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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME LXVIII

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PERSEPOLIS

I

STRUCTURES · RELIEFS · INSCRIPTIONS

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COLUMNS OF THE APADANA

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PERSEPOLIS

I

STRUCTURES · RELIEFS · INSCRIPTIONS

ERICH F. SCHMIDT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO · ILLINOIS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS · CHICAGO 37
Cambridge University Press, London, N.W. 1, England

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Published 1953. Composed and printed by THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, *Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.*

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To

CLARENCE ARTHUR

and

HELEN CORNING

WARDEN

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PREFACE

DURING the past centuries many travelers and scholars have described the impressive ruins of the Achaemenid palaces, the tombs of the kings, and other antique remains in the Persepolis area. In 1892 George N. Curzon reviewed and condensed the observations of earlier authors in his own monumental work which deals with recent Iran and with the vestiges of its great past.[1] Subsequent to Curzon's publication and prior to the start of extensive excavations, the major contributions to our knowledge of the Persepolis area were made by Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre.[2]

The excavation of Persepolis was initiated in 1931 by the late Professor James Henry Breasted,[3] founder and director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Professor Breasted emphasized the indebtedness of the expedition to the generosity of an American patroness of art who wished to remain anonymous. Ernst Herzfeld, who was then Professor of Oriental Archeology at the University of Berlin, became the first field director of the Persepolis project. The field activities during his regime, his publications referring to the results, and the members of his staff are mentioned below (p. 3). Herzfeld terminated his field work in 1934. The writer succeeded him while still in charge of excavations at Rayy and conducted both projects simultaneously until 1936. During the following year the patron institutions of the Rayy Expedition, namely the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, joined the Oriental Institute as cosponsors of the Persepolis Expedition.

Partial results of Herzfeld's excavations are included in various books and articles, to which we refer at the proper places. For our purposes the most useful information is comprised in his *Iran in the Ancient East*.[4] He never published a comprehensive excavation report, and his death, in January 1948, undoubtedly deprived us of a great deal of knowledge which he had stored in his fertile mind. Discoveries and observations made during Herzfeld's regime and included in the present volumes are acknowledged in each case. Attempts to assemble further data pertaining to his field activities would unduly delay this publication. Our descriptive and graphic material will enable others to close certain gaps[5] left by his death.

The present publication deals primarily with the results of our excavations on the Terrace of Persepolis, in the sacred precinct of Naqsh-i-Rustam, and on the mound of Istakhr. It attempts, furthermore, a complete pictorial documentation of all important structures, sculptures, and inscriptions known to exist in the Persepolis area. Volume I is concerned mainly with the structural remains of the Persepolis Terrace. Volume II (*OIP* LXIX) describes the objects excavated, largely in the Persepolis Treasury, and a cemetery discovered in the vicinity of the site. Volume III (*OIP* LXX) will combine the results of our tests at Naqsh-i-Rustam and Istakhr with a graphic record of the Achaemenid and Sasanian reliefs at Naqsh-i-Rustam and Naqsh-i-Rajab. In accordance with the editorial policy established by Professor Breasted, the publication is intended to offer an adequate basis for utilization in scientific studies to follow but avoids theoretical discussions.[6] While omitting philological argumentation, it endeavors, with the invaluable help of Professor George G. Cameron (see below), to offer the most recent translation of each inscription. The publication touches the intricate subject of ancient Iranian religion[7] only with regard to the interpretation of structures and objects pertaining to ritual and when referring to the disposal of the dead. The historical events of the Achaemenid period, reflected to some degree by the remains with which this publication deals, are compiled in the final work of Professor A. T. Olmstead's fruitful life, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948). Many words have been written about the art of the Achaemenians, represented to a great extent by the remnants of buildings and sculptures in the Persepolis area and by the remains of Susa and Pasargadae. The most recent specific efforts in this direction have been made by Henri Frankfort,[8] Gisela M. A. Richter,[9] Anton Moortgat,[10] and Friedrich Sarre.[11] Relevant contributions are also to be found in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (6 vols.; London and New York, 1938–39), edited by Arthur Upham Pope.[12]

The writer wishes to acknowledge frequent expression of cordial co-operation given by the High Imperial Government of Iran and its late ruler, Riza Shah Pahlavi, who was succeeded by his noble son, the present sovereign,

Muhammad Riza Shah Pahlavi

Among the high officials of Iran we shall always esteem His Highness the late Muhammad Ali Foroughi, former President of the Council of Ministers. His Excellency Ali Asghar Hekmat, Minister of Education, Dr. Sadiq, who

1. *Persia and the Persian Question* (London and New York, 1892) II 115–96.

2. *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin, 1910).

3. *The Oriental Institute* ("The University of Chicago Survey" XII [Chicago, 1933]) pp. 89–91, 310–36.

4. See *IAE*, pp. 221–74.

5. Such as an exhaustive study of the Apadana procession, which Herzfeld had explicitly reserved for himself (see p. 82).

6. *The Oriental Institute*, pp. 429 f.

7. A subject whose controversial character is shown by two recent publications dealing with it: H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, trans. H. H. Schaeder (*MVAG* XLIII [1938]), attacked—at times with surprising acrimony—in Herzfeld's *Zoroaster and His World* (2 vols.; Princeton, 1947). See further Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre: Étude critique avec une traduction commentée des Gâthâ* ("Les dieux et les hommes" II [Paris, 1948]).

8. "Achaemenian sculpture" (*AJA* L [1946] 6–14).

9. "Greeks in Persia" (*AJA* L 15–30).

10. *Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden* (*MAOG* II 1 [1926]).

11. *Die Kunst des alten Persiens* (Berlin, 1922).

12. See Vol. I, Part III.

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subsequently occupied this high office, and M. André Godard, Director of the Antiquity Service, facilitated our relations with other Governmental departments and with landowners. The officials of the Antiquity Service attached to the Persepolis Expedition, especially Messrs. Mustafavi, Sepahbod, Bassiri, and Ravanbod, were courteous and helpful.

It is not possible to mention by name all the diplomatic and consular representatives of other nations, the American faculty members of Elburz College, the American, German, and English physicians, the officers of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and of the Imperial Bank of Iran, and many others to whom at one time or another we had reason to be grateful for cordial help or services of friendship. However, the writer acknowledges his particular indebtedness to Mr. Wallace Murray, who was then Chief of the Near East Division in the Department of State, and to Mr. Cornelius Van H. Engert, who was the representative of the United States in Iran, for their efforts on behalf of the Persepolis Expedition.

Our deep-felt gratitude is due to the most loyal friend and patroness of the Iranian expeditions, Mrs. William Boyce Thompson, whose never-failing interest and support had previously helped to carry through the expeditions to Tepe Hissar and Rayy and whose continued assistance aided the Persepolis Expedition across particularly difficult junctures to a satisfactory conclusion.

The members of the expedition are indebted to the heads of the patron institutions: to the late Professor James H. Breasted and his successors as directors of the Oriental Institute, Professors John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Carl H. Kraeling; to the successive directors of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Messrs. Edward J. Holmes and George H. Edgell; and to Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, director of the University Museum in Philadelphia during the field activities of the Persepolis Expedition.

At this point it is appropriate to express to Mrs. James B. Murphy of New York the appreciation of those members of the expeditions to Persepolis and Rayy who at times had to travel many weary miles on Persian roads. Mrs. Murphy donated to each project a sturdy Buick touring car.

The author's indebtedness to his collaborators in the field during the seasons 1935 to 1937 was emphasized in the preliminary report;[13] but he wants to repeat his appreciation, for the results of the expedition presented in this publication are due to a great extent to their efforts. Donald E. McCown started in 1934 as field assistant under Herzfeld. He became assistant field director in 1937 but left the expedition in 1938 in order to conclude his formal studies at the University of Chicago.[14] McCown was in charge of the important primary registration of the finds, and he greatly facilitated through his industry and ability the responsibilities of the writer. In 1935 the expedition staff included, further, an architect, John S. Bolles, and Mrs. Bolles; an architectural assistant, Eliot F. Noyes; Herzfeld's architectural draftsman, Karl Bergner; and the experienced photographer of the writer's previous expeditions, Boris Dubensky, who divided his time between Rayy and Persepolis. In 1936 the staff had to be reduced for reasons of economy. Only McCown, Noyes, and Dubensky remained, and after the end of the season Noyes left the expedition in order to complete his studies in America. He was replaced in 1937 by Richard C. Haines, who had previously worked as architect with expeditions in Syria and Anatolia. During the final season, in 1939, Dr. George G. Cameron, accompanied by his wife, and Dr. Waldo H. Dubberstein joined the field staff. Both men carried their full share of the tasks connected with the supervision of the excavations and with the recording of the finds, and Mrs. Cameron contributed her time to office work and camp duties.

Dr. Cameron, furthermore, re-examined all extant inscriptions on the Persepolis Terrace[15] and studied the newly-discovered written documents, in particular the Elamite tablets found in the Treasury.[16] At various times—in Persepolis camp as well as during our second expedition to Luristan—we enjoyed the collaboration of Dr. Wilhelm Eilers, who was always willing to help in philological matters. Another contributive guest at Persepolis was Dr. Julius Junge, a talented young scholar—missing since the Battle of Stalingrad.

As to the technical staff, Norair Balassanian, who had formerly worked for the Rayy Expedition, was employed as superintendent of Persepolis camp. His previous training at the American Elburz College in Tehran and his intimate understanding of the business life of his compatriots proved to be very useful assets. Herzfeld's head servant, well mannered and industrious Husain, stayed with us to the end of the field work. Hans Kuehler, Herzfeld's mechanic, was retained for some time, for he was particularly useful in the transfer of heavy stones. Damaged columns and other stone parts of structures were expertly repaired and partly restored in reinforced cement by Signor Dante. Two able artist-draftsmen, Sako and Minassian, aided by two assistants, were engaged in drawing the form, pattern, and section of each find entered in the field catalogue. The labor crew, fluctuating from two hundred to five hundred men, was headed by Baba Georgis, who had been foreman of the workers during the preceding campaigns. Ever since the expedition to Tepe Hissar, near Damghan, the core of the writer's crew of workmen—whether at Rayy, in Luristan, or at Persepolis—always consisted of about ten honest and industrious Damghanis who had belonged to the original Tepe Hissar crew.

In assembling the material for these volumes the author has had the active help of a number of collaborators, whose contributions he is gratefully acknowledging. He has had frequent cause to express his indebtedness to Professor George G. Cameron, who put his broad linguistic knowledge at the writer's disposal and devoted much of his time to reading and translating most of the newly-found, pre-Alexandrian inscriptions and in verifying all translations of previously known texts which had been worked up by others.[17]

13. *OIC* No. 21, pp. xi f.

14. See his important publication *SAOC* No. 23.

15. See "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands beyond the Sea'" (*JNES* II [1943] 307–13).

16. See *OIP* LXV.

17. In all problems related to Old Persian inscriptions the writer consulted the numerous articles written on this subject by Roland G. Kent. However, the latest results of Kent's studies, which appeared in his *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* ("American Oriental Series" XXXIII [New Haven, 1950]), were not available in time to be fully utilized in the present volume.

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The writer's thanks are due to the late Mr. Edward T. Newell,[18] to Mr. Sydney P. Noe, and to members of the museum staff of the American Numismatic Society in New York for identifying the pre-Sasanian coins uncovered in the Persepolis area. The later coins from this region, particularly specimens of the Moslem era found in the test excavations of Istakhr, have been put at the disposal of Dr. George C. Miles, formerly assistant field director of the Rayy Expedition,[19] and now associated with the American Numismatic Society. These coins are to be published by Dr. Miles, who has generously provided the writer with their identifications, which are of decisive importance for the dating of the Moslem levels and their contents.

The author is indebted to Cleta Margaret Olmstead for contributing a summary of various studies of hers dealing with the Greek statue which was found in the Persepolis Treasury.[20] Thanks are due also to Professor Ernst Langlotz for communicating his opinion with regard to the same sculpture. Professors Richard A. Parker and George R. Hughes assisted in all problems pertaining to objects which had been imported from Egypt, Professor I. J. Gelb gave his expert opinion on the Hittite hieroglyphs found on a vessel fragment, and Dr. Helene J. Kantor kindly contributed her time to help in the interpretation of certain decorative elements of the reliefs.

The following contributions are here gratefully acknowledged although some of them will be utilized in subsequent volumes only: Dr. Warder C. Allee, Professor of Zoology at the University of Chicago, and Mr. Bryan Patterson, Curator of Fossil Mammals at the Chicago Natural History Museum, gave us valuable information concerning certain animals which are shown on Persepolis reliefs. Patterson, furthermore, identified bones of animals found in the excavations. Dr. Fritz Haas, Curator of Lower Invertebrates, and Dr. Hugh C. Cutler, Curator of Economic Botany—both of the Chicago Natural History Museum—identified shells and botanical specimens respectively. Petrological analyses were contributed by Mrs. Hans Ramberg, and charred remnants of fabrics were analyzed by Miss Louisa Bellinger of the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia. Dr. F. R. Matson, Professor of Ceramics at Pennsylvania State College, is engaged in analyzing samples of pigments, glass, and objects of blue or red composition. His report on samples of wall plaster, flooring, and bitumen forms the Appendix of the present volume. Analyses of metal objects are being prepared by Dr. Norman H. Nachtrieb, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Chicago, and Mr. Lawrence J. Howell.

This publication owes a great deal to Richard C. Haines. Thanks to his ability and perseverance, the buildings and rock tombs of the Persepolis area are well documented by architectural surveys and detail drawings. The skill and experience of John S. Bolles as an architect-surveyor is apparent in his contributions to our graphic records: the map of Persepolis and environs (Fig. 13), the partial plans and sections of the eastern fortification (Figs. 82–84), and the survey of the Persepolis Terrace as far as it was uncovered in 1935. Subsequently, Noyes and Haines added to the Terrace plan the information newly acquired in 1936 and 1937–39 respectively (Fig. 21) and continued the excavation surveys, which were always combined with technical descriptions of the structural remains.

The writer has mentioned elsewhere[21] that Bergner's surveys of Persepolis structures were put at Herzfeld's disposal in the belief that he would use them in a publication reporting the results of his excavations. In order to safeguard against the possible loss of these important records they were photographed in camp before being put into Herzfeld's hands. His excavation report never appeared. Attempts to obtain photostatic copies or to recover the originals were in vain, and the present location of the plans is unknown. However, the photographs referred to, combined with skeleton resurveys made by Haines, gave us the complete basis for the redrafting of all plans originally prepared by Bergner. Furthermore, some of Bergner's surveys which had been fragmentary were completed by the results of our subsequent excavations. Other plans of the same group were extended or corrected by our soundings and spot-tests. Thus, all the data recorded on the original surveys have been saved, and all plans have been enhanced in value by our additions.

During the absence of Haines in architectural war work the final drafting and composing of the surveys mentioned—culminating in the plan of the Persepolis Terrace—was in the competent hands of another architect, Albert R. Hauser, who was subsequently assisted in the drawing of structural details and final excavation plans by F. P. Glastra Van Loon and James M. Hofgesang while the reconstructed plans of individual buildings were drawn in final form by Bronius Cekauskas. Haines continued to give his advice during the completion of the final records, which owe so much to his expert surveys in the field. To our regret, other obligations prevented him from reconstructing elevations of characteristic Persepolis structures. Walter W. Romig's unexcelled cartographic work is demonstrated by the maps of Iran (Fig. 1) and the Achaemenid Empire (Fig. 2).

Many of the final photographs illustrating the Persepolis volumes were prepared by Boris Dubensky, who had taken the majority of the original pictures. The products of his skill, combined with the surveys of the conscientious expedition architects, will remain documents of permanent value. After Dubensky left for military service his place was taken by Mrs. Ursula Schneider, who ably concluded this phase of the graphic documentation.

The typing of the entire manuscript, often involving preliminary editorial tasks and bibliographical research, was under the care of Miss Edith Lindquist, who furthermore shared responsibility with Mrs. Howard Becker for compiling the photographic archives of the Iranian projects which have been under the writer's charge.

The final editorial work was in the experienced hands of Mrs. Albert R. Hauser, to whom the writer's thanks are due for correcting rough spots in style and composition, for checking all references, and for preparing the indexes.

The layout of the text and the processes of reproduction of the illustrations—influenced to some extent by neces-

18. See *OIC* No. 21, pp. 76–78.

19. See his *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (The American Numismatic Society, "Numismatic Studies," No. 2 [New York, 1938]).

20. The final results of Miss Olmstead's studies have now been published. See "A Greek lady from Persepolis" (*AJA* LIV [1950] 10–18 and Pls. VII–XII).

21. *OIC* No. 21, p. xi.

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sity for economy—were determined by the University of Chicago Press.

The author has previously expressed his deep indebtedness to his aeronautic friends and collaborators and described the aerial contributions to the groundwork of the Persepolis Expedition.[22] After the aerial activities were stopped, Frederick Lillich, our unexcelled aeromechanic, remained as general technical advisor to the end of the field expedition. The two successive pilots of our ship, Lewin B. Barringer and William G. Benn, both put their skill and experience at the disposal of the United States Air Forces, and both of them sacrificed their lives in the service of their country. Thus, the author's memorial to Mary-Helen, the book on our flights over ancient cities of Iran, now serves to commemorate also the life and work of these two men. The dedication of the volumes presented herewith expresses the author's affection and respect for Mary-Helen's parents, and his gratitude.

ERICH F. SCHMIDT

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1951

22. *Ibid.* pp. 130–39.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

AI	HERZFELD, ERNST. Altpersische Inschriften (*AMI*, 1. Ergänzungsband [1938]).
AJA	American journal of archaeology (Baltimore etc., 1885——).
AJSL	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884–1941).
AMI	Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin, 1929–38).
Ctesias *Persica*	GILMORE, JOHN (ed.). The fragments of the Persika of Ktesias (London and New York, 1888).
Diodorus Siculus xvii	BOOTH, G. (trans.). The historical library of Diodorus the Sicilian (2 vols.; London, 1814).
Flandin and Coste	FLANDIN, EUGÈNE, and COSTE, PASCAL. Voyage en Perse ... pendant les années 1840 et 1841. Perse ancienne. Planches (4 vols. with pls. numbered consecutively; Paris, 1843–54).
IAE	HERZFELD, ERNST. Iran in the ancient East (London and New York, 1941).
IF	SARRE, FRIEDRICH, and HERZFELD, ERNST. Iranische Felsreliefs. Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit (Berlin, 1910).
ILN	The illustrated London news (London, 1842——).
JAOS	American Oriental Society. Journal (New Haven etc., 1849——).
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942——).
JRAS	Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal (London, 1834——).
KA	WEISSBACH, F. H. Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 3. Stück [Leipzig, 1911]).
MAOG	Altorientalische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Leipzig, 1925——).
MDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1899——).
MDP	France. Délégation en Perse. Mémoires (Vols. I–XIII; Paris, 1900–1912). France. Mission archéologique de Susiane. Mémoires (Vol. XIV; Paris, 1913). France. Mission archéologique de Perse. Publications (Vol. XV; Paris, 1914). France. Mission archéologique de Perse. Mémoires (Vols. XVI–XXVIII; Paris, 1921–39). France. Mission archéologique en Iran. Mémoires (Vols. XXIX——; Paris, 1943——).
MVAG	Vorderasiatisch-aegyptische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896–1908; Leipzig, 1909——).
OIC No. 21	SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Treasury of Persepolis and other discoveries in the homeland of the Achaemenians (Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications, No. 21 [Chicago, 1939]).
OIP	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
OIP LXV	CAMERON, GEORGE G. Persepolis Treasury tablets (1948).
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884——).
SAOC	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931——).

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SAOC No. 5	HERZFELD, ERNST E. A new inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis (1932).
SAOC No. 23	MCCOWN, DONALD E. The comparative stratigraphy of early Iran (1942).
SAOC No. 24	PARKER, RICHARD A., and DUBBERSTEIN, WALDO H. Babylonian chronology 626 B.C.—A.D. 45 (2d ed.; 1946).
WVDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900——).
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887——).
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886——).
ZDMG	Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847——).

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TECHNICAL NOTES

ALL objects designated in Volume I by field numbers are described and illustrated in Volume II (*OIP* LXIX), where they are indexed for convenient reference. Our field numbers designate the site and the excavation season ("PT3" to "PT7" = Persepolis Terrace, third to seventh seasons corresponding to the years 1935–39) followed by the number of the object discovered during the season concerned. "PT1" and "PT2" mark those objects which were found during Herzfeld's regime, prior to 1935.

All measurements are indicated according to the metric system.

Our excavations are based on a rigid co-ordinate grid of survey quadrants (100 × 100 m.) oriented according to the main directions. Each quadrant is subdivided into a hundred 10 × 10 meter excavation plots. Each plot is designated by two letters and two Arabic numerals (e.g. HG 12). The letters mark the quadrant, the "latitude" letter preceding that of the "longitude," and the numerals, reading in the same order, designate the excavation unit. On our work sheets the excavation plots are further subdivided into 100 units of 1 square meter. All important finds are entered on these field sheets, according to location and depth, and marked by Plot Record ("P.R.") numbers (see e.g. p. 76 and Fig. 32).

The elevations of certain points on the plans of structures on the Terrace indicate the heights above our datum (±0 m.), which is on the bottom landing of the Terrace stairway (see Fig. 21, in pocket at end of volume).

Although all Persepolis buildings deviate 19°–21° from the cardinal points (see Fig. 21), in order to simplify references we designate walls and other features according to the main directions which they approximate.

Following the editorial practice of the Oriental Institute we use the term "reconstruction" for the theoretical completion of partly destroyed structures and objects, "restoration" for the actual re-erection of buildings and replacement of missing parts of objects.

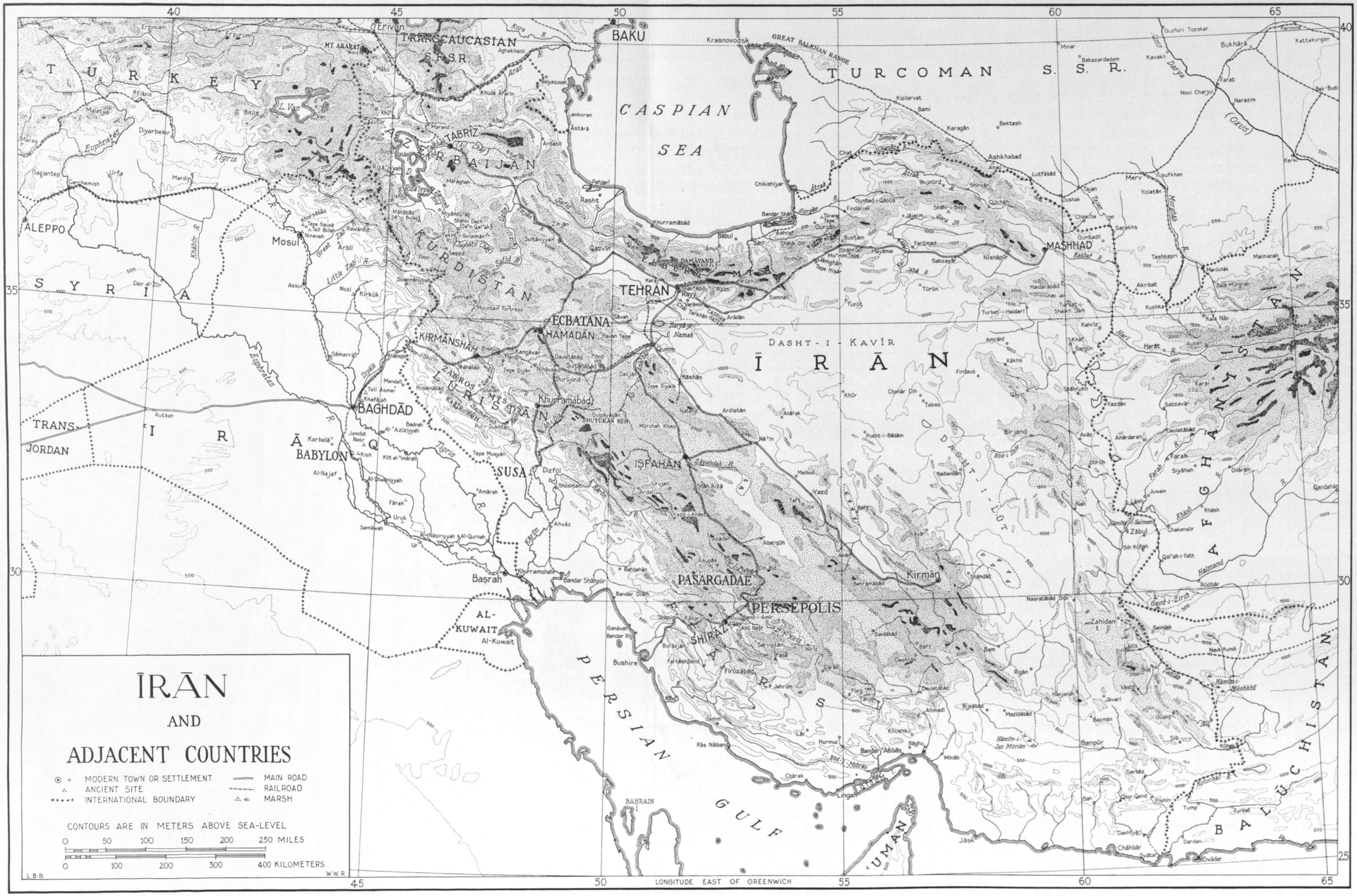
A reconstruction by E. F. Noyes of painted rosette frames which decorate the doorways of rooms and porticoes leading to and inclosing the focal Courtyard 17 of the second Treasury section has been considered sufficiently important to be reproduced in color (Fig. 68 *B*). The pigments—blue, white, and red—of the rosette frames illustrate also the color scheme of the decoration of columns (Fig. 72 *J*) and of all other remnants of painted ornamentation found in the Treasury. The wall color on our Figure 68 *B* approximates the greenish-gray wall finish occurring in the Treasury and elsewhere, and the brown-red bottom strip of our painting attempts to show the appearance of the Treasury floors.

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I

SUMMARY LOG OF THE PERSEPOLIS EXPEDITION

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ĪRĀN
AND
ADJACENT COUNTRIES
MODERN TOWN OR SETTLEMENT
ANCIENT SITE
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
MAIN ROAD
RAILROAD
MARSH
CONTOURS ARE IN METERS ABOVE SEA-LEVEL
0 50 100 150 200 250 MILES
0 100 200 300 400 KILOMETERS
L.B.B.
W.W.R.
LONGITUDE EAST OF GREENWICH
40
45
50
55
60
65
35
30
25
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
TRANSJORDAN
TRANSCAUCASIAN S.F.S.R.
TURCOMAN S.S.R.
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ĪRĀN
DASHT-I-KAVĪR
DASHT-I-LŪT
AFGHANISTAN
BALŪCHISTĀN
AZERBAIJAN
KURDISTĀN
LURISTĀN
FĀRS
BAKU
TABRĪZ
TEHRAN
ECBATANA
HAMADĀN
KIRMĀNSHĀH
BAGHDĀD
BABYLON
SUSA
ISFAHĀN
PASARGADAE
PERSEPOLIS
SHĪRĀZ
MASHHAD
Kirmān
Başrah
AL-KUWAIT
Al-Kuwait
BAHRAIN I.
ALEPPO
Mosul
Erivan
Krasnovodsk
Euphrates
Tigris
Khābūr R.
Great Zab R.
Little Zab R.
Diyālā R.
Karkheh R.
Karūn R.
Kārūn R.
Kura R.
Aras R.
Atrak R.
Murghāb R.
Tejan R.
Harī Rūd
Hilmand R.
Khāsh R.
Zāyandeh R.
Qazvīn
Rasht
Pahlavī
Astārā
Ardabīl
Zinjān
Sultānīyah
Khurramābād
Bābul
Sārī
Bandar Shāh
Gurgān
Bujnūrd
Shīrvān
Qūchān
Ashkhabad
Lutfābād
Tajan
Merv
Yolatān
Yusufkhan
Kerki
Chikishlyar
Gumbad-i-Qābūs
Findarisk
Shāhrūd
Mayāmai
Sabzavār
Nīshāpūr
Farūmad
Tūrūd
Samnān
Damghān
Tepe Hisār
Shāh Abdul Azīm
Rayy
Karaj
Sāvah
Qumm
Kāshān
Ardistān
Nā'īn
Yazd
Taft
Bāfq
Anārak
Abarqūh
Maibud
Urujān
Ardal
Shāh Rizā
Yazd-i-Khās
Dizfūl
Shūshtar
Ahvāz
Tepe Mūsyān
Amārah
Al-Qurnah
Al-Baṣrah
Samāwah
Al-Najaf
Al-Dīwānīyah
Karbalā'
Kūt al-'Imārah
Badrah
Al-'Azīzīyah
Jamdat Nasr
Tell Asmar
Khafājah
Rutbah
Tell Baldat
Nineveh
Arbīl
Kirkūk
Sāmarrā'
Khānaqīn
Shīrīn-i-Shāhābād
Kangāvar
Harsīn
Tepe Guyān
Nihāvand
Daulatābād
Sultānābād
Burūjird
Dailamān
Tepe Siyalk
Khurramābād
Dūrūd
Shāhābād
Mandalī
Husaināb
Ḥulailān
Pul-i-Dukhtar
Kabīr-Kūh
Shutūrān Kūh
Gulpāyagān
Mūrchah Khūrt
Nā'īn
Ardistān
Anārak
Khūr
Chahār Dih
Tabas
Pusht-i-Bādām
Naibandān
Rīg-i-Jin
Rīg-i-Jalālī
Rīg-i-Jast
Rīg-i-Lār
Rīg-i-Yazdān
Rīg-i-Shāmī
Rīg-i-Kavīr
Rīg-i-Namak
Rīg-i-Gaz
Rīg-i-Shūr
Rīg-i-Ābgīnah
Rīg-i-Mārān
Rīg-i-Barf
Rīg-i-Bīdkhān
Rīg-i-Sīāh
Rīg-i-Sīāh-Kūh
Rīg-i-Sīāh-Kūh-i-Shamālī
Rīg-i-Sīāh-Kūh-i-Janūbī

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THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1931–34

THE field activities of the Persepolis Expedition were initiated by Professor Ernst Herzfeld in spring 1931, after the French archeological monopoly had been replaced by the new Antiquity Law, which opened Iran to archeological field work by other nations.[1] The expedition ended in fall 1939, after the outbreak of World War II. As far as we know, there is no camp diary recording the progress of work during the years of Herzfeld's regime, which lasted until 1934. The writer obtained the following information from extracts of correspondence put at his disposal by the Oriental Institute.

The expedition staff included in the beginning an architect, Friedrich Krefter, and a field assistant, Alexander Langsdorff. Subsequently, Donald E. McCown joined the staff as field assistant, Karl Bergner as architectural draftsman, and W. von Busse as photographer.

It appears that Herzfeld's first season was spent almost entirely in excavating the main wing of Xerxes' Harem (see pp. 255–58) and in starting its partial restoration. The excellent re-erection of the building, modified to be utilized as expedition quarters, was carried through mainly by Krefter. The work was completed toward the end of the following year.[2]

In 1932 excavations were resumed at the prehistoric site Tall-i-Bakun, which Herzfeld had previously tested.[3] The conduct of the new excavation was mainly in the hands of Langsdorff.[4]

On the Persepolis Terrace Herzfeld's crew cleared the major portion of the Gate of Xerxes and started work in the extensive system of subterranean canals. The outline of a part of Palace G was determined, and soundings resulted in the discovery of the sculptured southern stairway of the Council Hall. A portion of the western wing of the Harem also was excavated, and debris was removed from the face of the Terrace foundation. Finally, in November 1932, Herzfeld discovered the great sculptured stairways of the eastern front of the Apadana and the Council Hall.

In the environs of Persepolis the expedition uncovered a portion of a post-Achaemenid Fratadara temple.[5] A stone platform, now called Takht-i-Rustam ("Throne of Rustam"), also was investigated, apparently with the hope of finding foundation documents.[6] The extensive city mound of Istakhr was tested in a number of trenches.[7]

During the third season, in 1933, the courtyard between the Apadana and the Throne Hall (formerly called "Hundred-Column Hall") was cleared of its deep deposit of debris. Spot-tests uncovered the heads of the bulls flanking the entrance to the Throne Hall, and east of the same building the expedition found well wrought stone steps leading to the subterranean canal system. When leveling debris for the construction of a road, Herzfeld discovered great numbers of cuneiform tablets in the northeastern remnants of the Terrace fortification. As to neighboring sites, the tests at Istakhr were abandoned in the winter of 1932/33. At Naqsh-i-Rustam Herzfeld traced a long section of the outer inclosure, and with the aid of a scaffold copied the inscriptions on the tomb of Darius I.

In 1934 the expedition continued the clearing of parts of the Persepolis Terrace, combined, as usual, with the replacing of architectural fragments in their original positions. Work in the subterranean canals also was continued, but it was never brought to a satisfactory conclusion. South of the Terrace Herzfeld tested an extensive complex of Achaemenian buildings and courtyards, and north of the Terrace post-Achaemenid remains were found in the vicinity of a reused Persepolitan doorway of stone.

1. Almost simultaneously were started the expeditions of the University Museum of Philadelphia to Turang Tepe in the Gurgan plain, directed by Frederick R. Wulsin, and to Tepe Hissar near Damghan under the writer's direction.

2. The floor of the restored building is the red-coated floor of the original Darius Treasury (not Darius' harem, as assumed by Herzfeld), which was partly razed by Xerxes. The restorers marked the courses of the Darius walls with black tiles set into the floor.

3. "Steinzeitlicher Hügel bei Persepolis" (*Iranische Denkmäler* IA [Lfg. 1–2; Berlin, 1932]).

4. See Alexander Langsdorff and Donald E. McCown, *Tall-i-Bakun A, Season of 1932* (*OIP LIX* [1942]).

5. *IAE*, Pls. LXXXV–LXXXVI.

6. See Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935) pp. 36 f.

7. See Herzfeld, *IAE*, pp. 276–81, and *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 45 f. and 48–50.

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THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1935–39

Herzfeld resigned toward the end of 1934. He was replaced by the writer, who was in charge of the Rayy Expedition and subsequently conducted the activities of both enterprises. The writer's acknowledgments to the members of his staff are expressed elsewhere. Members of Herzfeld's group remaining with the new organization were Donald E. McCown and, for one season, Karl Bergner.

The excavations of season 1935 started in quadrant HG (see Fig. 21), in the southeast corner of the Persepolis Terrace. Here we cleared a section of the eastern fortification, which extends along the foot of the Mountain of Mercy. On June 26 important foundation documents, including the now well known "Daiva" text, were discovered in one of the garrison rooms (see p. 209). Expanding westward we uncovered the first compartments of the enormous Treasury, which we excavated intermittently in the course of the next three years. The status at the end of 1935 is shown in the preliminary report.[8] During the same season we cleared a cistern, which had been cut into the rocky slope of the mountain, to a depth of about 24 meters without striking the floor.[9] Work at the mound of Istakhr was resumed in two tests sounding the central and western portions of the site.[10]

The writer's dual duties required frequent trips between Rayy and Persepolis, about 400 miles apart. Mary-Helen's creation of the expeditions' air branch and the arrival of its plane on August 7, 1935, not only facilitated communication between the expedition centers but also enabled us to map and analyze our sites from the air.[11] Furthermore, vast areas of northern, central, western, and southwestern Iran were covered by exploratory flights.[12]

In October and November the staff of the Rayy Expedition undertook under the writer's direction the first of two expeditions to Luristan,[13] which were initiated largely through the efforts of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. Airplane and crew were attached to the Luristan project. Thus we were able to document our test sites by means of aerial photographs and to explore the difficult Alpine territory of western Iran.[14] Finally, the airplane enabled the writer to stay in contact with the last activities of the season at Persepolis.

In spring 1936 we continued the excavation of the Persepolis Treasury, which resulted on March 30 in the discovery of impressive audience reliefs of Darius I (see pp. 162–69). In near-by rooms were found hundreds of clay tablets inscribed in Elamite cuneiform.[15] We then shifted the excavation to Naqsh-i-Rustam in order to test various points in front of the royal tombs.[16] Here we brought to light, on June 12, the Sasanian Pahlavi version of a trilingual inscription of Shapur I engraved in the eastern face of the tower-like Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht. Subsequent excavations (in 1939; see below) uncovered the Greek and Parthian versions of the same important document.

After a midsummer of cleaning, restoring, and recording we resumed the excavation of the Persepolis Treasury. Some decades ago Governor Farhad Mirza of Fars had trenched the interior of the Throne Hall. We had to remove his mounds of excavated dirt before being able to clear a section of the entrance portico and to test a strip along the eastern border of the building.

Shuttle flights between Rayy and Persepolis continued in 1936; but for reasons unknown to us, exploratory flights were curtailed and finally stopped by the authorities. The field activities of the Rayy Expedition ended during this year; but its patron institutions, the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, now joined the Oriental Institute as sponsors of the Persepolis Expedition.

Season 1937 saw a great deal of activity on the Persepolis Terrace. In the Treasury we excavated one of the spacious "museum" halls, whose roof was once supported by a hundred wooden columns.[17] The Throne Hall portico was completely uncovered, and the northern front of the Apadana also was cleared of heaps of debris. In addition we excavated the northern portion of the Harem complex and tested the site of Palace D (see Fig. 21).

In the environs, the test of the Istakhr mound was once more resumed in a number of plots, and former soundings were carried down to virgin soil.[18] The prehistoric mounds Tall-i-Bakun A and B were investigated again in order to solve certain problems of chronology.[19]

In the beginning of the season H.I.M. Riza Shah Pahlavi and H.I.H. Crown Prince Muhammad, who is now the ruler of Iran, visited Persepolis. On that occasion the King gave us the permit to resume our aerial explorations. Thus, in addition to preparing a photographic mosaic of the plain of Rayy and an archeological base map of the Persepolis area,[20] we were able to make exploratory flights to the plain of Gurgan, to western Azerbaijan, and, once again, to the mountains of Luristan.[21] In November, however, our aerial activities in Iran were stopped and could never be resumed.

In the early spring and in the autumn of 1938 the work on the Persepolis Terrace consisted mainly in completing the eminently productive excavation of the Treasury.

8. *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 7.

9. *Ibid.* pp. 88 f.

10. *Ibid.* pp. 107–21.

11. *Ibid.* pp. 130–39.

12. Erich F. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* ("Special Publication of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago" [Chicago, 1940]).

13. Following the clues gathered in the preceding year during a short exploratory trip of George C. Miles and the writer. In addition to Miles the Luristan staff included James H. Gaul and Van W. Knox.

14. Schmidt, *Flights*, map inside back cover and pp. 39–47.

15. Published by Cameron in *OIP* LXV.

16. See *OIC* No. 21, pp. 98–105.

17. For the status of the Treasury excavations at the end of 1937 see *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 11.

18. *Ibid.* pp. 107–21.

19. *Ibid.* pp. 121–29; see also *SAOC* No. 23.

20. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 138 f. and Fig. 97.

21. See Schmidt, *Flights*, pp. 51–93.

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In May and June Persepolis was temporarily deserted while its staff carried through the second expedition to Luristan conducted by the writer. The principal sites discovered and investigated were a sanctuary (whose votive objects range in time from the Kassite to the late Assyrian period) at Surkhah Dum in the plain of Kuh-i-Dasht and a burial ground (dating presumably from the beginning of the first millennium B.C.) at Khatun Ban in the valley of the Badavar River.[22]

During the final season of the Persepolis Expedition, in 1939, we excavated the southern portion of the Apadana as far as it was preserved. In the southwest corner of the Terrace the clearing of the western wing of the Harem was completed, and spot-tests solved a number of architectural problems in various buildings. An expert artist-mason was employed to reinforce and partly restore such columns as had badly weathered, and to repair other objects of sculptured stone. Finally, the mud-brick walls of the Treasury had to be lowered to a preservable height.[23]

In winter 1938/39 the royal tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam had been documented by photographs and architectural surveys, with the aid of a huge movable scaffold. Our last tests of this site culminated in the discovery on the Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht of the Greek and Parthian versions of the previously found Sasanian inscription of Shapur I (see p. 4)[24] and of an additional Sasanian inscription of Shapur's high priest, Kartir.[25] The excavation revealed the Kaʿbah to be an imposing tower rising from a terraced foundation.

Among the last activities was the investigation of an accidentally discovered cemetery ("Persepolis Spring"), which may throw light on the burial methods of the common people in Achaemenid times.[26]

The liquidation of the expedition included the transfer of its quarters—the restored Harem of Xerxes—to the Iranian Government.[27] In Tehran several weeks were required to pass our graphic records through the censorship of the police department. A modest type collection of Persepolis finds, not released for exportation to the United States until about two years after our departure, was sunk by submarine action. Before leaving the soil of Iran, late in December 1939, the writer presented the airplane, which had once helped to co-ordinate the projects under his charge, to the Iranian Aeronautic Society.

22. Preliminary notes on this expedition appeared in American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, *Bulletin* V (1937/38) 205–16. The final report dealing with the Luristan explorations is in preparation.

23. The Iranian Antiquity Service continued this work after the departure of the expedition.

24. Published by Martin Sprengling in *AJSL* LVII (1940) 341–429, with corrections and additions in *AJSL* LVIII (1941) 169–71; see also Michael I. Rostovtzeff in *Berytus* VIII (1943–44) 17–60.

25. See Sprengling in *AJSL* LVII 197–228 and 330–40.

26. See Vol. II.

27. After the departure of the expedition the Iranian Antiquity Service continued to excavate the northern portion of Persepolis and uncovered structures bordering the forecourt and paralleling the east front of the Throne Hall, clarified to a great extent the plan of the unfinished gate, and determined the monumental passage between the latter and the Gate of Xerxes. A part of the survey of the Antiquity Service was courteously sent to the writer by M. Godard in spring 1950. In 1952 M. Ravanbod kindly gave us a plan showing the most recent status of the excavations. The Iranian surveys appear (in broken lines and unshaded) on our plan of the Terrace (Fig. 21).

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II

THE ROYAL ARCHITECTS

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SAKĀ PARADRAYA

SAKĀ TIGRAXAUDĀ

SAKĀ HAUMAVARGĀ

SKUDRA

YAUNĀ TAKABARĀ ?

YAUNĀ TYAIY DRAYAHYA

SPARDA

KATPATUKA

ARMINA

ATHENS

SARDIS

IONIA

KARKA

CILICIA

ATHURĀ

MADA

ARBELA

RAGĀ

BĪSITŪN

ECBATANA

NIŠAYA

TYRE

BABYLON

SUSA

ARABAYA

BABIRUS

UVJA

PUTAYA

JERUSALEM

MEMPHIS

MUDRAYA

THEBES

KUŠIYA

UVARAZMIŠ

DAHA ?

SAMARCAND

SUGDA

MARGUŠ

VARKANA

PARTHAVA

BAXTRIŠ

HARAIVA

ZRANKA

HARAUVATIŠ

GANDĀRA

TAXILA

HINDUS

THATAGUS

ASAGARTA ?

