5) amulets, (6) personal ornaments, (7) *cippi*, (8) metalware and other metal artifacts, (9) coins, (10) statuettes, and (11) architectural elements.² Since that paper went to press, I have identified another twenty-seven artifacts bearing the Bes-image from the non-Egyptian lands under the purview and chronological span of the empire. These are now added to the preexisting framework of categories, since none so far necessitates the creation of a new category (appendix: tables 1–11). Hereafter I shall refer to artifacts in the expanded catalogue by number (e.g., no. 1.4 being the fourth item listed in the first category [cylinder seals]). Items known to come from areas that were under the cultural influence of the Achaemenids but were not, as far as we currently understand Achaemenid history, under the political authority of the Persian kings are not included in the tabulations. Thus, for instance, I have not catalogued the four wooden Bes plaques decorating a horse bridle from the fifth-century Pazyryk Tomb 1 in Siberia (Lerner 1991: 8; Rudenko 1970: pls. 91–92), although they will enter the discussion. Similarly, I have not catalogued Bes-images appearing in the material record of the Greek islands or other arenas under Greek control, even though Achaemenids obviously had significant interactions in these arenas and left markers of their presence in them.³

In 1999, my documentation of Egyptian Bes-imagery as it spread across the vast western Asiatic reaches of the Achaemenid empire formed the basis for preliminary inquiries into the nature of cultural interaction among people of Egyptian origin and other nations in the Achaemenid empire, especially Iranians. As an exercise in empirical research, it raised a number of intriguing issues, some of which were addressed interpretively and others left for future contemplation. One key finding was simply that the extent of Bes-imagery in the empire outside Egypt—and particularly in heartland regions of Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau—was far greater than earlier documented. This factor in itself acquires a high level of significance when seen in relation to

these regions before the Achaemenid empire. Although in pre-Achaemenid times objects bearing the Bes-image proliferated in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., in Phoenicia), they were almost completely absent from the archaeological record in central and southern Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau before the rise of the Achaemenids. This dearth is apparent, despite the opportunities for observation through much contact militarily, diplomatically, and otherwise with Egypt and things Egyptian as well as with Egyptianizing repertoires of, for example, Phoenician metal- and ivory-working studios. Many Egyptian motifs find their place in Neo-Assyrian art and become subject to the stages of acculturation we are positing for the Bes-image in Achaemenid times. But Bes is not among these motifs. The small number of items incorporating Bes that are associated with Assyria, for instance, seem to be isolated artifacts brought back from Egyptian campaigns as booty.

Why, under what circumstances, and in what ways did this picture change so dramatically in the Achaemenid period? The present article seeks to address this compound question. At a certain point after the foundation of the Achaemenid empire, objects bearing the Bes-image proliferated dramatically, not only in places like the Levant, where we would most expect them based on earlier patterns, but in the central lands of the empire—Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau. Additionally they are found in certain environments to the west (in Anatolia) and in certain environments on the eastern fringes of the empire and beyond. What emerges is evidence of a veritable explosion in popularity of this idiosyncratic Egyptian deity across vast areas of the Achaemenid hegemony that had previously not been receptive, it would seem, to interest in Bes.

In Abdi 1999, I pointed out preliminarily that the Achaemenid repertoire of these representations embraces a large number of artifact types and modes of production, from humble items to highly prestigious ones. 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 and ethnic lines. This is a significant finding, since Bes, within his original Egyptian milieu, was, above all, the deity of the commoner, despite some notable appearances in elite contexts.

He enjoyed special expertise as a protector of the home and stalwart defender against noxious agents, as a protector of women in childbirth and in other ways an agent of fertility, and as a protector of ordinary soldiers. This issue of multiple audiences in the host milieu will also be pressed further in the current discussion.

The earlier paper specifically cited the military as an important locus of popularity of Bes-images. This is not a point I return to in detail here, but it must be borne in mind as an important element in the cultural mix of what encouraged Bes to find such energetic acceptance and such a variety of new lives in the Achaemenid sphere.

Most important here will be a contextualized contemplation of specific artifacts bearing images of Bes in order to present the visual record within my four-staged paradigm of acculturation—or Iranianization. In this endeavor most attention will be focused on some key excavated artifacts, with selected other items placed into discussion around them. Focusing on excavated and in some cases chronologically informative data permits us to reach some conclusions about the timetable of the Iranianization of Bes.

EGYPTIAN AND IRANIANIZED APPEARANCES OF BES ACROSS THE EMPIRE

In formal terms, the corpus of Bes-images falls into two general groups: Egyptian and Iranianized examples. The Egyptian group is characterized by conformity to Egyptian representational traditions and trends in cultural usage, with no discernible infusion of different modalities of presentation and symbolic inference. In my view, the proliferation of the Egyptian-type images across Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau seems likely to represent the influx of actual people of Egyptian origin into the Achaemenid empire.

The Observation Stage: Commoners and Elites. Particularly in the wake of the reconquest of Egypt by Darius I in 518 B.C.E., Egyptians (along with peoples of other ethnic backgrounds) are known to have traveled back and forth, working temporarily or settling permanently in the heartland of the empire. The assembled data reveal that the largest single corpus of

amulets bearing the Egyptian-type Bes-image (nos. 5.6–18 [Abdi 1999: fig. 5] and 5.28, representing fourteen out of the thirty examples so far catalogued) comes from Susa, where people of Egyptian origin are attested textually in the reign of Darius I (r. 521–486 B.C.E.). In particular, Egyptian craftsmen building or decorating the Achaemenid palatial complexes at Susa may have brought these objects with them from Egypt as protection against unexpected perils during travel and residence in a foreign land.⁴ Such objects were of modest intrinsic value (generally made of a composition material), despite the frequently fine detailing of the molds whence they were produced. When we find them in the archaeological record, we can postulate that many of them were misplaced by or buried with their Egyptian owners there.⁵ The corpus of five (or possibly more) additional such amulets from Persepolis (nos. 5.4 and 5.21–23 [figs. 1–4]) offers the second largest assemblage of the type.⁶ It is interesting that nos. 5.21–23 are very similar in style and presentation of the visage of Bes, even down to the way the curls of the beard are displayed. (The headdresses of nos. 5.22–23 have broken off.) Although these amulets were not made from the same mold, they are similar enough to suggest that they may have been produced in the same workshop. It is an open question (particularly in the absence of any materials analysis) what this may imply. Were they manufactured on site in Persepolis in a workshop catering to an Egyptian clientele? Were they manufactured in one workshop in Egypt and subsequently imported to Persepolis in the hands of a cohesive population drawn from one Egyptian locality that was served by this workshop?

Schmidt (1957: 72 and pl. 41) characterized our no. 5.4 (excavated in Room 64 of the Persepolis Treasury) as an element of decorative inlay. The fact of its discovery in the Treasury does not, however, necessarily mean that it adorned prestige furniture. Numerous seals of the most modest workmanship found in the Treasury (e.g., Schmidt 1957: 47) warn us, for instance, against the assumption that only personal artifacts of outstanding quality or symbolic cachet are likely to have found their way into the archaeological assemblage of this imperial Treasury. People from many walks of life must have worked in the Persepolis Treasury during the active existence

of this large multifunction building. And in the end, of course, the chaos created by its violent destruction invited intrusive items. It was the flat back of no. 5.4 that seems to have led Schmidt to call it an inlay. But Egyptian amulets were frequently meant to be held in the hand or placed on the body for aid and comfort; numerous other simple, mold-made frit Bes items that do incorporate suspension holes served as pendants for necklaces. In both cases, the Bes-images projected apotropaic agency.⁷ Our attempts as scholars to categorize objects (as, indeed, I have done in distinguishing “amulets” from “personal ornaments” in my own catalogue) inevitably lead to unfortunate hardening of functional/meaning boundaries. Bes-images in New Kingdom Egypt do occur on elite furniture, so there is ample precedent (see below, fig. 18). These inlays are, however, in plaque form rather than in the form of tiny isolated faces of Bes. In sum, our no. 5.4 is most likely another Egyptian Bes amulet from Persepolis.