PASARGADAE

PERSEPOLIS

KARMĀNA

PARSA

MAKA

MAKA

THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

COMPILED AND DRAWN BY
THE AERIAL SURVEY EXPEDITION
MARY-HELEN WARDEN FOUNDATION
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Scale, 1:10,000,000

100 0 100 200 STATUTE MILES
100 0 100 200 300 KILOMETERS

CONIC PROJECTION

▲ ▲ SWAMP

RELIEF

FEET	METERS
16,405	5000
13,124	4000
9843	3000
6562	2000
4921	1500
3281	1000
1640	500
656	200
0	LAND BELOW SEA-LEVEL

W. W. ROWE

ERICH F. SCHMIDT

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Fig. 2

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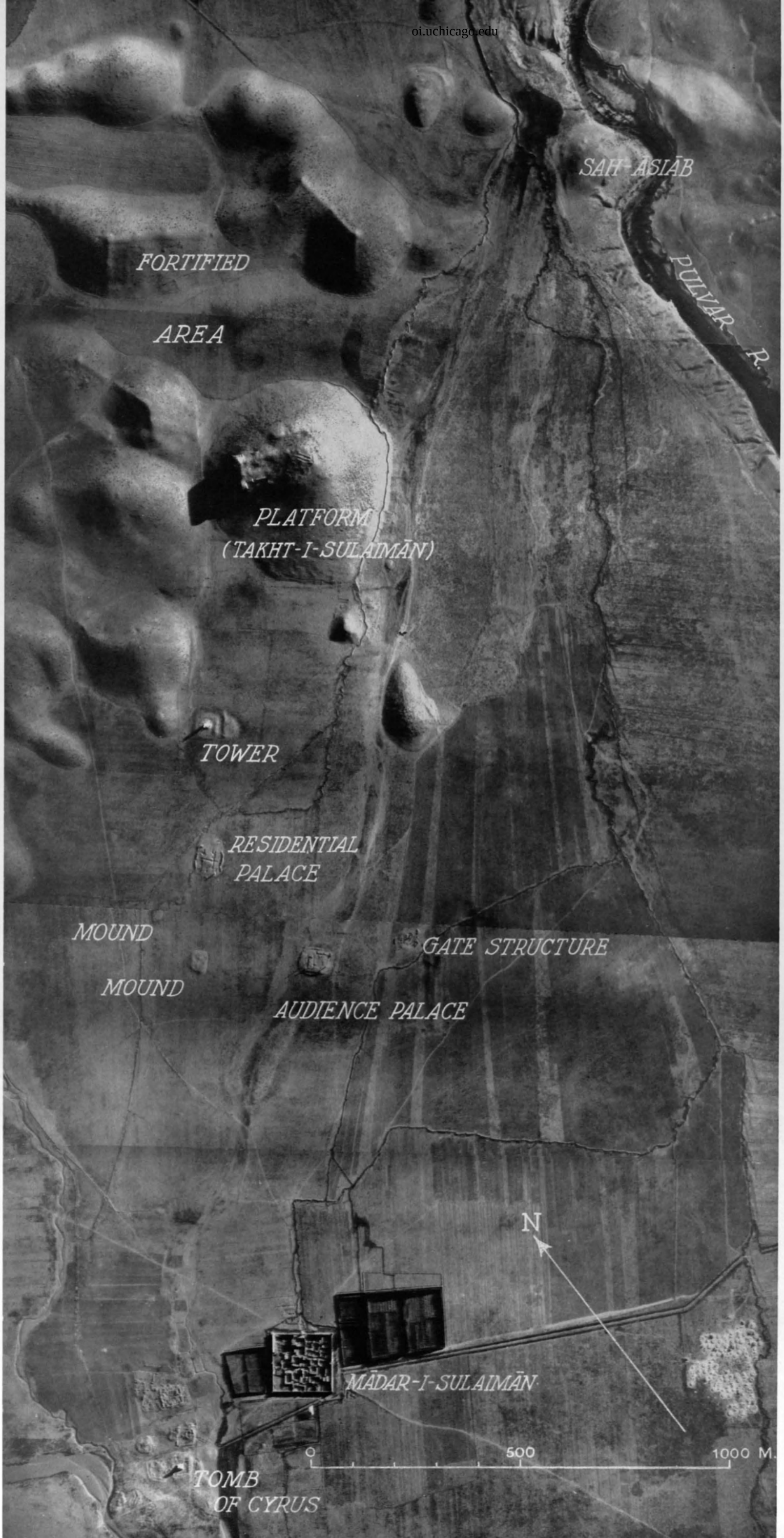
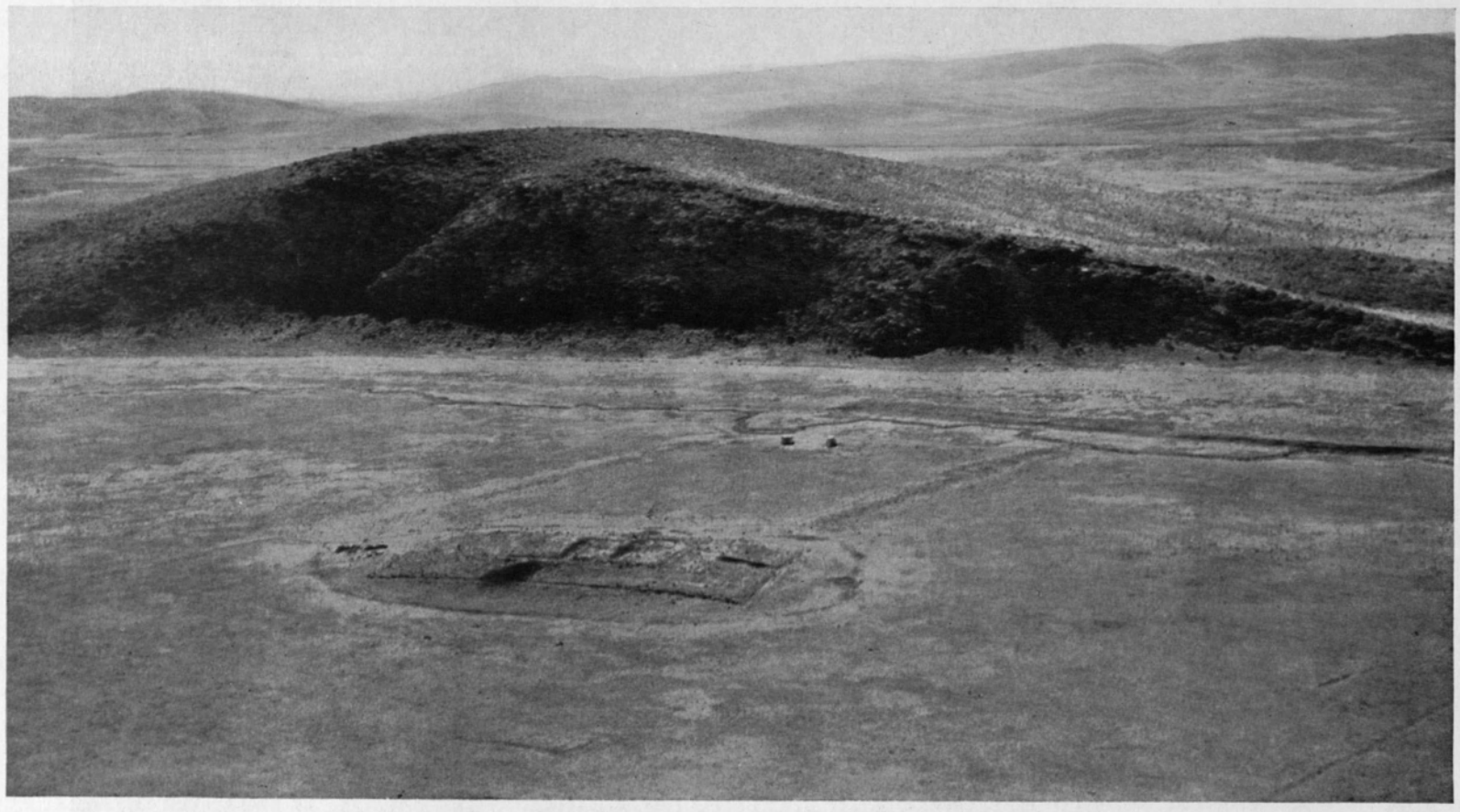
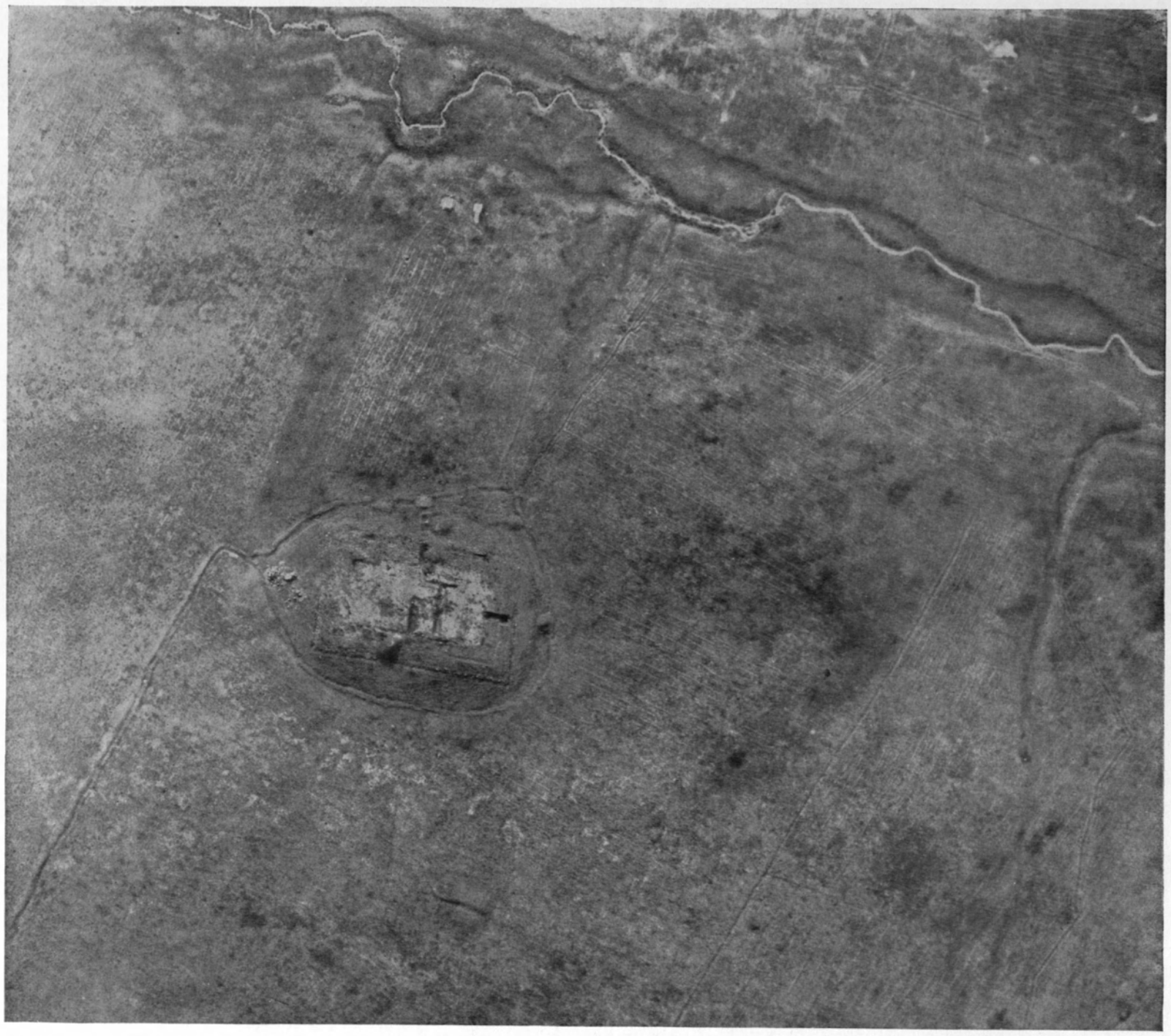


FIG. 3. PASARGADAE. AERIAL SURVEY STRIP (*Sept. 28, 1935; 6:52 A.M.*)

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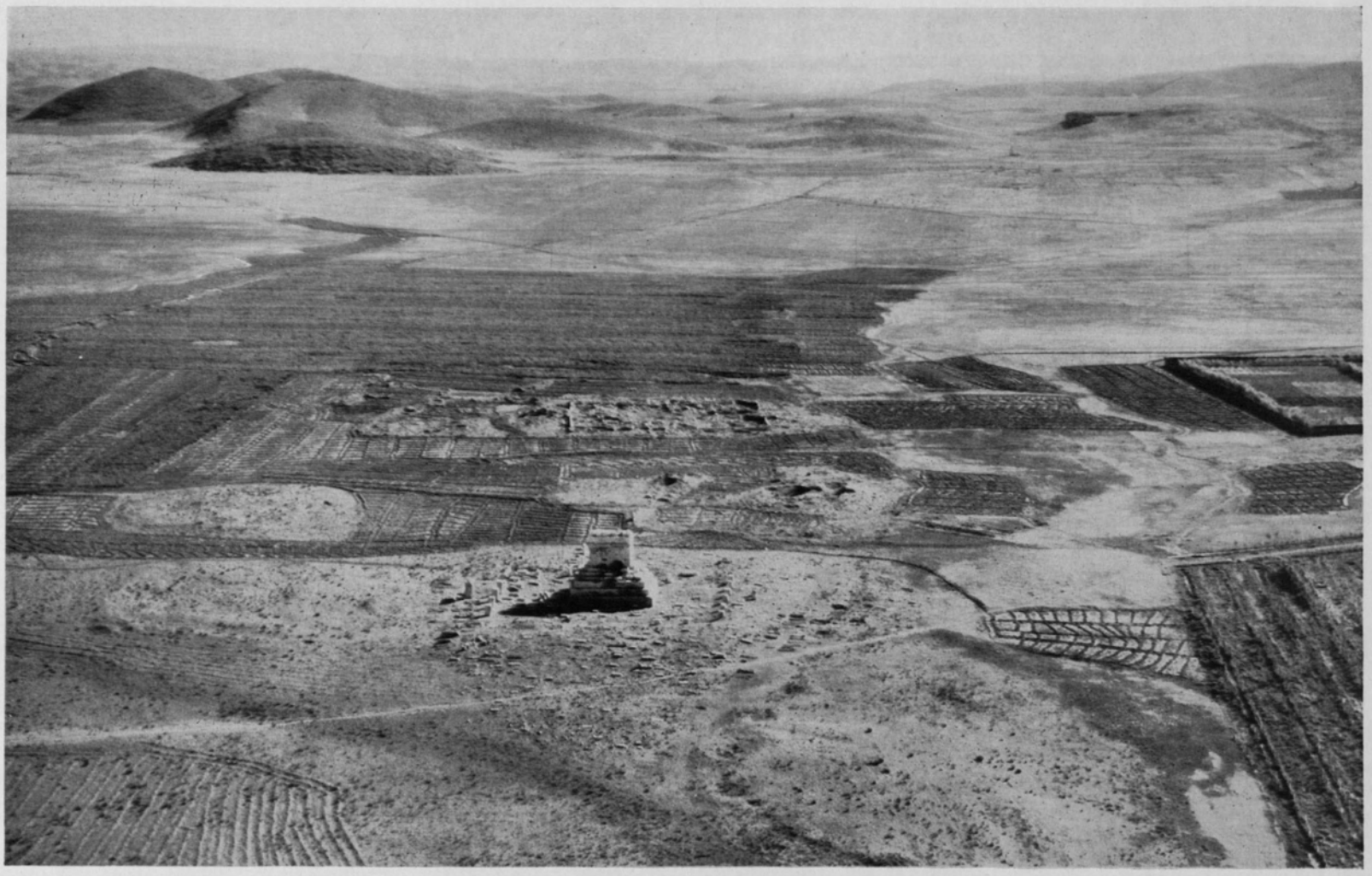
A



B

FIG. 4. PASARGADAE. AIR VIEWS OF SACRED PRECINCT. *A*. OBLIQUE (*May 20, 1936; 7:12 A.M.; direction, approximately ENE*). *B*. VERTICAL (*May 9, 1936; 6:12 A.M.*)

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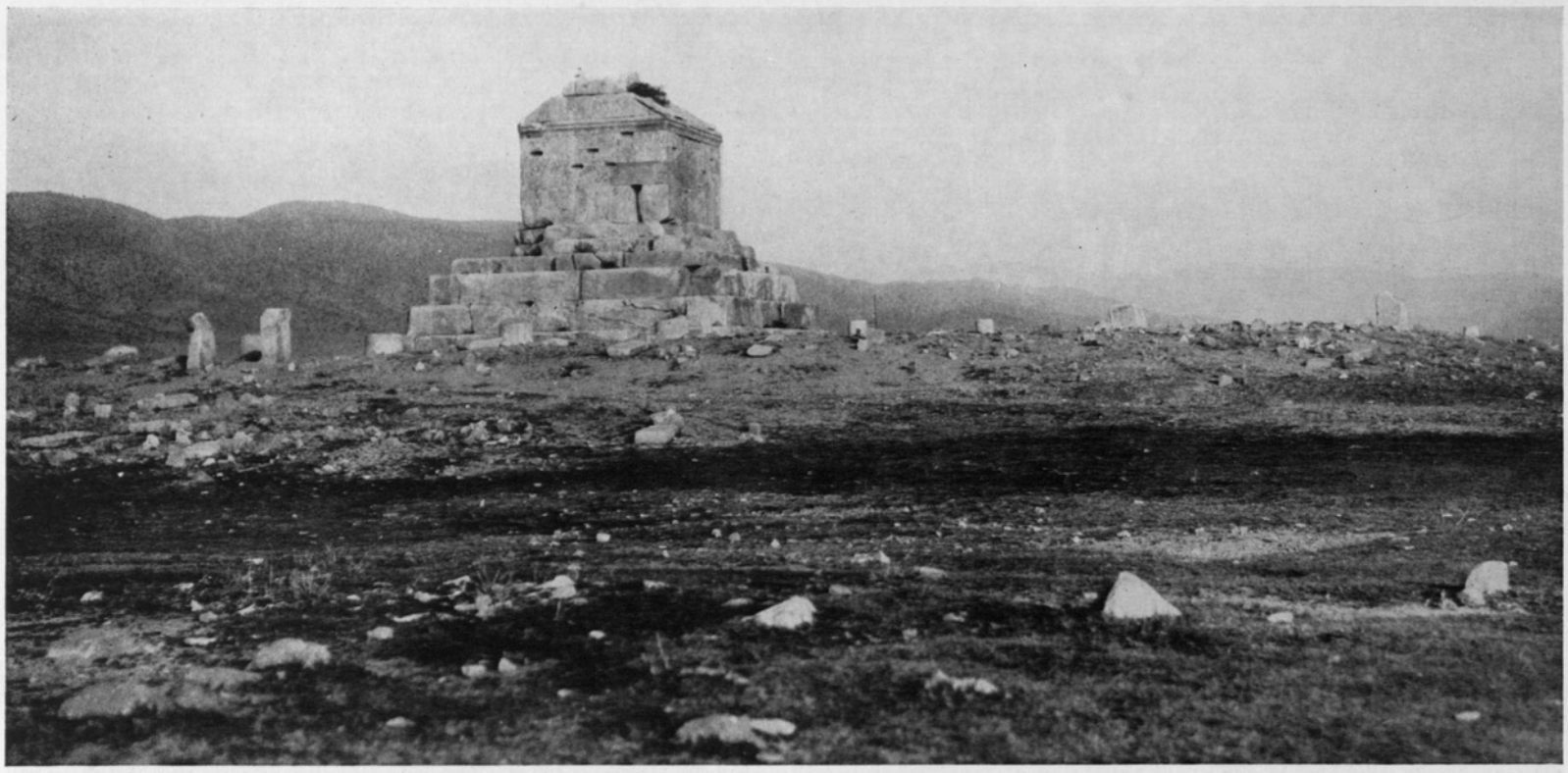
A



B

FIG. 5. PASARGADAE. OBLIQUE AIR VIEWS. *A*. TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT (*May 20, 1936; 7:16 A.M.; direction, approximately NE*). *B*. TOWER (*May 20, 1936; 7:17 A.M.; direction, approximately SE*)

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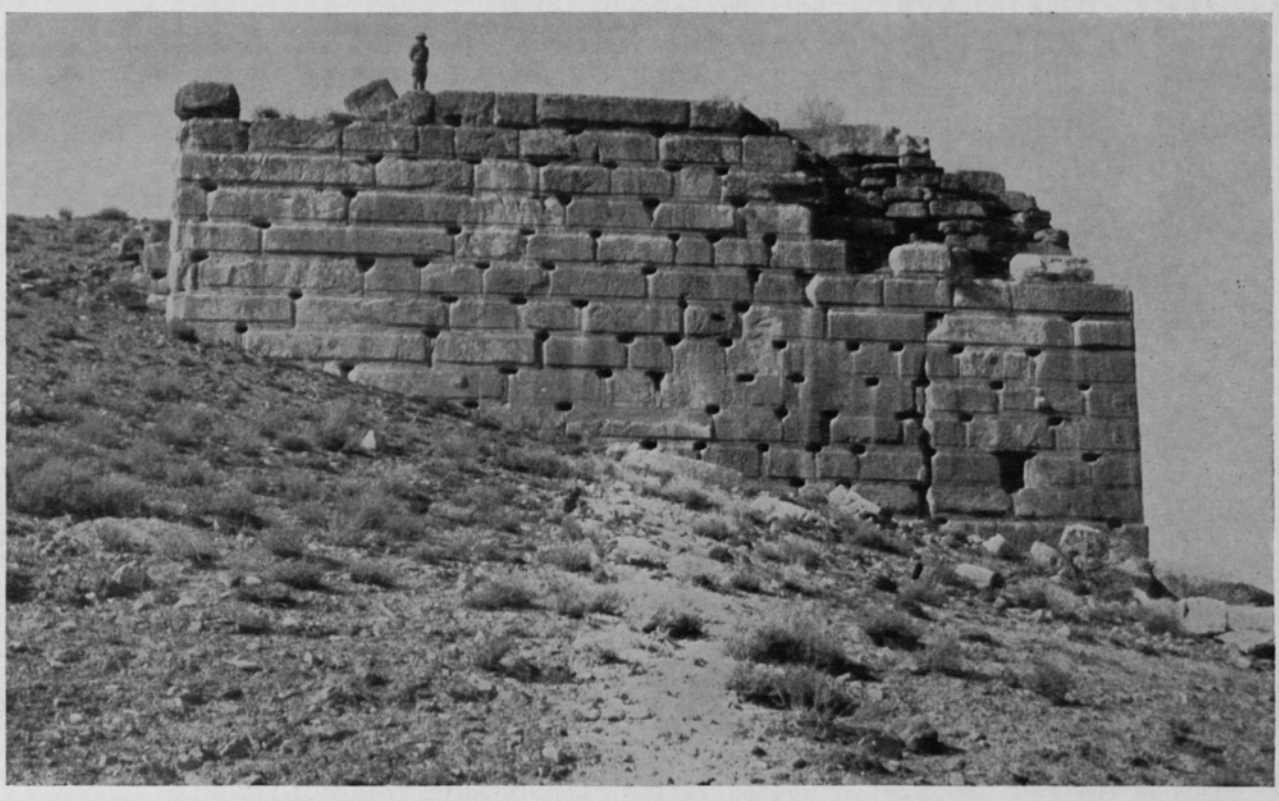
A



B

FIG. 6. PASARGADAE. *A*. REAR VIEW OF TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT (*direction, approximately W*). *B*. FRONT OF TOWER (*direction of view, approximately S*)

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A



B



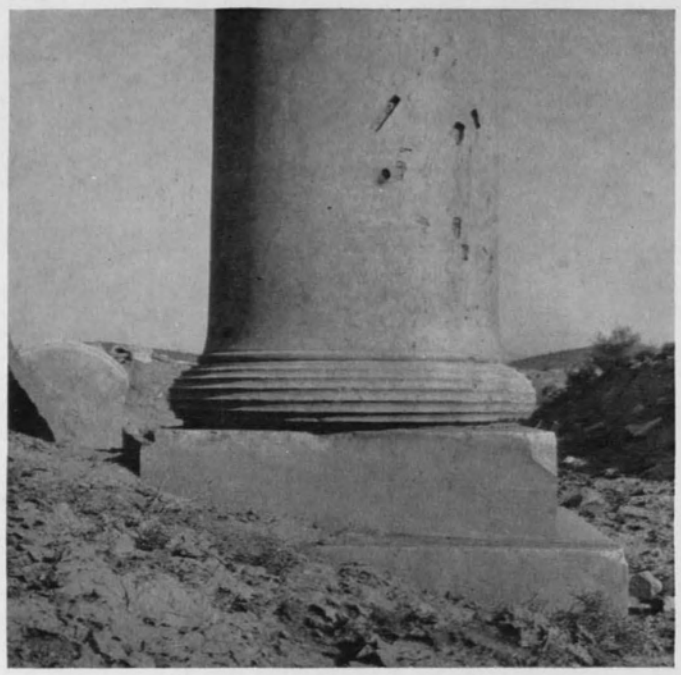
C

FIG. 7. PASARGADAE. *A*. NORTHEAST BASTION OF PLATFORM. *B*. RELIEF OF GENIE ON GATE STRUCTURE. *C*. ANTA OF AUDIENCE PALACE

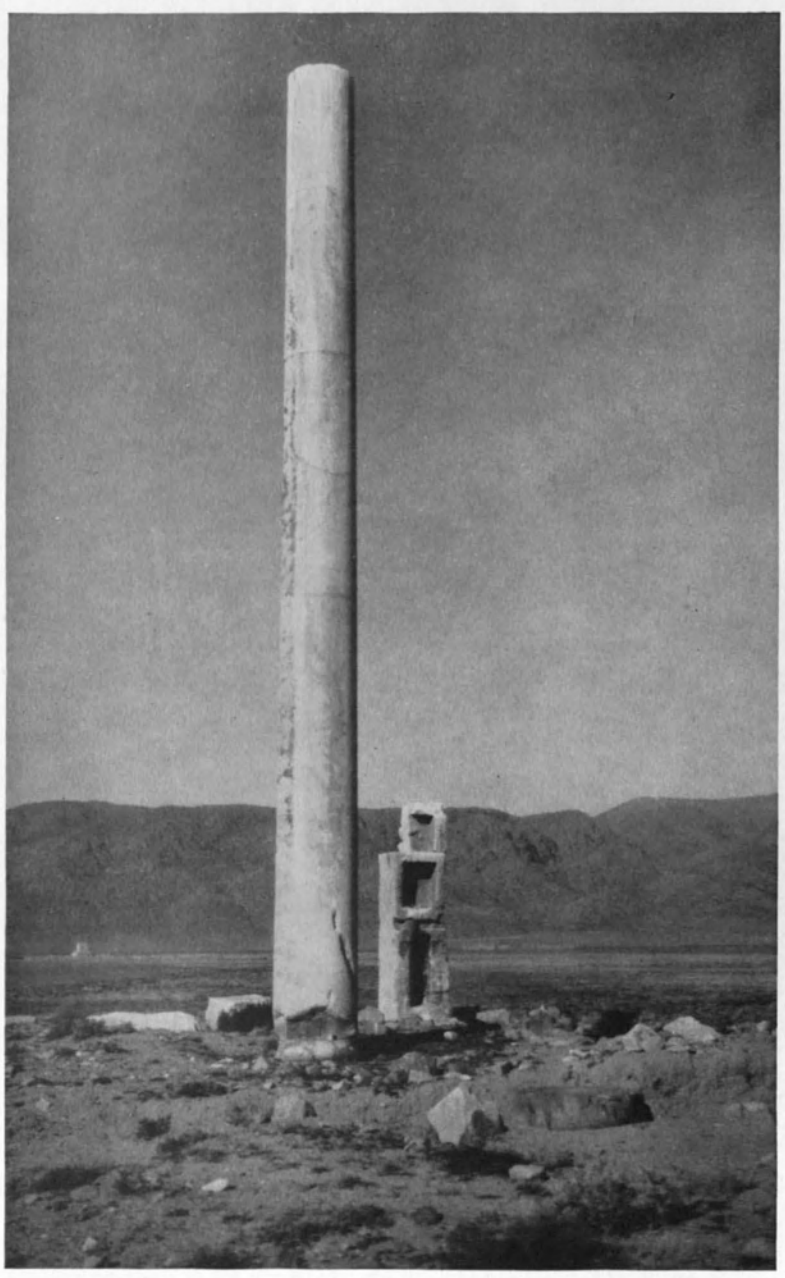
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A



B



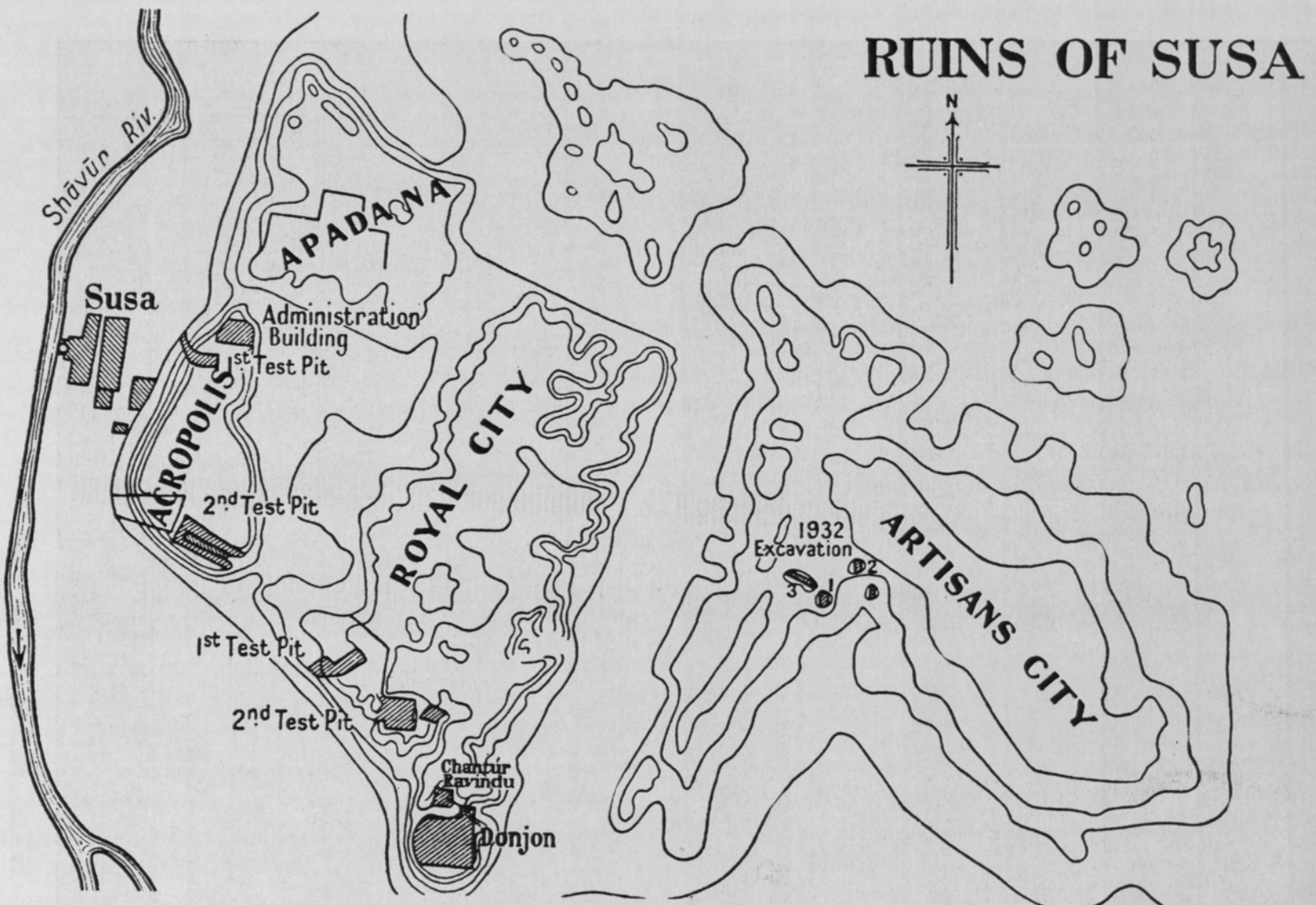
C



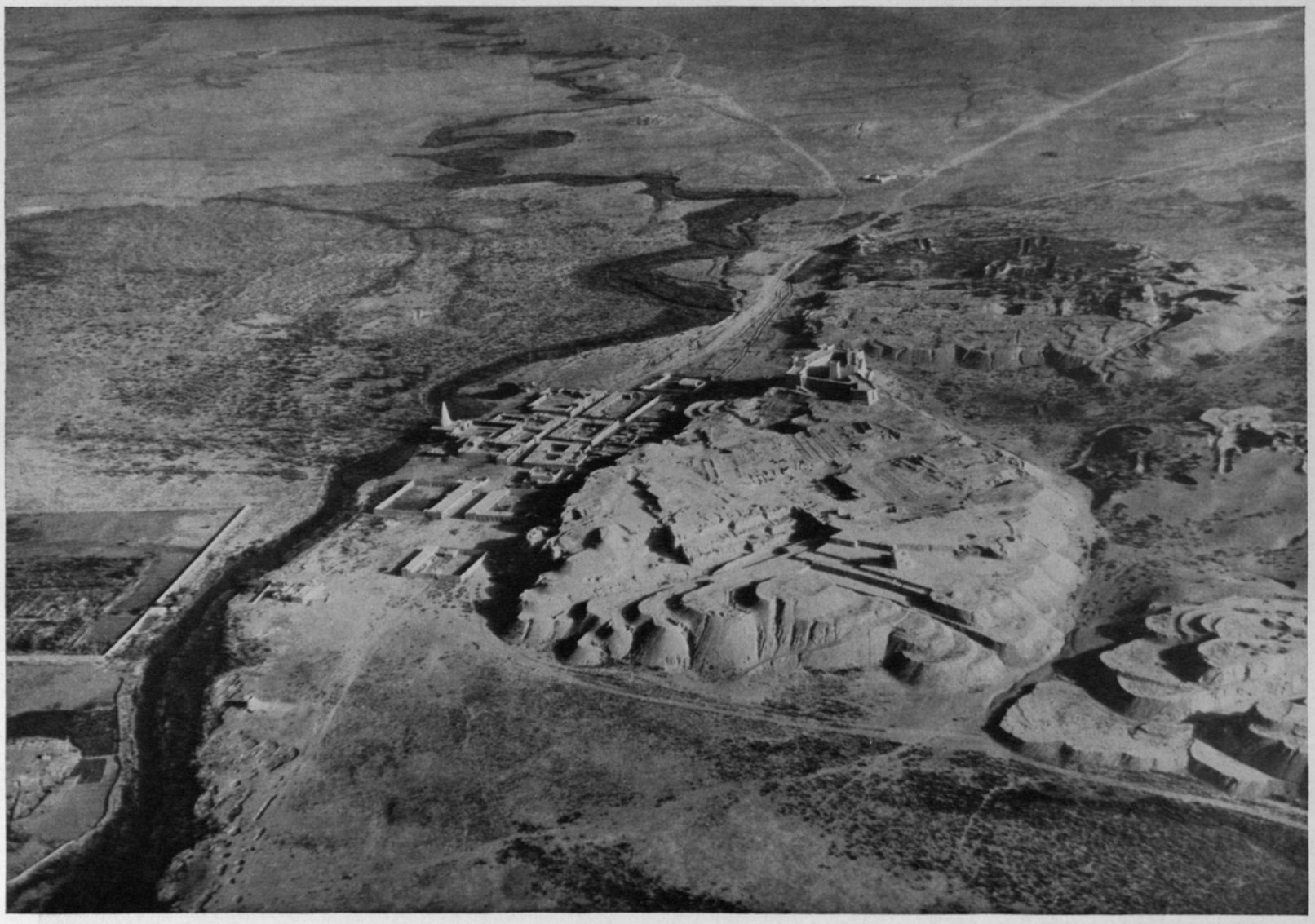
D

FIG. 8. PASARGADAE. *A–B*. COLUMN FRAGMENTS OF RESIDENTIAL PALACE.
C–D. COLUMN AND ANTA OF AUDIENCE PALACE

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A



B

Fig. 9. Susa. *A*. Sketch Map of Site. Reproduced from Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I, Fig. 6, with the Kind Permission of the Oxford University Press. *B*. Air View of Western Section (*Oct. 23, 1935; 8:12 A.M.; direction, approximately NNE*)

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FIG. 10. SUSA. AIR VIEW OF APADANA MOUND (*Oct. 23, 1935; 8:14 A.M.; direction, approximately NNE*)

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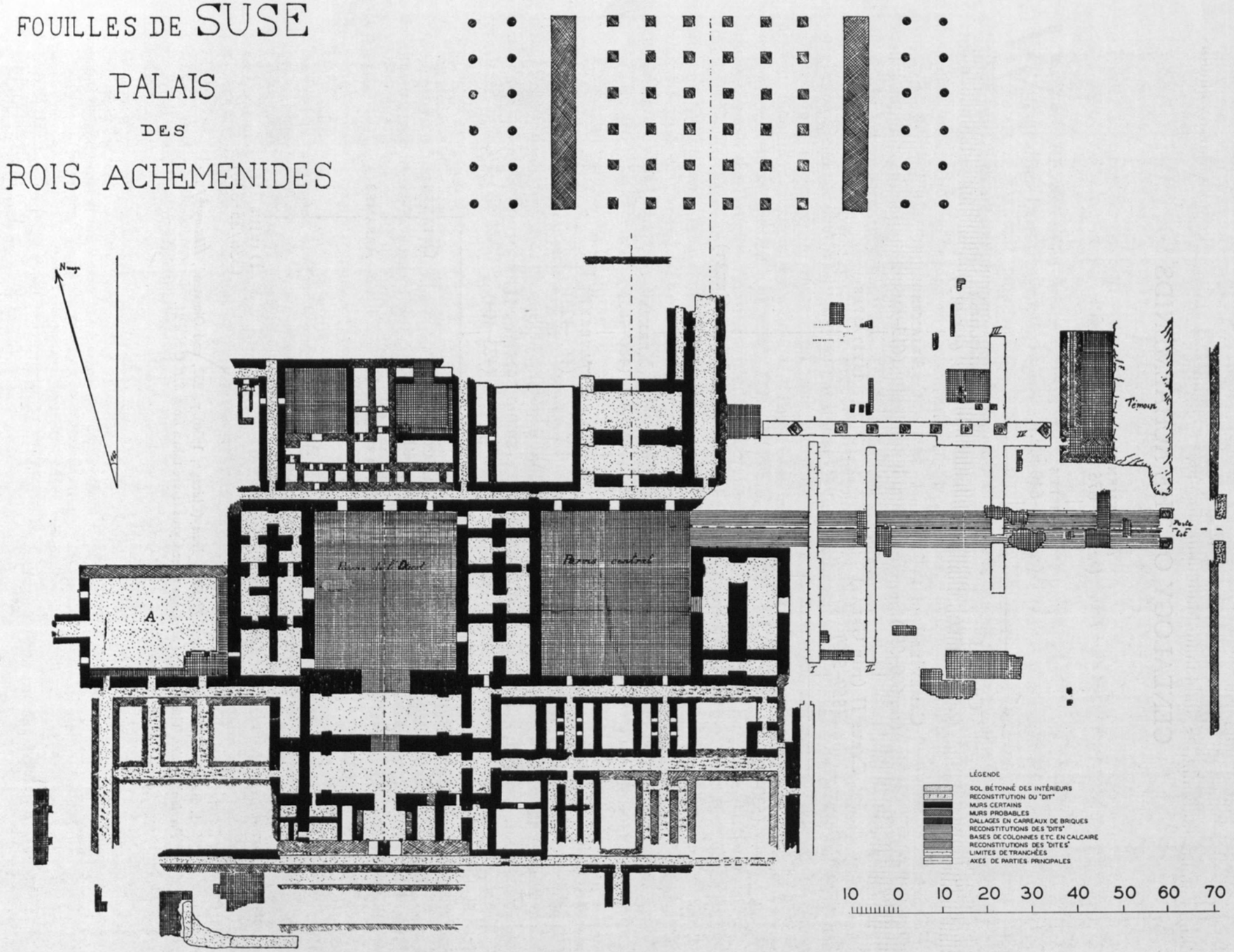
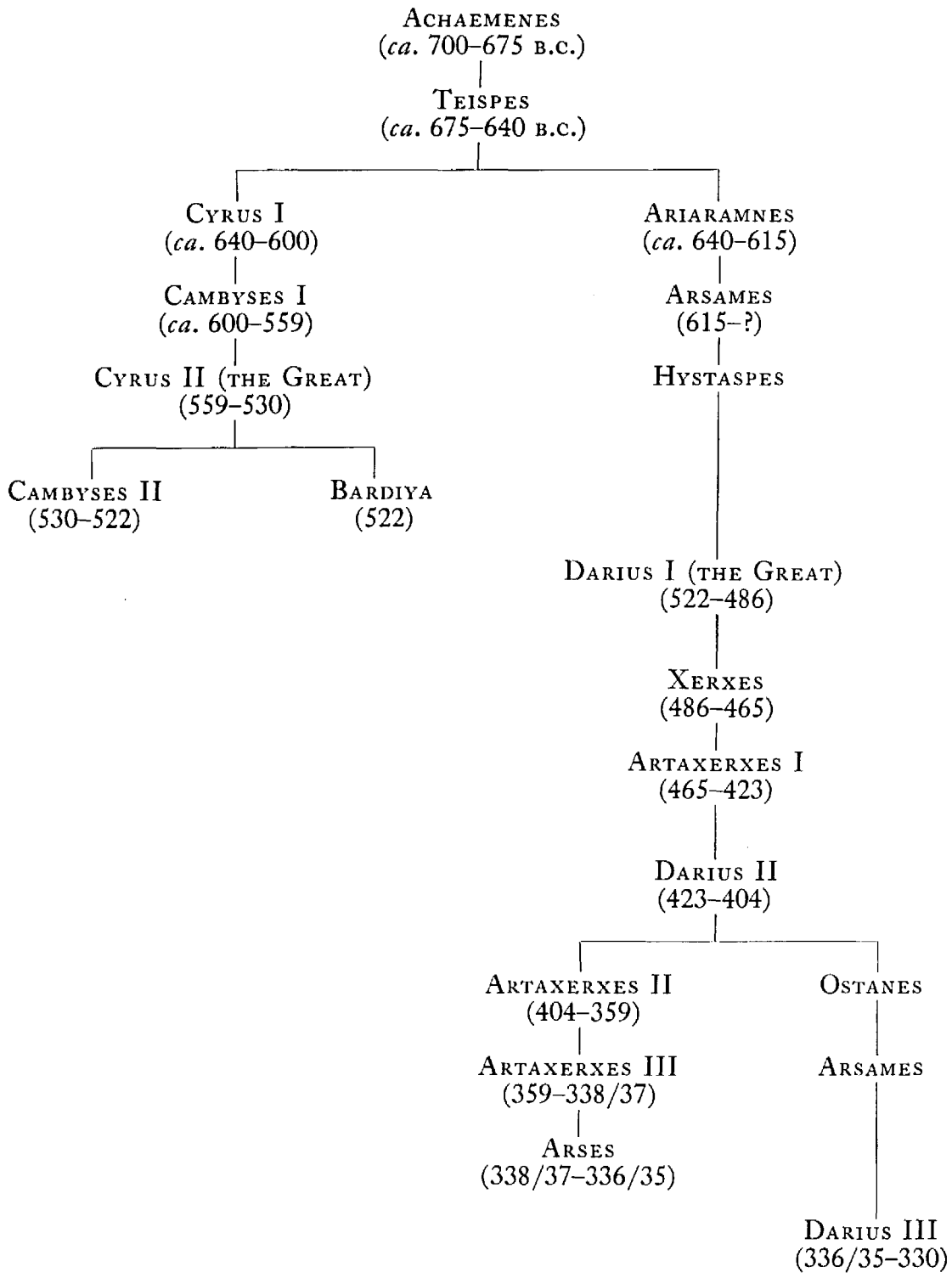


FIG. 11. SUSA. SKETCH PLAN OF ACHAEMENID STRUCTURES ON APADANA MOUND. REPRODUCED FROM *RA* XIX, PL. II, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE

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GENEALOGY OF THE ACHAEMENIDS[1]



1. Based on Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936) p. 232, and Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*. The reigns of all kings after Cyrus II are taken from *SAOC* No. 24.

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THE EARLY ACHAEMENIDS

PRECURSORS OF CYRUS II, THE GREAT

WE ARE concerned primarily with the royal builders of Parsa-Persepolis, beginning with its founder, Darius I. However, the architectural activities—as far as they are known—of his Achaemenid predecessors should here be summarized at least. There is no specific information in regard to the domicile of the dynasty's eponym, who apparently ruled the land of Parsumash, northeast of Susa, sometime during the first half of the seventh century B.C.[2] Teispes expanded his father's dominion by invading the neighboring Anzan and—beyond it to the southeast—the land of Parsa.[3] We do not know the location of the capital from which he ruled his mountain kingdom, for a time at least as vassal of the Medes. An interesting rock tomb, Da³ u Dukhtar ("the Nurse and the Daughter"), situated not far from the Kurangun reliefs,[4] between Bahbahan and Persepolis, has been tentatively ascribed to one of the early Achaemenids, perhaps Teispes or Cyrus I.[5] The sites of the palaces of Teispes' sons, Cyrus I and Ariaramnes, are not known; the former, we are told, inherited Parsumash and the latter the newly acquired regions of Anzan (later Anshan) and Parsa.[6] There exists a document assumed by some scholars to have been a foundation record of an Ariaramnes structure. It is a fragmentary gold plaque (14 cm. broad and at present 5.5 cm. high) bearing an Old Persian inscription,[7] translated as follows by Kent:

> Ariaramnes, great king, king of kings, king in Persia,[8] son of Teispes the king, grandson of Achaemenes.
>
> Says Ariaramnes the king: This land Persia[9] which I hold, the (land) having good horses, having good men, (this) to me the great god Ahuramazda presented. By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this land.
>
> Says Ariaramnes the king: May Ahuramazda bear aid to me. . . .

The plaque was discovered in Hamadan—a fact which suggests that it was taken to Ecbatana after a building of Ariaramnes in which it had been deposited was sacked by the Medes.[10] If true, this event probably did not take place before Ariaramnes was succeeded by his son Arsames, whose name and title "king over Parsa" appear on another gold tablet, also discovered in Hamadan.[11] So far, no comparable documents of the branch of the dynasty represented by Cyrus I and his son Cambyses I have come to light,[12] but the palatial structures erected by Cambyses' son Cyrus II (the Great) at Pasargadae introduce us at last to the earliest examples of Achaemenid court architecture yet known.