Reinforcing the evidence of a substantial number of Bes amulets from Persepolis, workers from Egypt in the Persepolis environs are attested in administrative documents of food disbursement (the Fortification tablets) dating to 509–494 (Hallock 1969; Garrison and Root 2001; forthcoming a and b). These testimonies corroborate inferences about the impact of Egyptian craft traditions that can be drawn from direct analysis of the architectural forms and sculptural decorations of the ceremonial edifices on the Persepolis Takht (Root 1979; 1990). It is noteworthy that the excavations at Susa and Persepolis do reveal these numbers of amulets, especially since the Persepolis excavations have focused primarily on the ceremonial installations of the Takht, where the record of common daily life will not be as strong as it would be in workers’ living quarters.⁸

Thus, despite the archaeological preselection factors that will have severely limited the likelihood of discovering humble items of personal (Egyptian) property, the yield of Bes amulets is substantial. It is important to see this factor in a larger context of Egyptian and Egyptian-type finds outside Egypt. Many excavated sites in the Greater Mediterranean have yielded impressive numbers of Egyptian artifacts. Yet these overall numbers do not necessarily mean that faience Bes amulets will be represented among these

corpora in large quantities. Samos, for instance, was an extremely rich and important sanctuary that has revealed the largest number of Egyptian bronzes outside Egypt itself. Here, however, Skon-Jedele cites only eight faience Bes amulets (1994: nos. 1816–23; see also Leahy 1988)—a very small quantity in relation to the massive number of Egyptian imports.⁹ These data strengthen my suggestion that Bes amulets in the archaeological record at Achaemenid Susa and Persepolis should be viewed as an index of the presence there of Egyptian commoners—and the consequent observation of cultural transmission at the popular social level deep in the heart of the empire.

Other excavated evidence also suggests the presence of Egyptian folk (artisans, military men, or the like) living in the imperial heartland who were probably directly responsible for the occurrence of typically Egyptian-type Bes-images. Two very interesting stone votive monuments (*cippi*) fit this category. Each is carved in relief in fully Egyptian mode (nos. 7.1–2 [figs. 5–6]), one from Nippur and the other from Susa (see Abdi 2002). These items clearly served the cultic demands of Egyptians dwelling at the imperial center but maintaining intact specific representational and devotional traditions of their homeland. They seem likely to have been made locally rather than imported.¹⁰

From Observation to Assimilation and Iranianization.

Some other categories of artifacts bearing traditional Egyptian-type Bes-imagery suggest the diffusion of Egyptian formal modes for the representation of Bes to elite social contexts in the imperial heartland. This is particularly interesting in light of the case made in Abdi 1999. There it was claimed that a crucial feature of the history of Bes in the Achaemenid empire is the deity's deployment across a wide social spectrum, including very high-status individuals of Iranian ethnicity, as well as among expatriate Egyptian commoners and military personnel. One Bes "statuette" (no. 10.1 [Abdi 1999: fig. 10]) excavated in the Persepolis Treasury is surely a fragment of an elaborate vessel or vessel stand—not a statuette per se. Made of Egyptian alabaster without any necessarily Iranianizing aspects, it certainly suggests a prestige item that found its way to Persepolis from Egypt—either brought home as booty from one of the Egyptian campaigns or



FIG. 5.
No. 7.1: Drawing of a white stone cippus from Nippur. Baghdad Museum acc. no. 11 N 61. After Gibson 1975: fig. 34.3 up.



FIG. 6.
No. 7.2: Drawing of a black stone cippus from Susa. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2103/103. Rendered by the author (Abdi 2002).

presented as a gift to the King of Kings by an Egyptian ambassadorial delegation. Other alabaster artifacts (including royal tableware) from the Treasury were similarly made in Egypt and subsequently transferred to Persepolis (e.g., Schmidt 1957: 90–91).

A fragmentary stone statuette of Bes from the Persepolis Treasury (our no. 10.2: see below, fig. 15) displays the deity frontally wearing only the leopard pelt and a belt tied around his distended belly. This artifact may also represent gifting directly from the Egyptian court to the Achaemenid Persian court. If so, it is another element in the evidence of observation. Its formal presentation conforms to Late Period types in Egypt (Romano 1989: 196), yet this dating would make it the only documented Bes-image in the form of a statuette known from the entire Late Period. Romano (1989: 172), albeit unaware at that writing of most of the Bes material catalogued in our appendix, states that Late Period Bes-imagery

shows an extremely limited range of types of objects on which the god appears. Only amulets, molds for amulets, and reliefs, both monumental and portable, are known. We do not encounter the rich inventory of cosmetic items, jewelry, scarabs, furniture elements, statues, vessels, etc. that previous generations of artisans had embellished with the Bes-image.

This comment, based on Romano's extraordinary knowledge of the Egyptian data, demonstrates how important the evidence from the Achaemenid empire is, not only to an understanding of the host culture but also to an understanding of the giving culture. As discussed below, the presence of this particular type of Bes-image at Persepolis as an instrument of the observation stage in Iranianization raises intriguing questions about the nature of cross-fertilization of imagery in the Achaemenid empire.

The fifty-one gold Bes pendants excavated at Pasargadae (catalogued collectively as no. 6.4 [fig. 7]) are vestiges of sumptuous personal adornment—

certainly not elements from a necklace commissioned and worn by a member of an Egyptian work crew. These pendants might represent a prestige import from Egypt itself to the Achaemenid courtly circles. In this scenario they would exemplify the observation stage of cultural encounter—but here involving elite audiences. Gold pendants of Bes (offering the god's protection in intrinsically precious and numinous form) are known from New Kingdom Egypt if not from the Late Period in Egypt (e.g., Boston 1982: cat. no. 351), as are necklaces of faience or glazed stone with multiple Bes pendants (e.g., Romano 1989: cat. nos. 109, 144).

It is also possible, however, that the Pasargadae Bes pendants are vestiges of a lavish work of jewelry commissioned in Iran as a product meant to emulate Egyptian ideas. Either way, the archaeological record does not reveal whether this item was worn by a high-status Egyptian living in Pasargadae or by a high-status non-Egyptian. Evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets makes it quite clear that Iranians (i.e., Persians in this instance) were interested in evocations of non-Persian styles and motifs for their privately commissioned personal seals. Sometimes these evocations are remarkably faithful to non-Iranian prototypes (e.g., on the first seal of Parnaka, Garrison and Root 2001: 404–6 [PFS 9*]). There is no reason why the same interest would not have affected jewelry. It is also important to acknowledge that we do not know whether or not the necklace these individual pendants originally adorned may once have included indisputably *non*-Egyptian pendant symbols. If this were the case, then we would be dealing instead with an example of one form of full-scale appropriation (see below). In this instance, without indisputable alterations to the physical presentation of Bes *per se*, an Egyptian-type Bes would have been Iranianized by virtue of being placed in a larger representational context of Iranian imagery.



FIG. 7.
No. 6.4: Drawing of one of the gold pendants from Pasargadae. Iran National Museum. After Stronach 1978: fig. 86.1.

IRANIANIZED BES: PHYSICAL CHANGES

In his process of Iranicization, Bes underwent some physical changes to Late Period models known from Egypt in order to accommodate the deity to a different cultural milieu.

The Skirt (Kilt). According to Romano's in-depth study, Egyptian renderings of Bes made before the reign of Amenhotep II in the Eighteenth Dynasty do not display any garments. Beginning in the reign of Amenhotep III we do see numerous examples of Egyptian Bes in the New Kingdom wearing various forms of a skirt or kilt (see Romano 1989: 118–19 for the breakdown). Interestingly, however, in Romano's list of Late Period representations of Bes (which includes a limited number from various regions of the Achaemenid empire) he cites not a single example of Bes wearing the skirt (Romano 1989: 308–9). With our much-expanded repertoire of Bes-images from realms of the empire beyond Egypt, we can propose a definitive adjustment to this picture. Of these renderings of Bes that include a human-form lower body, most display the skirt (sometimes very clearly and sometimes [indicated by a "??"] too summarily to as-

sess with certainty): for example, our nos. 1.1, 1.3, 1.4 (fig. 8), 1.5(?), 1.6 (fig. 9), 1.7, 1.8, 3.8 (fig. 10), 3.12 (fig. 11), 6.5 (fig. 12), 10.3 (fig. 13), and 11.1(?). These images may be said to hark back in one sense to New Kingdom Egyptian precedents, since the Late Period repertoire on Egyptian soil seems to be devoid of the model. Such calculated mining of specific antique prototypes is an acknowledged feature of Achaemenid art (Root 1979). And it is reasonable therefore to postulate a similar mechanism at work in Iranianized Bes-images destined for elite groups.

Arguably, Bes-images serving courtly circles might have been driven by some of the same ideological energies that drove the planning of the Achaemenid program of official art. In such a scenario, Egyptian artisans might have deliberately harked back to the prestige of New Kingdom imperial glory in their efforts to appeal to customers. With regard to the notion of the

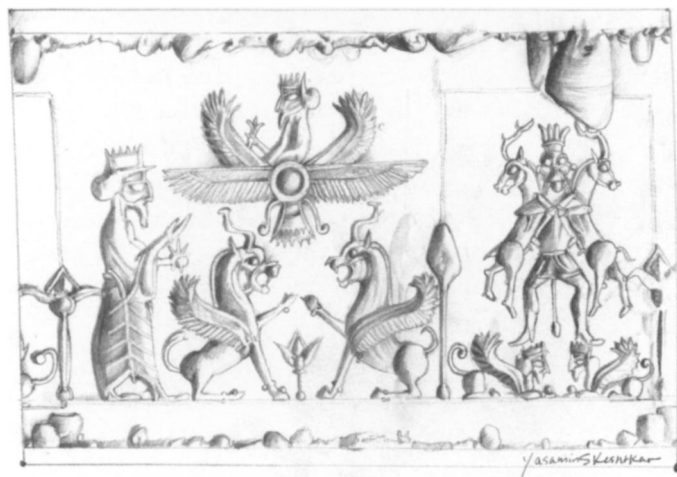


FIG. 9.
No. 1.6: Drawing of an impression of an unprovenanced Achaemenid cylinder seal of chalcedony. British Museum acc. no. 89352. Rendered by Yasamin Keshtkar.

FIG. 8.

No. 1.4: Cast of an impression of an unprovenanced Achaemenid cylinder seal of carnelian, inscribed in Old Persian. British Museum acc. no. 89133 (J. R. Stuart Coll.: 1849). Cast: Kelsey Museum acc. no. 1992.2.72, Bonner Cast Collection no. 72. Photo courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.



FIG. 10.

No. 3.8: Detail of a clay label from the Persepolis Treasury impressed with stamp seal PTS 64s. Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition PT4 950. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

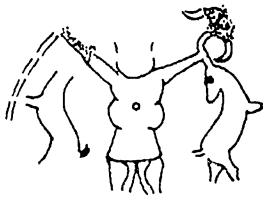


FIG. 11.
No. 3.12: Drawing of the impression of a stamp seal used on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Musuem acc. no. Const. 598. After Donbaz and Stolper 1997: no. 58.

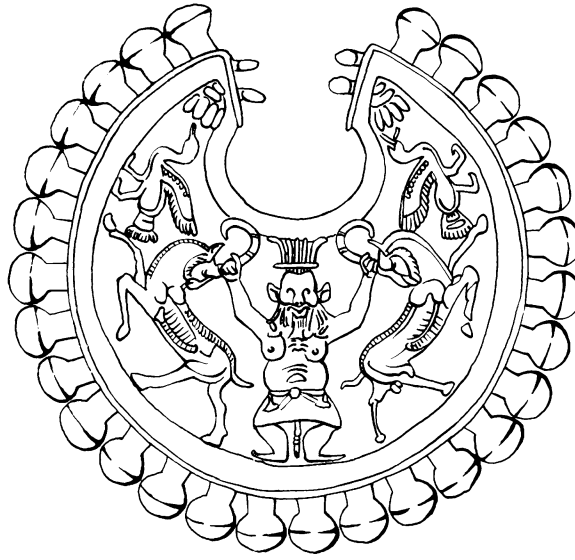


FIG. 12.
No. 6.5: Drawing of a gold earring from Susa grave Sb 2764. Louvre acc. no. 3171. Rendered by Anne Marie Lapitan after Ghirshman 1962: pl. 323.

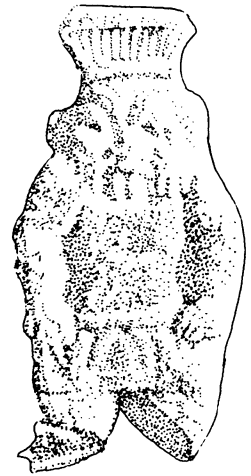


FIG. 13.
No. 10.3: Drawing of a terracotta statuette from Nippur. University Museum, Philadelphia CBS 9454. Rendered by Anne Marie Lapitan after Legrain 1930: no. 221.



FIG. 14.
No. 3.10: Composite drawing from multiple impressions of a cylinder seal used on tablets from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum acc. nos. 5265, 5137, 12857, 12826, 12839. After Legrain 1925: no. 925.

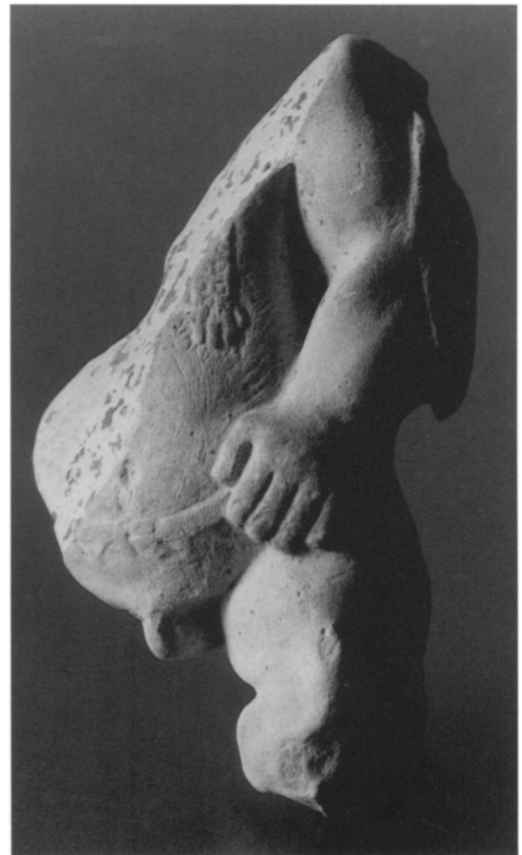


FIG. 15.
No. 10.2: Statuette of lapis lazuli composition from the Persepolis Treasury. Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition PT5 299. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

skirted Bes as a conscious archaism reaching back to the era of Egyptian imperial power, an important item is Persepolis Treasury Seal (PTS) 64s, a stamp seal used on a clay label (PT4 950) in the Treasury archive (our no. 3.8 [fig. 10]). The appearance of PTS 64s applied several times as the only seal on this label suggests that it was a seal representing a high-level personage whose insignium in this administrative context did not need to be countersealed by any other individual or office.¹¹ The reintroduction of the skirt in so many of these Bes-images found outside Egypt in Achaemenid times may, in other words, consciously invoke New Kingdom ideas as a deliberate, ideologically motivated aspect of Iranianization.

Another element in a postulated Iranianization leading to the reintroduction of a number of skirted Bes figures might conceivably be attributed to an Achaemenid distaste for nudity and explicit renderings of the male genitalia—a distaste that led to widespread (although not universal) avoidance of the nude Bes with penis exposed. One could, however, frame this idea differently. One could suppose that the clothing of Bes in so many of these preserved renderings of the deity as a full-figured human reflected a positive interest in portraying the Egyptian deity in a guise more in keeping with imperial norms of representation of human figures. Stated this way, the clothing of Bes would become an Iranianization that effectively incorporated Egyptian Bes into the courtly code of conduct and self-presentation of Achaemenid aristocrats.

One cylinder seal impressed on tablets in the Murašû archive from Nippur seems clearly to display the Bes-image nude except for a fringed belt (our no. 3.10 [fig. 14]). Of the other three images of Bes as a fully human form known through seals used on the Murašû documents, two definitely show Bes with the skirt (our nos. 3.12 [fig. 11] and 3.13). The third (our no. 3.14) is not preserved below the waist. No. 3.12 was used by an official with an Egyptian name, while our nos. 3.10 and 3.13 were used by individuals with Babylonian names. These seals all display variants of the heroic encounter motif in the Greater Mesopotamian tradition that is revived in a tremendous floruit in the Achaemenid empire (Garrison and Root 2001). The fact that the images occur on cylinder seals is also an index of the Iranianization of Bes. Interestingly, of the heroic encounters with Bes

shown in any form on tablets of the Murašû archive only no. 3.12 is associated with an Egyptian name (Bregstein 1993: 604–9).