In 550 B.C. Cyrus defeated the Median king Astyages and seized his capital Ecbatana and his treasures. During the following years he took possession of the empire of the Medes, expanded it far beyond its borders, and thus established the hegemony of Achaemenid Persia, which was to endure for more than two centuries.[13]

The mound of Ecbatana—one of the most promising archeological objectives—is now largely covered by the houses of modern Hamadan.[14] Until the Median stratum of the site is investigated by scientific excavations, the ancient authors[15] will be the only (rather meager or fabulous) sources of our knowledge in regard to the immediate forerunners of Achaemenid architecture, not to speak of other aspects of Median culture.[16] To be sure, since Ecbatana became the Achaemenid kings' summer capital,[17] embellished with palatial structures which must have rivaled those of Persepolis, and since the site has presumably been occupied ever since, a large portion of the Median stratum must be deeply buried beneath layers of later debris. Polyb-

2. See Herzfeld, "Āriyāramna, König der Könige," *AMI* II (1930) 124; Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 179; Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 23. Most information concerning the Achaemenids prior to Cyrus II is controversial.

3. See Cameron, *op. cit.* map opposite p. 232, pp. 31, n. 28, and 179 f.

4. See Neilson C. Debevoise, "The rock reliefs of ancient Iran," *JNES* I (1942) 78–80.

5. *IAE*, pp. 206–8. Aurel Stein doubts this attribution in his *Old Routes of Western Īrān* (London, 1940) p. 47; for location of Da-u-Dukhtar see his sketch map I.

6. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 212; but cf. Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL–LV: Literary Criticism and History* (London, 1944) p. 122, n. 31. Fortunately, before sending the manuscript of this volume to the printer we received the valuable article of R. Ghirshman, "Masjid-i-Solaiman, résidence des premiers Achéménides" (*Syria* XXVII [1950] 205–20). Ghirshman tentatively identifies the terrace of Masjid-i-Sulaiman, *ca.* 48 km. east-southeast of Shushtar, as the capital of Cyrus I.

7. See Herzfeld, *AMI* II 117–27; "Xerxes' Charta von Persepolis" (*AMI* IV [1932] 117–39); "Die Silberschüsseln Artaxerxes' des I. und die goldene Fundamenturkunde des Ariaramnes" (*AMI* VIII [1937] 17–35); *AI*, pp. 1 f. (No. 1); Roland G. Kent, "The oldest Old Persian inscriptions" (*JAOS* LXVI [1946] 206–12, with bibliography).

8. *AI:* "der König über die Pārsā."

9. *Ibid.*: "dieses persische Land."

10. See Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 214, and Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 29. However, certain errors and peculiar linguistic features have induced several scholars to attribute the document to a later period. Kent (*loc. cit.*), listing such divergent opinions, ascribes the plaque to Artaxerxes II.

11. Referred to by Sidney Smith (*loc. cit.*) and by Kent, who believes that the Arsames plaque (illustrated in *ILN*, July 17, 1948, p. 58, Fig. 5) also is to be attributed to Artaxerxes II (*JAOS* LXVI 212).

12. On a clay cylinder of Cyrus II inscribed in Babylonian and found at Babylon the king designates as "great king, king of the city of Anshan" his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather (Teispes), but he refers to himself simply as "king of Anshan" (prior to the conquest of Babylon); see *KA*, pp. XI and 2–8.

13. For historical events during Cyrus' reign see Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 34–58.

14. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, Pls. 91–92.

15. Herodotus i. 98–99; Polybius x. 27. For further sources and description of the site see A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York and London, 1906) chap. xii.

16. A number of rock tombs found in west central and northwestern Iran are called Median by Herzfeld "in a broad application of the historical and geographical term"; see *IAE*, pp. 200 ff.

17. Xenophon *Cyropaedia* viii. 6. 22.

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ius mentions a palace compound "about seven stades in circumference."[18] This area would correspond roughly in size to the Terrace of Persepolis.

In October 539 Cyrus entered the city of Babylon, which had already been captured by Gobryas, the king's governor of Elam. We know that Cyrus restored the temples of Babylonia, Assyria, and Elam and that he gave the order to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. He restored the city wall of Babylon also, but there is no information in regard to the construction of any new palatial building in this city.[19] Nothing is known, furthermore, of any Cyrus palace at Susa, which had been under Persian rule since 546.[20]

PASARGADAE, THE CAPITAL OF CYRUS THE GREAT

For the time being our knowledge of monumental pre-Persepolitan architecture on the Iranian plateau is derived—except for the rock tombs mentioned in note 16—from the ruins of Pasargadae. The Persepolis Expedition did not extend its activities to this site. Thus, we are dependent on data gathered mainly by others but supplemented by observations made by us from the air. In 1928 Herzfeld tested those palaces whose locations had been indicated by extant stone parts. The results have been published in preliminary fashion.[21] Further data appear in later publications.[22] Previously, George N. Curzon described the site, listed ancient source material, and summarized the comments of earlier visitors.[23]

Pasargadae is located on latitude 30° 12′ north and on longitude 53° 11′ east of Greenwich. Its average altitude is 1,890 meters (6,200 ft.) above the level of the Persian Gulf. Persepolis is 43 kilometers (air line) to the southwest; but when one follows the highway along the meandering Pulvar River (the ancient Medus) the distance between the two royal sites is found to be 80 kilometers.

Two small prehistoric deposits (Du Tulan A and Sih Asiyab[24]) marked by painted pottery show that the plain of Pasargadae[25] had been settled long before it was occupied by the capital of Cyrus the Great. Historical remains, reported to be pre-Islamic but otherwise unspecified, occur near the surface of Du Tulan A. However, the ruins of a small settlement situated almost 2 kilometers northwest of the Sacred Precinct (see below) have been definitely attributed to the time of Cyrus.[26] Glazed ceramics of the Moslem period are found on the surface of the same site (intermingled with assumedly Achaemenian red ware) and at Du Tulan B.[27] At present several small villages with their gardens and fields are scattered over the slightly rolling mountain-girdled plain, which is watered by the Pulvar River, creeks, and irrigation canals.[28]

Ruins attributed to the Achaemenid period, specifically to the time of Cyrus the Great, are widely dispersed over the plain of Pasargadae. As to peripheral remains, in addition to the above-mentioned settlement there is a rock-hewn Achaemenian road at the opposite, southwestern limit of the area in a picturesque gorge (Tang-i-Bulaqi) of the Pulvar.[29] But for this artificial passage, elevated about 30 meters above the normal level of the river, the natural southern gateway to the plain would have been blocked during floods. The road, about 1.70 m. wide and protected by a rock parapet, is still traceable for a distance of 200–300 meters. At spots the cliff has been scarped to a height of about 10 meters. The modern highway avoids the Bulaqi defile and follows the Tang-i-Kamin, 9 kilometers to the southeast.

A cluster of hills about a kilometer and a half in extent separates the Parsargadae Platform and other structures of the site from a group of remains to the northwest which we call the "Sacred Precinct." It includes a pair of roughly cubical stone pedestals for fire altars, a terraced shrine, and an inclosure which appears to be built of boulders. Low mounds[30] situated about 200 meters north and north-northwest of the shrine have not yet been investigated. The altar bases had been known previously.[31] The inclosure and the shrine were tested and described by Herzfeld.[32] The shrine is built in six irregular steps on top of a natural hillock and forms an oblong rectangle, roughly 72 by 40 meters long and totaling about 6 meters in height. The three lower steps are made of unhewn stones, the upper ones of sun-dried bricks. One of the hypothetical reconstructions assumes that a temple cella stood on the uppermost step.[33] Others postulate a fire altar or more than one on the summit of the terrace.[34]

We are not convinced of the contemporaneity of altars, inclosure, and shrine. Our air views (Fig. 4) and Herzfeld's own sketch map show that the altars are placed awkwardly off-center toward the north wall of the inclosure. Furthermore, the orientation of the inclosure has no bearing on that of the shrine, whereas the long axis of

18. Polybius x. 27. The structures to which he refers were built during the Achaemenian period.

19. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 49–58; Eckhard Unger, *Babylon: Die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931) pp. 38 ff.

20. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 45.

21. Herzfeld, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae 1928" (*AMI* I [1929–30] 4–16). See also Herzfeld, "Pasargadae" (*Klio* VIII [Leipzig, 1908] 1–68) and *IF*, pp. 147–86.

22. See Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 27–29, and *IAE*, pp. 210 ff.; also Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 60–67.

23. Curzon, *Persia* II 70–90.

24. Aurel Stein, "An archaeological tour in the ancient Persis," *Iraq* III (1936) 218–20.

25. Now called Murghab or Mashhad-i-Murghab.

26. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 6 and map.

27. Stein in *Iraq* III 218.

28. In addition to our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3), the following maps are available: Stein's Plan 19 in *Iraq* III 219 (reliable but small-scale survey); *IAE*, Pl. XLII (sketch, but important for it shows the only published plans of certain buildings); Herzfeld, *AMI* I, sketch preceding p. 17; *IF*, Fig. 66 (sketch).

29. See *IF*, p. 147; Stein in *Iraq* III 220; F. Stolze and F. C. Andreas, *Persepolis* (Berlin, 1882) II, Pl. 127.

30. Marked on Herzfeld's sketch map in *AMI* I.

31. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 203; good illustrations by Maxime Siroux in *Āthār-é Īrān* III (1938) Figs. 97–98.

32. *AMI* I 8–10.

33. *Ibid.* Pl. I, top.

34. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 61; Kurt Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, "Sendschrift" XI [Leipzig, 1941]) pp. 13 f.

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the latter is almost parallel to a theoretical line connecting the altars. This situation suggests that the altars and the shrine are correlative and presumably contemporaneous, whereas the inclosure, odd as it may seem, appears to be distinct in age. While there is some doubt as to the period of the twin fire altars of Naqsh-i-Rustam,[35] nobody seems to question the Achaemenian origin of the Pasargadae altars. However, though it is reasonable to assume that they belong to the time of Cyrus the Great, there is no proof. Olmstead believes that the fire altars of Pasargadae were dedicated to Anahita and Ahuramazda.[36] Godard, influenced by Strabo (xv. 3. 14), is inclined to consider them places of worship of fire and water.[37]

The most important groups of ruins in the plain of Pasargadae are plotted on our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3): the Fortified Area and the adjacent Platform, the Palace Area, and the Tomb of Cyrus with neighboring deposits.

The existence of the Fortified Area had not been known until we discovered it from the air in 1935.[38] The clearly marked wall line segmented by knobs, that is, remnants of towers, follows the polygonal crest of the hills north of the Tall-i-Takht ("Throne Hill") bearing the Platform. Including the latter as part of the defense system, the circumvallate area measures approximately 500 meters from north to south and 700 meters from east to west. There are no signs of buildings on the bare hillsides sloping toward the center of the area, and none are marked on its flat bottom, which is furrowed by modern cultivation. The southeastern gap in the hill border had once presumably been protected by a continuation of the wall, which is not traceable at this spot. An ancient road reported by Herzfeld[39] (who suggests linking it with the passage through Tang-i-Bulaqi; see above) traverses the saddle west of the Platform and connects our immured valley with the Palace Area southwest of the Tall-i-Takht. Until tests reveal the manner of construction, the shape of the towers, associated ceramics, and the like, we shall not know whether the polygonal fortification and the Platform are contemporaneous. Furthermore, it is futile—though interesting—to speculate at present about the purpose of the extensive fortification. Perhaps it was merely the inclosure of a permanent military camp. Again, it may have protected important structures and royal stores.

The Platform, now called Takht-i-Sulaiman or Takht-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman ("Throne of the Mother of Solomon"), has often been described.[40] Our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3) shows that it juts out from the top of a truncated conoid hill rising about 50 meters above the plain. The height of the Platform proper is about 12 meters. Its principal, northwestern, façade is 78.84 m. long. The reported total length of its recessed southwestern face is 79.33 m. The shorter, northeastern, face has a similar, though smaller, rectangular recess. The core of the Platform is probably just rubble, buttressed by a rather crude wall, which in turn is incased in a well constructed ashlar façade (Fig. 7 *A*).[41] Its light-colored stones were joined without mortar; but the use of iron clamps, presumably set in lead, is indicated by many holes left by the pilferers of the metal. The outer faces of the stones, many of which bear masons' marks,[42] show various stages of finish.[43]

There is some uncertainty as to the age of the Platform. Herzfeld was once inclined to attribute it to the end of the Achaemenian period,[44] but finally classified it with the structures of Cyrus the Great.[45] Dieulafoy believes that the Platform, as far as it was completed, was built by Cyrus, but that its construction was abandoned when the king died.[46] This opinion is shared by Olmstead;[47] until it is disproved we too must assume that the Platform belongs to the period of Cyrus. We do not believe, however, that the building site was abandoned on his death. Our aerial views[48] show deposits of structural debris dispersed over the Platform and the adjacent hilltop,[49] that is, over an area measuring approximately 100 by 200 meters. The fact that the masonry of the façade was left incomplete is not decisive. The top of the wall could have been finished in sun-dried brick, the material certainly intended for the defense wall which was to inclose the area concerned, after the fashion of the presumably later defense system of Persepolis.

As to the purpose of the buildings to be defended by the fortification, we can merely conjecture until the site is tested. It is tempting to consider this best protected spot of Pasargadae the site of the royal storehouse (at Anshan) to which after the conquest of Ecbatana (in 550 B.C.) the treasures of the Medes were taken,[50] and which in turn was emptied by Alexander the Great.[51] Aside from the Platform, the small circumvallate valley described above would appear to be the most appropriate site for a royal storehouse.

The Palace Area, southwest of the Platform, may once have been covered by a park whose trees gave shade to a number of isolated buildings: the Gate Structure, the Audience Hall, the Residential Palace, the Tower, and other buildings marked by mounds which have not yet been investigated. Park walls built of unhewn stones have been

35. Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 13, attributes them to the Sasanian period, and André Godard, in agreement with the prevalent opinion, considers them Achaemenid (*Aṯhār-é Īrān* III 72).

36. *Op. cit.* p. 61.

37. *Aṯhār-é Īrān* III 43 and 66 f.

38. Schmidt, *Flights*, pp. 18 f. and Pl. 15.

39. *AMI* I 7 and sketch map.

40. See e.g. Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I (Paris, 1884) 4–13 and Pls. III–IV; measured drawings in Flandin and Coste, Pl. 201; Curzon, *Persia* II 71–73; *IF*, pp. 149–51 and Pl. XXVI.

41. Considered by R. Phené Spiers "the earliest example known of regular drafted masonry"; see Russell Sturgis *et al.*, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building* (New York and London, 1902) III, col. 107. Our illustration shows the northeastern projection or bastion, looking southwest. Dieulafoy (*op. cit.* Pl. III) pictures the same wall at an angle, in addition to the complete main façade, looking south-southeast. Coste's sketch (Flandin and Coste, Pl. 201) shows approximately the same view and gives a good idea of the general setting. Sarre (*IF*, Pl. XXVI) illustrates two faces of the southwestern bastion, looking north.

42. Some illustrated by Dieulafoy (*op. cit.* Fig. 12 and Pl. IV), others by Herzfeld (*IAE*, Fig. 338).

43. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.* p. 12 and Pl. IV.

44. *IF*, pp. 150 f.

45. *AMI* I 7.

46. *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 13.

47. *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 65.

48. Fig. 3 and Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 15.

49. Two parallel test trenches appear on the summit of the hill.

50. Nabonidas' Chronicle, col. ii 3–4; transliteration and translation in Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (London, 1924) chap. iv. On Anshan see Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 26; Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 31, n. 28.

51. Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 18. 10.

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traced in the northeastern and southeastern parts of this section.[52]

The Gate Structure (also called "Palace with the Relief" and "Palace R") is considered the monumental entrance to the Palace Area.[53] Herzfeld reports that the main doorways (SE and NW) had been flanked by colossal winged bulls of grayish-black limestone, as indicated by the extant pedestals and "many small fragments." We are told that the pair of monsters facing the Palace Area (i.e., NW) had human heads—a situation parallel to that in the Gate of Xerxes at Persepolis (see p. 65). The central portion of the Gate Structure is an oblong rectangular room with two rows of four columns, whose only extant parts are square plinths of black limestone standing on white foundation slabs.

The well known relief of a four-winged genie (Fig. 7 *B*) wearing a long, supposedly Elamite garment and an Egyptian crown has been fully described elsewhere.[54] The figure[55] is carved on the white limestone jamb[56] of a doorway which gave access to a room on the northeast side of the Gate Structure. The trilingual inscription "I, Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenid," which was last sketched in 1840–41,[57] has since disappeared. The text, once engraved above the genie, is identical with the pillar inscriptions in the two palaces to be described.

The "Palace with the Column" (or "Palace S"), 160 meters northwest of the Gate, has been classified by Herzfeld as the Audience Palace of Cyrus the Great; but the only recent plan of the building is a minute sketch on his last map of the site.[58] The roof of the oblong central hall was supported by two rows of four columns. A door was in the center of each side, and wall niches were aligned with the columns. Herzfeld's sketch shows porticoes on all four sides. The southwestern portico, flanked by two corner rooms, has two rows of eight columns. The opposite porch has two rows of fourteen columns between antae. On the northwest and the southeast two rows of six columns are indicated. Herzfeld—judging by extant corner pillars of the portico and the extant column (12 m. high) of the central hall—believed that the porticoes were only about 6 meters high and that the central hall measured at least 13 meters in height.[59] His reconstruction of the building, based on these measurements, appears top-heavy.[60] Dieulafoy's measurements differ somewhat, and his reconstruction is better proportioned.[61] The truth may be between the two versions.

As to remnants of sculpture, pieces of four types of capitals were found, all attributed to the columns of the central hall: a horned lion's head with crest, a second leonine monster or a lion, a bull, and a horse's head.[62] These capitals of black limestone rested on plain (unfluted) white shafts, which in turn stood on black bases composed of a plain discoid torus and a square plinth (Fig. 8 *C*).[63] Preference for this attractive contrast in colors was further indicated by the black stone frames of doorways and niches and the white stone foundations of the mud-brick walls, now dissolved. Two sets of reliefs, of which only lower portions are preserved, embellished the four doorways of the central hall.[64] The remains of the stone jambs in the long, northeastern and southwestern, walls[65] picture the lower part of three long-gowned barefooted men and legs of a hoofed quadruped. This group has been interpreted as tribute-bearers with horses,[66] as priests leading a bovine to the sacrifice,[67] and as warriors leading horses.[68] On the jamb reliefs of the openings which give access to the short porticoes on the northwest and southeast, pairs of supernatural "guardians of the doorway" appear to be represented in Assyrian fashion, but only their legs are preserved. One pair of legs, ending in talons, may belong to a human-bodied genie with the head of a lion, such as that shown on a Ninevite relief of Sennacherib,[69] where the preceding genie has bare human legs—as on our Pasargadae relief—and in addition the normal body and head of a man, long square-tipped beard, and a horned headdress, indicating the divine nature of the being. Both Ninevite genii wear identical short skirts. The monster, furthermore, is armed with mace and dagger. It has been suggested that the Pasargadae genii be restored as a winged person preceding a creature with bird's head and talons, conforming with other Assyrian prototypes.[70]

The building inscription of Cyrus the Great, identical with that in the Gate Structure and that in the Residential Palace (see below), was most probably engraved on the flanks of all porticoes—to judge by the locations of the recorded examples (Figs. 7 *C* and 8 *D*).[71]

Three hundred meters to the north of the Audience Palace is situated the assumed Residential Palace of Cyrus (also called "Palace with the Pillar," "Palace P," and Mil-i-Taq). The axes of the building measure about 76 by 42 meters. To judge by the only recent survey available,[72] the two palaces are quite similar in plan. In both cases the central hall is paralleled by two long porticoes, one of which is flanked by corner rooms whereas the other extends *in antis* over the entire length of the building. The Audience Palace has additional, lateral porticoes; but only

52. See Herzfeld, *AMI* I 7, 10 and sketch map.

53. *Ibid.* pp. 10 f.; plan in Flandin and Coste, Pl. 197, bottom center.

54. See *IF*, pp. 155–65, Pl. XXVIII, and Fig. 71 (comparing previously published illustrations). Sidney Smith traces the crown of the genie to Phoenician, and ultimately Syrian, art and considers the relief positive evidence that Cyrus ruled Syria; see *Isaiah Chapters XL–LV*, pp. 124, n. 38, and 147, n. 119. The crown closely resembles that of a genie on a label sealing (PT4 865) found in the Persepolis Treasury.

55. 2.35 m. high without headdress.

56. Present height above sill, 3.50 m.; width, 1.58 m.

57. Flandin and Coste, Pls. 198 and 199 *D;* two lines in OP, one line (center) in El., and one line (bottom) in Bab.

58. *IAE*, Pl. XLII; earlier, partial plans in Flandin and Coste, Pl. 197, and *IF*, Fig. 83.

59. *AMI* I 11. 60. *IAE*, Pl. XLIII.

61. *L'Art antique de la Perse* I, Pl. XII, above; the reconstructed plan shown on the same plate is wrong. For reconstruction of timber-work once received by rabbets in a pillar of the Audience Palace (illustrated on our Fig. 7 *C*), see *ibid.* Pl. XVI and pp. 32–34.

62. So far, only the first leonine monster and a fragment of the horse's head have been published (*IAE*, Pl. XXXIX).

63. Close-up of base *ibid.* Pl. LVI, lower left.

64. Photographs in Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, Pl. 137; drawings in *IF*, Fig. 84.

65. The number of extant jambs has never been definitely reported (see *IF*, p. 184), but Herzfeld stated that both jambs of each doorway were decorated alike and that opposite doorways bore the same scene (*AMI* I 11 f.).

66. *IF*, p. 184. 67. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 12.

68. *IAE*, p. 257.

69. C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936) Pl. 17.

70. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 12.

71. Plotted by Flandin and Coste, Pl. 197; see also Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I, Pls. XII–XIV.

72. *IAE*, Pl. XLII.

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groups of small, poorly preserved rooms separated by mud-brick walls flank the central hall of the Residential Palace, according to the excavator's report.[73] The identification of this building as the living quarters of the king seems to depend mainly on the existence of these rooms, for king-attendant reliefs such as were here found (see below) occur at Persepolis not only in the residential buildings but also on two doorways of the Council Hall (formerly called "Tripylon").

The central hall (22 × 24 m.) of the Residential Palace had six rows of five columns. Their bases consisted of two square terraced blocks of limestone, the upper black, the lower patterned black and white. The horizontally-fluted torus and the lower drum of the plain smooth shaft were made of one piece of white limestone (Fig. 8 *A–B*).[74] No capitals were found. The roof of the southeastern portico was supported by forty wooden columns arranged in two rows. There is no reference to their bases. Their height has been estimated at about 6 meters.[75] The extant anta[76] (5.50 m. high), of yellowish-white limestone, bears the common building inscription of Cyrus (see p. 22). A white stone bench at the back wall of this porch apparently had a top of black slabs, and the white pavement stones are marked in black veins. The sketch plan referred to above (n. 72) shows two rows of twelve columns each in the opposite, northwestern, porch, which is flanked by the corner rooms mentioned above.

The report dealing with the Pasargadae tests mentions curved pieces of plaster painted with polychrome designs, apparently found in the debris of the central hall, and suggests that they belonged to the uppermost parts of the (stone) columns.[77] However, it may well be that these painted fragments are parts of plaster shells of the wooden portico columns, to judge by our observations in the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 160).

The black limestone jambs of the two doorways connecting the central hall with the porticoes bear identical reliefs which picture the king—at an exaggerated scale—and an attendant leaving the hall.[78] The upper portions of the sculptures are missing. The remnants of the figures greatly resemble corresponding figures at Persepolis: the folds of the Persian candys worn by the king and the attendant alike, the plain shoes of the ruler, and the servant's typical Persian shoes with three straps. Stylistic differences between the reliefs of the two sites have been pointed out;[79] but since the discovery of the orthostat audience reliefs in the Treasury of Persepolis (see pp. 162–69 and Pls. 119–23) the differences appear less pronounced than originally assumed. At Pasargadae rows of holes on the king's gown indicate that strips of metal, gold undoubtedly, had been fastened to the vertical folds. Grooves on the only eye fragment of the king's figure yet found show that inlays—perhaps of gold in this case too—had marked the eyebrows and lashes.[80]

A trilingual inscription—as usual in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian—was engraved above the reliefs of king and attendant, but the text is too fragmentary to be fully understood. It mentions the king's name and invokes blessings for his house and (perhaps) for his relief.[81]

The Elamite and Babylonian versions of another trilingual inscription are preserved on folds of the king's gown.[82] The Old Persian text is missing. The inscription reads: "Cyrus, the great king, the Achaemenid." The title "great king" has been taken as proof that the inscription dates from the time after the defeat of Astyages. On the other hand, the simpler building inscription "I, Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenid," occurring on an anta of the same palace, has been interpreted as evidence that structures thus labeled were built while Cyrus was still a vassal of the Medes, that is prior to 550 B.C.[83]

Remains of a tower-like structure, locally called Zindan or Zindan-i-Sulaiman ("Prison of Solomon"), are situated 250 meters northeast of the Residential Palace. The only portion standing above ground is its northwestern façade (Fig. 6 *B*[84]), exposed to a height of about 13 meters. A large opening in its upper part marks the location of the doorway, which was reached by means of an open stairway. Remnants of the stairs jut out from the façade at a right angle. The extant parts of the interesting structure are almost identical with the corresponding upper front of the tower of Naqsh-i-Rustam (the Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht). There can be no doubt that both towers were intended for the same purpose and that they were constructed during the same period, not many years apart. We shall weigh the evidence for and against the two main theories regarding their use—as fire temple or as tomb—in the description of the completely excavated tower of Naqsh-i-Rustam.[85] The manner of construction—well wrought stones, frequently of large size, joined without the use of mortar but reinforced by means of iron clamps—provides evidence for assigning the towers to the Achaemenian period. One should assume that the tower standing on the site of Cyrus' capital is older than its counterpart in the plain of Persepolis, but there is no decisive clue. Dieulafoy directed attention to the fact that certain stones in the main façade of the latter structure have irregular shapes which reminded him of the masonry—partly polygonal—of the Terrace foundation at Persepolis. This is one of the reasons that induced him to date the Naqsh-i-Rustam tower later than the structure under consideration,[86] which has regular courses of masonry in so far as it is preserved. On the other hand, Herzfeld once pointed out that the masonry of the Persepolis foundation actually represents an earlier stage of building technique than the regular ashlar work of Pasargadae structures such as the Platform.[87]

Many black fragments in the debris of the Pasargadae Tower indicate that in addition to the yellowish-white stone[88] of the extant façade dark-colored stone had been

73. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 13. Our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3) shows that Herzfeld's plans are based on incomplete information and will undoubtedly have to be modified in the course of further excavations.

74. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 13 and Pl. II.

75. *Ibid.* p. 13.

76. At the southwestern end of the portico under consideration.

77. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 13.

78. *Ibid.* pp. 13 f. and Pl. III; *IAE*, Fig. 363 and Pl. LXXI, upper right (attendant only).

79. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 14; *IAE*, pp. 256 ff. 80. *IAE*, Pl. LXXII.

81. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 14; *AI*, pp. 2–4 (No. 3) and Pl. II.

82. *AI*, p. 2 and Pl. I (No. 2).

83. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 62–64.

84. Similar front view in Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I, Pl. V; rear view in *IF*, Pl. XXVII; drawing of front and southern corner (still partly preserved in 1840–41) and ground plan in Flandin and Coste, Pl. 200.

85. See Vol. III. 86. *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 27. 87. *IF*, p. 150.

88. It is reported that the nearest source of this stone occurs near Dih Bid, *ca.* 23 km. north of Pasargadae (*ibid.* p. 152).

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used for the construction of false windows here as at Naqsh-i-Rustam. It is quite safe to predict that excavation of the Pasargadae Tower will reveal the same type of pyramidal substructure which we found at Naqsh-i-Rustam. It is possible, furthermore, that inscriptions exist on the buried portion of the Zindan rivaling in importance those discovered on the Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht. Our air views (Figs. 3 and 5 *B*) show that the Tower of Pasargadae stands in the center of a well defined square deposit, which presumably marks a walled-in courtyard. A depression separates the southeast border of this precinct from a low, roughly semicircular mound.

Apart from the Tower, the two palaces, and the Gate Structure, no other buildings of the Palace Area have been investigated;[89] but low mounds and certain discolorations of the ground to the east and southeast recorded on our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3) indicate the existence of additional, though probably less pretentious, buildings.

There can no longer be doubt that the stone structure called by the natives Qabr-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman ("Tomb of the Mother of Solomon")[90] is the Tomb of Cyrus the Great, mentioned by ancient historians and frequently described in modern times (Figs. 5 *A* and 6 *A*).[91] A terraced pyramidal basis of six steps, varying in height, carries the tomb proper: a small house with gabled roof.[92] Cyma moldings encircle the cornice and the base of the house and the base of the substructure also.[93] The tomb is built of blocks of yellowish-white limestone. As usual, the stones were set without mortar; but holes left by metal-pilferers indicate that here as elsewhere iron clamps had been used to strengthen the fabric. The plan of the structure is oblong rectangular. According to the records of Flandin and Coste[94] the axes of the pyramid base (without foundation of stone slabs which is shown as a seventh step) measure about 12.45 × 13.30 m., and the corresponding measurements of the tomb cella are 5.30 × 6.34 m. Walls 1.50 m. thick inclose the small windowless and flat-ceiled chamber,[95] in which the body of Cyrus had once rested in a golden sarcophagus beside the mortuary equipment described by Aristobulus.[96] The total height of the tomb cella (to the theoretically reconstructed gable top) is 5.55 m., that of the substructure about 5.50 m. Dieulafoy proposes that the entrance to the chamber—facing roughly northwest—had two separate doors, one of which had to be shut before the other could be opened.[97] We cannot accept his suggestion. A look at the measurements of the entryway[98] convinces us first of all that doors of this kind could not have been in their places when the king's body was carried inside; there was simply not enough room.[99] Furthermore, the latest survey of the tomb[100] shows a minute semicircular recess in each of the two corners of the small vestibule which are situated nearest to the exit. There are no explanatory notes to the plan concerned, but we must assume that these recesses mark the locations of the pivoting devices of a door with two leaves. If our assumption is correct, the wings of the door when opened fitted into the lateral recesses,[101] leaving a clear passage for the transport of such objects as did not exceed the dimensions of the exit (.78 m. wide and 1.30 m. high). Such an arrangement is convincingly demonstrated by the eastern entrance of the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 170), whose cruciform plan resembles that of the entryway to Cyrus' tomb.

One wonders why there should have been any necessity for re-entering the chamber once the king was entombed, except for adding the body of another member of the royal family.[102] True, Queen Cassandane, who was deeply mourned by the king,[103] could have been laid to rest here prior to his own death. Again, Arrian refers to the "tomb of Cyrus and Cambyses,"[104] a remark implying either that the king's father, Cambyses I, was buried in his son's tomb, or that the son and successor of Cyrus, lacking a monumental burial place at the time of his death, was entombed beside his father. Bardiya, having succeeded in usurping his brother's(?) crown,[105] might not have objected to the return of his body.[106] However, Arrian describes only one sarcophagus—that of Cyrus—and only one body which had been desecrated by the robbers of the tomb.

The structure was originally surrounded by a walled-in park with meadows and various kinds of trees. Inside the inclosure was also the house of the Magi guardians.[107] Its remnants may be buried in one of the near-by low mounds. The rectangular embankment now paralleling the sides of the tomb[108] has nothing to do with the original inclosure, and the fragments of columns lining it were transported to their present location from the ruins of Cyrus' palaces when in the thirteenth century after Christ his tomb was made into a Moslem shrine.[109]

The successors of Cyrus the Great apparently preserved his capital as a dynastic sanctuary. We know that the Tomb of Cyrus was guarded to the very end of the Achaemenian period,[110] and there is no reason to doubt that many treasures of the ancient capital were here kept from the time of the founder until they fell into the hands

89. What may be a small paved area *ca.* 80 m. north of the Audience Palace is called "foundation" in *IAE*, Pl. XLII.

90. Called Masjid-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman and Mashhad. . . also.

91. Curzon, *Persia* II 75 ff. (with quotations from sources and bibliography); Herzfeld in *Klio* VIII 36–43 and *IF*, pp. 166–80.

92. Sloping more than 36°.

93. Drawings in Flandin and Coste, Pl. 196; Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 39; *IF*, Fig. 82; see *ibid.* Fig. 80 for cyma molding above the door.

94. Pls. 195–96. 95. Measuring 2.30 × 3.18 m. and 2.10 m. high.

96. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 5–6. 97. *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 48.

98. Flandin and Coste, Pls. 195–96.

99. Hence Olmstead's story of the burial of Cyrus (*History of the Persian Empire*, p. 66) should be modified.

100. *IAE*, Fig. 325.

101. 16 cm. deep at one end, 10 cm. at the other.

102. The multiple tombs of Darius I and his successors show that they had been prepared for royal family groups.

103. Herodotus ii. 1.

104. *Anabasis* vi. 29. 4.

105. Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 92.

106. Dieulafoy, who considers the Tower (Zindan) the tomb of Cyrus' father, Cambyses I, does not believe that the body of Cambyses II was returned to Persis (*L'Art antique de la Perse* I 22). Herzfeld (*IAE*, p. 214) assumes that the platform of Takht-i-Rustam (see our p. 56 and Fig. 19 *A–B*), near Persepolis, is the unfinished tomb of Cambyses II.

107. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 7.

108. See Fig. 5 *A* and Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 14 *B*.

109. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 8; this explains the columned porticoes in Dieulafoy's reconstruction, which he based on the plan of the mosque (*L'Art antique de la Perse* I 46–48, Pls. XVIII and XX). Narrow stone stairs, parts of which still lean against the high (1.67 m.) first step of the pyramidal base, also are incorrectly included in Dieulafoy's drawings. These stairs had once apparently belonged to one of the fire altars in the Sacred Precinct.

110. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 7.

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of Alexander.[111] Neither the historians nor the extant remains of structures inform us whether any buildings were added by the successors of Cyrus.

Anahita's shrine at Pasargadae, mentioned in connection with the traditional inauguration of Artaxerxes II, probably existed from the beginning of the site. It is conjectural, however, whether this shrine, in which Cyrus the Younger supposedly planned to assassinate his brother,[112] coincides with the remnants of the Sacred Precinct (see pp. 20–21).

CAMBYSES II AND BARDIYA

Cambyses II, the son of Cyrus and Andane, had been the king's representative in Babylonia for eight years. So far, no structures attributable to him have been found in the ruins of the city of Babylon or of Sippar, where he resided; but there exist cuneiform tablets which refer to the house of the king's son at Sippar.[113] After ascending the throne, Cambyses attacked Egypt, whose ruler Amasis had died just before the invasion and was followed by Psamtik III. After the decisive battle of Pelusium, Memphis was captured by the Persians in 525 B.C. and became the capital of the satrapy of Egypt (Mudrāya; see Fig. 2). This event is most probably documented by certain objects of Egyptian booty bearing the names of Amasis, Nekau, and Psamtik which we found in the debris of the Persepolis Treasury.

Cambyses consolidated his conquest of Egypt by seizing Libya (see Putāyā on Fig. 2) and the oasis of Khargah on the west and parts of Ethiopia (Kūšiyā) on the south. The king resided in Egypt from the time of the conquest until shortly before his death; but as far as we know no remains of structures built by him in Egypt have been discovered. The attribution of the foundation of Babylon (near Memphis) to the reign of this king is open to doubt.[114] The occurrence of his name inscribed in Wadi el-Hammamat possibly indicates quarrying in the sixth year of his reign (cf. p. 27). Otherwise his name is found only on a demotic papyrus, on two(?) stelae of the Serapeum, on the sarcophagus of an apis, on two naophorous statues, perhaps on a stela of an Ethiopian king(?), and on an unspecified object.[115]

Cambyses died in Palestine,[116] perhaps by his own hand, after he received word of the revolt of Bardiya.[117] Only two structures in Iran have been mentioned in connection with Cambyses' name; both are tombs. We have cited Arrian's puzzling reference to the "tomb of Cyrus and Cambyses" (p. 24), and we have pointed out that a stone platform—Takht-i-Rustam, near Persepolis—has been suggested as Cambyses' unfinished burial place (n. 106). If this assumption should ever be verified, one would have to conclude that Cambyses, not Darius, originated the idea of transferring the capital of the homeland from Pasargadae to the Persepolis plain.

We do not know the location of "Paishiyauvada in a mountain named Arakadrish,"[118] where Bardiya (the "false Smerdis," the "Magus Gaumata," etc.[119]) usurped the throne on March 11, 522.[120] It is assumed to be a place or a district in Persia. The fortress "Sikayauvatish" in the Median district of Nisaya (see Fig. 2)[121]—famed for its horses—where Bardiya was slain by Darius and his companions on September 29, 522, may have been situated in the area of modern Sakavand. The rock tomb or ossuary of Sakavand[122] has been suggested, perhaps too emphatically, as the burial place of Bardiya.[123]

111. *Ibid.* iii. 18. 10.

112. Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3. 4.

113. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 87.

114. Alfred Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (2 vols.; Gotha, 1884) II 676; cf. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* ii. 15. 1.

115. See G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Bibliothèque d'étude" XI [Le Caire, 1936]); Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* IV (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire,"Mémoires" XX [Le Caire, 1915–16]) 136–39.

116. Or in Median Ecbatana? Cf. Walther Hinz, "Das erste Jahr des Grosskönigs Dareios," *ZDMG* XCII = n.F. XVII (1938) 143.

117. Cambyses' brother? See Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 92.

118. Behistun inscription, OP § 11; see L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia* (London, 1907) p. 8. Cf., now, Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, p. 194: Paishiyauvada possibly = Pasargadae.

119. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 92; *IAE*, p. 206.

120. For the correlation of dates see *SAOC* No. 24, p. 12.

121. Behistun inscription, OP § 13; see King and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 12.

122. About 15 km. west-southwest of Harsin. Called "Issakawand" by Oskar Mann, "Archäologisches aus Persien," *Globus* LXXXIII (Braunschweig, 1903) pp. 327 f., "Di-nou" (also "Deh-i-no") and "Ferhad tash" by J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*. IV. *Recherches archéologiques* (Paris, 1896–97) pp. 299–301

123. "Magus Gaumāta" (*IAE*, pp. 205 f.).

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DARIUS I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

EGYPT

Darius I

According to the Behistun inscription (OP § 21, El. § 20) Egypt, among other countries, revolted while Darius was in Babylon. There is no record of a battle with the Egyptian insurgents. Thus, it has been assumed that the country was regained by Darius "without incident" in 518, whereupon the king returned to the east after a few months.[124] During this short visit Darius presumably recommenced work at the canal—started by Nekau—which was to connect the Pelusiac branch of the Nile with

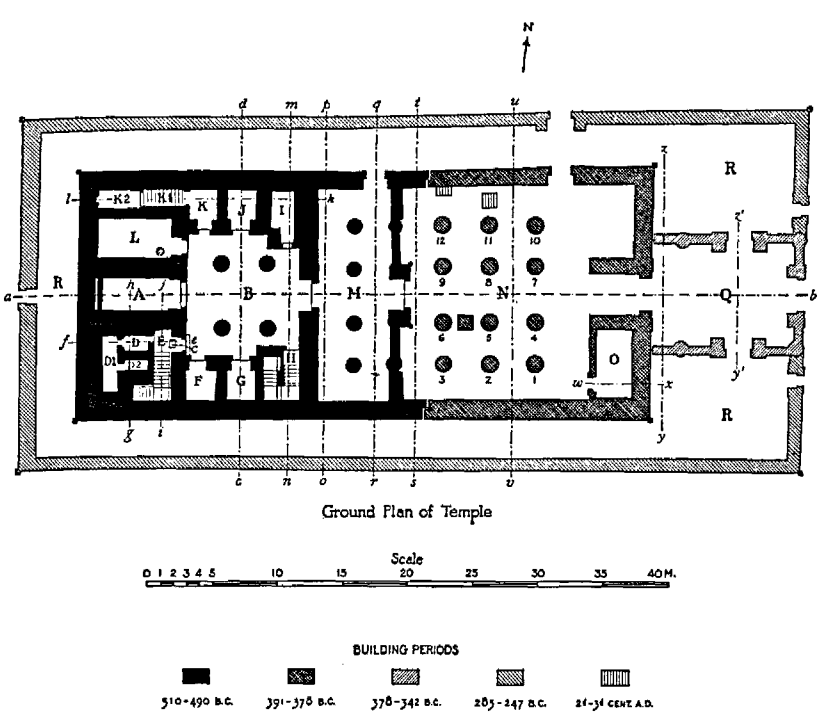


Fig. 12. Plan of the Temple of Hibis. Scale, about 1:600. Reproduced from Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis*, Pl. XXXII, with the Kind Permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

the Gulf of Suez. Its completion was commemorated by a number of large stelae erected along its course.[125] The extant stelae (four or five) are badly mutilated. The least injured specimen, that of Shaluf (or el-Kabrit), has to serve as an example for the others.[126] It was discovered 33 kilometers north of Suez on the west bank of the modern successor of the Darius canal. The stela, made of reddish granite, measured at least 3 meters in height, 2.30 m. in width, and .78 m. in thickness. The engraving on one face includes the double image of the king beneath the winged sun disk. Darius' name is written in Old Persian cuneiform on two central tablets (Dar. Sz. a) held by the royal figures. His name and titles (Dar. Sz. b) appear in Old Persian on one side of the scene and in Elamite and Babylonian on the opposite side. The foundation record of the canal (Dar. Sz. c), also written in cuneiform characters in the same three languages,[127] covers the rest of the surface. The principal part of this document states that, after seizing Egypt, Darius ordered this canal to be dug from the river, Nile by name, which flows in Egypt, to the sea which extends to Persia. Darius emphasizes that the task was actually completed and that ships went from Egypt through the canal to Persia.[128] On the opposite face of the stela, crowned by the winged sun disk and the two Niles, a longer though mutilated text is engraved in Egyptian hieroglyphs. It includes a fragmentary list of nations of the Achaemenid empire and mentions, finally, a flotilla of twenty-four (or thirty-two) ships carrying tribute (or proceeds from taxation) from Egypt to Persia.[129]

The canal was undoubtedly the greatest engineering project of Darius in Egypt; but in accordance with his conciliatory policy toward the pantheon and the priesthood of the land he erected, or at least repaired, a number of religious structures also. The only building which may have bearing on our compendium of Achaemenid structures is the temple of Amon erected by Darius at Hibis in the Great Oasis (Khargah) west-southwest of Thebes (Luxor).[130] It has been suggested that the construction of this sandstone temple—which succeeded an earlier, more modest sanctuary of Amon—extended over about twenty years (*ca.* 510–490) of Darius' reign. The structure seems to have remained incomplete until, perhaps a hundred years later,[131] a hypostyle hall was added at the front. The excavator emphasizes that, nevertheless, the portion finished by Darius comprises all the essential elements of a temple.[132]

In comparing the plans of Darius' temple in Egypt (disregarding the later additions) and his residential palace at Persepolis (Figs. 12 and 92), one cannot deny some resemblance, which may be less superficial than it

124. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 142; cf. Richard A. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian campaign" (*AJSL* LVIII 373–77), and Cameron in *JNES* II 309.

125. According to Herodotus (ii. 158) the canal was "four days voyage in length" and "wide enough for two triremes . . . rowed abreast."

126. For fuller discussions and bibliographies see J. Ménant, "La stèle de Chalouf," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* IX (1887) 131–57 (with location sketch and drawings of stela); Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, inscription No. 9, pp. 63–81 (with drawings and photographs of Egyptian text); *KA*, pp. XXI f. and 102–5; Kent, "Old Persian texts," *JNES* I 415–21 (with latest full translation in English of Dar. Sz. c); Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 145–47; Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* II 680 f.; for dating see Parker in *AJSL* LVIII 376, n. 15.

127. Bab. version destroyed.

128. Versus Diodorus Siculus i. 33. 9.

129. See Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 180 ff.

130. H. E. Winlock, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgeh Oasis*. Part I. *The Excavations* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, "Publications" XIII [New York, 1941]); see also review by Parker in *JNES* I 381 f.

131. During the 29th dynasty, probably between 391 and 378 B.C. (Winlock, *op. cit.* pp. 17 and 20). Winlock (*ibid.* p. 13) suggests that the original architect had undoubtedly intended to add a peristyle court.

132. *Ibid.* p. 7.

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appears at first glance.[133] The "entrance porch" of the Hibis temple corresponds to the portico of the Persepolis palace, although in the former structure the outer row of columns is engaged in a screen wall which in Darius' time was the temple façade (see n. 131). In both buildings the portico gives access to a central hypostyle hall which is inclosed on three sides by rooms. The temple rooms consist of chapels, the main sanctuary,[134] and problematical units, whereas in the Persian palace the king's living quarters surround the hall. We may add that the cornices of the temple at Hibis well illustrate the type of cavetto decoration[135] which first appears in Iran on the Egyptianized lintels of the buildings of Darius. There is no doubt, finally, that the king's regard for the architects of Egypt was as high as that for its artisans, whom he employed at Susa (see p. 30) and at Persepolis.[136]

Numerous inscriptions document the activities of Darius in Egypt. His name occurs more frequently than the names of the other Achaemenid rulers of the land combined.[137] His cartouche is found on stelae of the Serapeum dated in the fourth, thirty-first, and thirty-fourth years of his reign and on (at least) seventeen demotic papyri dated between the regnal years 5 and 35. In addition to the king's inscriptions on the temple of Hibis and to the quadrilingual texts on the canal stelae (see above), records pertaining to Darius' building activities are found on stone blocks from the Fayyum, Memphis, and Busiris. Finally, the king's name appears in inscriptions—dated from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-sixth regnal years—of Wadi el-Hammamat, whose quarries always provided stone for the kings of Egypt.[138]

Xerxes

A short time before the death of Darius Egypt revolted; but within a year after Xerxes' accession to the throne the country was pacified again. The king's brother Achaemenes was appointed satrap. Xerxes himself, we are told, never visited Egypt. Architectural activities in the Nile Valley during his reign are suggested by six inscriptions—mentioning his name and dated from the second to the thirteenth year—in the quarries of Wadi el-Hammamat.[139] However, according to the most recent information, no extant buildings in Egypt can be assigned to any Persian ruler of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty after Darius I.[140] The stone quarried in Wadi el-Hammamat was supposedly used for sarcophagi, not for structures.[141]

Even prior to the excavations at Persepolis, at least thirty-five more or less fragmentary stone vessels had been known which bear the name of Xerxes in Egyptian hieroglyphs and in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian cuneiform characters.[142] Most of these vessels were found at Susa; but it has been suggested, quite convincingly, that all receptacles bearing Egyptian legends—either singly, as in the case of the Darius vessels, or combined with cuneiform inscriptions—were manufactured in the Nile Valley.[143]

Artaxerxes I

The revolt of the Delta (463–460?[144]) under the leadership of Inarus, aided by the Athenians, was put down by Megabyzus, satrap of Syria. The king himself, following the example of his father, never visited the Nile Valley. Three inscriptions (dated in the years 5 to 17 of Artaxerxes) in Wadi el-Hammamat[145] do not necessarily indicate building activities of the king (see above). Several stone vessels, plausibly attributed to Artaxerxes I, bear the king's name in Egyptian hieroglyphs in addition to the trilingual cuneiform legend common after Darius I.[146] Actually, these Egyptian (see above) vessels labeled with the names and titles of Persian monarchs have no bearing on royal architecture. The vessels do suggest, however, that Egypt, under Persian control, manufactured stoneware for use at the various residences of the ruler. So far no stone vessels bearing the names of Persian kings have been assigned to any ruler after Artaxerxes I.

Darius II and Artaxerxes II

The excavation report dealing with the temple of Hibis (see above) revises earlier statements which claim that certain Darius cartouches found on this structure belong to Darius II.[147] Winlock believes that only one king's name, that of Darius I, appears on the original portion of the temple and that none of the additions were built by subsequent Persian rulers of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.[148] According to the latest report[148a] Persian rule ended in the third regnal year of Artaxerxes II. In 402 B.C. Egypt revolted and remained independent under the native Twenty-eighth to Thirtieth dynasties.

Artaxerxes III, Arses, and Darius III

With the defeat of Nectanebo II, in 344 B.C., Artaxerxes Ochus ended the last era of native rule in Egypt and founded the short-lived Thirty-first Dynasty,[149] which in its turn came to an end with the collapse of the Achaemenid empire. In contrast to the abundant evidence of

133. Robert Koldewey once hinted at an interrelationship of the Syrian *hilani*, the Egyptian temple, and the Persian type of palace which is illustrated at Persepolis by the immense audience hall (the Apadana) and by residential buildings such as the palaces of Darius and Xerxes; see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* II (Berlin, 1898) 191–93.

134. Here a single room instead of the usual triple sanctuary (Winlock, *op. cit.* p. 9).

135. E.g. *ibid.* Pl. VII. 136. See *OIP* LXV 14.

137. See Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* IV 136–55.

138. In addition, the following objects bearing the name of Darius are listed by Gauthier (*op. cit.* pp. 146 and 148–50): aragonite (not alabaster; see Posener, *op. cit.* p. 137, n. 1) jar from Susa, dated year 34 (sketch in *MDP* VII [1905] Fig. 47); yellow-glazed clay fragment and bronze plaque from Karnak; fragment of Apis stela; four handles of sistra; "porcelain" (baked clay?) amulet; naophorous statuette.

Posener lists five additional vessels of aragonite bearing the name of Darius (*op. cit.* pp. 138–40). One, dated in the king's 33d year, was found in Syria. The others were discovered at Susa. None of them bear cuneiform legends. The king's name and title are written solely in Egyptian hieroglyphs.

139. Gauthier, *op. cit.* pp. 150–52; Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 120–24; see also Wiedemann, *op. cit.* pp. 685–86.

140. Winlock, *op. cit.* p. 8. 141. See *ibid.* n. 4.

142. Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 137 f. and 140–45; in some cases only the Egyptian legend is preserved. See also chapter on "Royal Tableware" in our Vol. II.

143. Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 189 f.

144. Gauthier, *op. cit.* p. 153, n. 4. Posener (*op. cit.* p. xiii) mentions the year 456 in connection with this revolt; cf. also Wiedemann, *op. cit.* pp. 686 ff. According to Étienne Drioton and Jacques Vandier the revolt started in 460; see *Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen.* II. *L'Égypte* (2d ed.; Paris, 1946) p. 575.

145. Gauthier, *op. cit.* pp. 152 f.; Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 125–28.

146. Gauthier, *op. cit.* p. 153; Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 146 f. Cf. chapter on "Royal Tableware" in our Vol. II.

147. Gauthier, *op. cit.* pp. 154 f.; see also Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 692.

148. *Op. cit.* pp. 7 f. and 20.

148a. See Emil G. Kraeling in *The Biblical Archaeologist* XV (1952) 62.

149. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 437–41.

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building during the Thirtieth Dynasty,[150] Egyptian records are mute as to any building activities under the three kings of the Thirty-first Dynasty.[151] Artaxerxes, on the contrary, wrecked the walls of the most important cities, looted the temples and took their treasures to Persia.[152]

The short reign of Arses left no trace in Egypt.[153] Darius III is the only king of this dynasty whose name appears on an Egyptian document. It is a demotic papyrus dated in his second regnal year.[154] The Persian domination of Egypt ended in 332 B.C. with the surrender of the Nile Valley to Alexander the Great.[155]

BABYLON

Darius I

When first residing in Babylon, toward the end of 522 B.C., Darius presumably occupied one of the palaces of his predecessors.[156] The clues to his own constructions are scanty. The excavators of Babylon discovered a fragmentary black limestone plinth bearing his name and a piece of a diorite stela duplicating in Babylonian a portion of his Behistun inscription.[157] The plinth[158] occurred in the debris of a building of undoubtedly Persian character which the excavators attributed to Artaxerxes II[159] and Olmstead, more plausibly, to Darius I.[160] However, its identification with the "house of the king's son" completed between 498 and 496[161] is open to doubt. The "Persian Building" has been assigned a date as late, even, as Artaxerxes III. Its very fragmentary plan does not give much information, but we have to rely on the judgment of the excavators, who define it tentatively as a structure of apadana type.[162] It has the same type of layered, red-surfaced floor as that found at Persepolis in buildings of the time of Darius I and at Susa in a palatial compound founded by this king (see pp. 31–32).[163] The debris of the Persian Building at Babylon included, in addition to the plinth mentioned above, fragments of bell-shaped column bases of the same black limestone and units of glazed-brick friezes which picture portions of the dress and weapons of Persian guards.[164] There is no doubt that the Persians learned the technique of glazed-brick decoration from the advanced artisans of Babylonia and Assyria.[165]

Red flooring, presumably indicating a secondary occupation during the Persian period, was noticed in the "Babil" palace of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.).[166] In an inscription of this king believed to refer to the "Babil" palace an expression occurs which has been read *ap-pa danna* (translated "front wall").[167] Olmstead sees in the *appa danna*, which he interprets as "hall of pillars," the origin of the columned audience hall of the Persians—the apadana.[168] However, Professor Landsberger informs the writer that the reading from the original text must be incorrect and that the interpretations proposed make no sense in conjunction with the rest of the phrase.[169] As far as we know, the fragment of the Behistun text mentioned above was not associated with structural debris of the Persian period. It occurred in the northern part of the area now called Kasr, actually in the ruins of the "palace museum" of Nebuchadnezzar,[170] which is about 400 meters northeast of the assumed Persian apadana.[171] Other vestiges of the Achaemenid stratum of Babylon, not attributable to any particular ruler, include minor architectural changes in the Southern Fortress, where the excavators found an interesting parallel to our Treasury columns inclosed in plaster shells (p. 160).[172] There is, further, a reference to a weak supplementary wall which in Persian times perhaps inclosed the whole northern part of the Kasr.[173] Objects attributed to the Achaemenid period include "thousands of private business documents," among them a number of tablets of the time of Darius.[174]

In connection with the search in Darius' time for the decree of Cyrus II permitting the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, the Bible mentions the "house of the archives, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon."[175] This building may have been the storehouse of the temple Esagila,[176] or a newly constructed treasury of which no trace has so far been found.[177] As to the appearance of the great city during the rule of the Achaemenids, ancient historians[178] provide valuable information complementing the results of the excavations.

150. *Ibid.* pp. 430 f.

151. Gauthier, *op. cit.* pp. 193 f.

152. Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 719.

153. *Ibid.* pp. 720 f.

154. Gauthier, *op. cit.* p. 194.

155. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 509–12.

156. As to the historical events dealing with the accession of Darius and his reign, the most recent account is to be found in Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 107 ff.

157. F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (*WVDOG* IV [1903]) pp. 24–26 and Pl. 9.

158. Robert Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (4. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1925) p. 127 and Fig. 79.

159. *Ibid.* pp. 68, 179, and 304; see also Koldewey, "Ausgrabungsberichte aus Babylon" (*MDOG* No. 32 [Nov. 1906] pp. 3–7) and *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*. I. *Die Südburg* (*WVDOG* LIV [1931]) p. 121.

160. *Op. cit.* pp. 162 f.

161. *Ibid.* p. 215.

162. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, pp. 126 f. (building marked *P* on Figs. 44 and 76). For a tentative reconstruction of the Persian Building see Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon* I, Pl. 28.

163. Koldewey points out that the same type of flooring is found in 5th-century Greece also; *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, pp. 126 f.

164. *Ibid.* p. 127 and Fig. 80.

165. See Koldewey, *Das Ischtar-Tor in Babylon* (*WVDOG* XXXII [1918]) esp. pp. 26–31.

166. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, pp. 11 f. and Fig. 5*a*.

167. Stephen H. Langdon, ed., *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Rudolf Zehnpfund ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek," 4. Stück [Leipzig, 1912]) Nebukadnezar No. 14 iii 16 (p. 118).

168. *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 162.

169. Professor Landsberger suggests that the controversial expression may have read *ap-pa-ra*, "swampland," so that the phrase might be translated ". . . swampland as far as the town Sippar I made solid" (cf. Langdon, *loc. cit.*).

170. Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 224 f.

171. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, p. 164 and Fig. 13 (plot r 9).

172. *Ibid.* p. 108 and Fig. 66.

173. *Ibid.* pp. 167 and 179.

174. Unger, *Babylon*, p. 39.

175. Ezra 6:1.

176. See Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, esp. pp. 200–210, Figs. 114 and 119.

177. At the time of Alexander's conquest the treasure was kept in the citadel.

178. Herodotus i. 178 ff., iii. 151 ff.; Diodorus Siculus ii. 7–10; Strabo xvi. 1. 5; Quintus Curtius v. 1. 24–35.

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Xerxes

It was probably in the fourth year of Xerxes' reign that Babylon revolted.[179] Megabyzus, the king's great general, speedily recovered the city, and it was punished without mercy. Its fortifications and its temples were destroyed, Marduk's golden statue was carried off, and the property of the wealthy was appropriated by the Persians.[180]

Apart from the "house of the king's son" (see above), erected for Xerxes while he was crown prince and assumedly viceroy,[181] as far as we know no structure was built by him in the despoiled city. A single aragonite jar bearing his name and title (Xerxes, great king[182]) is said to have been found in the debris of Babylon, and only a few tablets written in the city during his reign have come to light.[183]

Artaxerxes I

There is no record of building activities at Babylon during the reign of Artaxerxes I.[184] Some events indicate that his policy toward the religion and the priesthood of the city was conciliatory; but the tax burden of Babylonia remained as heavy as before.[185]

Darius II

It is known that Arsaces (subsequently Artaxerxes [II]), the eldest son of Darius II and the acknowledged heir to the throne, resided in Babylonia,[186] and we are told that Darius died in his mother's residence at Babylon; but there is no description of the actual structures.

Artaxerxes II

We have mentioned that the Persian Building of Babylon has been assigned to both Artaxerxes II and Darius I (see p. 28). A dark gray limestone fragment—presumably part of a building—bearing in Old Persian the name of Artaxerxes was found on the top of the Kasr fortification,[187] but the object may have been inscribed by any of the three kings of this name. Other stone fragments, found in the Persian Building, are said to bear the name of "Artaxerxes, son of Darius."[188] As far as the writer knows, these identifications have not been verified beyond doubt. Apart from these clues as to architectural activities, we find references to the king's winter palace at Babylon[189] and to Babylon as the native city of the queen mother Parysatis.[190]

Artaxerxes III

There is no record of building at Babylon under Artaxerxes Ochus, but the king's palace (entered by captive women of Sidon) is mentioned on a Babylonian tablet.[191]

Darius III

Our last information about Achaemenid Babylon is derived from the history of Alexander's conquest. We are informed that the treasure had been kept in the citadel before it was surrendered to the victor. Furthermore, the fact that Alexander commanded the restoration of the temples of Marduk and other deities indicates that the sacred structures had lain in ruin ever since the punishment of the city by Xerxes.[192]

SUSA

Darius I

At Susa the ruins of the Achaemenid palaces are clustered on the Apadana Mound (Figs. 9–11) of the extensive site.[193] We are not informed which parts of the "Royal City" and of the "Artisans' City" were occupied by the contemporaneous town of Susa. It is known, however, that the mound of the Royal City is capped by a thick stratum of Achaemenian, Parthian, and Arab debris, and some fragments of marble columns were here found.[194] We are told that the highest debris mass of the site, the Acropolis Mound (formerly called the "Citadel"), apparently was not inhabited during the Achaemenian period,[195] although this section revealed important pre-Achaemenid remains, such as Elamite temples, the famous stela with the code of Hammurabi, the triumphal stela of Naramsin, and so forth. The Achaemenian stratum of the Apadana Mound, as far as it is known to us, consists of three principal groups of structural remains: fortifications, a palace compound, and a hypostyle hall (the apadana).

Marcel Dieulafoy's elaborate reconstruction of the defense system of Achaemenid Susa[196] has not been verified

179. See Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia" (*AJSL* LVIII 314–25).

180. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 236 f. and sources there cited.

181. *Ibid.* p. 230.

182. Quadrilingual (OP, El., Bab., and Egyptian); cf. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 140 and 143 (No. 52); *KA*, pp. XXVI and 118 f.

183. Listed by Cameron in *AJSL* LVIII 320, n. 33.

184. It is not known whether an aragonite jar bearing a quadrilingual inscription of Artaxerxes (I, presumably) was found at Babylon. The inscription reads "Artaxerxes, the king." The vessel was purchased in Baghdad and is now in the University Museum in Philadelphia. It is illustrated in Max Burchardt, "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit" (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* XLIX [1911] 69–80) Pl. IX 3.

185. Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 291, 293, 298 f.

186. *Ibid.* p. 369.

187. "Aus den Berichten Dr. Koldewey's," *MDOG* No. 3 (May–Nov. 1899) p. 2 and Fig. 1.

188. Koldewey, "Ausgrabungsberichte aus Babylon," p. 5.

189. Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 385.

190. *Ibid.* p. 376.

191. See *ibid.* p. 437.

192. See *ibid.* p. 517.

193. For the latest designations of the mounds of Susa see our Fig. 9 and Fig. 1 of R. de Mecquenem in *MDP* XXIX (1943). For earlier designations cf. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1884, 1885, 1886 sous les auspices du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1893) Pl. II.

194. M. L. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er à Suse, Ve siècle av. J.C.* (Paris, 1914) p. 32.

195. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 326. Previously J. de Morgan (*MDP* I [1900] 89–91) assumed that this mound had been occupied by the Achaemenid garrison and that the treasury had here been situated; see also Pillet, *op. cit.* p. 30.

The writer regrets that the latest publication of the expedition to Susa dealing with Achaemenid remains reached him too late to be utilized in this chapter. See De Mecquenem in *MDP* XXX (1947) 1–119, Pls. I–VIII.

196. *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 117–38 and plan on Pl. II. See also A. Billerbeck, *Susa: Eine Studie zur alten Geschichte Westasiens* (Leipzig, 1893) pp. 141–52.

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by the observations of subsequent excavators. On De Morgan's plan ill-defined, intermittent sections of a mud-brick wall encircle the Acropolis Mound,[197] and on Pillet's survey only the palace area on the Apadana Mound is inclosed by a well defined, though mostly reconstructed fortification.[198] The latest plan of the structures on the Apadana Mound[199] shows as the eastern border of the palace area a section of a simple mud-brick inclosure, about 7 meters thick, with an outer revetment(?) of baked bricks measuring about 2 meters in thickness. It seems that there is no clue for assigning these walls to the reign of a particular king; but it is to be assumed that Darius restored the defenses of Susa after entering the city, perhaps in 521.[200] As a matter of fact, one set of Susa documents, mostly stone plaques inscribed during his reign, deals with the restoration of fortifications which are perhaps specifically named in the text.[201]

There is documentary evidence for assigning the extant remains of the apadana of Susa to Artaxerxes (II) Memnon (see below). As to the palace compound, although there is no doubt that it was founded by Darius I, a study of the reports dealing with this complex structure reveals that none of its parts have been attributed with certainty to his reign or to the reigns of his successors (see p. 31). Among the numerous inscriptions of Darius testifying to his extensive building activities at Susa at least one set of documents, namely the "record of the construction of a palace,"[202] refers to the palace compound under consideration. The trilingual text is inscribed on plaques of baked clay and of marble, each plaque bearing only one version—Old Persian, or Elamite, or Babylonian—in the same manner as the foundation documents of stone subsequently inscribed under Xerxes at Persepolis (see e.g. p. 255). We assume that the Susa plaques too had been intended to be deposited in or under the foundations of buildings. Some remarks of members of the Susa expedition tend to confirm this, but the exact find-locations of the documents remain obscure.[203]

The palace referred to in the record under consideration is called *hadish*, a term which Xerxes used at Persepolis in designating his own residential palace in one set of inscriptions (see p. 238), whereas he calls the same palace *tachara* in the text engraved on its column bases (see p. 239). The same two terms were used in designating the Darius palace at Persepolis (see p. 223, n. 13). We conclude that at Persepolis, and elsewhere, *hadish* and *tachara* were interchangeable terms designating a residential palace. As a rule the *hadish* of the Susa document is simply translated "palace," but it has been suggested that the term covers here an aggregation of royal buildings.[204] In any event, we believe that it refers to the palace compound only and does not include the apadana. The record of construction does not refute this opinion, whether dealing with the preparations for the erection of the *hadish* or with the material used for its construction or with its embellishment.

We extract those portions of the text which have bearing on our subject.[205] Darius states: "This is the palace (*ha*[*dish*])[206] which at Susa I erected." He proceeds to tell that its "ornamentation"[207] was brought from afar. He describes the deep pit which was dug to virgin soil and then packed with rubble. On this foundation he erected the *hadish*. Babylonians dug the pit, filled it, and molded the bricks. The Assyrians brought cedars from the Lebanon to Babylon, and from there the Carians and the Ionians transported them to Susa.[208] *Yakā*-wood[209] was brought from Gandara and Carmania. Gold came from Sardis and Bactria. Lapis lazuli and carnelian[210] were brought from Sogdiana, and turquoise[211] was imported from Chorasmia. Silver and ebony[212] came from Egypt and ornamentation for the wall [213] from Ionia. Ethiopia, Sind, and Arachosia provided the ivory. The stone columns were transported to Susa from a place called Abiradush, in Uja.[214] The document, furthermore, lists certain artisans and their nationalities—stone-workers: Ionians and Sardians; goldsmiths: Medes and Egyptians; men who wrought the wood:[215] Sardians and Egyptians; men who worked on the baked brick: Babylonians; and men who adorned the wall: Medes and Egyptians.

Other architectural and related inscriptions of Darius may have bearing on the same building, or perhaps on structures of which we have no further knowledge. There are at least six distinct trilingual inscriptions on fragmen-

197. *MDP* I, Pl. II; see esp. p. 88. 198. *Op. cit.* Fig. 10.

199. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I, Fig. 75; cf. n. 239 below.

200. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 167.

201. V. Scheil, *MDP* XXIV (1933) No. 15 (pp. 116–25); Kent, "More Old Persian inscriptions," *JAOS* LIV (1934) 40–50; *AI*, pp. 19–21 (No. 7). Weissbach lists all fragments on which the three versions of the text (Dar. Susa e) are preserved. He doubts whether the fortifications are mentioned by name, but he believes that they were located at Susa; "Die dreisprachige Inschrift Darius Susa e" (*ZA* XLIX = n.F. X [1938] 150–69).

202. Scheil, *MDP* XXI (1929) No. 1 (pp. 3–34), *MDP* XXIV, No. 1 (pp. 105–15), and *MDP* XXVIII (1939) No. 18 (pp. 33 f.); F. W. König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa nach dem Bauberichte des Königs Dareios I* (*MVAG* XXXV 1 [1930]); Herzfeld, "Die Magna Charta von Susa" (*AMI* III [1931] 29–124) and *AI*, pp. 13–17 (No. 5); Kent, "The record of Darius's palace at Susa" (*JAOS* LIII [1933] 1–23), also *JAOS* LIV 34–40. For the latest revision of the Elamite version see Walther Hinz in *JNES* IX (1950) 1–7.

203. In speaking of "the great palace on the *Apadāna* tell," De Mecquenem states that "the foundation stone was put in place by Darius" (in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 321). Pillet, apparently referring to the same document, reports that the excavators found in the center of the palace compound a baked-clay tablet on which Darius speaks of the construction of his residence (*Le palais de Darius I^er*, p. 55). We do not know whether Scheil was misinformed when he mentioned that the big tablet of baked clay (the same as reported by Pillet?) bearing the OP text of the record of construction occurred "en son lieu naturel, l'Apadana" (*MDP* XXI 4).

204. German "Pfalz" (König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa nach dem Bauberichte des Königs Dareios I*, p. 50); also *Residenz* (*AI*, p. 16). Cf. also Hinz, "Zu den altpersischen Inschriften von Susa," *ZDMG* XCV = n.F. XX (1941) 237.

205. Based primarily on Kent's translation of OP lines 22–25 in *JAOS* LIII 6–9.

206. The term is completely preserved in line 27.

207. Herzfeld: "material" (*AI*, p. 16). 208. Presumably by water.

209. Herzfeld: "teakwood" (*AI*, p. 17); König: "Afghan cypress" (*Der Burgbau zu Susa*, pp. 54–61).

210. So also König (*ibid.* pp. 62 f.). The uncertainty about the meaning of the term used (OP *sikabruš*) is evidenced by some additional conjectures: e.g. "cinnabar" (*AI*, p. 17); "serpentine" (J. M. Unvala in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 339, and so originally Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 1 [pp. 9, 19, 29], and Kent, "The recently published Old Persian inscriptions," *JAOS* LI [1931] 200–201).

211. Herzfeld: "gray stone" (*AI*, p. 17).

212. So Duchesne-Guillemin (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, *Bulletin* X [1940–42] 925–27) and Kent's final translation (*Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, pp. 144, 190); Herzfeld: "lead" (*AI*, p. 17).

213. Herzfeld: "material for the construction of the fortress wall" (*AI*, p. 17).

214. Presumably Elam; see Kent in *JAOS* LIII 20.

215. So Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, pp. 144, 175; König: "ivory" (*Der Burgbau zu Susa*, pp. 48 and 66–68); Cameron: "overlay" or "inlay" (*OIP* LXV 129 f.).

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tary column bases,[216] one of which[217] refers to the construction of a *dachara* (for *tachara*, which in this case too may be interchangeable with *hadish;* see above). The name of Darius appears in Old Persian texts stamped on bricks.[218] We are not informed whether the specimens published were found in a retaining wall of unbaked bricks with stamped inscriptions of Darius[219] or whether they are pavement bricks.[220] Trilingual inscriptions on panels (1.40 m. wide) of glazed bricks have not yet been completely assembled.[221] There are inscribed marble plaques or slabs which either mention the name of Darius or are assigned to him for other reasons.[222] The most important text of this group is referred to above (n. 201). Other objects from Susa attributed to Darius I are clay tablets with Elamite texts,[223] and further fragments of baked bricks inscribed in Old Persian.[224] Because the name of the king's father is missing, doubt has been expressed whether to assign a column base with trilingual inscription[225] and an unspecified fragment with an Elamite text to Darius I or to one of the later kings of this name.[226] There are, finally, pieces of a huge limestone statue (or of several statues?).[227] The name of Darius is preserved on one of these fragments, uncovered in the *hadish*, in an Old Persian (part of a trilingual?) inscription engraved on the folds of the garment.[228]

We repeat that Darius' record of the construction of a palace, together with numerous inscriptions of his time found in the palace area, leaves no doubt about the original builder. On the other hand, it is certainly wrong to assign the entire extant complex to Darius I, as suggested by Pillet.[229] Maurice Pézard too is inclined to hold this opinion, because of the quantity of Darius inscriptions in the *hadish* as against the absence of written documents of other kings in the same area.[230] We shall examine the Susa inscriptions of Darius' successors in the sections dealing with their building activities. At this point we state merely that the Susa expedition uncovered in various parts of the site architectural inscriptions of Xerxes, perhaps of Darius II, of Artaxerxes II, and of Artaxerxes III. Dieulafoy once remarked that it is not possible to assign a precise date to the diverse transformations[231] of Darius' *hadish.* This still appears to be true, although some portions of the palace and some of its embellishment have been attributed tentatively to Xerxes or to Artaxerxes II.[232]

The *hadish* of Susa once covered an area measuring approximately 250 meters east to west[233] and about 150 meters north to south. The vastness of the structure can be visualized by comparing it with the Terrace of Persepolis, where it corresponds in size to the southern half, comprising all residential palaces in addition to the Council Hall and the entire Treasury (see Fig. 21). It has been pointed out correctly that the *hadish* of Susa is essentially an Assyro-Babylonian palace compound.[234] There is no relation between its plan and that of any palatial structure at Persepolis. Walter Andrae[235] directs attention to the striking similarity between the western part of the Susa *hadish* and the western part of the Southern Fortress of Babylon,[236] namely that section of the pre-Achaemenid palace which adjoins the Persian Building of assumed apadana type (see p. 28).

The foundation for the *hadish*, as well as for the apadana (see below), is an artificial terrace bordered apparently by a mud-brick buttress and filled with gravel. This confirms the pertinent statements in the record of construction (see p. 30). However, the gravel packing fluctuates in depth from about 11 meters to less than half a meter.[237]

We are told that the plan of the Susa palace is defined by low walls of baked bricks, not more than two courses in height, by pavements of bricks or of red-surfaced cement made of pieces of crushed fired clay and lime, and finally by sills and socket stones of doorways.[238] On the most recently published plan of the structure[239] all walls—with the exception of a few small sections of baked bricks outside the compact mass of ruins—are marked as unfired brick walls, although it is reported that only one small piece of a wall of unfired bricks was found.[240] We have to assume, therefore, that the courses of baked bricks mentioned are the foundations of mud-brick walls.[241] Pavements of bricks (presumably baked) appear to have been used mainly for open courts and for doorsills, but they are found also along two walls of the westernmost hall and in some rooms of the northwestern section. There are, further, indeterminate patches of the same material dispersed over the palace plan. Red-surfaced cement flooring was used for covered spaces—halls, rooms, and corridors ("sol bétonné des intérieurs" on Fig. 11). The statement made in one report that it is occasionally found in an open space[242] must be taken with a grain of salt, for in the same report the red-floored western

216. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, Nos. 2–7 (pp. 35–47).

217. *Ibid.* No. 4 (pp. 38 f.).

218. *Ibid.* Nos. 8–11 (pp. 48–52); the bricks are 33–38 cm. square, 7.5–8.7 cm. thick.

219. See Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, pp. 55 and 87.

220. Referred to by Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 168.

221. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 12 [pp. 53–56). These panels were once presumably part of a frieze with figurative designs (cf. p. 32 below).

222. *Ibid.* Nos. 14–19 (pp. 59–70).

223. *Ibid.* Nos. 20–21 (pp. 71–76).

224. *KA*, pp. XX and 98 f. (Dar. Susa a–b); Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Figs. 192–93.

225. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole*, Fig. 206. 226. *KA*, pp. XX and 98 f.

227. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 13 (pp. 57 f.) and Pl. XIII.

228. *Ibid.* No. 13:4; see also Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, p. 55.

229. *Op. cit.* p. 53.

230. Maurice Pézard and Edmond Pottier, *Catalogue des antiquités de la Susiane* (*Mission J. de Morgan*) (2d ed.; Paris, 1926) p. 29, n. 1.

231. *Les antiquités de Suse, découvertes et rapportées par la mission Dieulafoy* (*1884–1886*) (Paris, 1913) p. 5.

232. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 322 and 324.

233. Including architectural fragments, such as patches of yard pavements, east of the more compact ruins.

234. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 321.

235. "Neue Funde aus Susa," Deutsches archäologisches Institut, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1923/24, cols. 95–106.

236. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, esp. Figs. 70*a* and 76, and *Die Königsburgen von Babylon* I 114–19. Cf. Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 220 f. and Fig. 52.

237. De Mecquenem, "Fouilles de Suse, Campagnes des années 1914–1921–1922," *RA* XIX (1922) 115–17.

238. See De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 321 ff., and Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, p. 73.

239. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I, Fig. 75, apparently based on an earlier plan (De Mecquenem in *RA* XIX, Pl. II) which we reproduce here (Fig. 11). The earlier plan seems to be more trustworthy as a whole because it distinguishes between extant remains and reconstruction.

240. Coated with whitewash on the inside; see De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 324.

241. Cf. De Mecquenem, "Compte-rendu sommaire des fouilles de Suse de l'hiver 1909–1910," Délégation en Perse, *Bulletin* I (1910) 46.

242. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, p. 44.

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hall (*A* on Fig. 11) is shown erroneously as an open court.[243] As far as we know, the early architects of Persepolis who employed this red-surfaced concrete[244] flooring never used it at points exposed to the elements, and even where protected it showed patches and major repairs along lanes of circulation. These facts indicate that it may not be as indestructible as claimed.[245] In the Susa *hadish*, we are told, a strip along the bases of the walls[246] below panels of glazed bricks (see below) was coated with the same red matter which was used for surfacing the floors.[247]

On the Persepolis Terrace red-surfaced concrete floors were noticed in two structures only—the residential Palace of Darius I and the Treasury.[248] The major portions of these buildings must have been built during Darius' reign, but Xerxes completed both. Applied to Susa, our observations at Persepolis suggest that those parts of the *hadish* provided with the flooring under consideration belong presumably to the time of Darius, or perhaps to the beginning of Xerxes' reign, except, of course, for subsequent alterations and added wall decoration.

Whereas stone relief—presumably painted in most cases—was the principal ornamentation of the palatial structures of Persepolis, the *hadish* of Susa was embellished mainly with polychrome friezes or panels of glazed bricks, often duplicating, or at least resembling, individual or grouped persons, animals, monsters, and floral motifs of the Persepolis repertoire. Bricks forming the figure of a winged bull were found scattered near a row of eight column bases in the eastern part of the *hadish*[249] and further fragments of the same subject lay in the southeast corner of the westernmost hall (*A* on Fig. 11).[250] A frieze of walking lions bordered by rows of palmettes, triangles, and rosettes was found between the apadana and the *hadish* on a pavement corresponding to the level of the former and therefore assignable to the time of Artaxerxes II (see p. 35).[251] Near the northeast corner of the central courtyard occurred many fragments of an impressive panel showing the winged disk symbol above two winged sejant and regardant man-lions.[252] Glazed bricks picturing parts of horned griffins were found in the pavement of the western courtyard.[253] Many fragments of the same pattern occurred in the large western hall (*A* on Fig. 11).[254] Fragments of winged bulls mentioned above and parts of a frieze showing a row of guards were found at the same spot.[255] The figures of the soldiers are not raised in relief, and they are somewhat smaller than those attributed to the founder of the palace (see below). Many additional fragments of guard friezes uncovered near the east gate to the palace area have been tentatively attributed—for reasons not specified—to Artaxerxes II.[256] Other files of guards—some white, others brown—were discovered "beneath substructures of a gate belonging to the palace of Artaxerxes (II) Memnon" and have been assigned with a good measure of certainty to the reign of Darius I.[257] Brick inscriptions mentioning Darius were found to have been flanked by antithetic files of such soldiers.[258] Combined geometrical and floral patterns had once decorated the upper sections of the friezes.[259]

Monumental stairways, constructed at Persepolis of stone, must have been built at Susa entirely of bricks. It seems that no traces of stairs have been discovered *in situ*.[260] However, the excavators found sections of stairway parapets composed of glazed bricks whose attractive patterns closely resemble in parts the floral designs carved on Persepolis stairways.[261] It is not known whether the stairway fragments, and certain miscellaneous pieces of glazed-brick decoration found at Susa,[262] should be attributed to Darius I or to a later Achaemenian ruler.

As to the use of stone in the construction and embellishment of the palatial buildings at Susa, heavy masses were required almost solely for the columns of the apadana (see below). Stone bases and foundation slabs of a smaller type of (wooden?) column occurred at some points in the *hadish* and elsewhere. The pivoting devices for the doors also consisted of stone.[263] A few carved fragments testify that at Susa too stone sculpture was used, to a limited extent.[264] There is a fluted fragment with a row of twelve-petaled rosettes. Another stone preserves the lower part of a panel which pictured Susian or Persian guards. One stone slab shows a part of a regardant griffin, and another slab has been tentatively identified as a piece of a human-headed bull. Most or all of these objects seem to have been used secondarily as pavement stones of a Sasanian palace. Among them was the relief of a servant carrying a vessel with a duck-head handle.[265] A fragment of a colossal limestone statue inscribed with the name of Darius and

243. *Ibid.* Fig. 21 *E*, also Fig. 22 and *passim.*

244. As we prefer to call it in our descriptions.

245. Herzfeld, *AMI* III 53 f.

246. Not the entire wall face, as implied by Herzfeld *ibid.* p. 53.

247. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, p. 73.

248. In addition, a partly excavated building south of the Persepolis Terrace shows red-surfaced floors of the same type (see p. 55).

249. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 321; illustrated in color *ibid.* Vol. IV, Pl. 77 *B* (dated "4th century B.C.").

250. De Mecquenem *ibid.* Vol. I 323.

251. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 274–80, Fig. 152, and Pl. III (in color); also Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V (Paris, 1890) Pl. XI (in color).

252. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 321 f.; Pillet (*Le palais de Darius 1er*, pp. 74 ff.) locates this panel in his central court (*D*), which is actually the western court of the later plans. Illustrated in color in Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines* (Paris, 1920) Pl. I. See also De Mecquenem and Pézard, "Compte-rendu sommaire des fouilles de Suse de l'hiver 1910–1911," Délégation en Perse, *Bulletin* II (1911) Pl. V.

253. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 323. They had been used secondarily at the find-location, if we understand correctly.

254. *Ibid.* Apparently in the southeastern corner, although Pillet, who attempted a hypothetical reconstruction of this spot (*op. cit.* Fig. 26), does not mention them. Illustrated in color in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* IV, Pl. 77 *A* (dated 4th century B.C.), and in Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pl. XI.

255. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 323; see also Pillet, *op. cit.* p. 82.

256. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 324.

257. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 280–85 and Pls. V–VII (in color). See also Dieulafoy, *Les antiquités de Suse*, pp. 13 ff.; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* Pl. XII; Jane Dieulafoy, *À Suse: Journal des fouilles 1884–1886* (Paris, 1888) pp. 290 and 293.

258. Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Fig. 158 and Pl. XII (in color).

259. *Ibid.* Pl. IV (in color).

260. De Mecquenem and Pézard in Délégation en Perse, *Bulletin* II 52; Dieulafoy, *Les antiquités de Suse*, p. 20.

261. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pls. VIII–IX (in color) and pp. 297 ff.; *Les antiquités de Suse*, pp. 20 f.

262. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pls. X and XIII (in color).

263. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1er*, p. 50 and Fig. 16; Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Figs. 127–28.

264. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 324 and IV, Pl. 100.

265. *Ibid.* Vol. I 328 and Fig. 79. For vessels with bird handles found in the Persepolis Treasury see our Vol. II, chapter on "Royal Tableware."

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other stone slabs and plaques with various inscriptions have been mentioned above (pp. 30–31).

The extant remains of the apadana of Susa belong to a structure rebuilt by Artaxerxes II (Memnon). They are described more fully in the section dealing with the architectural activities of this king (pp. 34–36). A trilingual inscription of Memnon—engraved on column bases which were found *in situ*—states that he rebuilt the apadana which had been constructed by Darius (I) and destroyed by fire during the reign of Artaxerxes I (see p. 35, n. 309). This proves that an apadana of Darius did at least exist. The remnants of the building stand on an extension (*ca.* 120 m. square[266]) of the gravel-filled pit which is the foundation of the *hadish*. Walls of mud and mud bricks form gridlike subdivisions in places and buttress the gravel.[267] There is no reason to doubt that this foundation had been prepared by Darius' architects for his apadana; but remains of the original building have not been traced with certainty. The cracked and discolored limestone parts of the Persepolis structures which had been destroyed by fire convince us that those portions of the Darius apadana at Susa which had been exposed to a violent conflagration were damaged beyond repair. Opinions differ in regard to the extent of the catastrophe. One observer assumes that the remnants of Darius' audience hall had been completely razed before Artaxerxes II erected the new apadana.[268] Those who believe in the restoration of a partially damaged building assert that the fragments of sculpture found in the debris vary widely in artistic merit.[269] It is pointed out, for instance, that addorsed bull capitals of the porticoes are much better finished than those of the central hall.[270]

Debris of the original structure appears to be imbedded in the gravel beneath the floor level of the extant ruin. This does not necessarily mean that the level of the earlier structure is below that of the later one. As a matter of fact, the floor of the Darius building has never been determined. Fragments of a foundation slab which once supported a round (bell-shaped) column base of portico type occurred in the gravel beneath a corner of the central hall, whose columns have square, stepped bases.[271] Buried at the bottom of the slope north of the northwest corner of the extant ruin, numerous pieces of a fluted column and a bell-shaped base were found. The base has approximately the same size as the portico columns of the Artaxerxes building, but it is less elaborate and differs in the dimensions of the details.[272] This column base, the foundation slab mentioned above, and fragments of column shafts and capitals found in the gravel fill have been tentatively attributed to the original Darius structure.[273]

Apart from these questionable fragments and, possibly, remnants of such columns as may have been reused by Artaxerxes II, nothing remains of the apadana of Darius I at Susa.[274] However, it is reasonable to assume that the audience halls of Susa and Persepolis, founded by the same royal builder, were similar, or in essential features even alike, in plan and elevation. It is significant in this respect that the extant portions of the Artaxerxes apadana at Susa almost exactly duplicate the corresponding parts of the Darius apadana at Persepolis.

Before closing this section dealing with Darius' architectural activities at Susa, we should mention one more structure, for it has been tentatively assigned to the same king (see n. 282). It is a solitary building which was uncovered in a small mound 4 kilometers northeast of the Achaemenid palaces of the main site. Its plan is incomplete and partly hypothetical but, nevertheless, has been considered sufficiently characteristic to indicate the religious purpose of the structure. Its discoverer called it an *āyadana*,[275] a word for which the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription substitutes "house of the gods."[276] Recent writers either retain the Persian term or translate it "temple," "fire sanctuary," and the like.[277]

The structure is raised on a gravel-filled platform about 2 meters high, buttressed, it seems, by mud-brick walls. Although it is not so specified, all the walls of the *āyadana* must consist of mud bricks, because it is reported that except for the stairways and the curb of the courtyard (see below) no baked bricks were observed.[278] The assumedly sacrosanct nucleus of the building is a square (reconstructed) room with four columns also arranged in a square, whose center may once have been occupied by a fire altar.[279] The published plan shows a circumambient passage (reconstructed) isolating the sacred room from the rest of the building. In front (roughly southeast) of the inner sanctuary is a porch with two columns of smaller size than those within the sanctuary. Two rectangular blocks—one at each end of the portico—are assumed to be foundations for fire altars.[280] The remainder of the building, as far as it has been excavated, is situated at a lower level, which is reached by means of stairs of baked bricks.[281] It consists mainly of a flight of narrow rooms inclosing a square courtyard which extends below and in front of the porch.

The date of the *āyadana* is not certain. We mentioned that Darius I has been suggested as its builder.[282] The discoverer, however, assigned it without hesitation to Artaxerxes Memnon.[283] It appears he was influenced mainly by the fact that an inscribed column base of this king found at Susa is identical (except for its inscription) with the bell-shaped bases uncovered in the assumed inner sanctuary of the *āyadana*. The later date has been accepted by several recent writers.[284]

266. De Mecquenim in *RA* XIX 112.

267. G. Jéquier in *MDP* I 73–76. 268. *Ibid.* p. 80.

269. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 763 f.

270. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 326.

271. Jéquier in *MDP* I 72. 272. *Ibid.* pp. 74 f. and Fig. 89.

273. *Ibid.* pp. 72 and 75; De Mecquenem in *MDP* XXIX 35.

274. As to the embellishment of the original structure by means of friezes of glazed bricks, we are informed that the friezes of the guards attributed to Darius' time (see p. 32, n. 257) were found too far from the building to have fallen from it (see p. 36, nn. 325–26).

275. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 390 f. and 411 ff., Figs. 263–64 (location and plan).

276. Behistun inscription, OP and Bab. § 14; see King and Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn*, pp. 13 and 168.

277. Godard in *Aθār-é Īrān* III 11–13; Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, pp. 15 f.; R. Ghirshman, "La tour de Nourabad: Étude sur les temples iraniens anciens," *Syria* XXIV (1944–45) 183 f. Lacking confirmation of Dieulafoy's observations by his successors, Herzfeld considered it a very problematical structure (*IF*, p. 240).

278. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 412.

279. As suggested by a circle on Dieulafoy's plan *ibid.* Fig. 264.

280. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 16.

281. See Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Fig. 264, elevation.

282. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 196.

283. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 391.

284. E.g. Erdmann (*op. cit.* p. 75, n. 108) and Ghirshman (*Syria* XXIV 184).

As to the sanctuary at Gur (modern Firuzabad, in Fars), called Atish Gah

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Xerxes

The suggestion that Xerxes possibly added a small hypostyle hall to the northern part of Darius' *hadish* at Susa[285] was presumably prompted by a small inscribed column base (bottom diameter, 51 cm.) discovered on the Acropolis Mound (formerly called the "Citadel")[286] or by a second base[287]—whose exact provenance and dimensions appear to be unknown—bearing the same trilingual text (OP, El., and Bab.), which states: "Says Xerxes the king: By the grace of Ahuramazda this *hadish* Darius the king made who (was) my father." The building to which these inscriptions refer is probably the great palace compound of Darius, which appears to have been completed or enlarged by his successors. Additional fragments of inscribed column bases are controversial (see below). Some scholars ascribe them to Xerxes, others to Darius II. There is doubt, furthermore, whether the inscription on one such fragment mentions a *tachara* or (more probably) a *hadish*.[288]

Two marble slabs with parts of inscriptions are also tentatively attributed to the reign of Xerxes.[289] Finally, we may mention that not less than thirty stone vessels and sherds from Susa bear this king's name in inscriptions which are in most cases quadrilingual.[290]

Artaxerxes I

Considering the recent punishment of Babylon, there can be no doubt that Susa continued to be the principal winter capital. It is astonishing, therefore, that no architectural inscription of Artaxerxes I[291] nor any other clue suggesting building activities during his reign has been discovered in the excavations. We know only that in his time the apadana erected by Darius I was destroyed by fire (see p. 33) and that it was not rebuilt until at least two decades—the entire reign of Darius II—had passed. At Susa the only royal inscriptions attributed to Artaxerxes I occur on some fragments of aragonite vessels.[292]

Darius II

Our information with regard to structures erected at Susa by Darius II is derived entirely from a few pieces of column bases on which fragments of controversial inscriptions are preserved. One text mentioning stone parts of a building made by Darius the king has been assigned to Darius I[293] and to Darius II.[294] The text of a second column base is assumed to refer to a palace started by Artaxerxes I and finished by Darius II.[295]

Artaxerxes II

Extant architectural remains, inscriptions relating to further but at present unidentifiable structures, and certain historical references show the importance of Susa as the winter capital of Artaxerxes Memnon. While references to Babylon are rare, the court at Susa is mentioned as the destination of successive Greek delegations.[296] In the palace of Susa, Queen Stateira was poisoned by Artaxerxes' mother, Parysatis,[297] and, parenthetically, the mutilated remains of the king's brother and pretender to his throne, Cyrus the Younger, were here buried.[298]

As to inscriptions belonging or relating to unidentified buildings, there is a column base with trilingual text.[299] Its Old Persian version states that Artaxerxes (II) built a *hadish*,[300] which in the Elamite and Babylonian versions is called *daṣarum* and *dashari* (=*tachara*) respectively. It has been suggested tentatively that this text refers to a columned hall or court added to the northern part of the *hadish* of Darius I (see above).[301] No reason is given for this suggestion. Nevertheless, it is probably true that Memnon repaired or remodeled the original *hadish* when he was rebuilding the apadana (see below).[302] Further architectural inscriptions of Artaxerxes II include a fragment in Elamite referring to problematical constructions,[303] also a portion of a stone slab preserving an Old Persian text fragment, which mentions a *hadish* and a stone terrace(?),[304] and two indeterminate portions of Babylonian texts.[305]

A small bell-shaped column base (*ca.* 58 cm. high) bears on its shoulder a trilingual inscription (OP, El., and Bab.) which mentions the name of Artaxerxes (II), his title, and his father's name.[306] Persuaded by the find-spot of the base, its discoverer, William K. Loftus, believed that it belonged to a hypostyle palace erected by Memnon on the projecting southern point of the mound later called the Donjon. Loftus emphasized that the original palace had been destroyed and that its stone fragments, such as "fluted shafts, bases of small columns, panels and cornices of marble adorned with the favorite rosette," were used

or Takht-i-Nishin and once erroneously assigned to the Achaemenid period, see Godard in *Aṯār-é Īrān* III 19–26; Flandin and Coste, Pls. 36–37; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* pp. 645–47; Franz Oelmann, "Persische Tempel," Deutches archäologisches Institut, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1921, cols. 274–75; Erdmann, *op. cit.* pp. 46 ff.