The Knot. Bes-images of the Late Period from Egypt are either completely naked or wear a leopard-skin pelt. According to Romano (1989: 196), when Late Period Bes figures from Egypt wear the leopard pelt, they also “invariably” wear a belt. This belt is “almost always” tied with a single loop. Our no. 10.2 (fig. 15), the fragmentary statuette from the Persepolis Treasury, exemplifies the Bes type wearing only the leopard pelt and a tied belt. But the belt here is tied in a distinctive knot with a double loop—not the single loop described by Romano as almost universally the norm in Late Period Egypt. Several examples from small-scale arts show Bes displaying a large knot that is probably this same double knot (e.g., 1.4 [fig. 8], 1.7, 6.5 [fig. 12], and 10.3 [fig. 13]). Nos. 1.4, 1.7, and 6.5 are all items in which the Bes-image is incorporated into Iranian scenes (see below).

There has been much discussion on the garment worn by the Achaemenid Persians (Herzfeld 1941: 259–60; Roes 1951; Goldman 1964; Thompson 1965; Beck 1972). Most emphasize that a knotted belt holds the garment together. This specific knotted belt can be seen in profile on the figure of Darius I at Bisitun and on renderings of Persian dignitaries on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis who have their bodies turned to display the frontal view of the court robe (fig. 16). It is most dramatically visible on the Egyptian-made statue of Darius I from Susa (Kervan et al. 1972; Stronach 1974, as well as numerous images in Razmjou, this volume). The king is shown with a broad belt double-knotted at the front (fig. 17). The details of the tie of the knot are rendered meticulously and in precisely the same format as what we see (in minute scale) on the Bes statuette from the Persepolis Treasury (fig. 15) as well as on the aforementioned representations of the court robe on Persepolis reliefs. Significantly, however, the knot on the Egyptian Bes statuette from the Treasury is rendered inversely to the way it is rendered on the Achaemenid monuments. The Bes statuette represents this double knot according to the orientation seen on several other Egyptian monuments from Egypt of the New Kingdom or earlier.



FIG. 16.
Relief showing Persian noble wearing fluted tiara and belted/knotted Persian court robe. North stair of the Apadana at Persepolis. Photo by M. C. Root.

There are many ways of rendering a knot. The particular double knot we see depicted on representations of the Persian court robe in Achaemenid art is not paralleled in earlier western Asiatic traditions to the best of my knowledge. Indeed, knotted belts are rarely depicted in any format in ancient Near Eastern art.¹² The specific form of the Achaemenid double knot comes from Egypt. Although it is not a common feature in Egyptian dynastic art in this precise format, the parallels that do exist seem usually to emphasize associations with the divine in some sense.¹³ This topic deserves further investigation by a specialist in the area.

Types of knots carried significant and distinctive associations in Egyptian iconography. Thus, for instance, the protective knot of the goddess Isis could stand alone as an amuletic device (Münster 1968). What is remarkable in the case of the double knot is the fact that our exploration of the Bes-image leads

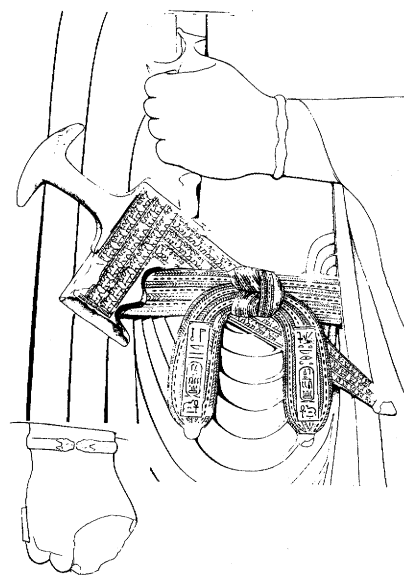


FIG. 17.
Drawing of the mid-section of the Egyptian-made statue of Darius from Susa. After Yoyotte 1974: fig. 24.

us to consider that the development of the formula for the knotted belt on the Persian court robe was, to begin with, intended to bring to official Achaemenid art a reminiscence of Egyptian symbolical motifs associated with divine/cosmic realms. Once fully assimilated into the vocabulary of Iranianized visual culture, the double-knotted belt was then applied to Bes as part of a process of Iranianization based on precedents that were themselves originally Egyptian.¹⁴

The Headdress. The Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt witnessed many changes in Bes's physical appearance and outfit. Examples of the Bes-image predating the Eighteenth Dynasty are predominantly naked or with minimal clothing. The first item of clothing to appear in the Eighteenth Dynasty was the feathered headdress, presumably made from ostrich plumes and apparently adopted from representations of Anukis (Romano 1989: 78). By the Late Period, nearly every Bes-image wears a headdress of some sort. The headdress appears in several different forms, including the traditional lotus of Nefertem, the atef crown, and a double-plumed arrangement, among others (Romano 1989: 194). By far the most common headdress was, however, a rank of multiple ostrich plumes that flares out toward the top, mimicking the profile of the Egyptian cavetto cornice (Romano 1989: 192). Another common headdress takes the shape of the cavetto cornice but with no feathers indicated (Romano 1989: 193).

None of the elaborate headdress types can be seen on the examples of the Bes-image found in non-Egyptian regions of the Achaemenid empire, but both the multiple-plume and the cornice types were popular. Some splendid examples of the multiple ostrich-plume headdress can be seen on the Egyptian-type amulets from Susa (e.g., nos. 5.5, 5.13–17 [Abdi 1999: fig. 5]) and Persepolis (e.g., no. 5.21 [fig. 2]), while the cornice-form headdress is seen very clearly on amulets such as nos. 5.6 and 5.7 (Abdi 1999: fig. 5). A variant form that emerges in the Achaemenid period seems to combine the strong flaring verticality so prominent in the plume headdress and the compact proportions and generally more straight-sided aspect of the cornice headdress. The resulting form is similar in outline to the Persian fluted tiara worn by Persian nobles along with the Persian court robe found on reliefs at Persepolis. Here compare the headdress worn by Bes on the gold pendants from Pasargadae (our no. 6.4 [fig. 7]) with figures of Persian nobles on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (fig. 16).

The modulated headdress of Bes in some Iranian renderings may indicate a syncretistic merging of the two primary traditional Egyptian Bes headdresses—the flaring multiple plumes and the more rigid cavetto cornice—bringing Bes visually into the courtly Achaemenid sartorial vocabulary. It is equally possible that the Persian fluted tiara—as we know it from representations in official Achaemenid art canonized during the reign of Darius I—was the original site of the syncretism (a form devised deliberately to make some allusion to Egyptian iconography). In this case, the modulated forms seen occasionally on Bes-images in the empire would follow the lead of the officially designed program. Once again, the concept of such deliberate syncretism accords with what we see elsewhere in Achaemenid art (Root 1979). The specifics of the particular case here remain highly speculative and difficult to press further at present. The issue does alert us to the possibility that the pendants from Pasargadae, discussed earlier in terms of various interpretive options, should indeed be considered *assimilated* rather than merely *adopted* Bes-images (images that have undergone deliberate change in their Iranianization).

In any event, Bes-images on demonstrably Achaemenid-period artifacts display a wide range of

headdress variations along the basic line between plumes and cavetto cornice. Any tendency to merge the two formats must be understood within the context of other representations that continue to follow Egyptian formulae quite faithfully on images that have been Iranianized in other ways.

THEMATIC CHANGES

Bes as a Winged Lion-Creature. Winged Bes-images first appear in Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are found in the New Kingdom but not, according to Romano's 1989 tabulations, in the Third Intermediate Period. For the Late Period Romano lists only one example (his cat. no. 290). The small number of winged Bes-images that are known all display the wings either bent downward or straight (figs. 18–19). These two examples also typify the fact that winged Bes-images from Egypt are associated with both nobility and commoners. Figure 18 shows winged Bes on a carved wooden panel from a royal bed found in Tomb 46 in the Valley of the Kings, belonging to Yuya and Tuya, the parents of Queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Romano 1989: 273–77 [cat. no. 87]; Davis et al. 1907: opposite p. 37). Figure 19 shows a winged Bes-image on a wall painting in a private house of the Deir el-Medineh village of the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty (Romano 1989: 446–48 [cat. no. 152]; Bruyère 1939: fig. 131).