285. See De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 322.

286. De Morgan in *MDP* I 90 and Fig. 131; *KA*, pp. XXV and 114 f.; H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon* ("The Vanderbilt Oriental Series" VI [New York etc., 1908]) p. 1.

287. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 23 (p. 81); Kent in *JAOS* LI 225.

288. See Wilhelm Brandenstein, "Die neuen Achämenideninschriften," *WZKM* XXXIX (1932) 85 f., versus Scheil, *MDP* XXI 84 f. (No. 25).

289. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, Nos. 26–27 (pp. 86 f.).

290. OP, El., and Bab. cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic; see Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 137 f. and 140–45. See also chapter on "Royal Tableware" in our Vol. II.

291. With the possible exception of a fragmentary column base bearing parts of a controversial inscription; see note 295.

292. Posener, *op. cit.* p. 147, No. 80; *KA*, pp. XXVIII and 120 f. (Art. Vase c) = *MDP* I, Figs. 316–17.

293. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 5 (lower fragment on p. 41); Brandenstein in *WZKM* XXXIX 40–42.

294. Kent in *JNES* I 421–23. Kent suggests that this text is part of another example of inscription No. 24 of Scheil (*MDP* XXI 82 f.), who assigns the latter to Xerxes, whereas Brandenstein (*op. cit.* pp. 83–85) attributes it to Darius II.

295. Brandenstein, *op. cit.* pp. 85–88; Hinz in *ZDMG* XCV 251 f. Scheil (*MDP* XXI, No. 25 [pp. 84 f.]) assigns this text too to Xerxes.

296. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 380, 394, 409 f.

297. *Ibid.* p. 376. 298. *Ibid.* p. 375.

299. Scheil No. 28 (*MDP* XXI 91–93 and XXIV 126–28).

300. Described or named by a term which has been translated "paradise of life" (Scheil) or "which (is) a paradise for the life" (Brandenstein in *WZKM* XXXIX 89–92) or "which I in my lifetime built as a pleasant retreat" (Kent in *JAOS* LI 228 f.).

301. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 322, where Xerxes also is suggested as builder.

302. See Pillet, *Le palais de Darius Ier*, p. 61.

303. Scheil, *MDP* XXIV, No. 31 (p. 129).

304. *KA*, pp. XXVII and 124 f. (Art. Susa c); illustrated in Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Fig. 283.

305. *KA*, pp. XXVII f., 125, 127 (Art. Susa d–e).

306. *Ibid.* pp. XXVII and 124 f. (Art. Susa b).

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secondarily in a later structure.[307] This building is presumably the Sasanian palace in which the French expedition subsequently excavated a number of Achaemenid objects.[308] It is not reported, however, whether Loftus' assumption as to the existence of an Artaxerxes palace on the same spot was confirmed.

We stated above that the architectural history of the spacious *hadish* has not been solved. Nevertheless, it is certain that a considerable portion of the structure must be assigned to Darius I. Clues suggesting alterations or additions built under his successors have been pointed out. The excavators attribute certain embellishments, such as friezes of glazed bricks depicting lions and others showing files of guards, to the reign of Artaxerxes II (see p. 32).

Undoubtedly, this king's most outstanding architectural achievement at Susa was the reconstruction of the apadana. The remnants of this building stand on an extension —originally perhaps 120 meters square—of the buttressed gravel mass which had been prepared by Darius I as a firm foundation for his *hadish* and his apadana, which was subsequently destroyed by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. We mentioned that nothing remains of the original apadana except possibly some column fragments imbedded in the foundation rubble and such parts as may have been reused. The inscription mentioning the destruction of the original audience hall and attributing its restoration to Artaxerxes II is engraved on the two northern pairs of column bases in the middle (north-south) aisle of the central hall.[309] In each case the Old Persian text is on the south, the Elamite version on the west, and the Babylonian on the east. The northern face was left blank.

The discoverers of the structure[310] determined the existence of the central hall, whose thirty-six columns arranged in a square of six equally spaced rows have the same order as the corresponding columns in the Persepolis Apadana: terraced square base, circular torus, fluted shaft, and composite capital crowned by addorsed bulls.[311] The eastern and western porticoes were defined by remnants of their columns, originally arranged in two parallel rows of six. The existence of a double row of columns marking a northern portico was denied—for insufficient reasons, we believe—by some of the later observers,[312] although three foundation slabs were uncovered at the points where the three western columns of the inner (southern) row must have stood.[313] At least one of the foundation slabs was marked with a circle corresponding to the periphery of the bell-shaped bases of the west portico.[314] The circle had undoubtedly been prepared for the placement of such a base. As to the absence of traces of the other northern portico columns, these columns may well have tumbled downhill when the original edge of the apadana platform crumbled. Some surveys show that the outer (northern) row of columns had stood where at present a rather steep slope is marked.[315]

All portico columns, we are informed, had a bell-shaped base, a torus, a fluted shaft, and a simple capital of addorsed bulls.[316] One should assume that in the apadana of Susa—as, definitely, at Persepolis—the columns of the porticoes and of the central hall were of equal height.[317]

None of the successive excavators of Susa were able to determine any remains of walls of sun-dried bricks which once undoubtedly inclosed the central hall and other parts of the apadana, after the fashion of the audience hall of Persepolis. However, Dieulafoy succeeded in determining at two spots the voids (5.60 m. wide) left by destroyed walls between the edges of the pavements of the central hall and the porticoes to the west and north.[318] This clue—disregarded by Dieulafoy's successors—combined with our observations in the Apadana of Persepolis (p. 78) disposes of all attempts to reconstruct the audience halls of Susa and Persepolis as clusters of open pavilions.[319] Dieulafoy first assumed correctly that four walls inclosed the central hall at Susa (while ignoring the northern portico),[320] but he finally reconstructed the building after the fashion of an immense *talar*, open toward the south and with an impressive but purely imaginary approach.[321] He reconstructed a monumental stairway whose location has never been confirmed.[322] The area marked "terrace" above the hypothetical stairs was subsequently found to be covered with remnants of the vast *hadish*. The "pylons" do not exist, and the "paradise" was largely occupied by the northern section of the *hadish*, including originally covered passages which connected this residential palace with the apadana.

We have to reject Dieulafoy's reasons for leaving the southern front open and for considering it the principal entrance. We believe, on the contrary, that it is the rear of the building, walled in the same manner as the other sides and pierced solely by doorways for circulation between the *hadish* and the apadana. The position of the inscribed column bases in the Susa building (see above) suggests quite definitely that the main axes of the audience halls of Persepolis and Susa were oriented alike, the principal front being in both cases on the north; but we have no

307. *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana . . . in 1849–52* (New York, 1857) pp. 401 f. and map opposite p. 340.

308. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 328.

309. Only three bases are preserved, but there is little doubt that the missing or mutilated southeastern base had been inscribed in the same manner as the other three. For the inscription (Art. Susa a) see *KA*, pp. XXVII and 122–25; Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 29 (pp. 94 f.).

310. W. F. Williams and W. K. Loftus; see Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 352–54 and 364 ff.

311. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 323 ff. and Fig. 208.

312. E.g. Jéquier (*MDP* I 78 f.) and De Mecquenem (*RA* XIX 112 and in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 325).

313. Loftus, *op. cit.* pp. 364 f. and plan on p. 366; the intercolumniation according to Loftus is 27′3″ = 8.31 m. at the north (*ibid.* p. 365) and 27′6″ = 8.39 m. in the west portico (*ibid.* p. 353). According to Dieulafoy the intercolumniation is 8.40 m. in the central hall and in the east and west porticoes (*L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 326).

314. Loftus, *op. cit.* pp. 365 and 353; the diameter of the circle reported by Loftus (8′4″ = 2.54 m.) is somewhat larger than the base diameter (2.33 m.) of a portico column reported by Dieulafoy in *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 324.

315. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pl. II; Loftus, *op. cit.* plan on p. 366.

316. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 323 ff. and Fig. 207.

317. Against Dieulafoy's belief that in both structures the columns of the central hall were *ca.* 2 m. higher than those of the porticoes; *ibid.* pp. 329 f. and Figs. 207–8.

318. *Ibid.* p. 337, Fig. 216, and Pl. II.

319. See Loftus, *op. cit.* pp. 374 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 694 ff.; Jéquier in *MDP* I 78 f. De Mecquenem still considers it doubtful whether the central hall at Susa was inclosed by walls, but he tentatively reconstructs walls between the central hall and the eastern and western porticoes; see Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 325 and Fig. 75.

320. *L'Art antique de la Perse* II (1884) Fig. 17.

321. *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 341 ff., Fig. 221, Pls. II and XIV–XV.

322. For glazed-brick sections of stairway parapets see p. 32.

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information whatsoever as to the approaches to the Susa structure or the embellishment of its façades, features which would inform us whether a lateral front—the western or the eastern—had been given as much prominence as the eastern front of the Apadana at Persepolis.

Pillet's reconstructed plan,[323] which in most essentials agrees with our own ideas, postulates three stairways leading from assumed gardens to the top of the artificial apadana platform. So far, the excavations have not confirmed the existence of such approaches to the northern, western, and eastern porticoes, and to our knowledge the height of the gravel-filled platform above the level of its surroundings in the Achaemenid period has not yet been determined.

The extant remnants of this building are so close in plan and details to the correspondent parts of the Apadana at Persepolis that one is justified in using the latter structure as a model for the reconstruction of the former. Our excavations at Persepolis have provided us with the clue for the theoretical completion of the apadana at Susa: four towers (cf. Figs. 21 and 29–30) with rooms for guards and for storage and with stairways giving access to the roof would neatly fill the corners of the building, shown only as empty angles on Pillet's plan. It is possible, furthermore, that here as at Persepolis the space between the southern pair of towers was occupied by storerooms.

Nothing is known definitely about the embellishment of the walls of the apadana at Susa. Hypothetical reconstructions show friezes of glazed bricks picturing lions, guards, and sacred symbols;[324] but it is reported that except for a few units with floral and geometric designs no remnants of glazed-brick decoration—that is, definitely no traces of figurative patterns—occurred in the debris of the building.[325] According to the same source, the friezes of the guards and the lions could not have belonged to the apadana because they were found too far away.[326] Again, we are told that there must have been a low wall, perhaps decorated with a lion frieze, separating the apadana from the *hadish*.[327] This low wall seems to be the one marked on De Mecquenem's original plan (see Fig. 11) as a probable wall and on his latest version[328] by two parallel lines. It falls entirely within the space where we would locate the south wall of the central hall, and we suspect that it is the remnant core of this very wall. In this case we have at least one clue (see n. 326) for postulating a glazed-brick frieze with a lion pattern for the southern façade of the apadana.

As to vestiges of interior embellishment, it is reported that fragments of sculptured limestone capitals retained traces of color. Red pigment and even a spot of gold (foil?) were noticed on one eye of a bull capital. We are told that there is reason to believe that the necklaces of the addorsed bulls and "certain ornaments of the capitals" also were gilded. The yellow color of the bulls' hoofs on glazed-brick panels has been considered proof that the hoofs of the stone bulls had been coated with gold. The same source suggests that the horns and ears of these bull capitals may have consisted of bronze.[329] Traces of yellowish-white pigment seem to have been noticed on column fragments.[330]

It has been suggested that pieces of red plaster found in the debris of the building are the remains of the interior surface coat of the walls.[331] Light beige plaster with pink hue is claimed to have covered the exterior wall surfaces.[332] Since none of the walls were actually found, suggestions as to their surfaces are open to doubt.[333]

As to the floors of the apadana, the red-surfaced concrete prevailing in the *hadish* and in the earliest structures of Persepolis—appears to be absent. Otherwise it would have been mentioned in the reports dealing with the building. A part, if not all, of the central hall of the apadana was paved with square slabs of aragonite and "false aragonite" consisting of lime mortar with clays of different colors.[334]

Artaxerxes III

Only one fragmentary document, namely the remnant of a Babylonian inscription on a thick limestone slab, informs us about the building activities of Artaxerxes Ochus at Susa. The inscription states that the king completed the front and the rear of a structure, presumably a palace, whose original builder is not named.[335] It is tempting to assume, with Olmstead, that this builder was the king's father (Artaxerxes II) and that the structure concerned was the apadana,[336] possibly not quite completed at the time of his death.

Arses and Darius III

No monuments of any kind have been discovered that can be attributed to the short reign of Arses, and nothing is known about any building activities of Darius III before he lost the palaces and the treasure of Susa to the victorious Alexander.

ECBATANA

The remains of Achaemenid Ecbatana are almost as unknown as those of the Median capital (p. 19), which was despoiled by Cyrus the Great. There are no records informing us about constructions of this king, for the Biblical reference to the archives "at Achmetha, in the palace" (cf. p. 28) leaves doubt whether the building concerned

323. *Le palais de Darius Ier*, Figs. 10 and 21.

324. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pls. XIV–XV.

325. Jéquier in *MDP* I 79 f.

326. *Ibid.* p. 79. The lion frieze assigned by Dieulafoy to Artaxerxes II (see p. 32 above) was found, if we understand correctly (see *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 276), *ca.* 50 m. south of our assumed southern façade of the apadana.

327. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 325.

328. *Ibid.* Fig. 75.

329. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 347. We do not know whether any of these suggestions have been verified. To judge by extant specimens, the inserted ears and horns of the animal capitals at Persepolis consisted of the same stone as the body.

330. De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 325.

331. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 286 and Pl. XIII 2 (in color).

332. *Ibid.* p. 286 and Pl. XIII 1.

333. E.g., another observer reports "plaques of unfired earth with red and blue paint" (De Mecquenem in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 325). These may be remnants of wall-facing, perhaps fragments of painted doorway borders—or the like—such as were found in the Treasury of Persepolis (see p. 160 and Fig. 68 *B*).

334. De Mecquenem in *MDP* XXIX 35.

335. Scheil, *MDP* XXI, No. 30 (pp. 99 f.); Brandenstein in *WZKM* XXXIX 94–97.

336. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 489.

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was erected by Cyrus or by his Median predecessors.[337] It is plausible, of course, to assume that in the course of time he built his own palaces in the summer capital of his newly-won empire. Nothing is known about building activities of Cambyses II at this site.

Darius I

Darius I occupied Ecbatana after defeating (on May 8, 521) the Median pretender to the throne[338] in a battle supposedly fought near Behistun (Bīsitūn on Fig. 2),[339] where he subsequently engraved his famous inscription. At the present state of our knowledge, the founder of Persepolis and of the royal precincts at Susa and Babylon(?) is the first Achaemenid whose architectural activities at Ecbatana are proved beyond doubt. "Between two exceptionally well-wrought building stones," near the edge of ancient debris which extends beneath parts of modern Hamadan, was discovered a gold tablet (19 cm. square)[340] whose trilingual inscription is identical with the text of the foundation documents of gold and silver deposited by Darius in the Apadana of Persepolis (p. 70) and of a second tablet, made of silver (10.5 × 14.5 cm.), uncovered at Hamadan.[341] There is no doubt that the Hamadan plaques too are foundation documents of a Darius structure, but prior to excavation we shall not know whether this building also was an audience hall of apadana type. We do know that at a later date, under the reign of Artaxerxes II, an apadana was erected at Ecbatana (see p. 38).

It is reported that in the find-area of the Hamadan plaques there occur column bases[342] of various sizes and forms in addition to large doorsills (all made of the same gray limestone, which resembles the stone of the Persepolis structures) and extremely strong walls made of baked bricks of astounding dimensions (78 × 78 × 18 cm.).[343] We are told, further, that a long lapidary inscription, discovered with the Hamadan gold tablet, has been tentatively assigned to Darius. The contents of the text are not known.[344] Fragments of granite columns[345] of an unknown period are reported about 2 kilometers east of the rock hill al-Musalla (which is bare except for the ruin of an Islamic fort)[346] and ancient quarries about $3\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers southwest of the same hill.

The famous yellowish sandstone lion of Hamadan[347] is presumably post-Achaemenian,[348] although it has been attributed to a time as early even as the Median period.[349]

In the Hamadan-Ecbatana area, apart from the foundation plaques discussed, only one document is definitely assignable to Darius I, namely, one of the two trilingual rock inscriptions collectively called Ganj Namah ("Treasure Story").[350] The site is about 6 kilometers (air line) west of the town on the upper slope of the Alvand Mountain. Here two rectangular niches of the same size[351] are cut into the eastern face of a large granite boulder which lies about 30 meters above a creek. The inscription of Darius, arranged in three columns of twenty lines, is engraved in the left (southern) niche, whereas the right panel, which is closer to the ground, bears the almost identical inscription of Xerxes:

> A great god (is) Ahuramazda [who (is) the greatest of the gods], who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made Darius [Xerxes] king, one king of many, one lord of many.
>
> I (am) Darius [Xerxes], the great king, king of kings, king of the lands of many tribes, king of this wide far-stretching earth. The son of Hystaspes [Darius the king], the Achaemenid.[352]

No satisfactory explanation has yet been found for the location of the Ganj Namah inscriptions. No remains of structures have been reported in the vicinity,[353] but the fact that a summer trail across the Alvand Mountain passes the spot may provide a clue.

Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II

Ctesias states that Xerxes was in Ecbatana when he heard of the revolt of Babylon.[354] As to structures of the summer capital—possibly added by himself to those erected by his father—for the time being there is only one, somewhat doubtful, reference. It is a fragmentary Old Persian inscription preserved on pieces of a silver pitcher which, according to report, was found in the mound deposit beneath Hamadan. The form of the vessel is unknown, for it was cut into pieces by the natives who discovered it. The remnant of the inscription (engraved near the pitcher rim) has been interpreted as follows: ". . . made for the palace [of Xerxe]s the king." It is possible that the text started with a designation (perhaps "silver pitcher") of the vessel.[355] Apart from this, the only monument definitely attributed to Xerxes in the Ecbatana area is the above-mentioned duplicate of his father's rock inscription.

So far, no architectural inscriptions of any of the three kings here concerned have come to light at Hamadan-Ecbatana;[355a] but again, there is an indirect reference to a palace of Artaxerxes I. Four attractive silver bowls, said to have been found at the site under consideration,[356] each

337. Ezra 6:1–3.

338. Behistun inscription, OP §§ 31–32 (see King and Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 34–37).

339. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 114.

340. Herzfeld, "Eine neue Darius-Inschrift aus Hamadan" (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XLVII = n.F. III [1926] cols. 2105–8).

341. See *AI*, pp. 18 f. (No. 6); Kent in *JAOS* LI 229–31 (with bibliography).

342. Including at least one base with an inscription of Artaxerxes II; Herzfeld in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XLVII = n.F. III, col. 2105.

343. *Ibid.* 344. Herzfeld, *AMI* II 116.

345. Flandin and Coste, plan on Pl. 24; remains of large unfluted columns with basal diameter of 2.20 m. are shown on Pl. 25.

346. See Schmidt, *Flights*, pp. 74 f. and Pls. 91–92.

347. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 159–62 and illustration.

348. See Herzfeld in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XLVII = n.F. III, col. 2105.

349. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 162; *IF*, p. 145.

350. Jackson, *op. cit.* pp. 170–73 and illustrations; Flandin and Coste, Pls. 26–26 *bis*, also Pl. 24 (for location).

351. Width 2.69 m.; height 1.92 m.; depth *ca.* 30 cm.

352. The variations of Xerxes' text are shown in brackets. See *KA*, pp. XX, XXV, 100–103, 116 f; Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, pp. 51–53.

353. Jackson (*op. cit.* p. 173) observed two small blank niches in the neighborhood. A rock-cut platform (a "high place") discovered by Robert Ker Porter on the highest eastern peak of the Alvand must be quite far from Ganj Namah (*Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820* II (London, 1822) 116 f.

354. *Persica* 53. 355. Herzfeld, *AMI* II 115 f.

355a. A foundation record of gold—assumedly from Hamadan—with an OP inscription of Darius II has now been published by H. H. Paper in *JAOS* LXXII (1952) 169–70.

356. We must assume that Olmstead had definite information with regard to the find-location of the bowls (*History of the Persian Empire*, p. 353 and Pl. LXIII, bottom). Herzfeld, who published the Artaxerxes vessels, reported neither their find-spot nor their present location (*AMI* VII 1–8 and Pls. I–III; *AMI* VIII 5–17; *AI*, p. 46 [No. 23]).

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bear on the rim an Old Persian inscription which mentions Artaxerxes, his ancestors, and the fact that the vessel was made for his palace.

Artaxerxes II

Fragments of inscribed column bases found at Hamadan inform us that Artaxerxes Memnon erected an audience hall in the summer capital of the empire. Two fragments belong to discoid tori whose rounded sides are covered with a trilingual inscription identifying the builder and stating that he constructed an apadana (by the grace of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra).[357] A third base, made of dark gray limestone, consists of a plinth (*ca.* 1 m. square and 30 cm. high) and a discoid torus (diameter, *ca.* 90 cm.). In this case a fragmentary monolingual (OP) inscription is engraved on the top of the plinth near its edge. It mentions that Artaxerxes (II) built the "columned apadana of stone."[358] It is unknown, at present, whether an earlier apadana existed in the summer capital, or to what extent this columned structure of Memnon resembled the apadana of Susa, which was rebuilt by the same king. We may mention parenthetically that Ecbatana was one of the cities in which Artaxerxes Memnon erected statues of Anahita.[359] It is not known under whose reign the Ecbatana temple of Anahita (=Aena) was built; but we are told by Polybius that some of its embellishment, in the form of sheets, tiles, and bricks of precious metals, still existed at the time when Antiochus the Great arrived (210 B.C.).[360]

Artaxerxes III and Darius III

The report stating that Artaxerxes III, Ochus, erected stone columns of an apadana is erroneous.[361] As far as we know, there is no record of any building activities at Ecbatana during the reigns of the last Achaemenid rulers. The era of Achaemenid Ecbatana ended with the flight and death of Darius and with the occupation of the city by Alexander, in 330 B.C. Until it becomes possible to investigate the mounds beneath modern Hamadan, the accounts of the early historians (cf. p. 19, n. 15) will be more informative than the few fragments of buildings and other chance finds from the ancient city.

BEHISTUN AND MISCELLANEOUS SITES

The most important historical document left to posterity by Darius the Great is the inscription[362] cut into the precipitous southern face of the mountain of Behistun.[363] The famous record, accompanied by a monumental illustrative relief, is located 100 meters above springs of clear water and above the age-old caravan road which has now become the principal highway for motor traffic between the western lowlands and the Iranian plateau.

There are comprehensive accounts of the inscription and of the relief,[364] and the entire monument has recently been the subject of a thorough and presumably conclusive examination.[365] Thus, a descriptive sketch suffices for our purposes.

The total extent of that portion of the wrought rock face which is covered with inscriptions and sculptures measures about 18 meters in width[366] and about 7.80 m. in height.[367] The main inscription deals with Darius' genealogy, the extent of his empire, the events leading up to his assumption of power with the assassination of Gaumata (Bardiya[368]), and, finally, the suppression of rebellions led by the eight pretenders who are pictured on the relief. Gaumata was killed on September 29, 522, and the pacification of the empire was largely completed by the autumn of 521. Supplementary inscriptions, however, record the quelling of a later (third) rebellion of Elam and describe a campaign against Scythians which resulted in the defeat (and undoubtedly death) of Skunkha, one of their leaders, whose figure was then added to the other victims depicted.

The relief[369] shows Darius at an exaggerated scale, his head encircled by a crenelated diadem. His left foot and his bow—held vertically in his left hand—rest on the prostrate Gaumata. The king's right hand is raised in a gesture of worship toward the sacred winged symbol, from which rises the image of Ahuramazda. The god, facing the king, holds a ring in his left hand and raises the right in the same manner as the king, but the god's gesture is presumably one of blessing. An encircled, eight-pointed star is shown above the god's tall, roughly cylindrical headdress, on which the horn symbols of divinity are marked. The sacred symbol floats above a file of eight captured rebel pretenders, to whom was added a ninth figure, that of the defeated Scythian leader (see above), whose huge headdress has been taken as proof that he and his tribe were Saka Tigraxauda; that is, "pointed-hat Scythians."[370] The

357. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Fig. 236 and p. 342, n. 2; *KA*, pp. XXVIII and 126 f.

358. Herzfeld, "Drei Inschriften aus persischem Gebiet," *MAOG* IV (1928–29) 85 f.; Kent in *JAOS* LI 231 f. (Art. Ham. b).

359. We are told that Memnon was the first Persian ruler to introduce the worship of statues in human form. Further localities in which statues were erected include Babylon, Susa, Parsa (Persepolis), Bactra, Damascus, and Sardis; see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 471 (bibliography).

360. Polybius x. 27. 12.

361. Olmstead (*History of the Persian Empire*, p. 489) was misled by a typographic error in *AI*, p. 50, where inscription No. 25 is labeled "Art. III" instead of "Art. II." Further corrections of footnotes on Olmstead's p. 489 are: in n. 13 read *MAOG* IV (1928–29) 85–86 (instead of *AMI* IV [1932] 85); at end of n. 14 read 344–45 (instead of 34–35); at end of n. 16 read cols. 61–62 (instead of p. 626).

362. Mostly trilingual (OP, El., and Bab.).

363. For other designations, ancient and modern (to which Bisitun should be added), see *KA*, p. XI, n. 1. For an aerial view of the impressive mountain see Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 101.

364. The results of the initial decipherment by the renowned Henry C. Rawlinson are to be found in *JRAS* X (1847), XI (1848), and XIV (1851). For the most inclusive publication see King and Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn;* see also Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 175–212; *KA*, pp. XI–XIV and 8–79; König, *Relief und Inschrift des Koenigs Dareios I am Felsen von Bagistan* (Leiden, 1938), reviewed by Kent in *JAOS* LVIII (1938) 675–79; further bibliography in the publications cited.

365. By Professor George G. Cameron, in autumn 1948.

366. "Rather more than 58′6″"; King and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. xxiv.

367. See *ibid.* Pls. VI and XIII for the positions of the relief and the various sections of the inscription; measurements on pp. xxii–xxiv.

368. Cf. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 108 f.

369. *Ca.* 3 m. high and *ca.* 5.50 m. long. For illustrations see e.g. King and Thompson, *op. cit.* Pls. III, VIII, XIII.

370. See Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien* ("Klio," Beiheft XLI, n.F. Heft 28 [Leipzig, 1939]) pp. 61 ff.

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hands of the prisoners are shackled behind their backs and what appears to be one rope is tied around their necks. Behind Darius stand two Persian dignitaries, the bearer of the king's bow[371] and quiver and his lance-bearer. The king and his officers all wear the same kind of flowing gown—the Persian candys—and the same type of shoes with three straps; but the fillets encircling the heads of the officers are not embellished with the crenelation of the royal diadem.[372] The king's long, square-tipped beard[373] too is distinguished, as usual, from the short-cropped beards of his subjects. The god, the king, and the two officers wear bracelets on both wrists.

As to other vestiges of antiquity in the vicinity of the Behistun monument, so far no Achaemenid buildings have been discovered, but certain structural remains may be attributed to the Sasanian period.[374] There is an enormous artificial escarpment cut into the rock of Behistun a short distance to the southwest of the Darius monument. Its period is unknown, and its intended purpose is problematical. The unfinished, rectangular panel, which shows no traces of writings or reliefs, measures about 150 meters in length and about 30 meters in height. In front is a platform of rock and earth jutting out about 100 meters to a line which coincides with remnants of a coarse retaining wall running parallel to the escarpment.[375] Finally, at the foot of the mountain, below the Darius monument, there are two Parthian reliefs. One of them[376] has been assigned to Mithradates the Great (*ca.* 123–87 B.C.), the second to Gotarzes II (*ca.* A.D. 38–51).[377] About 400 meters northeast(?) of the point under consideration a monolithic boulder[378] shows crudely carved human figures also assignable to the Parthian period.

We have no proof that Darius the Great erected any buildings at Van; but Xerxes informs us in a trilingual inscription cut into the impressive castle rock of the site that his father had built much that was beautiful and that he had ordered the rock face to be hewn (smoothed), omitting, however, to engrave his own inscription.[379] A palace of Darius must have existed in northern Mesopotamia, near a hitherto unidentified place called Sandracae, which is mentioned as one of the stations of Alexander's march between Arbela and Babylon.[380] The ancient historians do not inform us whether Darius or one of the later Achaemenids built the royal residence 200 stades inland from the mouth of the River Granis, where the gulf port of Taoce was situated.[381] The site is assumed to be near the border of Parsa and Carmania. Another Achaemenid palace was built by an unnamed ruler at Gabae "somewhere in the upper parts of Persis."[382] The locations of both sites are uncertain.

PERSEPOLIS

Darius I

The inscriptions carved in the southern face of the Persepolis Terrace[383] prove that Darius the Great was the founder of the palace fortress which bore the same name—Parsa—as the surrounding homeland of the Persians.[384] It is not known when, exactly, the construction of the Terrace was started. Until the end of the principal revolts in autumn 521 B.C. Darius was preoccupied with the preservation of the empire[385] and would hardly have thought of erecting a new dynastic center to supersede Pasargadae. It is possible that work began at Persepolis about 520, when, assumedly, the king gave the order to immortalize his victories on the rock of Behistun.[386]

There are a few data which have bearing on the duration of the initial phase of the work. The roster of nations given in one (Dar. Pers. e; see p. 63) of the four foundation inscriptions of the Terrace includes the Saka—presumably the pointed-hat Scythians—whose leader, Skunkha, defeated perhaps in summer 519,[387] was added to the figures of Darius' enemies at Behistun. The list further mentions Egypt, regained by Darius in a campaign which apparently lasted from the end of 519 until spring of 518.[388] India (Hinduš = Sind = Indus Valley), also enumerated in the list of nations, had become a satrapy "sometime before 513."[389] An important additional clue for the dating of this foundation inscription has recently been discovered. Cameron has determined that instead of "the lands which are in the east" the text actually mentions "the lands that are beyond the sea," that is, the territory of the European Scythians.[390] This proves that Darius' campaign against these Scyths had been carried through (assumedly in 513, definitely between 516 and 511[391]) by the time the inscription concerned was composed.[392]

Preparatory operations of considerable magnitude had to be completed before the site was ready for the erection

371. Duplicating the weapon held by the king. The ends of the bows are modeled in the form of duck heads.

372. Drawing by L. W. King in *IF*, Fig. 91.

373. Cameron found that the king's beard is a distinct piece of stone set into the rock.

374. See Erdmann, "Die Kapitelle am Taq i Bostan" (*MDOG* No. 80 [Oct. 1943] pp. 1–24).

375. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 187–90; De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse* IV 286 ff.; King and Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. xxvi f. and Pl. XII.

376. Partly destroyed by an Arabic inscription; see King and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. xxiv and Pl. IX, and Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 209.

377. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920) pp. 35 ff. and Pls. XXI–XXIII; Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938) pp. 44 f. and 173 f.

378. King and Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. xxv f. and Pls. X–XI; Jackson, *op. cit.* pp. 210–12.

379. *KA*, pp. XXV f. and 116–19.

380. Strabo xvi. 1. 4; see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 517.

381. Arrian *Indica* 39. 3.

382. Strabo xv. 3. 3. Herzfeld identifies Gabae with Isfahan (*IAE*, p. 222).

383. Dar Pers. d–g; see pp. 62–63.

384. For Parsa = Persepolis see *IF*, p. 110, and Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 173.

385. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 108–16.

386. See *ibid.* p. 116.

387. See Parker in *AJSL* LVIII 374, n. 11, and 377.

388. *Ibid.* p. 377; cf. Cameron in *JNES* II 311.

389. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* p. 145. Herzfeld believes that the conquest of Sind preceded the Egyptian campaign and took place in 519–18; see *A New Inscription of Darius from Hamadan* (Archaeological Survey of India, "Memoirs," No. 34 [Calcutta, 1928]) p. 2.

390. Skudrians and Saka beyond the sea. See *JNES* II 307 ff.

391. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 147 f.; Cameron in *JNES* II 313.

392. For Cameron's theory in regard to the omission of Putaya (Libya) and Kusha (Ethiopia) see *JNES* II 309.

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of buildings (see p. 61). About 125,000 square meters of an irregular rocky slope had to be shaped into the approximate platform profile planned by the architects. Hilly parts had to be cut to the desired heights, and depressions had to be filled with the quarried rubble. Simultaneously, one should assume, work proceeded at the buttress wall of the Terrace, which was to face and retain the core of bedrock and rubble, and at the Terrace stairway, which eventually became the only major means of access to the site (see p. 64).

The next phase consisted in finishing the Terrace surface. The individual platforms or podia for the projected structures were shaped by terracing and scarping elevated bedrock remnants, to which masonry was added where required for completion of rectangular foundations. This phase of the operations must have been synchronized with the trenching (in bedrock) and building of the principal tunnels of the subsurface drainage system and of those branch channels which were to protect the buildings planned by Darius and his architects (see p. 209). The cistern, cut deeply into the bedrock of the eastern slope, may also have been started at this time (see p. 212).

The site was then ready for the erection of buildings. It seems plausible to assume that at this time work was started on the mud-brick fortification which ultimately encircled almost the entire Terrace[393] and the adjacent hill on the east (see p. 206). One of the four foundation inscriptions states that Darius built here a "fortress" (Dar. Pers. f; see p. 63). The location of the inscriptions at the upper edge of the Terrace face suggests that they were not executed before the stone foundation of the Terrace was completed. Furthermore, to judge by Darius' own words, "on this platform . . . this fortress was built . . . and I built it secure and beautiful and adequate," we have to assume that the founder's inscriptions were not engraved until the work at the defense system was well advanced and after the palatial buildings had at least been laid out or started.

There is reason for our belief that certain Achaemenid structures south of Persepolis (see p. 55) were built by Darius while the Terrace was in the process of construction. However, their red-surfaced floors (see p. 159) indicate merely that they were built (or started) sometime during Darius' reign or at the beginning of his successor's rule. Excavations have not beeen carried far enough in this area to permit more definite conclusions.

On the Terrace proper, as far as we know, the following structures in addition to the defense system were planned by the founder of the site: the Apadana (pp. 70–106), the Council Hall (pp. 107–22),[394] the Palace of Darius (pp. 222–29), the original Treasury and its first addition (see pp. 156–200).

The foundation tablets of the Apadana (p. 70) were written and deposited even before the foundation document of the Terrace[395] was composed. We have pointed out that the latter record must be assigned to a period following Darius' campaign against the European Scyths (p. 39). The Apadana tablets mentioning Sardis as the northwestern limit of the empire and omitting "the lands that are beyond the sea" must be earlier than this Scythian campaign. We see no necessity to assume that the foundation record of the Apadana is a later copy of the identical text engraved on the Ecbatana tablets (see p. 37).[396] We believe, rather, that the structure (an apadana?) in which the Ecbatana tablets occurred and the Persepolis Apadana are roughly contemporaneous. Again, the true chronological sequence of these two structures and the Darius apadana of Susa (see esp. p. 33) is conjectural.

The Apadana of Persepolis was not completed during Darius' lifetime. Xerxes' inscription on glazed bricks which embellished parts of the exterior wall faces states that he finished his father's work (p. 71); but his stairway inscriptions completely ignore the contribution of the founder, and in the Babylonian version Xerxes flatly states "by the grace of Ahuramazda have I built this house" (p. 82, n. 92).

There is no written record which might inform us when the Council Hall was constructed. The stairway panels originally prepared to bear inscriptions were left blank. However, together with the close structural relationship of this building and the Apadana (see p. 107), the reliefs on the eastern doorway of the main hall of the Council Hall provide the clue for dating the structure. Here an enthroned ruler and behind him a standing person of royal rank undoubtedly represent Darius and his son Xerxes after the latter had been chosen as heir to the throne. These reliefs allow us to assign the completion of the Council Hall to the end of Darius' life or possibly to the beginning of his successor's reign.

As to Darius' residential palace, his inscriptions—engraved on doorways, windows, and niches and on a relief of the ruler himself—prove that he commenced its construction. Inscriptions of Xerxes on the antae of the portico, on the main façade, and on a second relief of the king show that the founder's son completed this building too. Obviously, however, by the time of Darius' death the residential palace was nearer to completion than the immense Apadana. This is confirmed by Xerxes' clear statement—contrasting with the Apadana inscriptions—that Darius was the builder of the palace.

Apart possibly from sections of the defense system and the garrison quarters lining the fortification, the original Treasury (Fig. 66 *B*) was the first structure to be completed on the Persepolis Terrace. In addition to sheltering royal stores, the Treasury undoubtedly served from the very beginning as the administrative center of the site. Thus, the chronology of the business records found on the Terrace must be closely correlated with the building history of the royal storehouse. We should expect that the start of its administrative activities coincided with the appearance of such records.

The earliest administrative documents—clay tablets inscribed in Elamite cuneiform and dealing mostly with payments in kind to construction workers[397]—were discovered in the southeastern portion of a bastion at the northern edge of the Terrace (see Fig. 21). There is some uncertainty as to the year in which the earliest of these so-called "fortification tablets" was written. It has been implied that the earliest record is dated in the eleventh year of the king

393. We believe that the Terrace edge west of the Apadana was protected by a parapet only (see p. 62).

394. Formerly called "Tripylon."

395. At least that part of the document listing the nations of the empire (Dar. Pers. e).

396. Cf. Cameron in *JNES* II 312, n. 31.

397. See *OIP* LXV 2, but cf. W. Hinz in *ZA* XLIX = n.F. XV (1949) 348.

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(Darius I; 511/10 B.C.),[398] or in his twelfth year (510/9),[399] or, possibly, as late as the fourteenth year of Darius' reign (508/7).[400]

We do not believe that the fortification tablets have any bearing on the date of construction of the rooms in which they were found (see below); but we are quite sure that the date—sometime between 511 and 507 B.C.—of the earliest tablet of this group is close to that of the completion of the original Treasury.

The fact that no earlier tablets have been discovered does not prove the absence of an organized administration prior to that time. In our opinion it indicates simply that there was no administrative building on the Terrace proper. Temporary quarters for administration, storage, housing of workmen and soldiers must have existed in the vicinity of the site during its construction.

The latest tablet of the fortification group was written in Darius' twenty-eighth regnal year (494/93 B.C.), and the earliest of the Treasury tablets (see below) is dated in the thirtieth year (of Darius' reign; 492/91 B.C.).[401] We believe that the fortification tablets had been removed—sometime after 494/93 B.C.—from their original archives to be stored (or discarded) in rooms of the fortification.

It seems to us that the problem of the original location of the fortification tablets is solved by the find-locations of the Treasury tablets. By far the majority of the latter records were massed in one room neighboring the courtyard of the first addition to the Treasury (see p. 174). A certain number occurred in the second (and final) addition, but only a few stray specimens were found in the remnant of the original building.[402] The date of the earliest Treasury tablet (492/91) should mark approximately the opening of administrative quarters in the newly completed first addition to the Treasury, which is embellished with audience reliefs of the king and the crown prince (see pp. 162–69). The date of the latest fortification tablet (494/93) should indicate roughly the time when work in the original offices was discontinued. We have no doubt that those offices occupied the courtyard complex of the original Treasury (see pp. 188–90). From there presumably the mass of early records was removed to the fortification—to make room for the storage of other objects—sometime after the administration had changed to new quarters (see p. 42).

Six kilometers north-northwest of the Persepolis Terrace Darius had his monumental tomb carved into the limestone cliff which is now called Naqsh-i-Rustam.[403] Except for its major inscriptions,[404] assumedly engraved shortly before or after the king's death (Nov. 486 B.C.), the elaborately sculptured tomb façade was imitated by all successors of Darius. Only one of the later monarchs[405] copied also the legends identifying the throne-bearers who in Darius' time represented the nations of the empire.

The enigmatic Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-i-Rustam, duplicating as far as observable the Tower of Pasargadae (pp. 23–24), has been assigned to Darius the Great.[406] This dating is plausible if it can be proved that the two structures are indeed the fire sanctuaries of Pasargadae and Persepolis. Those who maintain that the towers are tombs have to attribute them to precursors of Cyrus II and Darius respectively. The problems concerning these structures will be examined in connection with the description of the excavations at Naqsh-i-Rustam.[407]

Xerxes

Darius' son and successor completed the great Apadana of Persepolis and his father's residential palace (see p. 40). The Council Hall may have been finished by the time of Darius' death. Otherwise Xerxes presumably would have followed his habit of recording his share of the construction at appropriate spots—in this case the inscription panels of the stairway, which, however, were left blank. The relatively great number of workers employed from the second to the fourth years (484–482 B.C.) of Xerxes' reign and the apparently sharp decrease in the number of workmen thereafter, according to the Treasury records, suggest that certain constructions initiated by Darius were terminated by Xerxes' fifth regnal year.[408] We feel, however, that the number of tablets which deal with the period between the end of Xerxes' fourth year and his fifteenth year (482–471) is insufficient to give a true picture of the situation.[409] Our opinion is based in part on the great amount of building carried through by Xerxes in addition to completion or alteration of his father's structures. Xerxes newly erected the Terrace Gate (pp. 65–68), his residential palace (pp. 238–44), and the Harem (pp. 255–64). Furthermore, he altered the Treasury and commenced work at the Throne Hall.[410] The tomb east of Darius I's sepulcher at Naqsh-i-Rustam, carved as usual during the king's lifetime, has been plausibly identified as the grave of Xerxes.

It is to be assumed that the architects of Darius planned some monumental entry to the royal site. Xerxes' gate inscription (Xerx. Pers. a) alludes to his father's work and thus seems to acknowledge that Darius had at least an initial share in the project. On the other hand, Xerxes states definitely that he built the gate structure, which we consequently have to assign to his reign.

There can be no doubt that Xerxes planned and constructed his own residential palace. On panels of the stairways leading to the palace courtyard and on the antae of the portico the king calls his residence a *hadish* (see p. 238).

398. Arno Poebel, "The king of the Persepolis tablets," *AJSL* LVI (1939) 301. Poebel (*ibid.* pp. 301–4) believes the king of the fortification tablets to be Artaxerxes I; for correction cf. Richard T. Hallock, "Darius I, the king of the Persepolis tablets" (*JNES* I 230–32) and Cameron, "Darius' daughter and the Persepolis inscriptions" (*JNES* I 214–18).

399. Cameron in *JNES* I 218; see also his *OIP* LXV 1.

400. Oral information from Dr. Hallock, who maintains that so far no tablet date prior to the 14th year has been established beyond doubt.

401. *OIP* LXV 85 (No. 1*a*). A tablet with Babylonian inscription, which probably did not originate at Persepolis, is dated in the 20th year of Darius (*ibid.* p. 200 [No. 85]). Altogether 109 Treasury tablets written in Elamite could be assigned with various degrees of certainty to specific rulers: 13 to Darius I, 92 to Xerxes, and 4 to Artaxerxes I (*ibid.* pp. 83–199).

402. See find-spot plan of Treasury tablets in Vol. II, chapter on "Seals and Seal Impressions."

403. See Ctesias *Persica* 46. For the tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam and Persepolis see our Vol. III.

404. *KA*, pp. XVII f. and 86–95 (NR a–b); *AI*, pp. 4–13 (No. 4).

405. Presumably Artaxerxes II (see p. 43).

406. See e.g. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 64 f. and 196.

407. Vol. III. Except for the tomb of Darius I, none of the later Achaemenid tombs have been identified beyond doubt; see *IF*, pp. 57 ff.

408. See *OIP* LXV 13–16.

409. See *ibid.* p. 14; only 6 tablets are listed: 2 of the 6th year, 2 of the 7th, and 1 each of the 10th and 12th years. Obviously, the extant tablets are only a small remnant of the original records.

410. Formerly called "Hundred-Column Hall."

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Inscribed column tori which must have belonged to the same building call it a *tachara* (p. 239). None of these texts, nor shorter inscriptions of the king on doorways, windows, and reliefs of the ruler, refer to Darius' constructions after the fashion of the inscriptions on the Gate of Xerxes and on the brick panels of the Apadana.

The date of the Harem compound is indicated by the superposition of the main wing over foundations of Darius' Treasury, further, by a foundation plaque of Xerxes (found in a corner of the main wing; see p. 255), and, finally, by the close association of the westernmost section of the Harem with Xerxes' palace. The chronological sequence of the Harem sections is not certain, but one is justified in conjecturing that the westernmost part of the building was the first to be completed. The remaining rooms of the west wing may have been added while the palatial main wing was in the process of construction.

The alterations in the Treasury must have coincided with the construction of the main wing of the Harem, because the western part of the Treasury had to be razed to make room for the Harem. Furthermore, the destruction of storage space necessitated the construction of an addition to the Treasury, namely Hall 38 and its subsidiary rooms (see Fig. 63). The floor of this second and final addition shows the brown-red finish typical of the earlier portions of the Treasury but absent in Xerxes' Harem. We conclude that the final Treasury addition was built soon after the death of Darius[411] while the traditional red flooring of his time was still in use. The contents of the section to be razed were then transferred to the new quarters. However, the part of the royal storehouse to be destroyed was considerably larger than the new annex. It follows that some of the stores had to be stacked in the undoubtedly overcrowded eastern remnant of Darius' Treasury. At this time, if not before, the obsolete administrative records (the fortification tablets) presumably were transported to the northern defense wall (see pp. 40–41).

The frequency of business tablets of the nineteenth and twentieth years of Xerxes' reign, combined with the great number of laborers and artisans mentioned in them,[412] indicates a period of intense construction work. There is only one major project which can be concerned, namely the Throne Hall, for its foundation record, deposited by Artaxerxes I, states that Xerxes initiated its construction (see p. 129). This means, of course, that Xerxes' architects drew its original plan. It may well be, furthermore, that its sculptures too had been designed by Xerxes' artists, although the actual carving took place presumably during the reign of his successor.

We have changed our opinion as to the purpose of the palatial Throne Hall, which others and we ourselves had formerly considered a second audience hall. We believe now that the structure was the logical culmination of the sequence of treasure halls in the royal storehouse, ever expanding toward the north. The Throne Hall was without doubt the "palace museum" of Persepolis, erected for the storage and, above all, for the exhibition of the greatest royal treasures. The idea of reserving a palatial structure for the display of dynastic power and glory was not new. At Babylon the "palace museum" of Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 B.C.) and his successors contained an extraordinary variety of objects from widely separated areas, as revealed by the excavations.[413] There is a striking modern example of a combined throne hall and palace museum. The very successor of the Achaemenid kings, the Shah of Iran, stores and exhibits the royal treasures in rooms and galleries adjoining the hall of the famous, though misnamed, Peacock Throne in the Gulistan Palace of Tehran.[414]

The Persepolis Treasury, which contained a varied assortment of objects from distant parts of the Achaemenid empire, offers an interesting parallel to the Babylonian museum. Nothing is known, however, about the contents of the Throne Hall debris, which was thoroughly furrowed in 1877 by the Governor of Fars.

Artaxerxes I

The foundation record of the Throne Hall (see p. 129) ascribes the completion of the building to the son and successor of Xerxes. Four Treasury tablets dealing with the building activities of Artaxerxes[415] most probably refer to the construction of the same building. The latest—as far as we know—of these Elamite tablets mentions payments to eleven hundred and forty-nine construction workers ("artisans") up to the end of the king's fifth year of reign (March or April, 459 B.C.).[416] At this point payment records of the Treasury administration abruptly stop. However, there is another set of inscribed Treasury documents, namely mortars, pestles, plates, and trays of green chert bearing Aramaic inscriptions in ink (see p. 182). It has been suggested that these objects of ritualistic purpose date from the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II or, less probably, Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III.[417] Their presence in the Treasury would thus indicate that the building continued to be used after the time of Xerxes for the storage of what would seem to be newly acquired objects. As to the absence of administrative Treasury tablets after 459 B.C., it is difficult to believe that all such records were subsequently kept on perishable material. We should rather believe that the offices once more were shifted to other quarters, perhaps to the Throne Hall complex. Such a change could have happened prior to the completion of the Throne Hall, or it could have coincided with this event, which marked the cessation of building activities on the Terrace for about a hundred years.

The end of the founder period did not mean the end of the administration of buildings. Hundreds of workmen must have been continuously employed to preserve and repair the structures—all of which were built largely of sun-dried mud bricks—to keep the drainage system of the site from silting, and to take care of the gardens which undoubtedly existed at all feasible spots on the Terrace and in the vicinity. Other categories of workers usually required are mentioned in the Treasury tablets.[418] These records are mute, however, as to a garrison, always needed to protect the site.

There are clear indications that the gate structure open-

411. Or even shortly before, if the alterations had been projected in Darius' lifetime. In this case, however, we would have to infer that construction of a building on the site of the Xerxes Harem had been planned by Darius.

412. See *OIP* LXV, Table 1 and p. 17.

413. Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 224–28, and *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst* (Breslau, 1927) pp. 62–68.

414. For a vivid and, in parts, amusing description of the "treasures" and the palace compound see Curzon, *Persia* I 311 ff.

415. See *OIP* LXV 15.

416. *Ibid.* p. 196, No. 79.

417. *Ibid.* p. 34.

418. *Ibid.* Table 1.

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ing into the courtyard north of the Throne Hall was never completed (see p. 130). Our excavations did not extend far enough to determine whether the structure in spite of its unfinished state could have fulfilled its purpose as a monumental entrance to the Throne Hall complex, or whether it was simply walled up. The subsequent excavations of the Iranian Antiquity Service revealed wide passages bypassing the unfinished gate (see p. 130).

Apart from the Throne Hall, apparently one more building was completed by Artaxerxes I, provided a fragmentary inscription attributed to this king is correctly interpreted.[419] The panel bearing this (Babylonian) inscription was used secondarily in the façade of Palace H (see p. 280), which we consider a post-Achaemenid composition of earlier structures. The text, as restored, mentions a palace which was founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I. Theoretically, the inscription could refer to the Throne Hall; but there is no spot where the panel, belonging definitely to the face of a palace podium or of a staircase, could have been located. The inscription could also concern the residential palace of Xerxes, but here too there is no feasible location, apart from the sculptured stairways, which bear the builder's own inscriptions. As to the remaining buildings possibly concerned, namely Palaces D, G, and H, there are clues suggesting the sites of Palaces G or H (see p. 281).

The Successors of Artaxerxes I

Perhaps in the tomb to the west of Darius I's sepulcher Artaxerxes I was buried, together with his wife and his son, who as Xerxes II ruled only a month and a half before he was assassinated—presumably at Susa—by his half-brother Secydianus.[420] The latter, in turn, was killed after six months and a half of reign by another half-brother, Ochus, who ascended the throne under the name of Darius (II).[421] There are, of course, no traces of any building activities of Xerxes II and Secydianus; but even Darius II, who ruled for nineteen years, apparently constructed nothing in the Persepolis area except his tomb, assumedly the westernmost of the four rock graves of Naqsh-i-Rustam.

Darius II's son, Artaxerxes II, ruled longer than any other Achaemenid monarch, namely forty-six years. However, while written records attest to large-scale constructions at Susa and Ecbatana, the only monument left by this king at Persepolis is his tomb. There was no further suitable space near his ancestors' graves. Thus, the slope of the Mountain of Mercy was chosen as the burial site of the kings after Darius II. The southern one of the two royal tombs above the Persepolis Terrace is usually assigned to Artaxerxes II. Its façade, as mentioned above (p. 41), copies not only the reliefs of Darius' tomb but also the inscriptions identifying the throne-bearing nations.

After a long period of architectural stagnancy at Persepolis, building activities were revived during the reign of Artaxerxes III. His inscription (Art. III Pers. b; p. 224) is found on the Palace of Darius, where he either replaced the western stairway or at least completed its façade by embellishing it with reliefs (see p. 228). This presumably indicates that he occupied Darius' residence until his own palace was built. The structure formerly called "Palace of Artaxerxes III"[422] is actually a later composition (Palace H) of parts of several buildings (see pp. 279–82). The main portion of its sculptured façade, bearing an inscription of Artaxerxes III, once formed the façade of Palace G (see pp. 274–75), situated opposite the Palace of Xerxes. We assume, consequently, that the few vestiges of Palace G are remnants of Artaxerxes III's dismantled residence. There is a clue which suggests that this original site of the Artaxerxes III palace had previously been occupied by an earlier structure (see p. 275).[423]

The northern one of the two tombs above the Persepolis Terrace has been tentatively attributed to Artaxerxes III. However, while it seems to be quite certain that these Persepolis tombs belong to Artaxerxes II and III, there is still doubt as to which grave is the earlier.

There are no traces of architectural activities during the time of Arses, who was murdered by the assassin of his father after less than two years of reign.

We do not believe that Darius III constructed the dismal Palace H (see pp. 279–82),[424] which combines parts of palaces of Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes III (see above) and perhaps of additional buildings. We are now convinced that the building was put together after the destruction of the site. It was apparently linked with a pavilion-like construction (see p. 264) which was situated immediately south of it but on the low southern step of the Terrace. There may be some doubt whether a strong fortification wall or only a parapet extended originally along the high Terrace edge paralleling the Palace of Darius and Palace H. Roughened strips indicate that at some time parapets protected the edges west and south of the site of Palace H. However, there can be no doubt that the low southern step of the Terrace was protected by a strong mud-brick fortification of the type illustrated by the excavated sections on the eastern and northern edges of the Terrace. As a matter of fact, we discovered a remnant of the southern defense wall south of the Treasury, about 200 meters east of the point with which we are here concerned. The "pavilion" could only have been erected after the destruction—by the elements or by human hands—of the mud-brick fortification. A possible indication that the site had deteriorated considerably by the time of the erection of Palace H is the fact that its east stairs (apparently unfinished) were cut into the northwest corner of Xerxes' palace (see p. 282).

The only monument assignable with some measure of certainty to the last Achaemenid ruler is a rudimentary tomb—a partly sculptured quarry—about 500 meters south of the Terrace, obviously intended to copy the stereotyped façade of the other royal tombs but never finished.

The conquest of Persepolis and its end, in 330 B.C., have been described by all scholars who have dealt with the history of Achaemenid Persia. For a summary of these events and references to the original sources the reader may consult the concluding chapter of A. T. Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire*.

419. *KA*, pp. XXVI and 121; *AI*, pp. 43 f. (No. 20).

420. Ctesias *Persica* 75–76.

421. *Ibid.* 78–79.

422. So also *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 5.

423. Perhaps the unidentified palace of Xerxes and Artaxerxes (see above).

424. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 493 f.

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III

SITES IN THE PERSEPOLIS AREA

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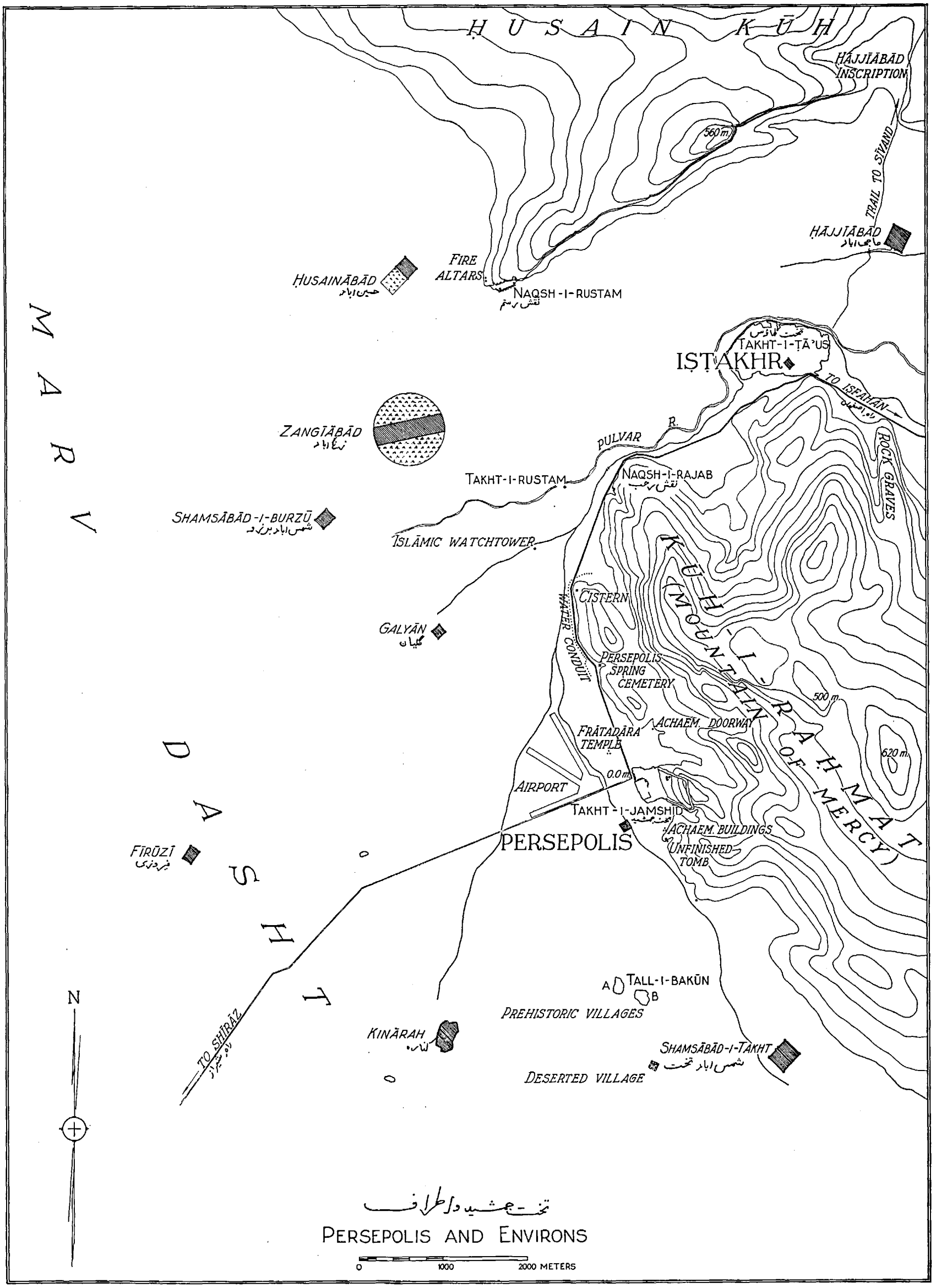


FIG. 13. PERSEPOLIS AND ENVIRONS. SCALE, 1:50,000

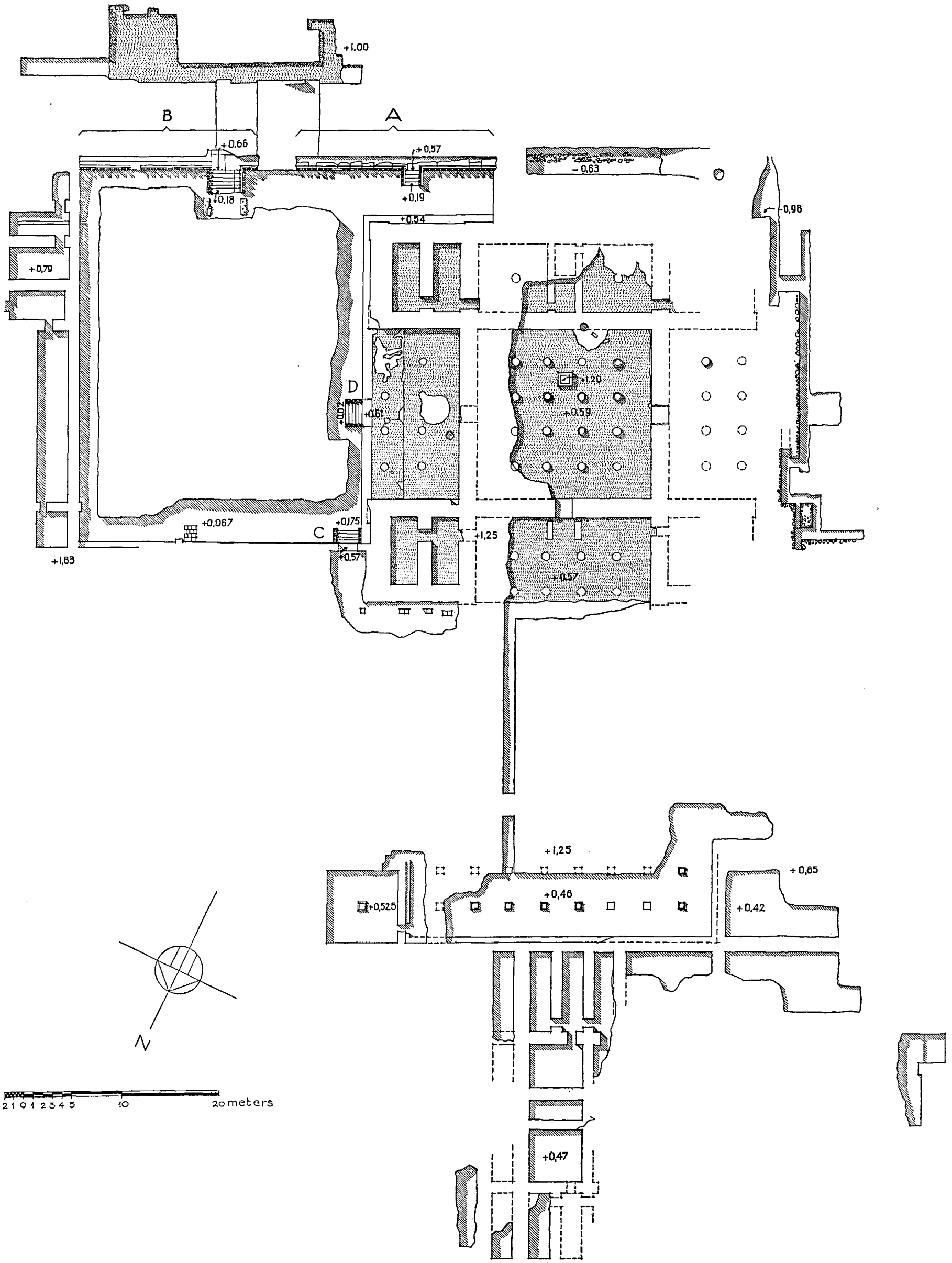


FIG. 14. PLAN OF ACHAEMENID STRUCTURES SOUTH OF PERSEPOLIS TERRACE. SCALE, 1:400

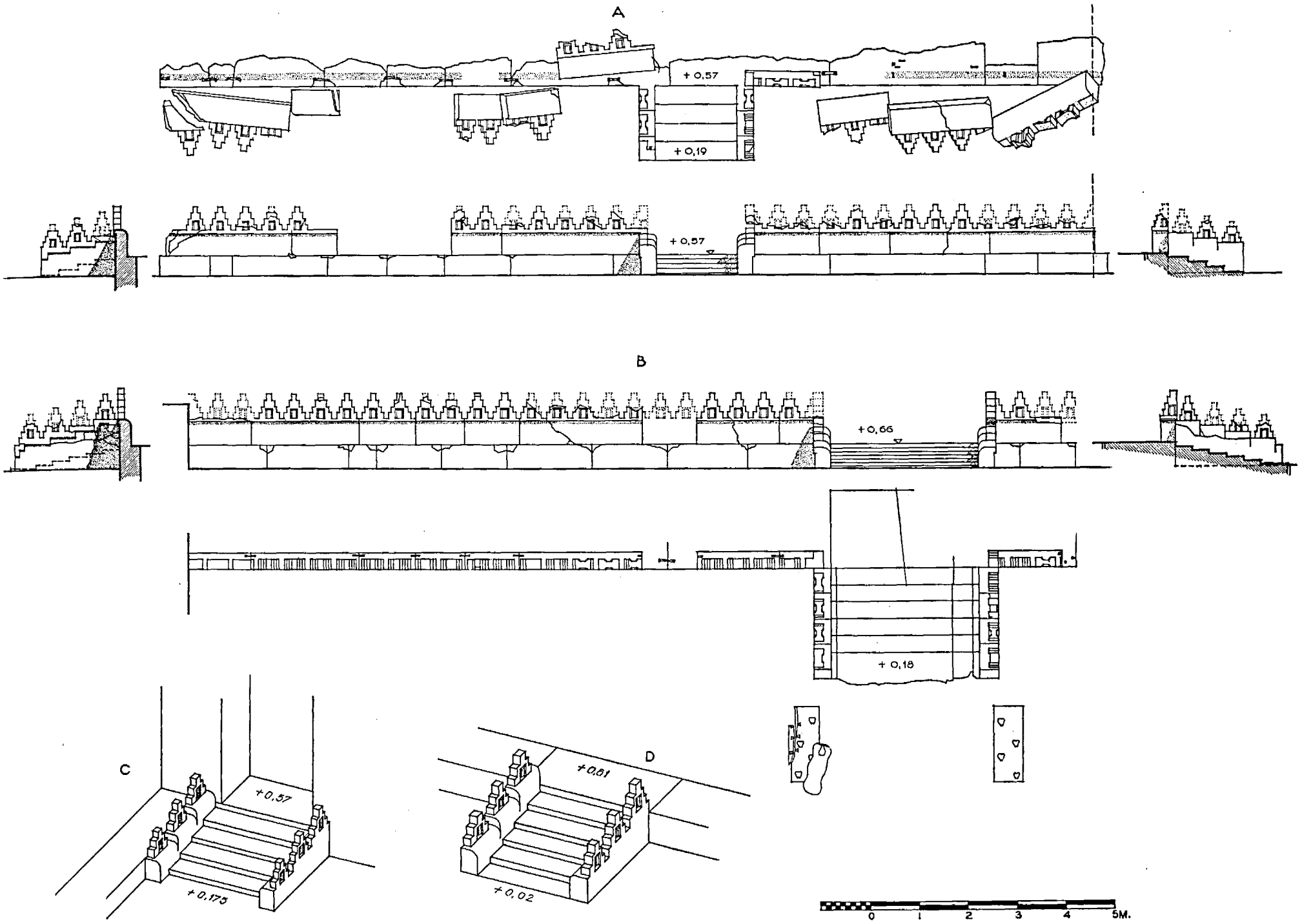


FIG. 15. PLANS AND RECONSTRUCTED ELEVATIONS OF PARTS OF STRUCTURES SHOWN ON FIG. 14. SCALE, 1:100

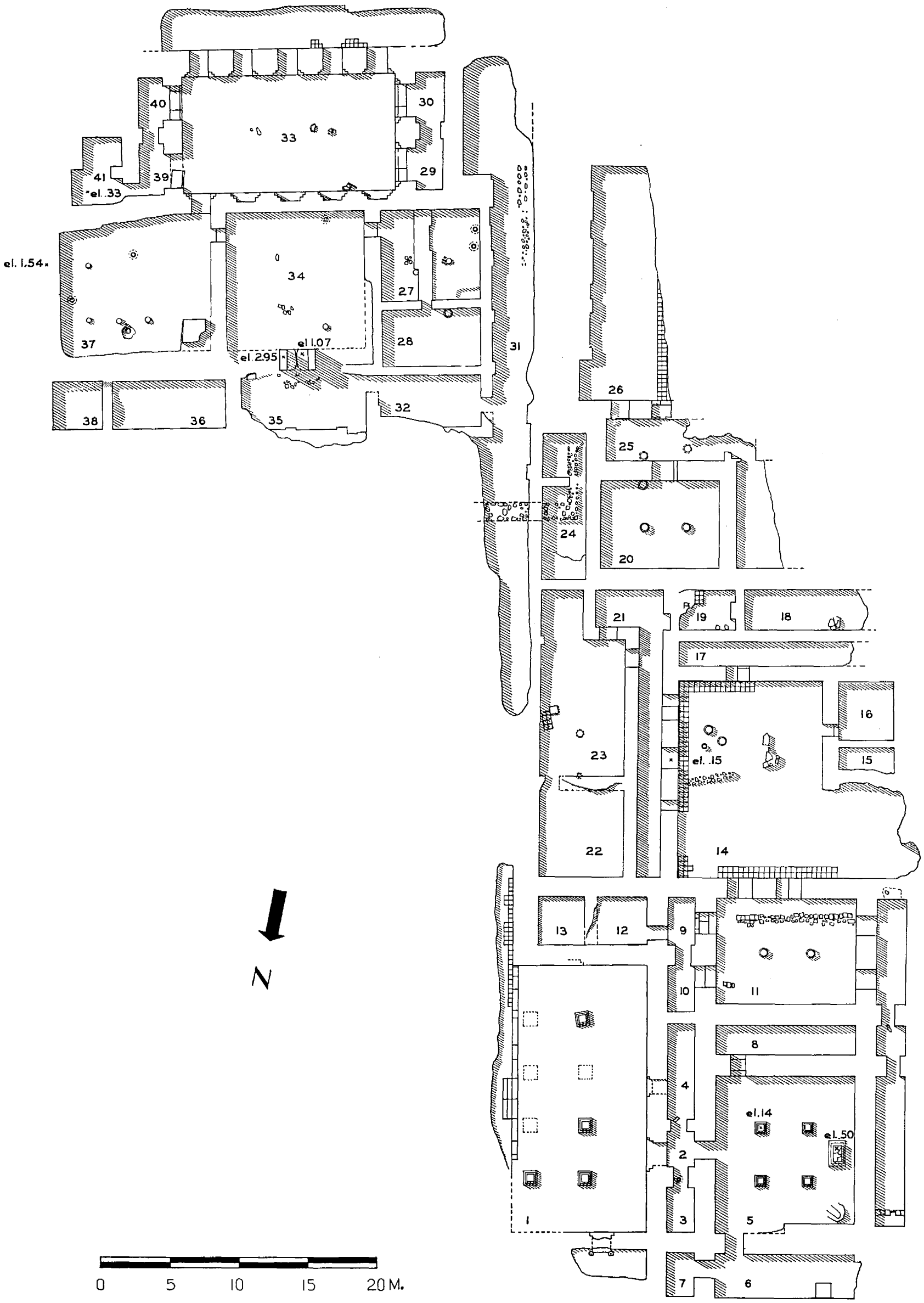
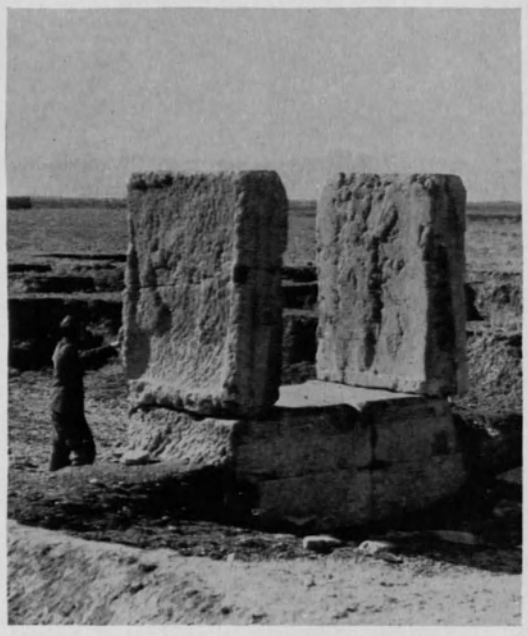


Fig. 16. Plan of Post-Achaemenid Fratadara Temple Northwest of Persepolis Terrace. Scale, 1:300

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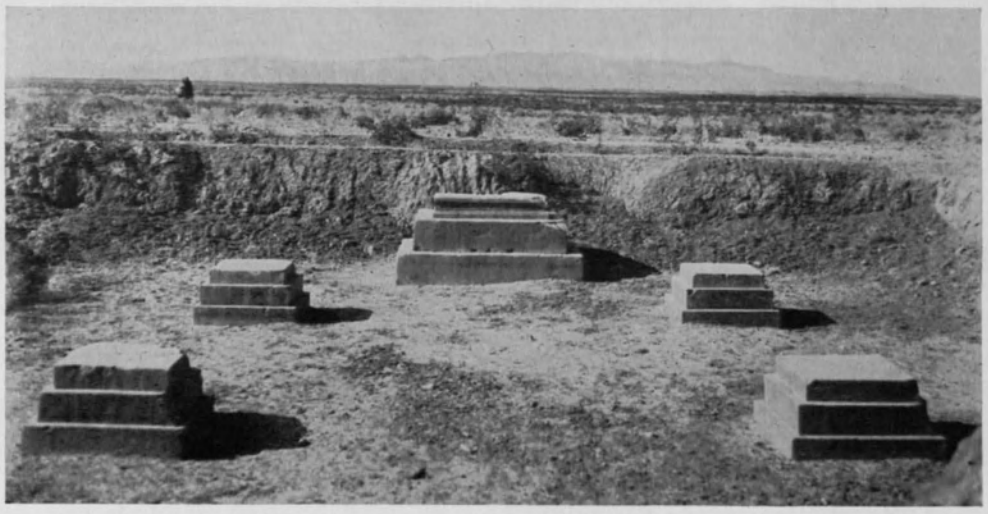
A



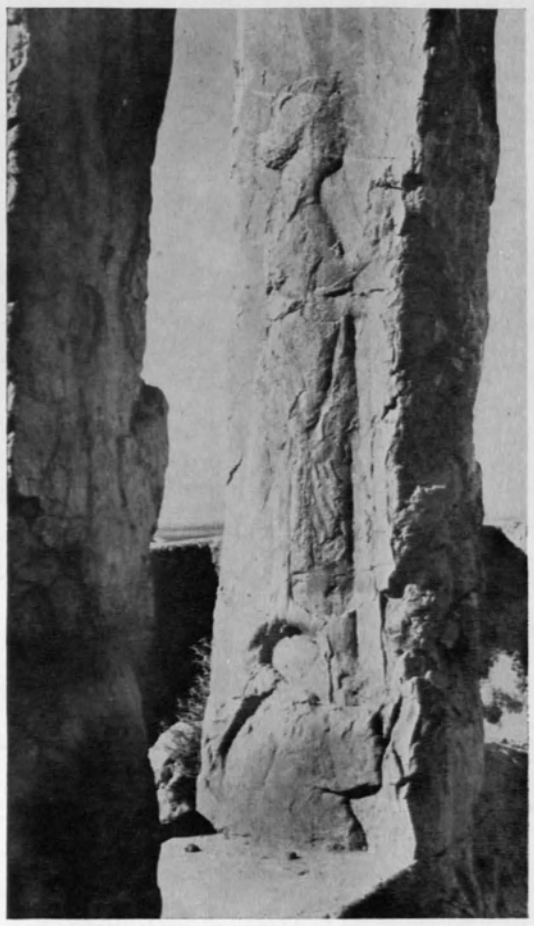
B



C



D



E



F



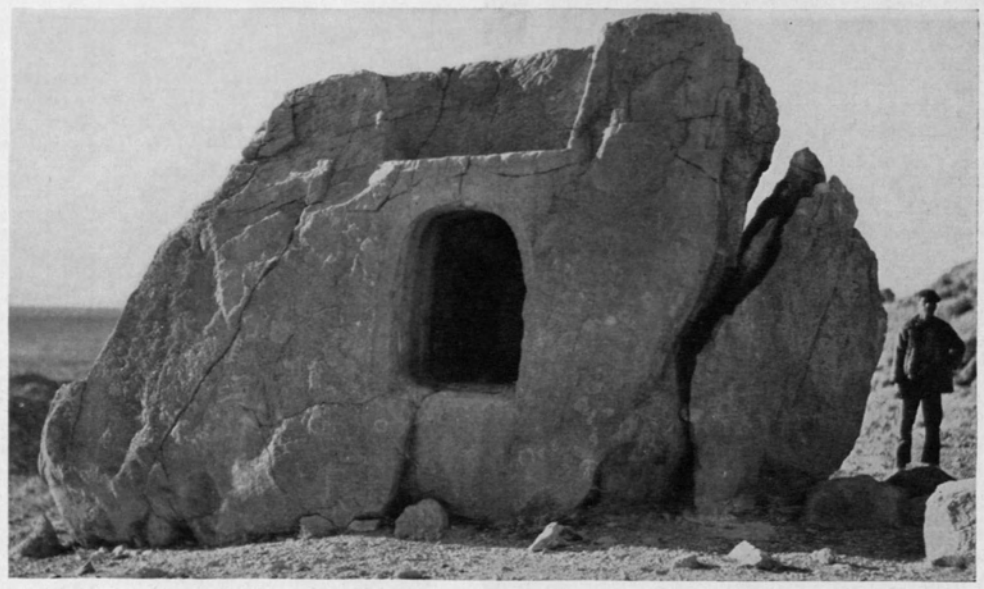
G

Fig. 17. Fratadara Temple. *A*. Male Figure on East Jamb of Sculptured Window. Scale, about 1:20. *B*. General View of Window from North-Northeast. *C*. Female Figure on West Jamb of Window. Scale, about 1:20. *D*. Column Bases and Assumed Altar Base in Room 5, from East-Northeast
Reused Achaemenid Doorway North of Persepolis. *E*, *G*. Servant Reliefs on Jambs. Scale, about 1:20. *F*. General View

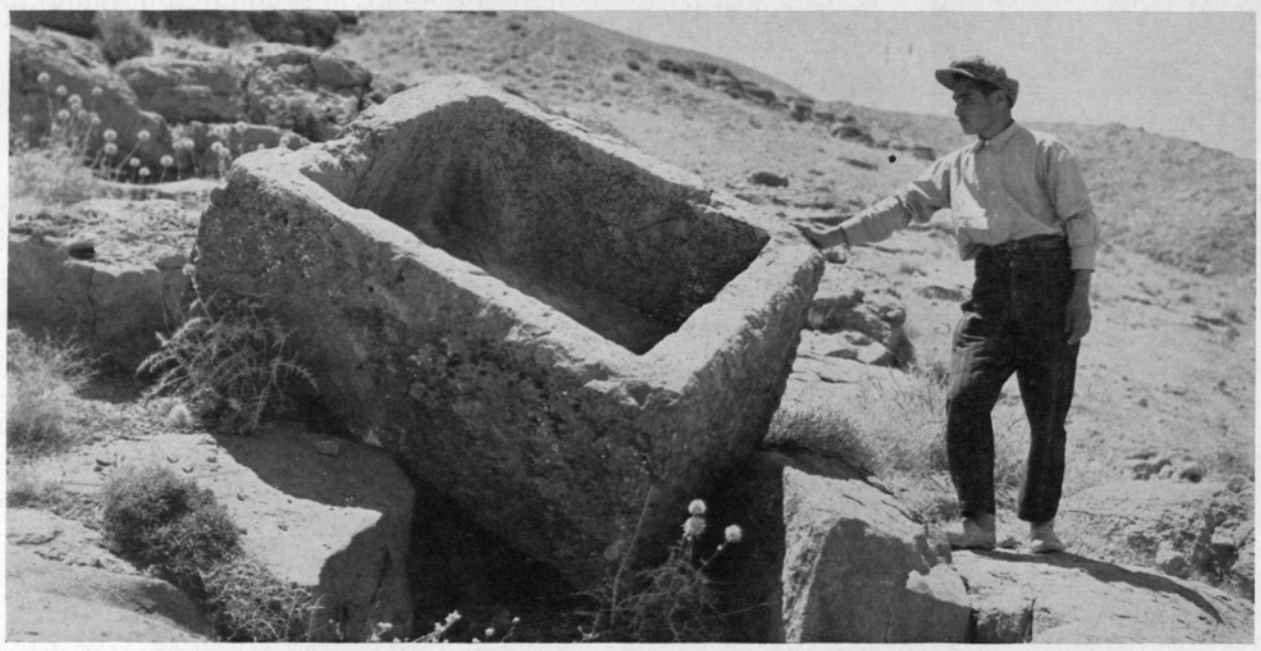
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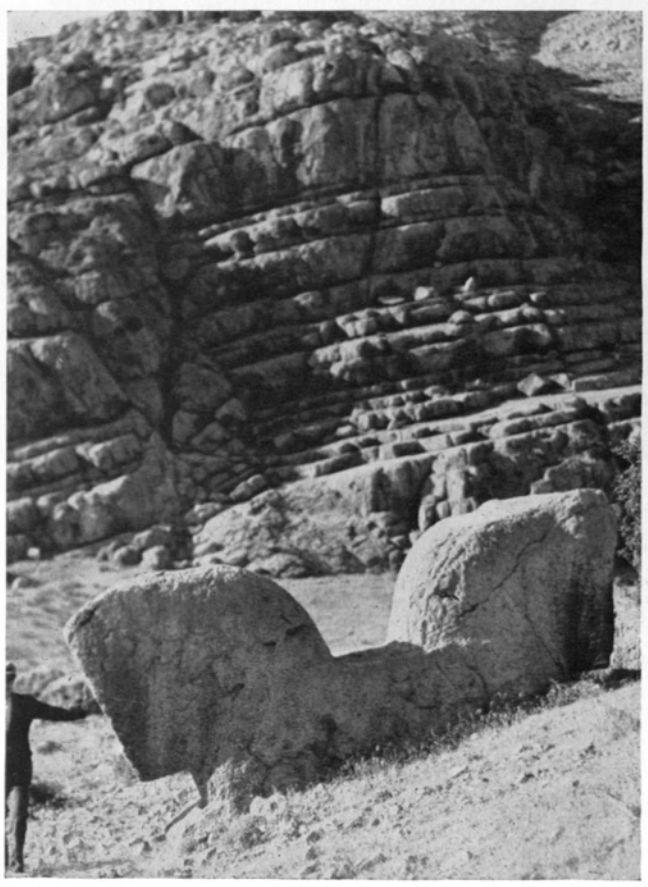
A



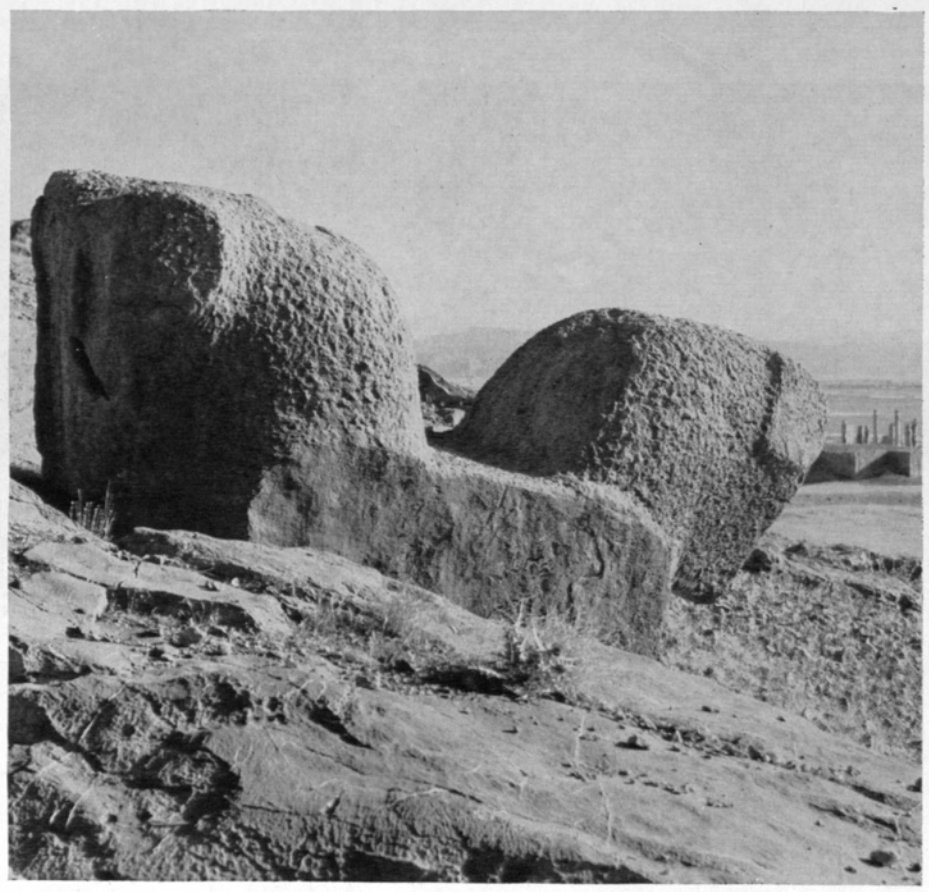
B



C



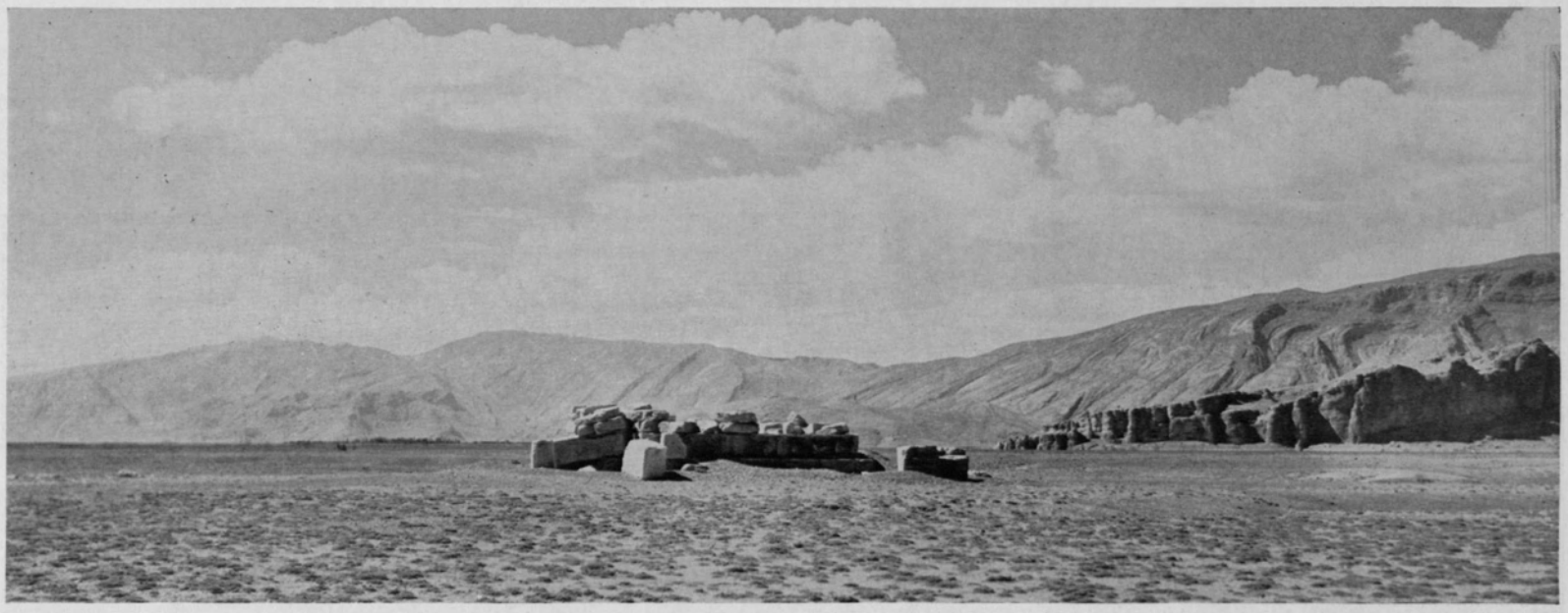
D



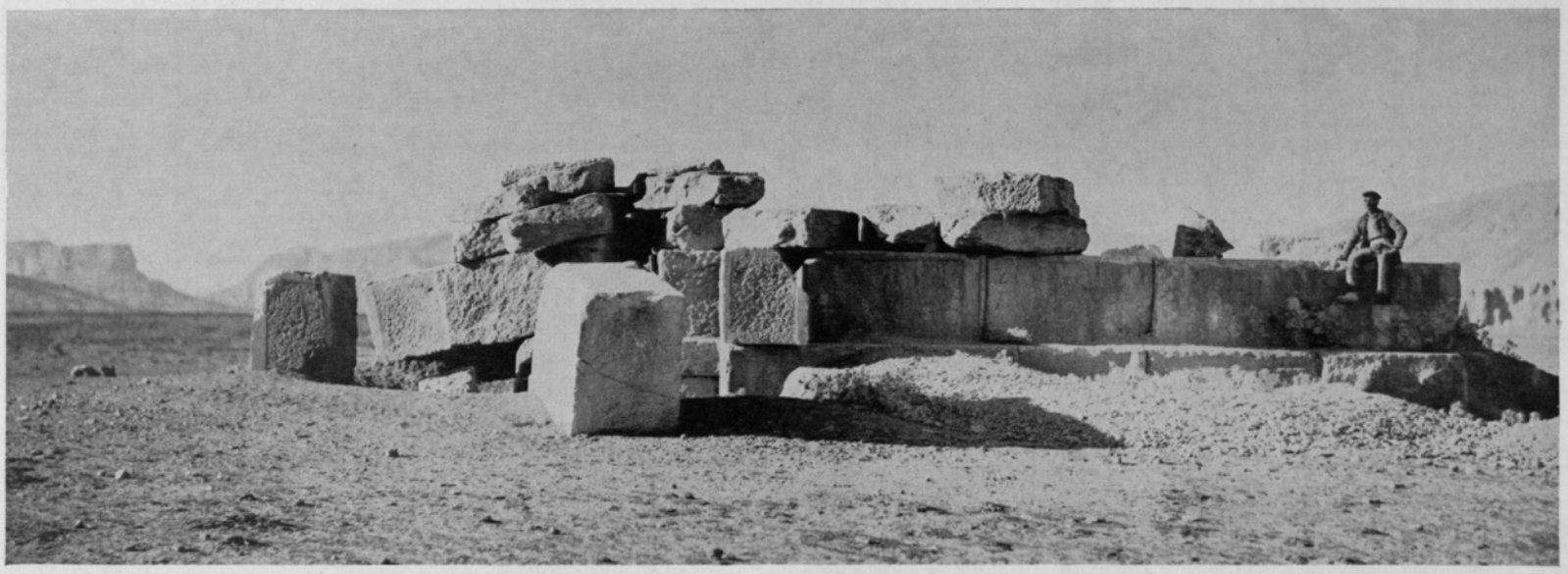
E

FIG. 18. MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUE REMAINS IN THE PERSEPOLIS AREA. *A*. WATER CONDUIT? *B*. GRAVES IN A ROCK. *C*. STONE BASIN. *D–E*. UNFINISHED CAPITAL

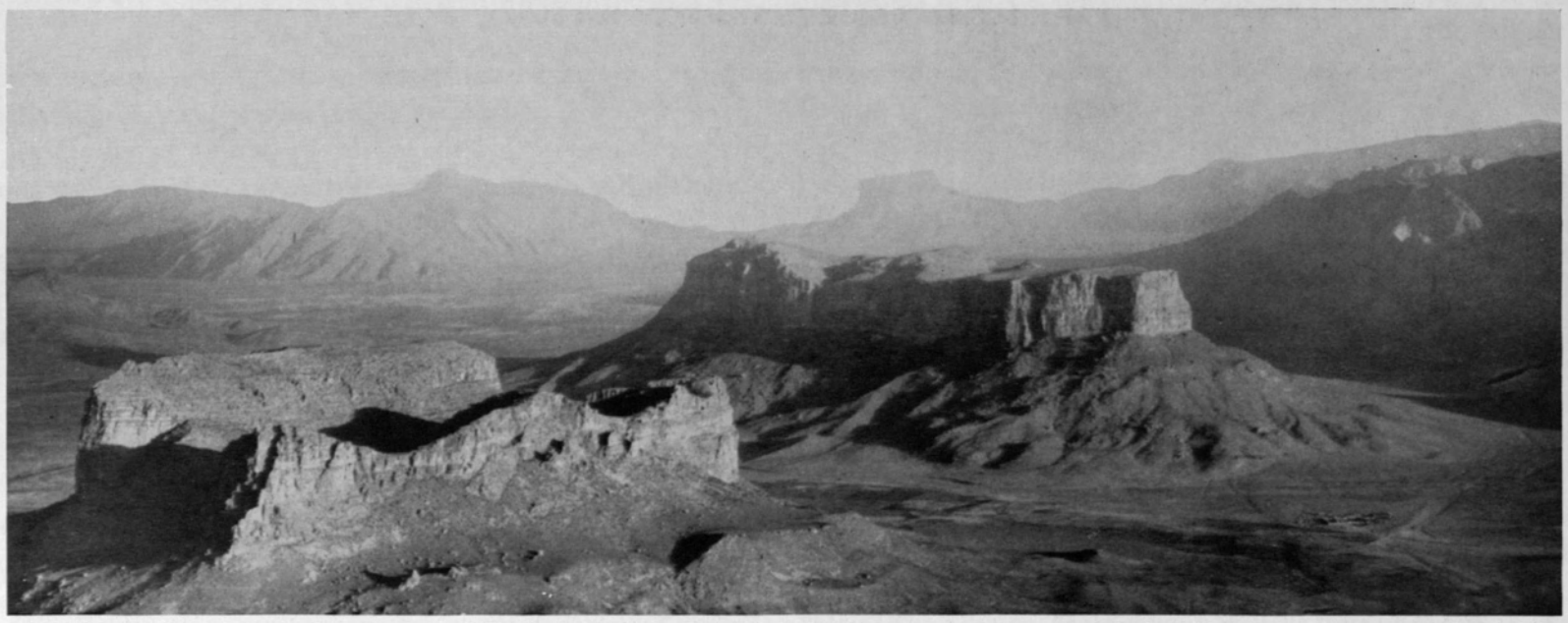
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A



B



C

FIG. 19. *A–B*. TAKHT-I-RUSTAM. *C*. AIR VIEW OF THREE ROCK HILLS (SIH GUMBADAN)

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FIG. 20. SIH GUMBADAN. AIR VIEW OF CENTRAL MESA

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SITES IN THE PERSEPOLIS AREA

THE focal point of the region (Fig. 13), namely the rock terrace bearing the fortified palace compound of Persepolis, is situated on longitude 52° 54′ east and latitude 29° 56′ north.[1] The site lies at the foot of Kuh-i-Rahmat ("Mountain of Mercy"), one of the elevations bordering the Persepolis plain (Marv Dasht), which is 1,770 meters (5,800 ft.) above the level of the Persian Gulf. The remnants of the palatial structures and our discoveries in their debris are the principal subjects of this publication. Two royal tombs cut into the rocky slope above the Terrace and a third, unfinished one, about 500 meters to the south, are described in Volume III together with the tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam. As to the historical periods represented at Persepolis, except for a few coarse boulder foundations of Islamic house ruins, all structures of the Persepolis Terrace originated during the Achaemenian period, starting with the reign of Darius I.[2] All inscriptions found on the stone parts of the buildings are Achaemenid, with the exception of some Sasanian and later graffiti. The surface layer of the site naturally contains some objects of post-Achaemenid times; but the only pre-Achaemenid finds occurring in the floor debris of buildings are pieces of loot or tribute gathered from foreign countries by the Achaemenian rulers and a few prehistoric sherds and flints which presumably had been picked up at near-by Tall-i-Bakun.