In the Achaemenid period outside Egypt, we have several examples of Bes as a composite lion-creature with wings and a Bes head (e.g., our nos. 1.2, 1.3, 1.8 [Abdi 1999: fig. 1], 3.7 [Abdi 1999: fig. 3], 3.9 [fig. 20] 3.10 [fig. 14], and 8.1 [Abdi 1999: fig. 8]). Bes as a winged *human*-form being is not known to me at present. (Our no. 3.11 [fig. 21] is an elusive seal impression from the Murašû archive, but it clearly shows Bes grasping two winged animals to his torso—not a winged Bes.) The composite nature of the creatures and the forms of the wings on the Bes-headed winged lion-creatures are Iranianized elements. Lion-creatures abound in the art of the Achaemenid empire (*viz.*, Garrison and Root 2001 for many examples). Furthermore the style of the wings on these creatures is very different from that of New Kingdom Egyptian winged Bes-images, seeming



FIG. 18.
Drawing of one of the carved wooden panels from a bed in the tomb of Yuya and Tuya (Eighteenth Dynasty). Thebes, Valley of the Kings. After Romano 1989: 277 (cat. no. 87).

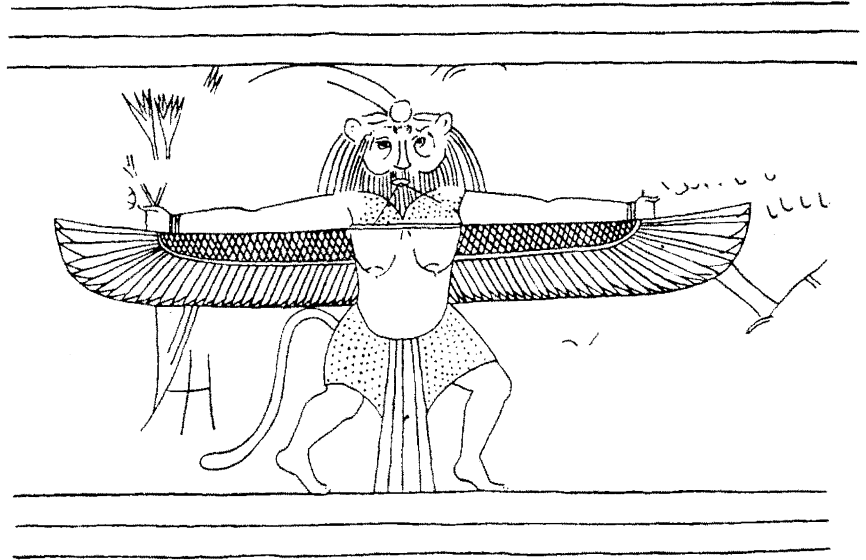


FIG. 19.
Drawing of a wall painting from a New Kingdom private home at Deir el Medineh. After Romano 1989: 448 (cat. no. 152).

to owe a great deal to forms developed in Achaemenid glyptic workshops. The winged Bes figures of the Achaemenid empire display softly curving wings. The sole Late Period Egyptian example of winged Bes catalogued by Romano, by contrast, continues to show Bes with straight wings (Romano 1989: 828–34 [cat. no. 290]; Steindorff 1946: 157—temple carving dating to Nectanebo I [r. ca. 380–362 B.C.E.]).

Bes as an Iranian Hero. In numerous instances Bes emerges in the Achaemenid empire as a participant in scenes of heroic encounter of the control type (where the hero grasps two creatures in a balanced composition). While the traditions of Bes in Egypt include contexts in which the deity controls other creatures, these carry a gender distinction: female Bes holds snakes, lizards, and desert hares; male Bes only grasps snakes (Romano 1998: 96). In Bes-images of the Achaemenid empire male Bes controls various types of animals and creatures: gazelles or goats, horses, lions, winged lion-creatures, and other mythical creatures including winged Bes-headed lion-creatures (viz., our nos. 1.3, 1.6 [fig. 9], 1.8, 2.11, 1.12, 3.8 [fig. 10], 3.10 [fig. 14], 3.11 [fig. 21], 6.5 [fig. 12]). The proliferation of heroic modes in which Bes

participates can be contextualized now within the rich iconographical flowering of hero imagery in Achaemenid art as it develops in Persepolis (Garrison and Root 2001: esp. 53–60 on meanings of the hero). Heroes of all types emerge in this environment in the art of seals (and other portable arts), even though the official art of the same milieu remains rigidly codified and iconographically restricted. This integration of Bes into the heroic field is perhaps the most striking and unambiguous feature of his Iranianization. The stage was certainly set for the emergence of Bes as an Iranian hero in the very large corpus of seals documented on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, which display so many variations on the hero (sometimes frankly irreverent and humorous like Bes himself). But no image of Bes has been identified among the hero seals on the Fortification tablets—or indeed on any of the seals used on PF tablets 1–2087, which make up the research corpus of Garrison and Root. This, as discussed below, offers a crucial chronological marker.

Bes Incorporated into Other Iranian Iconographic Systems. SCENES WITH PEDESTAL CREATURES. Our no. 3.9 (fig. 20) is a seal known from the Murašû archive that displays two Bes-headed winged lion-creatures



FIG. 20.

No. 3.9: Drawing of an impression of a cylinder seal impressed on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum TuM 202. After Kruckman 1933: no. LXXVIII.

FIG. 21.

No. 3.11: Drawing of an impression of a stamp seal used on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum Const. 552. After Donbaz and Stolper 1997: no. 18.

supported by pedestal creatures in the form of lions. Pedestal creatures also figure in two unexcavated seals in our catalogue: no. 1.6 (fig. 9) and no. 1.7. In all three of these representations the Bes-image is part of an elaborate scene involving Iranian ritual symbols. Seals with pedestal creatures have been shown to define a special category of elite representation in the Achaemenid empire (Dusinberre 1997). Based on the evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets, Dusinberre points out that in the early Achaemenid period, pedestal animals/composite creatures appear on the seals of a handful of very important people and/or imperial offices. These seals include a royal-name seal of Darius I (PFS 1683*) as well as seals of very exalted court personages such as Uštana, the satrap of Babylon at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. (see also Garrison 1998 for further discussion). Dusinberre's article, contextualizing a cylinder seal excavated at Sardis, demonstrates that pedestal imagery was acceptable for an elite personage operating in the satrapy of Lydia as well as in the Mesopotamian-Iranian heartland. (The Sardis seal does not incorporate an image of Bes. Indeed, no seal with Bes is so far known from Achaemenid Sardis [see Dusinberre 2003].)

Interestingly, our excavated example of a seal with pedestal creatures that does incorporate the Bes-image (our no. 3.9 [fig. 20]) was used on a tablet recording taxes bearing the name of a Marduk-zer-ibni, son of Belšunu, and on another tablet from the Kasr Archive (Stolper 1985; 1988: 141 n. 32). Belšunu is recorded as a governor of Babylon between 417 and

414 B.C.E. and a governor of "Abar-Nahara" (Across-the-River) between 407 and 401 B.C.E. (Stolper 1987: 392). These observations suggest that from the early fifth century (when we are looking through the lens of the Fortification tablets) to the late fifth century (when we are looking through the lens of these corpora of sealed tablets) the use of pedestal animals continues to be restricted to individuals of high status. Within that framework, no. 3.9 shows us that Iranianized Bes was operating as an important image, fully assimilated into the codes of elite presentation in scenes charged with Iranian religious associations.

BES IN IRANIAN CULT SCENES. Cylinder seals continue to provide our most important evidence here, displaying Bes-images in scenes that are otherwise Iranian. Egyptianizing motifs generally are familiar to us on seals of the Achaemenid period. One prime example is PFS 38 on the Fortification tablets (Garrison and Root 2001: 83–85 [cat. no. 16]). This is the seal of the royal wife Irtašduna (Grk. Artystone), incorporating the motif of Harpocrates perched in a papyrus thicket. The challenge is to assess the meaning of the Egyptian elements in their new cultural context. Seals deploying the Bes-image may sometimes use the imagery as a decorative element not meant to be particularly charged with meaning. But it is dangerous to make that assumption. Certainly in many cases the Bes-image seems pivotal, included in meaningful ways into representational schemes depicting worship.

No. 1.4 (fig. 8) is particularly interesting. Bes stands frontally, holding *barsams* or lilies—the former suggesting Iranian religious ritual (Ward 1910: 340),

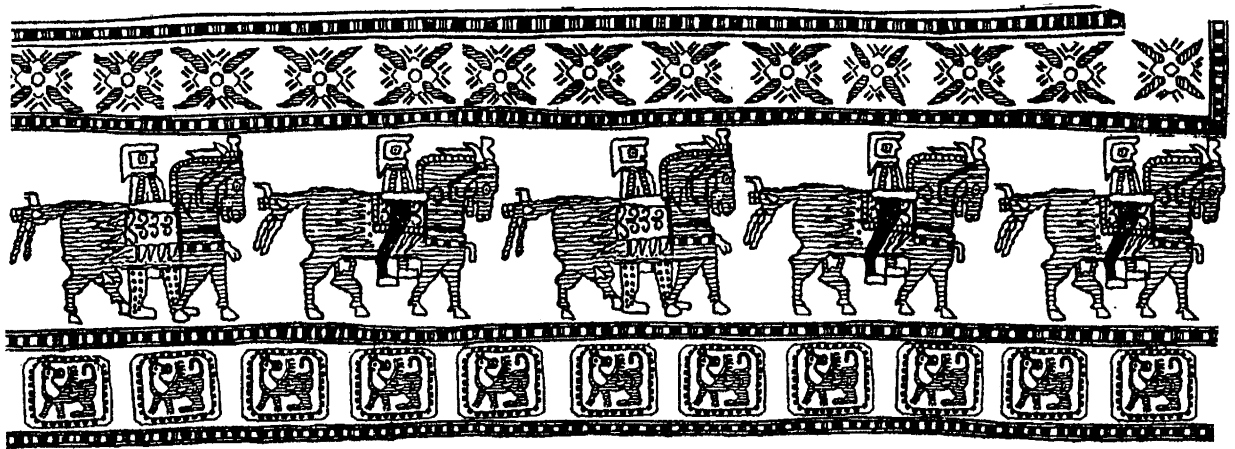


FIG. 22.

Drawing of a section of the Pazyryk rug from a fifth-century nomadic tomb in Siberia. Adapted from Jettmar 1967: fig. 103.

the latter suggesting royal cult. Flanking Bes are two men in Persian court robes upholding the winged symbol of Ahuramazda with its atlas posture full of cosmic implications (Root 1979). The scene is accompanied by an Old Persian inscription that reads, “Arsāka, son of Aθ(a)iyab(a)šata” (Schmitt 1981: 37–38). Both personal names are Iranian, and their occurrence here in Old Persian strongly suggests that this seal belonged to an elite individual of Iranian ethnicity. It thus provides an unambiguous example of the appropriation of the Bes-image by an Iranian who has incorporated Bes into the visual codes of Iranian religion. The seal was collected early and seems certainly genuine. Its use of Old Persian in a monolingual inscription strongly suggests a date in the reign of Xerxes or later, since the first known monolingual royal-name inscriptions on seals only appear at this time.

BES IN OTHER IRANIAN REPRESENTATIONAL CONTEXTS. Additional presentations of Bes show his integration into Iranian schemes of representation. On cylinder seal no. 1.2 (Abdi 1999: fig. 1), where a hero controls Bes-headed lion-creatures with the winged symbol of Ahuramazda overhead, a fruited date palm also appears. This element is considered a hallmark of Achaemenid royal-name seals (Schmidt 1957: 8; Dusinberre 1997: 107–8; Garrison and Root 2001). Like the pedestal motif, it seems to have connoted elevated status within an Iranianized sphere of art production.

Our no. 6.2 (Abdi 1999: fig. 6) is an unprov-

enanced gold necklace displaying a central Bes-head element flanked by smaller square plaques showing equestrians in the Iranian riding costume. The plaques are reminiscent of figures woven into the fifth-century Pazyryk rug excavated from a royal nomadic burial in Siberia (Rudenko 1970: pl. 174 Lerner 1991; here fig. 22).¹⁵ Although the Pazyryk rug does not incorporate Bes-images into its program, four wooden plaques from the same site are carved as Bes heads (Lerner 1991: 8; Rudenko 1970: pls. 91–92). They formed part of a horse bridle. While not technically under the control of the Achaemenids, the society represented by these elaborate Central Asian burials was in direct contact with the empire. The Bes-head plaques look like local products, not carved in a style familiar to us from mainstream Achaemenid associations. Yet their presence here implies that Bes, as infused with new energy within Iranianized contexts in the heart of the empire, had also made an impact on the eastern fringes of Achaemenid influence.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE IRANIANIZATION OF THE BES-IMAGE

Armed with some examples of the Bes-image from archival contexts, we may propose some basic parameters for the Iranianization of Bes. It is safe to assume that the Bes-image was first introduced to

Iranian audiences in a major way after the annexation of the Levant or in the course of the first conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.E. But the main burst of creative new definitions in visual culture under the Achaemenids seems to have taken place under Darius and Xerxes. It is likely that Darius's reconquest of Egypt in 518 B.C.E. provided a critical stimulus of the observation stage right in Egypt. And certainly also in the early years of Darius we witness the influx into the imperial heartland of Egyptians and their cultural accouterments—offering an on-site arena for further observation. After the consolidation of the empire under Darius I, Bes gained popularity and entered the Iranian design repertoire. The lack of Bes-images on seals in the Fortification archive (509–494 B.C.E.) is important. An argument *ex silentio* is always risky, but in this instance it is worth hazarding because the corpus is so large and represents such a broad cross-section of a well-traveled society (Garrison and Root 2001).

The one example of a Bes-image from the smaller, more socially restricted, and later Persepolis Treasury corpus (492–460 B.C.E.) is crucial. PTS 64s (our no. 3.8 [fig. 10]) shows that sometime within these date parameters a fully Iranianized Bes-image had entered the repertoire of motifs at Persepolis, where it was used by someone working in a high-level post in the royal treasury. Unfortunately PTS 64s is only known to us through this one sealed bulla, which does not bear an inscription. Nor is the seal known to us in association with any other seals, thus potentially offering links that might further refine its usage date here. (On cross-linking of Treasury seals as a method of inquiry, see Gates, this volume.) A seal bearing the Bes-image is also now known to us through a cache of sealed anepigraphic bullae excavated by Akbar Tadjvidi in the eastern Persepolis Fortification (our no. 3.16; Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 147). This collection of uninscribed bullae is not directly associated with the Fortification tablets (which were excavated from rooms in the Fortification at the northeast sector). The repertoire of styles and images appears close to those on the Treasury tablets and labels. It would seem, based on this evidence, that the Iranianization of Bes had been achieved by sometime around 490 B.C.E. or slightly later.

Evidence from the hoard of sealings from Ur re-

affirms our understanding that before the mid-fifth century seal motifs including Iranianized Bes-imagery have become demonstrably popular. The Ur hoard, with a *terminus post quem* of 465–460 B.C.E. for its deposition based on numismatic grounds (Legrain 1951; Collon 1996: 66), represents a collection of artist's models in the form of impressions of seals, coins, and metalwork designs. Thus our nos. 3.1–7 (Abdi 1999: fig. 3) show images of Iranianized Bes not only in existence by that date at the latest but also incorporated into the toolkit of an artist presumably poised to use these images as models for any number of variant schemes. In the space of less than thirty years after Darius's reconquest of Egypt in 518 B.C.E., Bes appears in Iranianized form on PTS 64s, used in an elite administrative context at Persepolis and subsequently on a variety of other datable glyptic evidence. We can also look at some later dating evidence with the aid of the seals used on tablets in the Murašû archive of Nippur (Bregstein 1993; Donbaz and Stolper 1997).

As table 12 shows, the earliest and the latest examples of the Bes-image from the Murašû archive (our nos. 3.9 [fig. 20] and 3.10 [fig. 14]) both demonstrate traits of a fully Iranianized Bes—in stylistic qualities (the curved wings) and in iconographical contextualization (the pedestal imagery combined with elements of Iranian religious imagery for no. 3.9; the Bes taking the part of a hero controlling Bes-headed winged lion-creatures for no. 3.10). No. 3.9 was made before the 41st year of Artaxerxes I (i.e., 424 B.C.E.), when it was used in the archive; no. 3.10 was made before the 11th year of Darius II (i.e., 412 B.C.E.), its first attested usage date. Obviously one

TABLE 12.
Usage-dated Examples of the Bes-image from the Murašû Archive

Date	Bregstein no.	Abdi no.	Form
424 (41 AI)	208	3.9	Bes-headed winged lion-creatures
420 (3 DII)	210	3.14	
419 (4 DII)	209	3.13	
417 (6 DII)	206	3.12	
412 (11 DII)	207	3.10	Bes-headed winged lion-creatures controlled by frontal Bes

cannot dismiss the possibility that these seals may have been made long before they were impressed on these particular dated tablets. Perhaps what is most important about the Nippur evidence is the clear indication it provides for individuals with Egyptian and Babylonian names operating in this arena within Mesopotamia, with Babylonian-named people outnumbering Egyptian-named people in the use of Iranianized Bes-imagery on their seals.