The mountain recess immediately south of the Persepolis Terrace is occupied by ruins of Achaemenid structures, as shown by architectural surface fragments of Persepolitan type, which included until the beginning of the nineteenth century a standing column (see p. 62). Furthermore, Herzfeld uncovered, near the Unfinished Tomb, sections of an extensive complex of structures which he attributes, correctly we believe, to the period of Darius I and Xerxes.[3]

As far as we know, there are no architectural descriptions of these structures, but we are able to show at least their plan (Fig. 14) and elevations of crenelate courtyard walls and stairs (Fig. 15).[4] The main unit is a building of apadana type (cf. Fig. 30), its floor, as far as it has been cleared, finished with a brown-red coat such as that found in structures of Darius' time. The roof of its square central hall was supported by sixteen columns arranged in four rows. There are porticoes on the north, east, and west, each with two rows of four columns. On the south, however, the space corresponding to the porticoes on the other sides is occupied—here as in the great Apadana on the Terrace—by subsidiary rooms. Four corner towers flank the three porches and the rooms on the south. The main front of the building faces northward, its axis pointing 25 degrees west of north. All walls excavated in this complex deviate 25 degrees from the main directions, according to Bergner's survey.

When speaking of "fire-temples . . . in the southern part of the town," Herzfeld[5] undoubtedly refers to this building. Hence a stone (*ca.* 1.50 m. square and .60 m. high) found off-center in the median north-south aisle of the central hall (see Fig. 14) must be one of the "fire altars" which he mentions. We hesitate to accept his interpretation unless it can be verified by further discoveries. The stone may have had a secular purpose as a pedestal or a dais, and the plan of the building, while indicating it was intended for the gathering of people, does not necessarily suggest a sacred structure.

Stone walls crowned with crenelations which resemble those of the Terrace stairways border the adjacent courtyard. Neatly wrought stone stairs lead from the neighboring buildings to the floor of the yard, whose level is 40–50 cm. below.

Animal statues of stone flanked at least one of the courtyard stairways.[6] The main (northern) entrance to the central hall of the apadana-like building was presumably embellished in the same fashion, to judge by a rectangular pedestal at either side of the doorway.

The plan shows portions of other buildings beyond the structures mentioned above. North of the apadana-like building and beyond what appears to be a courtyard[7] there is a portico with two rows of eight columns, and the darkly-tinted excavation in the southeast corner of the plan indicates the presence of another building with red-surfaced floor.

As to further remains situated in the southern part of the area which is recorded on Figure 13, 2 kilometers south of the Terrace are the prehistoric mounds Tall-i-Bakun A and B. Mound A was thoroughly investigated, and Mound B was tested by the expedition (see pp. 3 and 4). The top layer of each mound is packed with burials of the Islamic era.

We do not yet know the nature or the period of the structural remains hidden in low mounds about 50 to 100 meters west of the Terrace. The area immediately north of Persepolis shows remnants of post-Achaemenid structures. A test carried through by Herzfeld in the vicinity of an Achaemenian doorway of stone embellished with reliefs of attendants (Fig. 17 *E–G*) proved that it was reused in a post-Alexandrian building. There is little doubt that it had been taken from one of the residential palaces of Persepolis.[8] The figures on the two jambs were presum-

1. According to Survey of India Map, Sheet 17 C (Shiraz); scale, 1:253, 440.

2. For an assumedly post-Achaemenid structure built of Achaemenian material see Palace H (pp. 279–82).

3. *IAE*, p. 231.

4. Surveyed and drawn in 1934 by Herzfeld's architectural draftsman, K. Bergner, and redrawn here from photographic copies owned by the Oriental Institute.

5. *IAE*, p. 231.

6. Cf. Vol. II, chapter on "Sculpture" etc.

7. Crossed on the plan by a narrow trench.

8. Doorways of Persepolis style have been found as far away as Qasr-i-Abu Nasr, near Shiraz, to which site they had been transported from elsewhere. This was determined by the Persian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Walter Hauser in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* XXVIII [New York, 1933] Nov. Section II, pp. 39–42). For bibliography see Curzon, *Persia* II 95 f.; for illustration see Flandin and Coste, Pl. 55, where the site is called "Takht-Mader-i-Souleiman."

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ably identical. Each carries a cosmetic bottle, and the towel held by one was probably duplicated in the second, mutilated relief.

In 1923 Herzfeld discovered two post-Achaemenid reliefs, apparently representing a prince and a princess, on the jambs of a stone window (Fig. 17 *A–C*) lying in the plain about 300 meters northwest of the Persepolis Terrace. Herzfeld considers the male figure that of a Fratadara ("Keeper of the Fire") ruler of the early part of the third century B.C. Adoration, expressed by the raised arms, together with the presence of the barsom bundle, probably held by both persons, must have induced the discoverer to consider the window (called a doorway at first) part of a fire temple.[9] The plan of the building was unknown at the time of his visit. Subsequently (in 1932; see p. 3) Herzfeld excavated portions of an extensive complex of buildings in the find-area of the sculptured window.[10] Again, as in the case of the Achaemenian structures south of the Terrace, only the plan of the excavated architectural remains is at our disposal (Fig. 16; see n. 4). All walls are built of sun-dried bricks; but there is at least one (earlier) foundation of boulders extending below Street 31 and Room 24. Pavements of baked bricks are marked by checkerboard patterns. Many doorsills, and the above-mentioned sculptured window, are made of stone. The bell-shaped column bases marked in Rooms 11,[11] 14, and 20 were undoubtedly taken from the ruins of Persepolis, whereas three-stepped bases such as were used in Room 5 (Fig. 17 *D*) and Portico 1 do not occur in the buildings on the Persepolis Terrace.

The plan shows that the window (between Rooms 34 and 35) which prompted Herzfeld to speak of a fire temple belongs to a building entirely separated from the rest of the complex by a street (31). The room (5) considered by him and others as the temple cella[12] is situated in the present northwest corner of a partly excavated second building. A terraced stone pedestal standing in this room is assumed to be the basis for a fire altar.

Among the objects found in the Fratadara excavation are stone-engraved votive inscriptions—written in Greek—which identify Zoroastrian deities with Greek gods.[13] According to Herzfeld's field catalogue[14] the excavation brought to light a number of objects of domestic use, such as bowls and other vessels of baked clay, spindle whorls and loom weights of the same material, whetstones and polishing stones, also beads of semiprecious stones. There was an astonishing number of typical Persepolitan-Achaemenid objects, apparently salvaged from the nearby ruins of the site: fragments of column bases and pieces of panels with portions of cuneiform inscriptions, many pieces of stone vessels (including an almost complete cosmetic bottle[14a]) which are identical in shape and material with vessels found in the Treasury (see p. 179), and sherds of the green chert which was used at Persepolis for ritualistic utensils such as mortars, pestles, and some vessels (see p. 182). The same material was used for a bizarre, undoubtedly Achaemenid sculpture—perhaps the foot of some piece of furniture—which occurred in the same area.[15] There were, further, fragments of blue composition, identical in shape with objects from the Terrace, such as beard-shaped inlays[16] and certain vessels, and finally mortars of white stone,[17] a bronze pestle,[18] a few stamp seals, three-flanged arrowheads, and round-headed nails of bronze—all of Achaemenian types.

Somewhat farther to the north, in a mountain recess about 1,200 meters north-northwest of the Persepolis Terrace, is the site of the Persepolis Spring Cemetery, in which we uncovered coffin burials tentatively assigned to the early post-Achaemenid era.[19]

Our map (Fig. 13) shows a cistern on the slope of the mountain about a kilometer north-northwest of the cemetery. It consists of a shaft 6 meters square cut into the living rock to an undetermined depth. The location of this shaft, which closely resembles the Achaemenid cistern of Persepolis (see p. 212), is puzzling, since there are apparently no remains of buildings in the neighborhood. However, sections of a rock-hewn channel (Fig. 18 *A*) skirting the foot of the mountain are traceable in the vicinity of the cistern and elsewhere. We assume that the channel had been lined with bricks or the like at the side which faces downhill and that it was used to conduct water from the Pulvar Valley to Persepolis. On the other hand, the cut in the rock may be the remnant of a road.

Somewhat more than 3 kilometers north of the Persepolis Terrace is a grotto-like but roofless mountain recess bearing on its rock walls the well known Sasanian reliefs which are called collectively Naqsh-i-Rajab. We are illustrating them in Volume III.

Six hundred meters west of Naqsh-i-Rajab is a terraced platform of light-colored limestone. It is usually known as Takht-i-Rustam ("Rustam's Throne"); but the present Persian name of the near-by site of Istakhr, namely Takht-i-Ṭa'us ("Peacock Throne"), has also been applied to this structure.[20] Our illustrations (Fig. 19 *A–B*) show the platform after Herzfeld's investigations (see p. 3). Earlier visitors illustrate its previous condition.[21] Its plan had presumably been intended to be perfectly square, for at present the upper of the two exposed steps (95 cm. high) measures 11.30 × 12.15 m. The lower step projects 58 cm.[22] The stone blocks (once joined on top by clamps[23]) show curiously wrought lateral surfaces with a smooth, slightly projecting frame inclosing a pebbled area (see Fig. 19 *B*). At Persepolis we found this treatment on those stone surfaces only which were intended to abut other building stones. As to the purpose of the structure, Herzfeld considers it the unfinished tomb of Cambyses.[24] Others are inclined to see in this terraced platform the

9. See Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *ZDMG* LXXX = n.F. V (1926) 249.

10. See *IAE*, p. 275 and Pls. LXXXV–LXXXVI; Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 44 and 46; *JRAS*, 1934, p. 232.

11. See photograph in *IAE*, Pl. LXXXV, bottom.

12. *IAE*, Pl. LXXXV, top; see also Godard, in *Āthār-é-Īrān* III 58–60, with sketch plan; Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, pp. 29–32, with same sketch plan.

13. *JRAS*, 1934, p. 232; Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 44.

14. Which mentions only the Fratadara temple as find-area, without specifying the find-spots, but fortunately shows drawings of the objects listed.

14a. PF 11; see Vol. II, chapter on "Measures of Capacity."

15. *IAE*, Fig. 366, left.

16. Cf. e.g. PT3 246; see Vol. II, chapter on "Sculpture" etc.

17. Cf. e.g. PT5 911; see *ibid.* chapter on "Tools and Utensils."

18. Cf. e.g. PT6 123; see *ibid.*

19. See Vol. II.

20. Curzon, *Persia* II 148.

21. Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II 105; Flandin and Coste, Pl. 63.

22. Measurements taken from Flandin and Coste, Pl. 63.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *IAE*, p. 214; *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 36.

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basis for an altar[25] or a shrine.[26] Again, it is possible that this terrace had been intended to be the foundation of a tower-like structure such as the Kaʿbah at Naqsh-i-Rustam. The measurements of the top of this terrace (see above) and of the second foundation step (11.65 m. square) of the Kaʿbah are very close.

The extensive but low city mound of Istakhr (Takht-i-Taʾus, "Peacock Throne") is 5 kilometers north-northeast of Persepolis and close to the end of the Pulvar Valley before it opens into the Marv Dasht. The principal deposit of the site accumulated during the Islamic era above and beside the less extensive deposits of the Sasanian and earlier periods. Herzfeld's soundings and our own tests of the mound are referred to in the "Summary Log" (chap. i). The results of our work will be described in Volume III.

Many rectangular depressions have been cut into the summit of a rocky spur 1 kilometer southeast of Istakhr. They had been used either as shallow graves or as places of exposure of Zoroastrians. Smaller holes, certainly used as ossuaries (*astōdān*), are found in the rock slope not far from the longer depressions. Rock tombs of a different kind, considered Achaemenian by Herzfeld,[27] exist at Akhur-i-Rustam, some distance south of Persepolis. Several isolated rocks found in the Persepolis area show similar artificial cavities prepared for the disposal of human remains.[28] Such a rock, lying near Akhur-i-Rustam, is illustrated on Figure 18 *B*. It shows a roofless depression above a domed cavity.[29]

Three kilometers north of Istakhr there is a well known, although not yet completely understood, inscription (in Sasanian and Arsacid Pahlavi) of Shapur I (A.D. 241–72). The inscription is usually labeled "Hajjiʾabad" (after a village situated 2 km. to the south-southeast), or it is called "Shaikh ʿAli" (the name of the cave at whose entrance it is located), or "Tang-i-Shah Sarvan" (the name of the neighboring defile). The last attempt at translating the inscription, which apparently deals with the king's prowess as an archer, was made by Herzfeld.[30] Flandin and Coste[31] and also James Morier, the discoverer,[32] illustrate the location.

Next to the Persepolis Terrace the sacred precinct of Naqsh-i-Rustam, 6 kilometers to the north-northwest, is the most important site in this area. Volume III records the four monumental tombs of Achaemenian rulers, starting with Darius I, the tower-like Kaʿbah-i-Zardusht, built during the same era, an earlier Elamite relief, later Sasanian reliefs and inscriptions, and the results of soundings in the immured area in front of the royal tombs.

Remains of lesser antiquity—fortifications and cisterns of the Islamic era—have been noticed on top of the central of three table mountains prominent in the Persepolis landscape (Figs. 19 *C*–20[33]). Although no earlier structures are reported, the easily defensible mesas—especially the central one, on whose summit is a spring—have presumably been used as places of refuge during all periods. The mesas are known as Sih Gumbadan ("Three Domes"). Various names have been given to the individual mountains,[34] the two southeastern ones having at present the same designation, Kuh-i-Qalʿah ("Fortress Mountain"), on the Survey of India Map.[35] The more distant, northwest mesa is there designated Kuh-i-Sharak, the name usually applied to it. Antique remains are said to occur on its summit also.[36] Flandin and Coste surveyed the architectural remains on the central mountain, which in their time appears to have been called Qalʿah-i-Sarv ("Cypress Fortress").[37] One of our air views (Fig. 20) shows the location of the water tanks referred to and scattered traces of structural debris. An undulating configuration, presumably the bed of an irrigation canal, between the two southeastern mountains appears on this view. It is possible that this was part of the irrigation system which in Achaemenid times regulated the water supply for the neighboring plains. Achaemenian dams of wrought stone, also quarries and canals of the same period have been discovered some distance to the northwest, near Kuh-i-Sharak and the Kur River,[38] a downstream portion of which is visible in the right upper corner of our air view.

There are numerous Achaemenian limestone quarries in the neighborhood of Persepolis[39] and Naqsh-i-Rustam. They are marked by grids of sometimes enormous parallel slots[40] or by irregular groups of wrought surfaces from which slabs have been removed. A row of depressions, visible at the bottom of some of the smoothed surfaces, suggests that the stone slabs were severed by means of wooden wedges which increased in size when moistened. Architectural units were roughly sculptured in outline at the quarries before being transported to their destination, as indicated by a large crudely carved capital with addorsed bulls (Fig. 18 *D–E*). It may have been intended for a column of the unfinished gate north of the Throne Hall; but it was abandoned on the slope of the dell northeast of the Terrace. Another partly finished object, a rectangular stone basin (Fig. 18 *C*), lies above the Terrace near the southern tomb (see p. 55).

The start of the war, hastening the termination of field work, prevented us from following on the ground the initial information surveyed from the air on the archeological map of the Persepolis plain which is published in the preliminary report.[41] The survey indicates the archeological fertility of this important area and will be helpful in the future plotting of its successive settlement stages.

25. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 14.

26. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 647 f.

27. *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 37 and Pl. V, right.

28. We do not know whether in the area under consideration human bones were first gathered in clay receptacles, which were then deposited in such rock ossuaries. Cf. Camilla Trever, *Terracottas from Afrasiab* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934) pp. 17–23.

29. James Morier illustrates a similar domed tomb which is cut into a large rock and flanked by what appear to be two ossuaries; the upper part of the rock is sliced by quarrying. See *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, between the Years 1810 and 1816* (London, 1818) p. 78.

30. *Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire* (Berlin, 1924) I 87–89. See also Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* I (Cambridge, 1929) 151–53.

31. Pl. 193.

32. *A Second Journey through Persia*, p. 80. Further bibliography is to be found in Curzon, *Persia* II 116 f.

33. See also Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, Pl. 12.

34. Listed by Curzon, *Persia* II 136.

35. Sheet 17 *B* (Asupas); scale, 1:253,440.

36. Curzon, *loc. cit.*

37. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 62. We heard it called "Istakhr Mountain," the name ("Monts Istakhr") Flandin and Coste (*ibid.*) applied collectively to the three mesas. At present the most frequently used name seems to be Miyan Qalʿah ("Middle Fortress"), designating a village at its foot also.

38. Surveyed and described by Karl Bergner; see *AMI* VIII 1–4 (with commentary by Herzfeld) map and Pls. I–VIII.

39. See e.g. *IAE*, Pl. LXVI, bottom.

40. Visible on vertical air view of Naqsh-i-Rustam in Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 11 *A*.

41. *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 97.

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IV

THE TERRACE OF PERSEPOLIS: PUBLIC STRUCTURES

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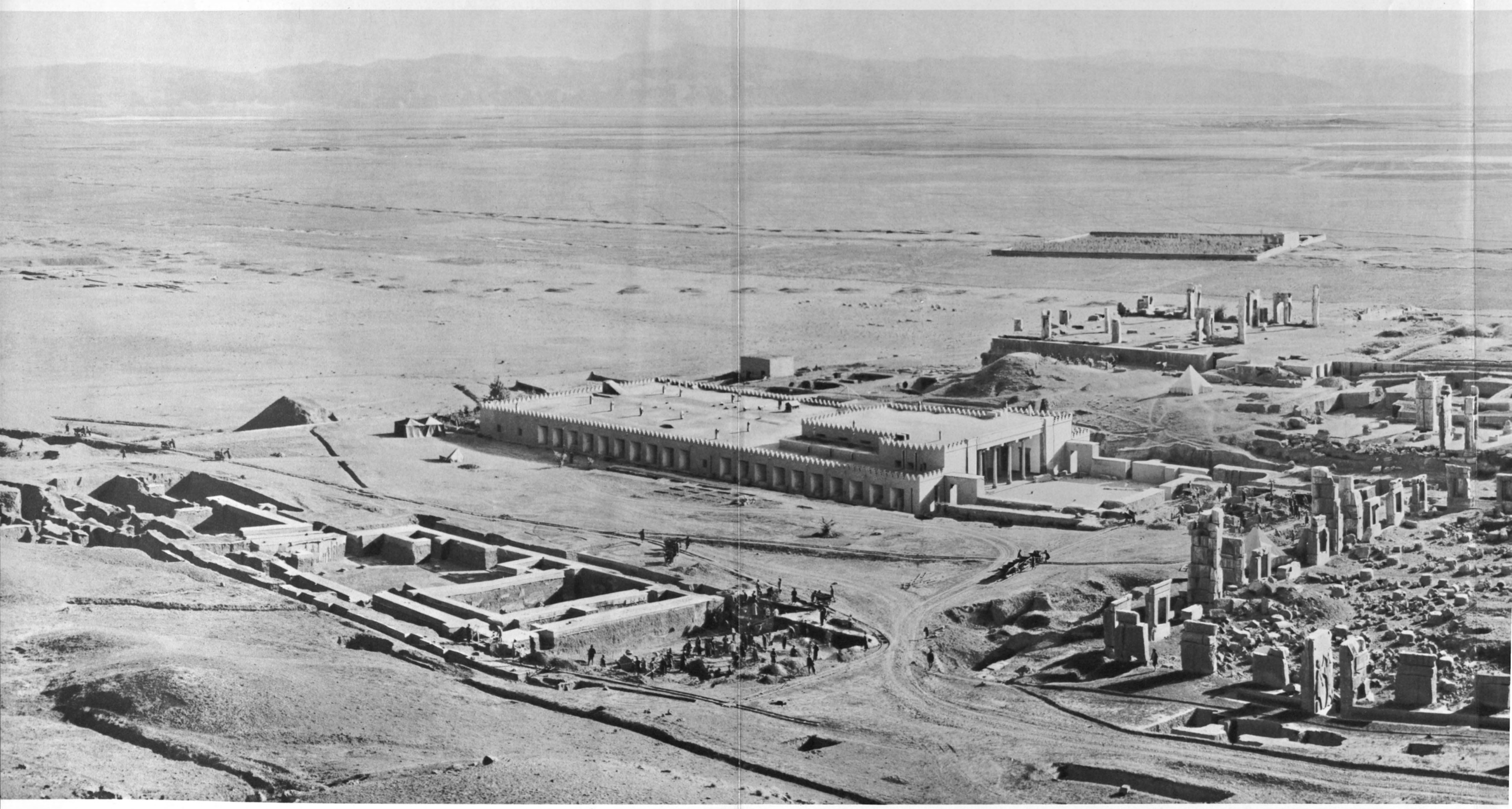


Fig. 22. Terrace of Persepolis. Panorama from the Mount

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THE MOUNTAIN OF MERCY (*general direction of view, WSW*)

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THE TERRACE FOUNDATION AND THE DEFENSE SYSTEM[1]

THE core of the terraced platform is a low spur of the Kuh-i-Rahmat, jutting westward into the plain called Marv Dasht (see Fig. 13 and Pls 1–6). The contours of the promontory and its original relief affected to some extent the general outline and the relief of the Terrace foundation. This is confirmed by the fact that parts of the Terrace façade consist of scarped bedrock, and some of the faces and tops of individual palace platforms also show the natural rock. The built-up portions of the façades of the Terrace and the inner platforms are made of blocks of masonry which buttress the detritus of rocks and rubble provided by the scarping and leveling of the original rock. In the northwestern part of the Terrace the surface was never completely leveled. There are outcrops of unwrought bedrock, once connected with a hillock—beyond the limits of the site—which shows marks of quarrying (see Pl. 4).

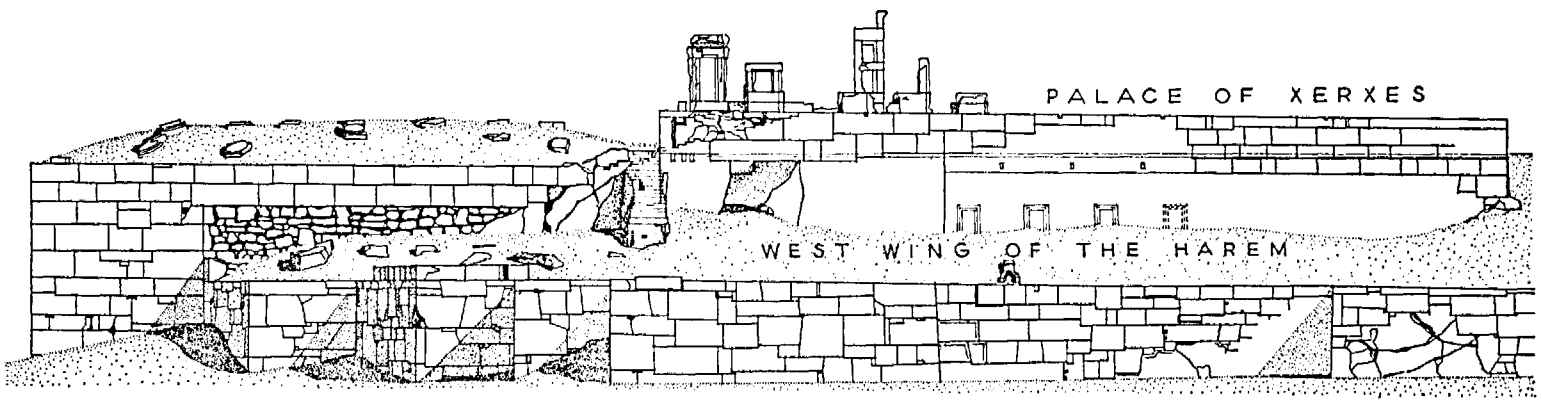


FIG. 23. SOUTHWEST CORNER OF TERRACE. AFTER ORIGINAL DRAWING BY K. BERGNER (1934). SCALE, 1:500

The main portion (*ca.* 375 m. long) of the western façade of the Terrace (Pl. 2 *B–C*) is built according to the same rather rigid scheme of orientation that controls the direction of all Persepolis buildings, deviating 19–21 degrees from the cardinal points.[2] The mud-brick fortification bordering the Terrace proper on the east appears to have been oriented in the same manner. Parts of the northern (Pl. 2 *A*) and southern faces of the Terrace foundation, including the adjoining ends of the western façade, are oriented irregularly. Nevertheless, we may speak of the Terrace roughly as an oblong quadrangle with irregular sides, measuring approximately 455 meters on the west, 300 on the north, 430 on the east,[3] and 290 on the south. The central north-south axis measures 428 meters, and the east-west axis[4] about 300 meters.

The masonry of the Terrace façade consists in part of polygonal blocks[4a] of the native gray limestone which was used for all the structures of Persepolis. The stones were carefully fitted without the use of mortar, in the same manner as portions which consist of staggered rectangular stones of irregular sizes (Fig. 23 and Pl. 8).[5] The solidity of the wall was increased by iron clamps (now missing) set in lead, which dovetailed the topmost stones of the wall along its entire extent (see e.g. Fig. 25). Holes left by metal-pilferers indicate that some stones of the Terrace face were likewise joined by clamps. Partial dovetail depressions show that wall stones originally intended for other locations were used secondarily at certain points (see Fig. 23).

The jagged outline of parts of the Terrace foundation approaches a fortress plan *en crémaillère*, characterized by a broken wall line of mutually flanking sections which enabled the defenders to cover each part of the fortification with their missiles. In reference to the acropolis of Susa, apparently fortified in a similar manner, Dieulafoy assembled a great deal of comparative material dealing with ancient fortifications.[6] If his reconstruction of the defense system of Susa[7] should prove to be approximately correct (see pp. 29 f.), it would show that that site was better protected than Persepolis, where the fortress plan *en crémaillère* was not carried through consistently. According to Billerbeck,[8] in antiquity the length of wall which could be covered by a missile was about 30 meters, that is, the effective range of an arrow. At Persepolis, however, unbroken sections between bastions measure at times more than 80 meters, and long projections on the north, west, and south were left unprotected by flanking devices. On the other hand, it is interesting that the distances between the towers of the eastern defense system (see below) measure about 30 meters, or less, as shown by the spacing of the hillocks which mark their locations (see Fig. 21 and Pl. 4).

On our plan (Fig. 21) the top levels of the Terrace foundation are marked at various points. However, the abso-

1. See also pp. 39–40.

2. For reasons of simplicity we designate the walls and other features of all buildings according to the main directions which they approximate.

3. Not counting the end of a bastion projecting toward the south and now covered by workshops built during Herzfeld's regime.

4. From the edge west of the Apadana to the eastern defense wall.

4a. See Louis Réau, *Dictionnaire illustré d'art et d'archéologie* (Paris, 1930) p. 22, "appareils de construction," No. 7.

5. See also the elevation of the Terrace stairway in *IAE*, Pl. L.

6. *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 117–252. 7. *Ibid.* Pl. II.

8. *Der Festungsbau im alten Orient* (2. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1903 ["Der alte Orient" I 4]) p. 15.

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lute height of the stone façade was determined at one point only, namely at the Terrace stairway. Here the top landing is 11.71 m. above the bottom landing, which roughly corresponds to the original ground level of the plain at this spot. The other levels indicate height above this bottom landing, which served as the datum plane (±0 m.) for all surveys of the site. The top level (between 14 and 15 m. above datum) of that portion of the western foundation wall which parallels the Apadana, the Palace of Darius, and Palace H marks approximately the true height of the Terrace foundation in this area. Whereas parts of the Terrace were protected by a strong mud-brick fortification built on the Terrace foundation and rising 10–15 meters above it,[9] it is probable that the Terrace edge west of the Apadana had only a parapet above the high stone façade (see p. 81 and Pl. 18 *B*). This is suggested by the location of foundations presumably of two small porches or pavilions, which are so close to the Terrace edge west of the western towers of the Apadana that no space is left for a fortification wall.[10] For the same reason there is no doubt that at the time when Palace H was constructed no fortress wall existed along the Terrace edges neighboring this building. We believe, however, that this palace was composed of material salvaged after the destruction of the site. We do not know whether before that event the fortification extended from the southwest tower of the Apadana to the site of Palace H. For reasons mentioned (see p. 43) our Terrace plan (Fig. 21) postulates parapets west and south of Palace H. We have no doubt that a fortress wall originally protected the considerably lower southwest corner of the Terrace, where subsequently—perhaps synchronously with the construction of Palace H—a columned "pavilion" was erected (see p. 264).

In the course of time most of the mud-brick fortification crumbled over the edge of the Terrace; but along a portion of the northern edge, and along the eastern edge at the foot of the mountain, low mounds with rather evenly spaced hillocks still mark its course. A very low remnant of the southern wall could be traced for a short distance south of the Treasury (see p. 206, n. 1). Herzfeld excavated a bastion of the northern defense wall.[11] A section of the eastern fortification subsequently excavated by us is described below (pp. 206–12). The defense wall aligned with the eastern edge of the Terrace proper was not considered sufficient protection against an enemy approaching over the dominating hill on the east. The entire hill was therefore included in the defense system of the site, as is clearly shown by a line of connected debris knolls—remnants of the mud-brick fortification[12]—following the edges and the crest of the hill (see Pl. 4).

A triple wall is described by Diodorus (after Clitarchus).[13] He states that the outermost inclosure was 16 cubits high, "adorned with many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets." The second wall was twice as high, and the third inclosure, four-sided and 60 cubits high, was made of hard stone, "well suited to last forever." The third wall is obviously the Terrace façade, although the height of 60 cubits must include the fortress wall of mud bricks. The buildings attributed by Diodorus to the first inclosure are presumably the palatial structures standing on the Terrace. Curzon denies that Diodorus' confused description applies to the Terrace at all.[14] Herzfeld, on the other hand, mentions a few traces of two walls in the plain which in his opinion confirm Diodorus' statements.[15] Herbert Weld-Blundell too believes that he found proof for the existence of an outer fortification, which he traces hypothetically from the vicinity of the Unfinished Tomb to a point opposite the northwestern angle of the Terrace.[16] In the area south of the Terrace, Herzfeld excavated parts of Achaemenian structures which he considers fire temples (see p. 55). Scattered over the same area are stone parts of other buildings (visible on Pl. 4), including a hypostyle structure[17] whose last extant column was destroyed a few years prior to the visit of William Ouseley (1811). We admit that it is plausible to postulate a fortification which protected this area, occupied evidently by important buildings of the Achaemenian period, and which possibly continued northward and inclosed the Terrace. However, we do not consider the surface clues sufficiently convincing to prove the existence of an outer defense wall, and we will abstain from further speculations until Achaemenian fortifications are uncovered in the plain during some future excavation.

The inscriptions of Darius the Great commemorating the foundation of the site are located at a curiously inconspicuous spot. They are engraved on one enormous stone (length, *ca.* 7.20 m.; height, *ca.* 2.05 m.) in the southern façade of the Terrace. The stone is situated at the present upper edge of the façade, where it was placed off-center in the long, roughly central bastion (Fig. 24). It is possible that further stone courses once existed between the present top and the upper wall of sun-dried bricks, which has disappeared. The reason for choosing this spot for the location of the foundation inscriptions is obscure. One would rather have expected to find them in the center of the bastion jutting out west of the Apadana, which was founded by Darius, or on the main façade of the great Terrace stairway.[18]

The inscriptions were re-examined *in situ* by Cameron, whose translations are here used in so far as they differ from those of Weissbach[19] and Tolman.[20] The stone, now slightly damaged, was intact when the inscriptions were engraved. Darius departed here from his customary practice of executing one and the same inscription in three languages. Nevertheless, all three languages are used in the four distinct texts (Pl. 7). Farthest to the left (west) are two texts in Old Persian (Dar. Pers. d and e); next follows the Elamite inscription (Dar. Pers. f); and the easternmost text (Dar. Pers. g) is written in Babylonian.

9. See *OIC* No. 21, p. 8.

10. For puzzling dowel(?) holes near the Terrace edge see p. 81.

11. *IAE*, p. 226 and Fig. 329.

12. Partly reconstructed on the air views in *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 4, and Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, Pl. 2.

13. See Curzon, *Persia* II 186.

14. *Ibid.* p. 187.

15. *IAE*, p. 224.

16. See *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* II (London, 1893) 547–56.

17. *Ca.* 140 m. south of the southwest angle of the Terrace.

18. Where Herzfeld once actually located them by mistake (see p. 64).

19. *KA*, pp. XVI and 80–87.

20. *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, pp. 36–38. Cameron has suggested many corrections of earlier readings of this set of inscriptions and of other Persepolis texts, which we here publish in English translation only. For instance, he has made a new and complete transliteration of Dar. Pers. g, which will replace Weissbach's defective edition. We feel, however, that Cameron should publish such material in a separate article dealing primarily with philological material.

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Darius Persepolis d

1. The great Ahuramazda, who (is) the greatest of the gods, he made Darius king; he gave him the kingdom; by the grace of Ahuramazda Darius (is) king.

2. Says Darius the king: This (is) the country Persia which Ahuramazda gave me, which, beautiful, possessing good horses, possessing good men, by the grace of Ahuramazda and of me Darius the king, does not fear an enemy.

3. Says Darius the king: Let Ahuramazda bear me aid with all the gods and let Ahuramazda protect this country from an evil host, from famine, from deceit; may not an evil host nor famine nor deceit come upon this country; this favor I pray of Ahuramazda with all the gods; this let Ahuramazda give me with all the gods.

Darius Persepolis f

1. I, Darius, great king, king of kings, king of lands, king upon this earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid.

2. And Darius king says: As for the fact that (*uk-ku*) upon this place this fortress was built, formerly here a fortress had not been built. By the grace of Ahuramazda I built this fortress. And Ahuramazda was of such a mind, together with all the gods, that this fortress (should) be built. And (so) I built it. And I built it secure and beautiful and adequate, just as I was intending to.

3. And Darius king says: Me may Ahuramazda, together with all the gods, protect, as well as this fortress. And, furthermore, whatever has been erected in this place, may it not be kindly (to) what any hostile man (ever) counts on doing.



FIG. 24. SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF TERRACE, SHOWING LOCATION OF DARIUS' FOUNDATION INSCRIPTIONS (DAR. PERS. d–g)

Darius Persepolis e

1. I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of many countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid.

2. Says Darius the king: By the grace of Ahuramazda these (are) the countries which I have brought into my possession with the help of this Persian army (and) which feared me (and) brought to me tribute: Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, the Ionians who (are) of the mainland (and) those who (are) on the sea, and the countries which (are) beyond the sea,[21] Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, India, Gandara, the Scythians,[22] Maka.

3. Says Darius the king: If thus thou shalt think, "May I not fear an enemy," protect this Persian people; if the Persian people shall be protected, welfare for a long time undisturbed will through Ahura descend upon this royal house.

21. I.e., the lands of the European Scyths and not "the countries which (are) in the east"; see p. 39 above and Cameron in *JNES* II 307–13.

22. Cf. Kent, "Old Persian texts" (*JNES* II 302–6).

Darius Persepolis g

1. Great (is) Ahuramazda who is the great(est) among all the gods, who heaven and earth created and men created and who all prosperity gave (to) men who live thereon, who Darius king created and to Darius king gave the kingdom on this wide earth, on which are many lands: Persia, Media, and the other countries (of) other languages ("tongues"), (on) which (are) both mountain(s) and (level) country which (are) on this side of the sea ("Bitter River") and yonder side of the sea, which (are) on this side of the desert land and yonder side of the desert land.

2. Darius king says: In the protection of Ahuramazda these (are) the lands which did this which was done here: Persia, Media, and the other countries (of) other languages wherein are both mountains and (level) lands of this side of the sea and of yonder side of the sea and also (which are) on this side of desert land and yonder side of desert land—just as I gave them command. What I did (that) all I accomplished in the protection of Ahuramazda. May Ahuramazda, together with all the gods, protect me—me and what I construct(?).

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THE TERRACE STAIRWAY

The monumental stairway leading from the western plain to the Terrace of Persepolis appears to be the only extant means of access to the interior of the palace fortress. However, several students and travelers in describing the remnants of the royal site have suggested that additional entrances existed. Dieulafoy[1] may have mistaken traces of a water conduit(?)[2] for what he describes as a carriage road cut into the slope of the mountain and giving direct access to the Terrace. The same author and also Herzfeld[3] considered it possible that steps of bedrock approaching the level of the Terrace at the west end of its northern edge led to a small gate.[4] Hamd Allah Mustaufi al-Qazvini may have referred to the same quarry steps in addition to the western stairs when stating that the platform is ascended on two sides by means of stairways.[5] James Fergusson[6] expressed the belief that the principal entrance to the site was originally on the south and that the entire northern part of the Terrace was added by Xerxes. Fergusson based his assumption primarily on the location of the foundation inscriptions of Darius I on the southern façade of the Terrace (see Fig. 24). However, since there is no trace of a southern stairway to the Terrace,[7] one can only speculate on the intention of the founder of the site to construct an entrance at that point. In this connection it is appropriate to correct Herzfeld's error,[8] repeated by Sarre,[9] in stating that Darius' foundation inscriptions are on the wall of the western stairway.

At present we are not able to verify or correct Herzfeld's final conclusion[10] that Persepolis had no entrance other than the principal Terrace stairway—not even a service entrance. However, in addition to the suggested postern (see n. 4), we are inclined to postulate at least one service gate, in the southeast corner of the Terrace, giving access to the quarters of the garrison (see pp. 206–12).

The impressive stairway (Fig. 25, Pls. 2 *B* and 8) has often been described and illustrated[11] by writers who admired the width and gentle grade of its flights of steps, which would permit groups of mounted horsemen to ascend and descend with ease. The double reversed stairway was constructed in an enormous niche or recess of the Terrace foundation. From the bottom landing, which is only one step[12] above the plain, two divergent flights of sixty-three steps each[13] lead to intermediate landings. Here the stairs turn and converge in forty-eight steps toward the top landing, which is 11.71 m. above the foot of the stairway. Traces of the originally crenelated parapets are preserved at the outer edges of stairs and landings. At most points—here as elsewhere—the locations of the parapets are marked solely by pebbled foundation strips (see Fig. 25).

The building material of the stairway is the same as that of the Terrace foundation, namely irregular blocks of limestone cut to the desired shape and joined without mortar. The locations of iron clamps, which once increased the firmness of the structure, are marked by hourglass-shaped depressions crossing the joints.

We are puzzled by three pairs of circular depressions[14] on the top landing near the uppermost northern and southern steps and near the eastern edge of the landing stones (see Fig. 25). It is possible that these depressions were pivoting devices for barriers of some sort once attached to jambs of stone which have disappeared. If one assumes that stones for traffic control had been fixed at the points under consideration, one would expect dowel holes of rectangular outline. There remains Diodorus Siculus' reference to palisades of metal near the gates,[15] although one would think that a palisade would require deeper, narrower, and more numerous sockets than the depressions concerned.