CONCLUSION

As I outlined at the beginning of this article, the Iranianization of Bes can be viewed as a cultural process, with the following stages: observation → adoption → assimilation → appropriation. Prior to the rise of the Achaemenids, as early as mid-second millennium B.C.E., the Bes-image was restricted to the eastern Mediterranean world, where it had spread through prolonged contact with Egypt. Bes seems to have acquired some cultural significance in the coastal area but hardly expanded beyond the borders of the Levant. The handful of examples that made their way to Upper Mesopotamia were most probably brought back from Egypt as booty by the Assyrian troops. In central and southern Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau, Bes was virtually unknown.

The Achaemenid Persians arose in the land of Fars in southern Iran in the mid-first millennium B.C.E. and conquered the entire Near East in less than two generations. This rapid expansion brought people from different cultures into sudden contact and triggered a complex process of cultural interaction. Rather abruptly, people from drastically different cultures found themselves in close contact with other cultures with unfamiliar characteristics, including distinctive system of symbols and icons. Iranians may have made their initial observation of the Bes-image at this time. Iranian troops may have originally been exposed to the Bes-image upon the conquest of the Levant and Egypt. This may explain the popularity of Bes among Achaemenid military units.¹⁶ Bes seems to have gained popularity both among commoner and elite Iranians once the tumultuous early empire-building years had passed and the Achaemenid state devoted more time to massive construc-

tion works that required the skills of craftsmen from the edges of the empire, including Egypt. These craftsmen should be credited with introducing Bes into the imperial heartland by bringing along examples of the Bes-image from Egypt. The abundance of Bes amulets from Susa and Persepolis reflects the presence of Egyptians in these imperial centers and the intermingling of Egyptians and Iranians that would have provided a fertile environment for the observation stage of the Iranianization process.

Observation of the Bes-image by Iranians paved the way for the next stage—adoption. Some aspects of the myth surrounding Bes, particularly his protective functions, may have appealed to some Iranians, but others may have simply begun using the Bes-image for its original Egyptian capacity—that is, as a talisman against noxious creatures. Those Iranians who found some similarities between Bes and their own beliefs may then have begun the appropriation and assimilation stages in the Iranianization of the Bes-image. Physical changes were made to Bes, and he began to appear in a variety of thematic contexts of a fully Iranian type.

The changes mentioned above, especially the thematic changes, demonstrate the newly acquired cultural significance of Bes in his Iranian context. We are not yet in a position fully to grasp the significance of the situation. Nevertheless, the visual record suggests that despite the plethora of Iranianized Bes-images, Egyptian-type Bes remained popular as well. The image collection represented by the Ur hoard indicates one tangible mechanism whereby Egyptian Bes and Iranianized Bes coexisted in the Achaemenid empire (Abdi 1999: fig. 3), perhaps enjoying rather different connotations.

I am unable to end this narrative with a tidy description of the final years of the career of Bes in the Achaemenid empire. We currently lack firmly dated evidence. Bes probably continued to be popular well into the last decades of the Achaemenid period. I am so far unaware of any data to suggest that his career continued in western Asiatic lands formerly under the Achaemenid hegemony after the fall of the empire. Perhaps the Macedonian invasion was the terminating point for the Iranianized Bes, while his Egyptian counterpart continued to be venerated in his homeland well into Ptolemaic and Roman times



FIG. 23.
No. 11.3: Left fragment of a wall relief displaying a head of Bes from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. P-180. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.



FIG. 24.
No. 11.2: Fragment of a wall relief displaying a head of Bes from Persepolis, apparently joining at the right of no. 11.3. Iran National Museum. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

(Hoffmann 2000: 199–205; Frankfurter 1998: 124–31 and 169–74).

Why, among the numerous Egyptian deities, did only Bes enjoy such popularity in the Achaemenid empire? Some of Bes's characteristics set him apart from most Egyptian deities. On a physical level, his comical figure may have made Bes more attractive to ordinary Iranians than other more majestic Egyptian deities.¹⁷ On a functional level, Bes offered a fairly simple mythology with a large number of useful benefits, including protection against noxious beasts and physical harm, as well as other practical domestic functions (Bresciani 1992). These benefits too may have appealed more to ordinary people, who were more concerned with daily activities than the smooth operation of a mythological cosmos, for which other Egyptian deities were responsible. Further, as the center of a popular cult, Bes may have been introduced to Iranians by their Egyptian wives, friends, comrades-in-arms, or business partners, whereas the great Egyptian cults, controlled by special priesthoods, were not readily accessible to ordinary folks.

With this paper I hope to have established that the introduction and adoption of Bes into the Achaemenid empire was a horizontal process involving the common people of Egypt and Iran. But, once adopted, Bes seems to have attracted the interest of members of higher social classes, as indicated by the

numerous examples of the Bes-image that could only have been commissioned by individuals of exalted status. How far did this vertical movement take Bes? To judge by the iconography of several seals we have discussed, the levels Bes attained reached the upper echelons of courtly life. To judge by the number of intrinsically precious items, such as the gold pendants from Pasargadae and the gilded silver *phiale* (no. 8.1, unfortunately unprovenanced), Bes attained enough stature to decorate gifted luxury items that would have circulated among kings and courtiers.

The as yet poorly understood fragments of a Bes relief from Persepolis (nos. 11.3 and 11.2 [figs. 23 and 24 respectively]—possibly joining fragments of the same monument) suggest that an installation somewhere in the heartland imperial capital was decorated with a program of Bes-imagery. Was it a garrison installation where Bes exercised apotropaic functions? A birthing chamber of some sort? And in the service of people of what ethnic identifications? Similarly, the fascinating relief from the Achaemenid-period heroon in Lycia (no. 11.1) raises important issues about the complex practices of acculturation among diverse peoples—surely elites in this case—populating a multiethnic empire. While these issues are well beyond the scope of my commentary here and my arena of expertise, I can offer some general ideas that might encourage others to take up the challenge.

Empires, as they become established and grow, typically face problems of internal communication and control. On the one hand, Achaemenid practice used strategies of *divisa et impera*, recognizing and condoning local ethnicities and their cults so that each component group of the empire maintained its identity. On the other hand, Achaemenid practice also developed strategies for binding together the cadres of imperial administrators across vast stretches of space with special cults, codes of dress and behavior, preferences for certain goods, and the like. Encouraging the use of the Bes-image, and also perhaps

encouraging beliefs about the effectiveness of Bes and his protective powers that cut across class lines, seems to have served both of these binding purposes. Bes came to be a symbol congruent with virtues of the Mazdaism that was disseminated in official royal proclamations. Without threatening the ideologies of the state and the beliefs of Mazdaism, Bes could symbolize the personal strivings for protection, good will, and humor that operated fluidly among workers, soldiers, and nobles (and among women as well as men) who served the King of Kings throughout his realm.¹⁸□

Appendix: Updated Catalogue of Bes-Images

These tables (1–11) incorporate Bes-images so far assembled from the political and temporal purview of the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt. They do not incorporate Bes-images from regions outside the direct control of the empire. A dashed line separates new additions to each table from those already published in Abdi 1999.

Full citations for references in the tables appear in “Works Cited” at the end of this article. Regarding those artifacts in the catalogue that are illustrated within the article, no attempt has been made to render them according to a consistent scale. The reader should use the figures only as a resource on the imagery itself.

TABLE 1. CYLINDER SEALS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
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

TABLE 2. STAMP SEALS (CONTINUED)

<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>
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
2.13	scarab	faience	17 × 13 × 10 mm	Deve Hüyük	Ashmolean Museum		Moorey 1980: no. 488
2.14	scarab	carnelian	13 × 8.5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 33
2.15	scarab	faience	16.5 × 13 × 10 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 36
2.16	scarab	chalcedony	18 × 13 × 8 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 37
2.17	scarab	carnelian	20 × 15 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 38
2.18	scarab	chalcedony	17.7 × 12.4 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 39
2.19	scarab	jasper	17 × 13.7 × 3.3 mm	Syria			Nunn 2000: no. 40
2.20	scarab	jasper	16.5 × 12.5 × 10.5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 41
2.21	scarab	jasper	17 × 12 × 10 mm	Lebanon			Nunn 2000: no. 43
2.22	scarab	steatite	16 × 12 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 44
2.23	scarab	jasper	h. 32 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 45
2.24	scarab	jasper	15 × 12 × 9.5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 46
2.25	scarab	jasper	12 × 15 × 9.5 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 47
2.26	scarab	jasper	17 × 13 × 10 mm	Syria			Nunn 2000: no. 48
2.27	scarab	carnelian	14 × 10.5 × 5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 75
2.28	scarab	glazed steatite	13 × 10 × 5.5 mm	Al-Mina	Ashmolean Museum	MN133	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 31

TABLE 2. STAMP SEALS (CONTINUED)

<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>
2.29	scarab	steatite	18 × 15 × 6 mm	Ras Shamara			Stucky 1973: 286
2.30	scarab	steatite	14 × 9.5 × 6 mm	antiquities market	British Museum	105068	Giveon 1985: no. 161

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 w/ 3 impressions of 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	Krüickmann 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		CBS 4020	Legrain 1925: no. 775
3.16	seal impression	clay		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 147

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	fragmentary vase	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh E XXXVI 25/14	Stern 1976: pl. 32B
4.7	fragmentary 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, Substratum Vd, Pit I.12.249		H 81-20668	Bennett & Blakely 1989: figs. 177-78
4.11	pot sherd	pottery		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 137

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

TABLE 5. AMULETS (CONTINUED)

<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>
5.16	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
5.28	amulet	faience		Susa	Louvre	Sb3564	Romano 1989: no. 246
5.29	amulet	faience		Cyprus			Romano 1989: no. 275
5.30	amulet	faience		Cyprus			Romano 1989: no. 269

TABLE 6. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

<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>
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, Zanzan	Zanzan		Rahbar 1997: 24, fig. 2, fig. 3:18
6.9	medallion	gold	8 × 4 mm	?	Iran National Museum	2426/59	unpublished

TABLE 7. CIPPI

<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>
7.1	<i>cippus</i>	white stone	88 × 83 × 31 mm	Nippur, Area WA 13, Level II 1, the "Achaemenid Chapel"	Baghdad	11 N 61	Johnson 1975
7.2	<i>cippus</i>	black stone	94 × 91 × 18 mm	Susa	Iran National Museum	2103/103	Abdi 2002

TABLE 8. METALWARE AND OTHER METAL ARTIFACTS

<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>
8.1	<i>phiale</i> with gold Bes-sphinx appliqués	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

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	tetrastemonion	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

TABLE 9. COINS (CONTINUED)

<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>
9.14	obol	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	2999	Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:14
9.15	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:15
9.16	drachm	silver			private coll., Jerusalem		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:16
9.17	drachm	silver			American Numismatic Society, New York	ANS 39	Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:17
9.18	obol	silver			British Museum		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:18
9.19	drachm	silver					Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:19
9.20	obol	silver	d. 9.5 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 44
9.21	tetrastemonion	silver	d. 6 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 45

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
10.4	figurine	clay		Tel Dan			Biran 1985: 189, pl. 24B
10.5	statuette	stone	h. 93 mm	Sidon		AO2219	Nunn 2000: 60, Tf. 28.90
10.6	statuette	stone		Kharayeb			Nunn 2000: 61, Tf. 28.92
10.7	statuette	stone		Kharayeb			Nunn 2000: 61, Tf. 28.93
10.8	statuette	stone		Ayaa			Contenau 1920: 310, pl. 105d

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 Golbaşi-Trysa, Lycia	same location		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

Notes

1. My collection of images is greatly indebted to the work of James Romano (1989; 1998), whose catalogue of Bes-images from Egypt and elsewhere that can be dated to the period of the Achaemenid empire formed the beginning of my expanded list (Romano 1989: 775 [no. 269]–842 [no. 292]). Romano's 1989 catalogue included five amulets (from Tunisia, Cyprus, Sidon, and Susa) that I did not include in my 1999 catalogue. I have now incorporated three of these items into my catalogue, along with other previously untallied artifacts.
2. The number of individual artifacts is actually much greater than 115. In 1999 I grouped under one catalogue number (no. 6.4) fifty-one separate gold medallions (in pendant format) bearing the Bes-image excavated at Pasargadae because they plausibly originally decorated one item. It is worth noting, however, that had these fifty-one pendant medallions been dispersed on the art market, I would have had to catalogue each one as a separate item. This would have expanded greatly the number of Bes-images registered, while the lack of provenance for the group would simultaneously have drastically lessened the research value of the assemblage.
3. Several important studies have appeared that deserve to be mined for the possible appearance of Iranianized representations of Bes (as defined below) that have found their way to extraimperial shores in the Greater Mediterranean. But such a task is beyond the scope of the current project. See, e.g., Skon-Jedele 1994 (where some items may date deeper into the Achaemenid period than the chronological scope of the collection suggests); Höbl 1979; 1985.
4. The presence of artisans of Egyptian origin working on the imperial building projects at Susa is attested by the Susa Foundation Charter (DSf). See Lecoq 1997: 234–37 for the trilingual text; Root 1979 and 1990 for comments on its rhetorical aspects. The rhetorical qualities of this text emphasize notions of imperial purview and should not necessarily be taken as a literally precise characterization of the workforce at Susa. Nevertheless, there is certainly an underpinning of historical legitimacy expressed here concerning the role of Egyptian craftsmen, with their ancient traditions and expertise in, e.g., gold-working.
5. The precise archaeological contexts of most of these amulets cannot be established satisfactorily through the excavation records of the early twentieth-century mission. Two of the Susa amulets are stipulated as having a specific findspot—"the Apadana." But the degree to which this constitutes a "deposit" is highly questionable (*pace* Schmidt 1957: 68 n. 21).
6. Schmidt 1957: 72 mentions but does not catalogue or illustrate "two additional Bes heads, one of bluish-green turquoise, the other of composition of the same color, [that] were found in Vestibule 23 and in Courtyard 29 of the Treasury." It is not clear whether two of the four previously unpublished Bes amulets from Persepolis now in the Iran National Museum (here nos. 5.21–23; see Abdi 1999: fig. 5.21–23) may in fact correspond to these two amulets mentioned in passing by Schmidt or whether they are two additional Bes-images that should be added to the tally from the site. (Our no. 5.21 [fig. 2] is of fine workmanship but the material is undesignated in the records. It might conceivably correspond to the turquoise one cited by Schmidt. Such ambiguities in the inventory status of small finds that were not originally considered of tremendous interpretive significance by the excavators are quite common.)
7. A vivid example is offered by a New Kingdom statuette of boxwood, ivory, and gilding representing a serving girl carrying a jar and wearing only a necklace featuring a dynamic Bes amulet (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 361–62 and pl. 42 [no. 87]).
8. Tadjvidi (1976) excavated in the fortifications rimming the Takht, where we might expect multiple manifestations of nonceremonial life (*viz.*, our no. 4.11 and Abdi 1999 on Bes and the military). This important effort, interrupted prematurely, deserves to be resumed (see Mousavi, this volume).
9. I owe this observation to an anonymous reviewer who took the time to offer extraordinarily helpful comments.
10. Relevant literature for appreciating aspects of the life and assimilation of Egyptians in western Asia includes Wiseman 1956; Eph'al 1978; Zaccagnini 1983; Pedersén 1986: 125–29.
11. The sealing protocols for the Treasury archive have not been examined as closely as have those for the Persepolis Fortification archive. In the latter corpus, the stand-alone usage of a seal often implies elevated status (Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 2001).
12. One of these rare examples is the knotted belt worn by the Akkadian king Naram-Sin on his victory stele (Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992: 168), which was made for Sippar in Iraq but moved to Susa as war booty. The surface of this sculpture is quite abraded. To the best of my ability to assess it, the knot here does not appear to be rendered according to the precise pattern we see on the Achaemenid court robe and on the belted Bes from the Persepolis Treasury.
13. E.g., on representations of certain royal figures (*viz.*, Princess Isis: Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 206–8), on representations of certain minor deities such as the gods who bind together the signs of Upper and Lower Egypt (as seen on the Egyptian statue of Darius from Susa) and the nome personifications (as portrayed, for instance, on the Old Kingdom triad statues of Mycerinus [Russmann 1989: 25]).
14. I am indebted to Margaret Cool Root for drawing my attention to the significance of the Egyptian connection of the knot.
15. These figures on the Pazyryk rug in turn invite comparison

to imagery of heartland Achaemenid art: on Wing A of the Apadana at Persepolis.

16. I hope to explore this topic further in another paper.

17. On a purely speculative note, one should not neglect the fact that, unlike other, clean-shaven Egyptian deities, Bes is the only Egyptian deity with a full beard, a characteristic of barbarians in Egyptian eyes, to which the predominantly bearded Iranians could have related!

18. The versatility and multivalence of Bes may have paved the way for important linkages to the Mithraic cult that I shall explore in another article.

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