There is now no trace of the fortification wall of sun-dried bricks which once protected the stairway and the Terrace entrance as far as the adjoining Gate of Xerxes. Haines estimates that the wall rose about 10 meters above the edge of the stone foundation. The general course of the fortification is suggested in our partly reconstructed plan (Fig. 26), but its details are problematical[16] and can be assumed only by comparison with sections of the defense system which were excavated at the northern and eastern borders of the Terrace (see Fig. 21). We do not know the exact size and outline of the forecourt west of Xerxes' gate, and it is unknown too in what manner the fortress wall abutted this structure.

1. *L'Art antique de la Perse* II 17.

2. Marked *Kanal* on Herzfeld's plan of Persepolis in *AMI* I.

3. *AMI* I 21.

4. To be sure, three parallel stones situated near the northwestern corner of the Terrace 10 m. from its north edge suggest the former existence of a postern at this spot (see Fig. 21).

5. *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340), trans. G. le Strange ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series" XXIII 2 [Leyden and London, 1919]) p. 119.

6. *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored* (London, 1851) pp. 98 f.

7. See also Curzon, *Persia* II 154.

8. See *IF*, p. 106.

9. *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, p. 10.

10. *IAE*, p. 225.

11. For further illustrations of the stairway (photographs taken before a wall was built in front for the protection of the site) see *IF*, Pl. XV; *AMI* I, Pl. 3, Fig. 7; *IAE*, Pls. XLIX, bottom, and L, top (elevation).

12. There is no trace of the perron of six steps assumed by Dieulafoy (*L'Art antique de la Perse* II, Pl. III); further, the cornice shown on his drawing should be omitted, and crenelated parapets should be added.

13. Width, *ca.* 6.90 m.; height of risers, *ca.* 10 cm.; depth of treads, *ca.* 38 cm.

14. Indicated at an exaggerated scale on the plan of the site in A. H. L. Heeren, *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*. I. *Asiatic Nations. Persians*, trans. from the German (Oxford, 1833) pl. opposite p. 142.

15. Diodorus claims that there were metal gates at each side of the inclosure; see Curzon, *Persia* II 186.

16. Cf. Krefter's reconstruction in *IAE*, Pl. LI.

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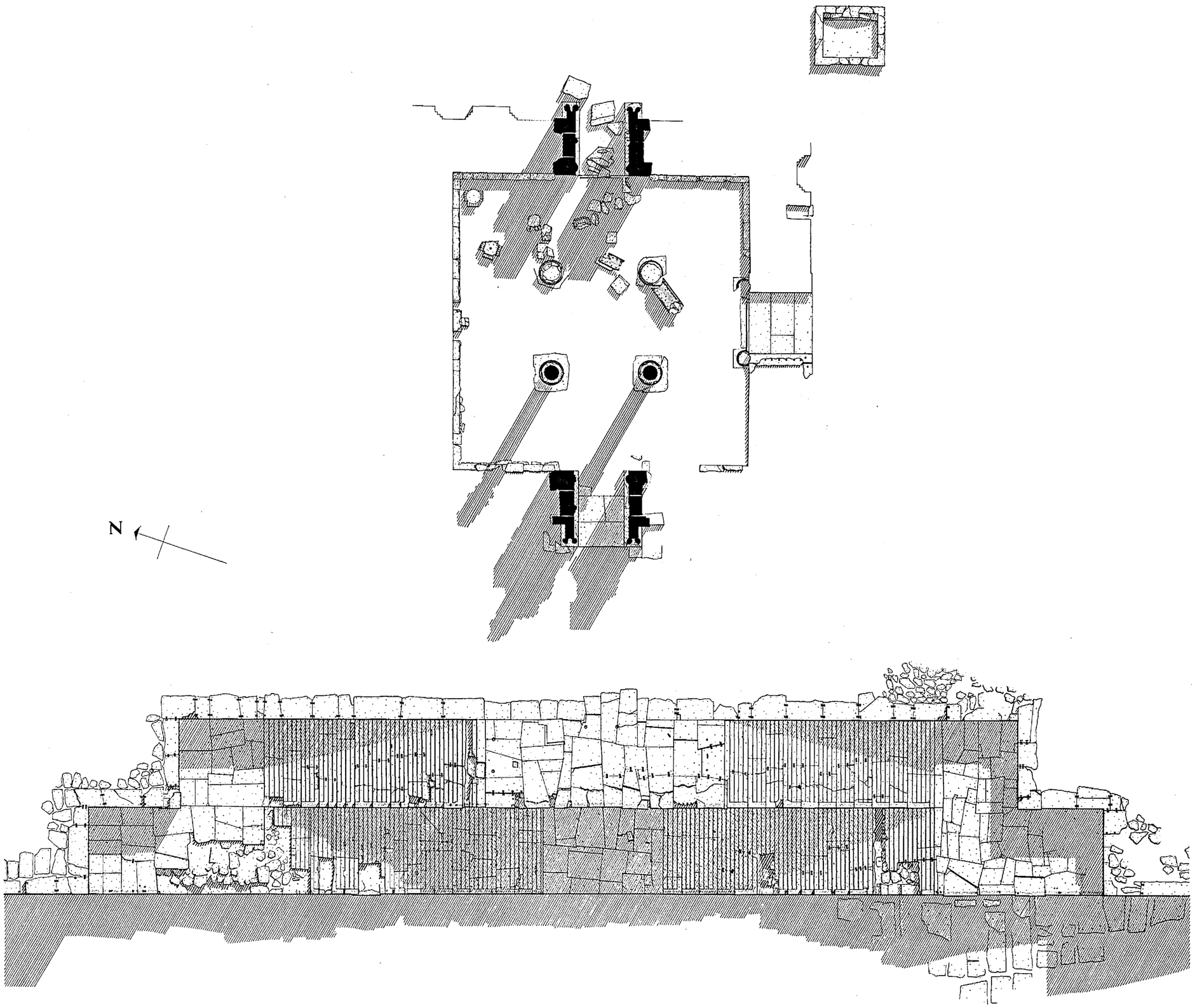


FIG. 25. PLAN OF EXTANT REMAINS OF TERRACE STAIRWAY AND GATE OF XERXES. AFTER ORIGINAL SURVEY BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:300

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THE GATE OF XERXES

Parts of the outer faces and the interior of Xerxes' monumental gate—or rather gatehouse—were cleared by Herzfeld, whose most recent report briefly refers to this structure and traces the origin of its sculptures via Urartu to Assyria.[1] Previously, Curzon had combined and partly corrected the observations of earlier authors.[2] An avenue bordered by niched walls and connecting the Gate of Xerxes with the unfinished gate of the Throne Hall was uncovered by the Iranian Antiquity Service (see p. 5, n. 27).

The plan of the gate (Figs. 25–26) shows one spacious room, 24.75 m. square, whose roof was carried by four columns of stone. Niches embellish the exterior of the thick mud-brick walls, which are pierced by three stone doorways of impressive dimensions. Two pairs of protective colossi (see Pls. 10–12)—bulls guarding the western entrance (Fig. 27) and winged man-bulls at the eastern doorway—have often been described and sometimes fantastically misinterpreted.[3]

Four almost identical[4] trilingual inscriptions (Xerx. Pers. a) are engraved above the four colossi (see Pls. 14 and 9) and prove that Xerxes erected, or at least completed,[5] the gate structure. The Old Persian text is always in the center. The Elamite version is nearest to the outer edge of each doorway, and the Babylonian is nearest to the inside of the building. The text reads as follows in translation:[6]

1. A great god (is) Ahuramazda who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.

2. I (am) Xerxes the great king, king of kings, king of the countries possessing many kinds of people, king of this great earth far and wide, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.

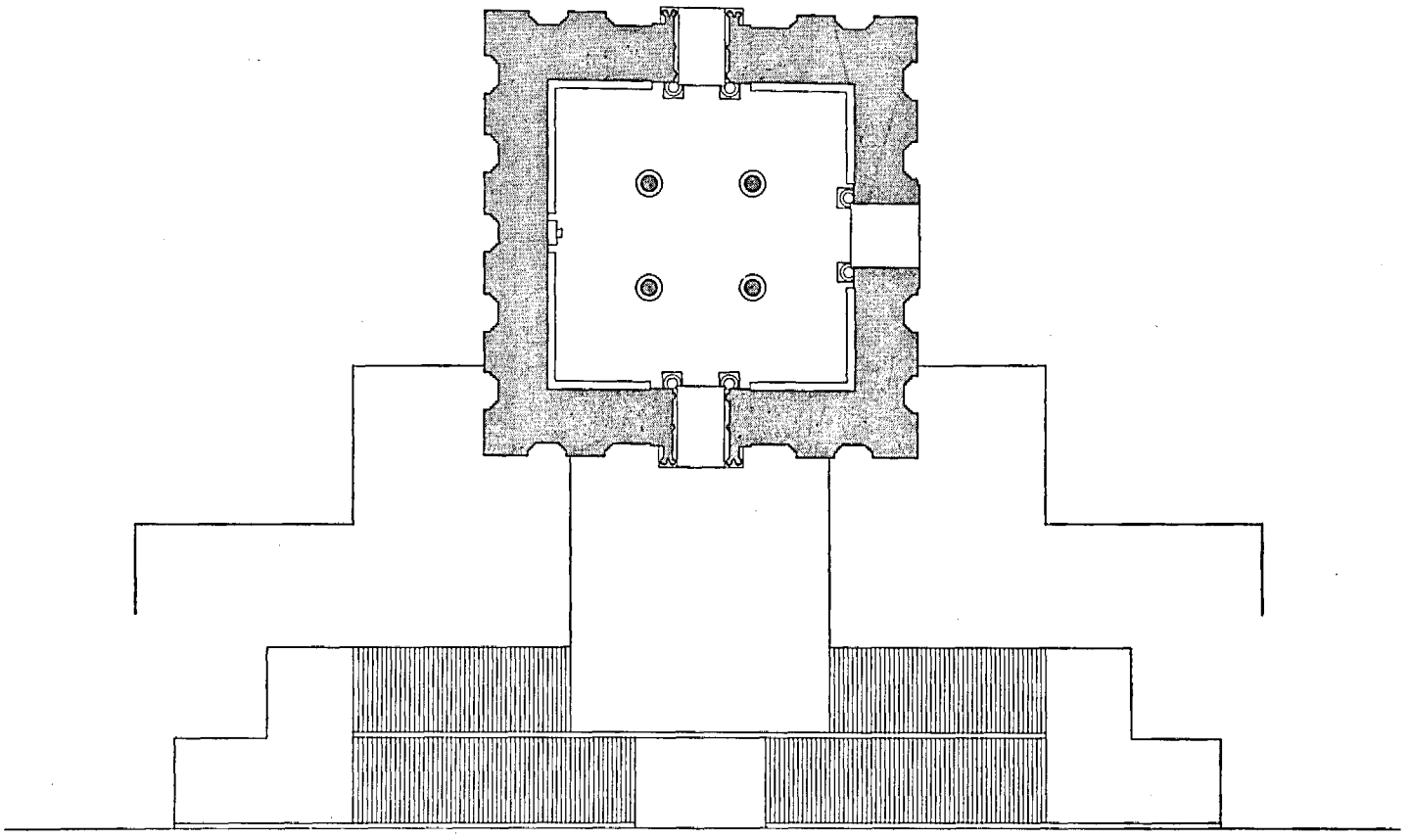


FIG. 26. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF TERRACE STAIRWAY AND GATE OF XERXES. SCALE, 1:600

3. Says Xerxes the great king: By the grace of Ahuramazda, this gateway of all lands[7] I made; much else (that is) beautiful (was) done throughout Parsa which I did and which my father did; whatever work seems beautiful, all that we did by the grace of Ahuramazda.

4. Says Xerxes the king: Let Ahuramazda protect me and my kingdom and what (was) done by me and what (was) done by my father, (all) this let Ahuramazda protect.

The third doorway (Pl. 13 *A*) opens toward the south and gives access to the area in front of the Apadana. Judging by its width (5.125 m.)—considerably greater

1. *IAE*, pp. 225 and 248 f.; see also *IF*, pp. 111–14.

2. *Persia* II 154–59.

3. See *ibid.* p. 155, n. 3.

4. As to slight differences in the distribution of characters in two examples of the OP version see *KA*, p. 106, n. *a*. Cameron noticed, on the other hand, that the four examples of the El. version had been slavishly copied from an original model. Thus, each line has exactly the same signs, and one error (omission of genitive *na* in line 11) is repeated in all four copies.

5. It must be kept in mind that in the inscriptions of the Apadana stairways (Xerx. Pers. b) Xerxes does not even refer to the building activities of his father, although the foundation records of metal prove that Darius started the construction of the Apadana.

6. Based on the translations of Weissbach (*KA*, pp. 106–9; see p. XXIII for bibliography) and Tolman (*Ancient Persian Lexicon*, p. 39), verified by Cameron.

7. OP *visadahyum;* according to Weissbach, "Allland," i.e., "für alle Länder bestimmt."

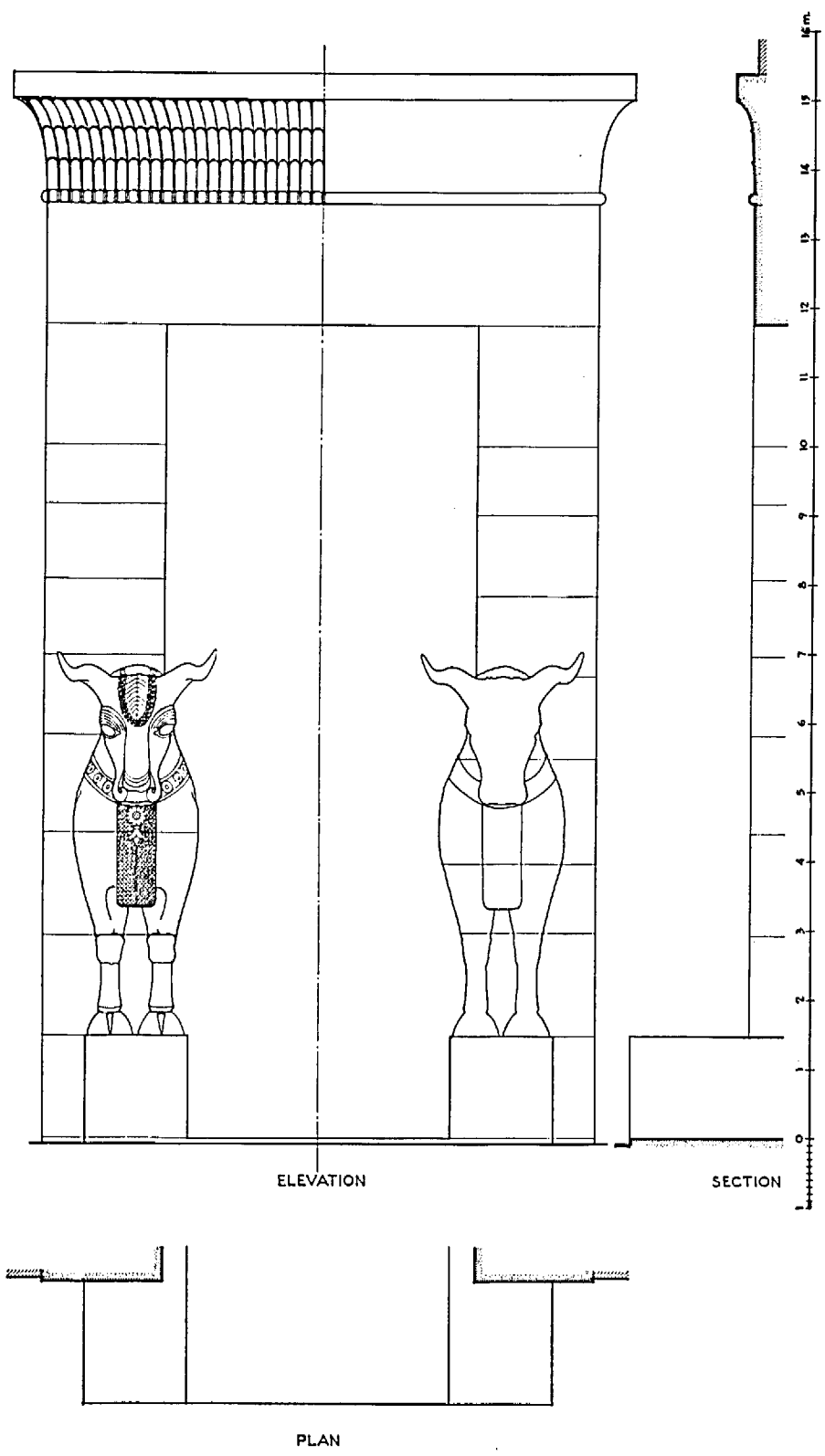
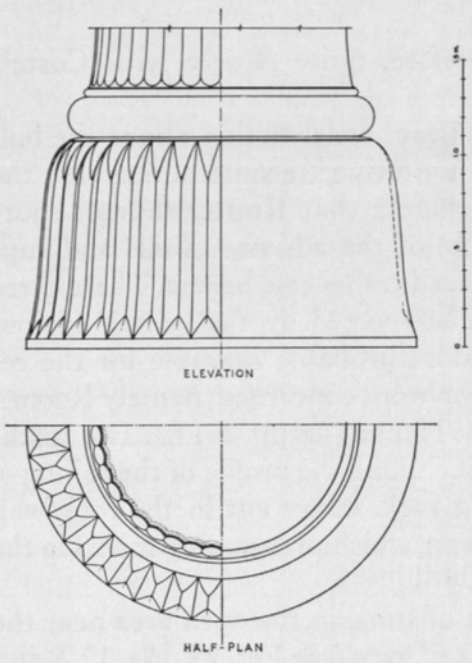


FIG. 27. GATE OF XERXES. RECONSTRUCTION OF WESTERN DOORWAY (GUARDIAN BULLS SHOWN IN FRONT VIEW ONLY). SCALE, 1:100

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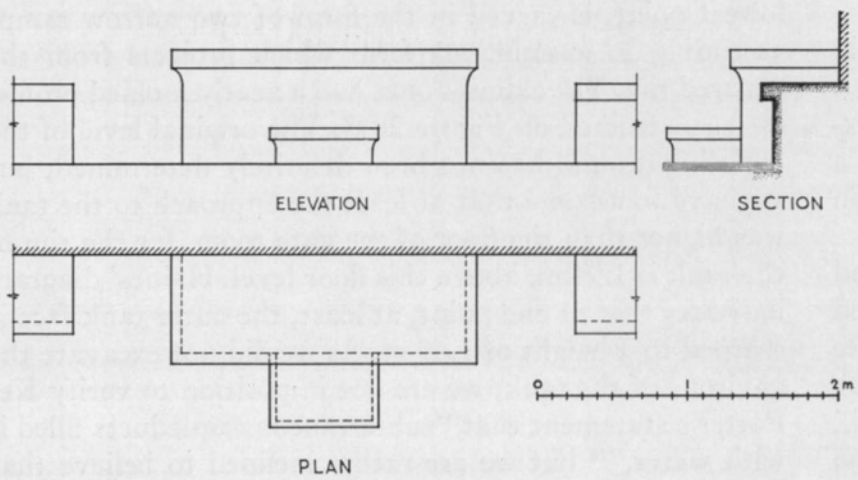
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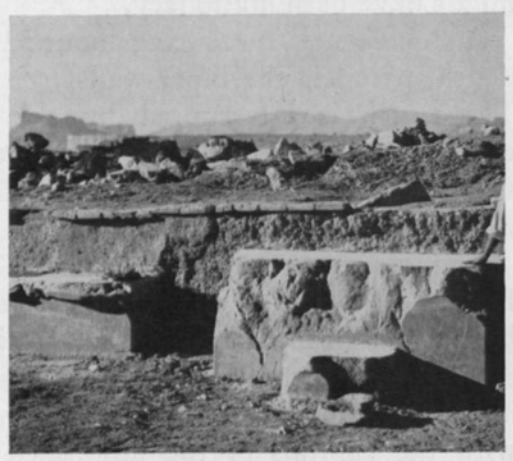
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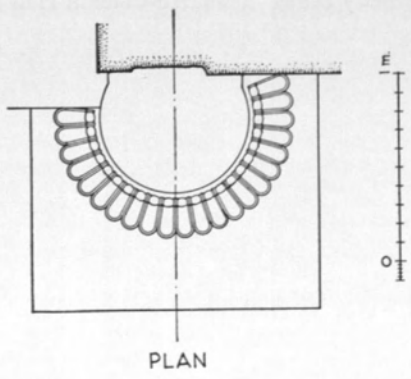
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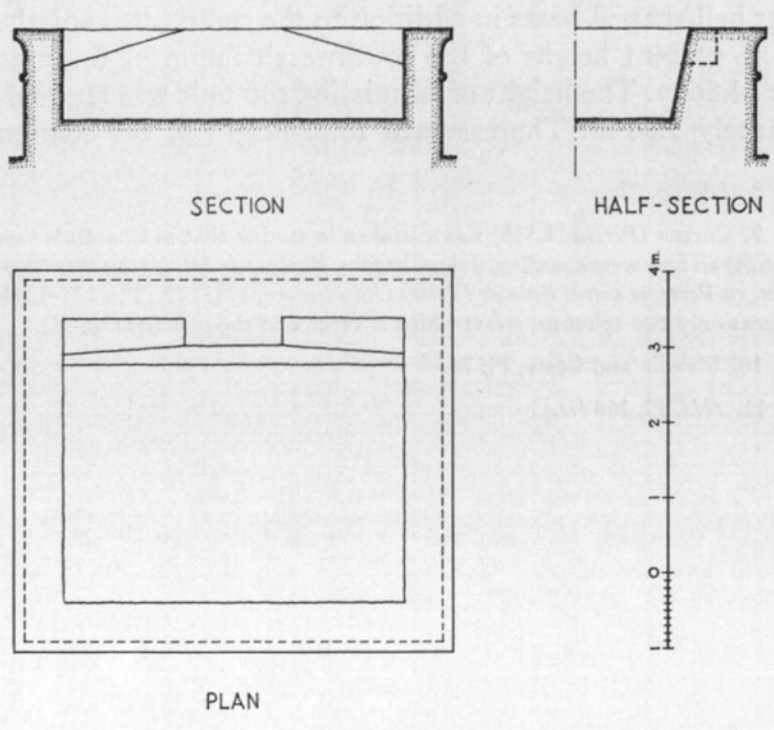
D



E



F



G

FIG. 28. GATE OF XERXES. *A*. PLAN AND ELEVATION OF NORTHEAST COLUMN BASE. SCALE, 1:40. *B*. NORTHEAST COLUMN BASE. *C*. UNIT OF COMPOSITE CAPITAL LYING INVERTED IN NORTHEAST CORNER. *D*. RECONSTRUCTED STONE ALTAR(?) FLANKED BY STONE BENCHES. SCALE, 1:50. *E*. SAME ALTAR(?) AT CENTER OF NORTH WALL. *F*. DECORATIVE STONE RING OF WEST SOCKET STONE AT SOUTHERN DOORWAY. SCALE, 1:40. *G*. TANK NEAR GATE. SCALE, 1:100

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than that of the two other doorways (3.825 m.)—and by the extant stone foundations of its jambs, we conclude that this doorway too was made entirely of stone, although the neighboring debris supplies no clues. Pivoting devices, once encircled by large ornamental stone slabs (e.g. Fig. 28 *F*), at both inner corners of the doorway indicate that it had a door of two leaves. This door may have been higher even than those closing—presumably in the same manner—the other two entrances. The wooden doors probably were covered with ornamental sheets of metal.[8] Herzfeld believes that the eastern and western doors had a height of about 30 feet. According to the measurements of Haines, who reconstructed the cornice of the western entrance from a fragment found near by, the distance between the stone sill—present in all three doorways—and the lintel is 11.77 m. (Fig. 27), which would correspond roughly to the height of the doors closing the western and eastern openings. However, we agree with Albert Hauser, who suggested that only the lower parts of these huge doors could be opened, whereas their upper portions might have been stationary.

A stone bench, measuring about 52 cm. in height and in depth, parallels the inner wall faces of the square room. The bench is interrupted by the doorways and—exactly opposite the center of the southern opening—by a stepped stone (Fig. 28 *D–E*) which may have been an altar.

The two western columns (see Pls. 10 *B*, 12 *B*, 13 *B* and Fig. 28 *A–C*) are still standing[9] except for the addorsed bulls which formed the uppermost units of their composite capitals.[10] In form, though not in size, these capitals were identical with those of the main room of the Throne Hall, with the capitals of the unfinished gate (north of the Throne Hall), and with those of the main hall and northern portico of the Apadana. As to their complete order, the columns of Xerxes' gate resemble most closely those of the main room of the Throne Hall, for both groups have similar bell-shaped bases in addition to the composite capitals. The present height of the southwest column of the gate is 14.86 m. The height of its missing top unit was approximately 1.80 m. The assumed total height of the column (16.66 m.) agrees, therefore, quite closely with Coste's estimate (16.58 m.).[11]

Haines questions the beam construction above the bull capitals in Krefter's tentative reconstruction of the Xerxes gate.[12] Haines remarks that Krefter shows a short beam lying in the saddle of the addorsed bulls and supporting three closely spaced transverse beams. These three beams run into and are supported by the walls.[13] Haines directs attention to a more probable example for the reconstruction of the timber-work concerned, namely Room 4 of the western wing of the Harem (see pp. 261 f.). The northern wall of that room—including the profile of the ceiling—was carved in the living rock. Holes cut in the rock wall provide bearings for beams, which presumably rested in the saddles of bull capitals.[14]

There is a water tank of stone in the open area near the southeast corner of Xerxes' gate (see Fig. 25, Pls. 12 *B* and 13 *B*). The basin has the same orientation as the gate and the other buildings of the site. The western part of its interior is 1.20 m. deep. The eastern end, 46 cm. deep at the lowest point, is carved in the form of two narrow ramps ascending to a small platform which projects from the squared rim. The exterior once had a neatly molded profile, as reconstructed on Figure 28 *G*. The original level of the inclosing ground has not been definitely determined, but we have to assume that at least the approach to the tank was higher than the floor of the gate room, for the rim of the tank is 1.94 m. above this floor level. Haines' diagram indicates that at one point, at least, the outer tank face is scarped to a height of 1.69 m. As we did not excavate the environs of the tank, we are not in position to verify Ker Porter's statement that "subterraneous aqueducts filled it with water,"[15] but we are rather inclined to believe that the basin was filled in some manual fashion.

A plan of the Terrace prepared by the Iranian Antiquity Service and including structures excavated after the departure of our expedition shows an apparently open canal which extends roughly north-northwest to south-southeast below the tank. The canal joins a transverse branch extending across a part of the courtyard between the Gate of Xerxes and the Apadana.

8. *IAE*, p. 225.

9. Curzon (*Persia* II 158) was mistaken in stating that in Chardin's time (1674) all four were standing. John Chardin, *Voyages de M^r. le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'orient* (Amsterdam, 1711) IX, Pls. LII–LIII, shows only two columns, a fact which is verified in the text (*ibid.* p. 55).

10. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 76.

11. *Ibid.* Pl. 168 *bis*.

12. See *IAE*, Pl. LI, top center.

13. Haines notes that Krefter used the same construction in restoring the Harem and questions whether a precedent exists.

14. Haines disagrees also with the solution suggested by Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V, esp. Pls. VII–VIII) for the beam construction of the Throne Hall (formerly called "Hundred-Column Hall") and other structures.

15. *Travels* I 594.

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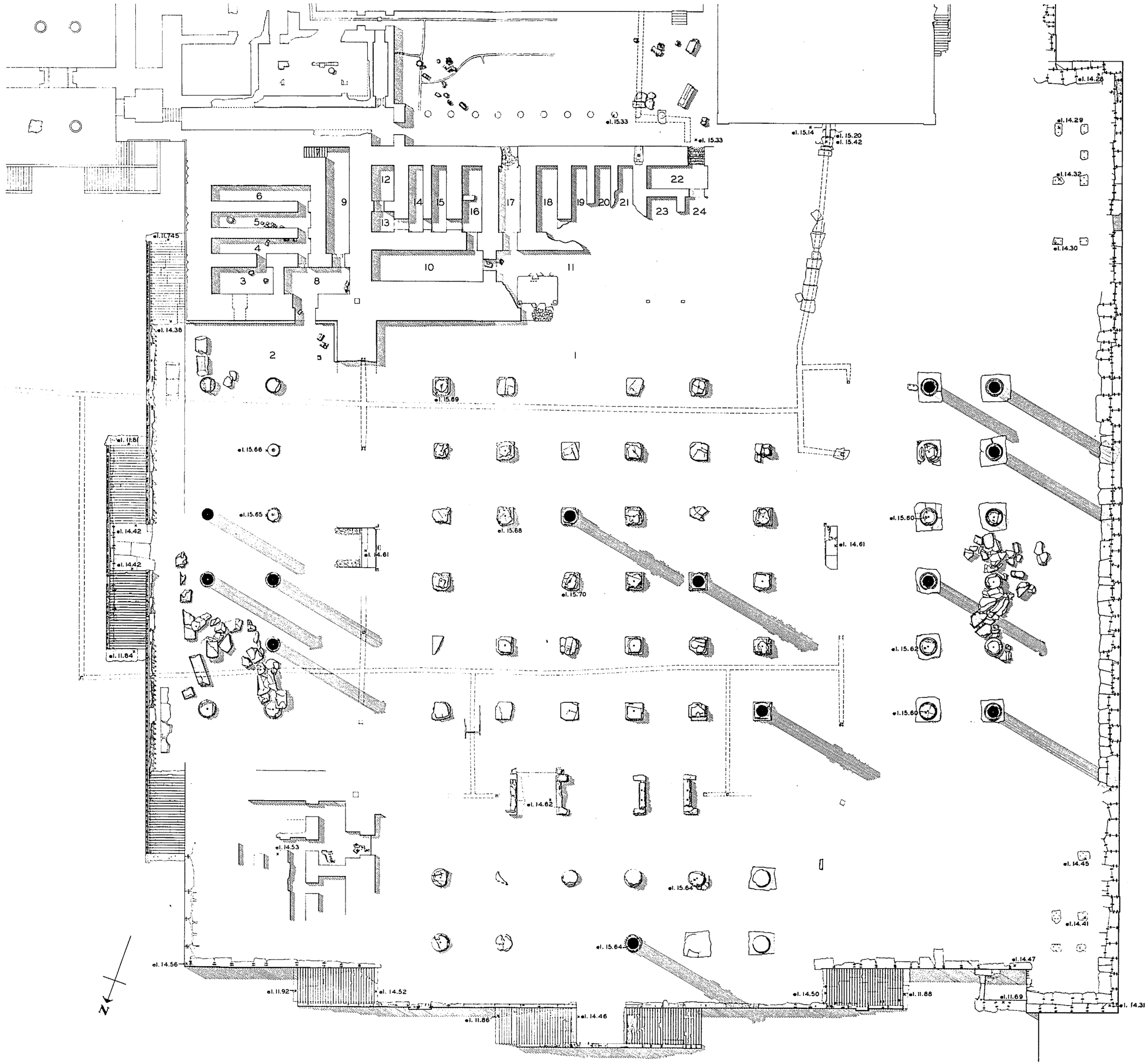


Fig. 29. Plan of Extant Remains of Apadana. After Original Surveys by K. Bergner and R. C. Haines. Scale, 1:400

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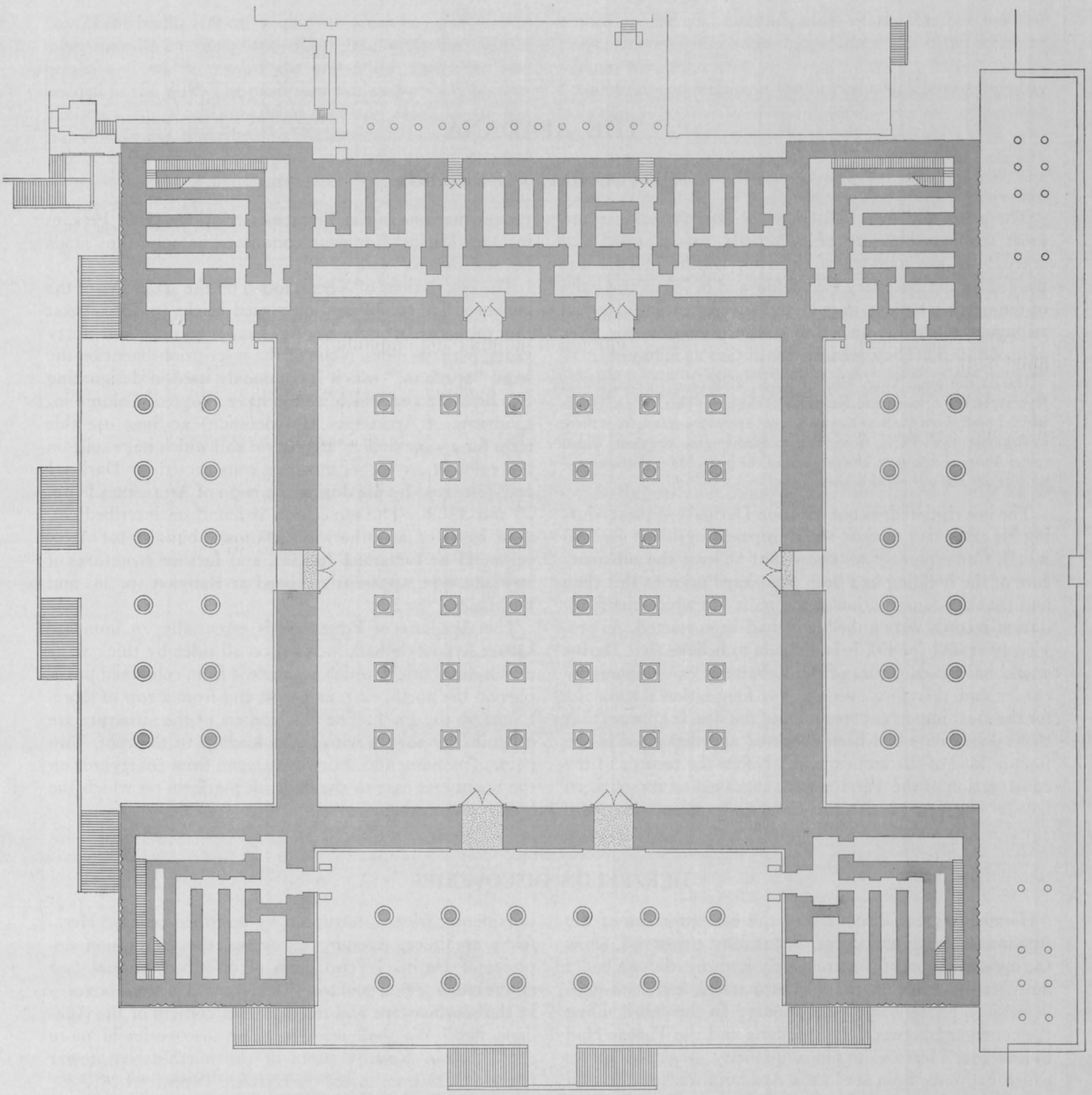


FIG. 30. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF APADANA. SCALE, 1:600

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THE APADANA

THE FOUNDATION RECORD

The great audience hall (Figs. 29–30), the loftiest and most spacious building of Persepolis, was planned and started by the founder of the site, Darius I. This was proved by the discovery (see below and p. 79) of two pairs of foundation tablets, in gold and silver, bearing identical trilingual (OP, El., and Bab.) inscriptions of this ruler (Fig. 42 *A–B*). They read in translation as follows:[1]

> Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid. Says Darius the king: This is the kingdom which I hold, from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, from there to Ethiopia; from India, from there to Sardis—(the kingdom) which to me Ahuramazda gave, the greatest of the gods. May Ahuramazda[2] protect me and my royal house.

The inscription does not mention Darius' conquests during his campaign against the European Scythians (*ca.* 513 B.C.?). Consequently we know that at least the substructure of the building had been completed prior to this time and that the construction of the walls—in which the foundation records were imbedded—had been started. As previously stated (p. 40), it is difficult to believe that Darius would have used copies of the Ecbatana text—assumedly earlier and therefore obsolete—as foundation documents for the most important structure of the site. It appears that these documents had been executed and deposited in the foundations of the audience hall before the records of the construction of the Terrace were engraved on its southern façade (see pp. 62–63), for Cameron's recent discovery proves that one of the Terrace inscriptions (Dar. Pers. e) includes Darius' European conquests, namely, the "lands beyond the sea" (see p. 39).

The inscriptions of Xerxes found on the stairways of the audience hall (p. 82) and on glazed bricks (p. 71) suggest that the construction of the Apadana required about thirty years, perhaps more. None of the inscriptions mention the word "apadana," which is commonly used in designating this building and which we too have adopted. Column inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (Memnon) at Susa use this term for a very similar[3] hypostyle hall which he rebuilt on the ruins of an earlier apadana constructed by Darius I and destroyed by fire during the reign of Artaxerxes I (pp. 33 and 35–36). The same term is found on inscribed column bases of an otherwise unknown building of Artaxerxes II at Ecbatana (p. 38), and further structures of apadana type apparently existed at Babylon (p. 28) and Pasargadae (p. 22).[4]

The Apadana of Persepolis is essentially an immense square hypostyle hall, inclosed on all sides by thick walls of sun-dried bricks which separate it from columned porticoes on the north, east, and west and from a row of storerooms on the south. The four corners of the structure are occupied by towers with stairs leading to the roof. Two pairs of monumental stairways ascend from courtyards on the north and east to the bedrock platform on which the building was erected.

HERZFELD'S DISCOVERIES

Herzfeld's great discovery of the eastern stairs of the Apadana, whose sculptures, beautifully preserved, show the opposite sides of the previously known—though badly mutilated—scenes on the northern stairs, has been published in a preliminary manner only.[5] In the debris filling the courtyard between the Apadana and the Throne Hall to the east Herzfeld found a quantity of glazed bricks which had once been set in the Apadana walls to form an ornamental frieze interrupted by inscribed panels.[6] Herzfeld's architect, Krefter, discovered the foundation deposits of Darius I—two pairs of inscribed plaques (see above and p. 79) in gold and silver, incased in stone boxes—in the southeastern and northeastern corners of the Apadana hall.[7] We shall refer to these discoveries in more detail below. Finally, parts of the northeastern tower remnant also were tested by Herzfeld's crew.

CLEARING THE NORTH FRONT

Contrary to our expectation, some interesting information was gathered during the removal of a strip of unsightly debris along the northern front of the Apadana (Figs. 31 and 44 *A–B*). Here we uncovered a number of sculptured stairway fragments, some of which could be replaced in their original positions. One of the most important finds was an addorsed bull capital (in Plot GE 20; see Figs. 31 and 44 *C–E*), which must have fallen from one of the columns of the northern portico. Instructive data were further obtained from inscribed glazed bricks uncovered in the eastern section of the excavated area. The inscribed

1. Based on Kent's translation of the identical Ecbatana text (*JAOS* LI 229–31), verified by Cameron. See also *AI*, pp. 18 f. (No. 6), and Herzfeld in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XLVII = n.F. III, cols. 2105–8.

2. Bab. adds "with the (other) gods."

3. "Identical" according to Herzfeld (*IAE*, p. 227), who believes furthermore that "apadana" means the public part of a royal palace (*ibid.* p. 352).

4. See also Friedrich Wachtsmuth in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I 318–20; F. W. von Bissing, "Der persische Palast und die Turmbasilika" (*Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* [Wien and Hellerau, 1923] pp. 40–57) Fig. 1.

5. *ILN*, Feb. 11, 1933, p. 207; March 25, 1933, pp. 401–6; April 1, 1933, pp. 453–55; Jan. 27, 1934, pp. 128 f. See also *IAE*, pp. 227 f. and 269–74, Plates XLVII and LXXV–LXXXIV.

6. *AI*, pp. 38–41, and *ILN*, April 8, 1933, p. 488.

7. See *ILN*, Feb. 22, 1936, p. 328.

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face of the bricks is 9 cm. high. One preserved specimen is more than 34 cm. long, and many fragments decrease in height and width toward the end which had been imbedded in the wall. The paste is a tan, rather porous, frit-like mass, apparently made of lime and sand, as are the Babylon bricks described by Koldewey.[8] The characters and a stripe along the upper edge are glazed creamy white on a field of light turquoise.[9] There were forty-six fragments, distributed in the following manner when found (see Figs. 29 and 31):

Plot	Number of Fragments
GD 28	1
GE 12	23
GE 13	3
GE 14 (half of plot excavated)	1
GE 21	3
GE 22	9
GE 23	6

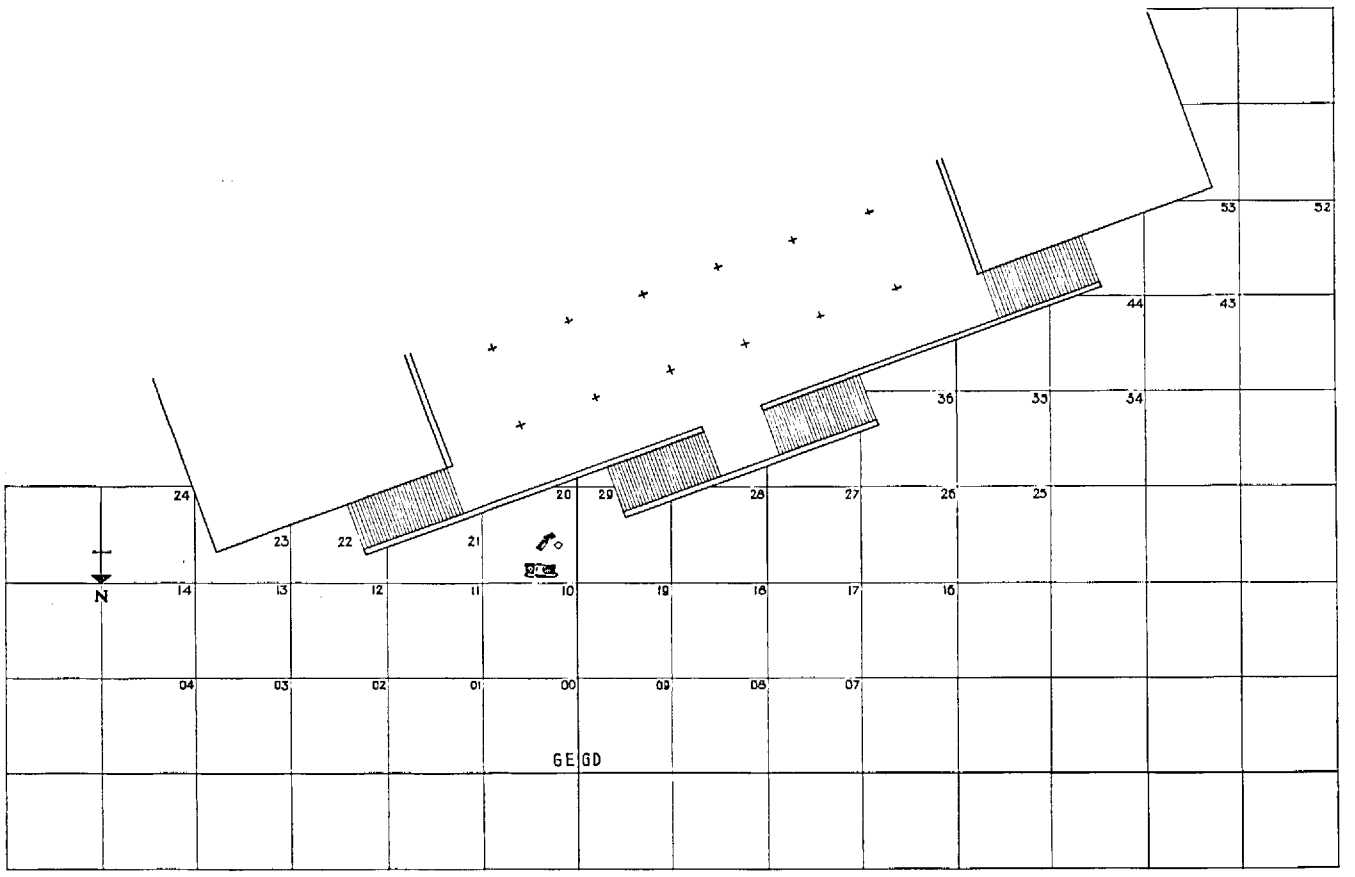


FIG. 31. SCHEMA OF EXCAVATION PLOTS NORTH OF APADANA. SCALE, 1:800

The distribution shows clearly that with the exception of a few stray pieces the fragments were massed in front of, that is, north of the northeastern tower of the Apadana, and most of the pieces were in front of the eastern half of the tower wall. The area of greatest density was near the center of the tower wall, and here we believe was the original location of the inscription—presumably near the roof. All brick fragments here found on which legible characters are preserved are inscribed in Elamite. We believe, therefore, that these fragments belong to one inscription, namely an Elamite version[10] of the Old Persian and Babylonian inscriptions discovered by Herzfeld in debris east of the building (e.g. Fig. 42 *C*). We have no further data with regard to the find-circumstances of the eastern inscriptions. Herzfeld mentions that a few chips of an Elamite version were found.[11]

Cameron comments on the bricks with Elamite signs as follows:

> Although there are numerous fragments, each of which bears parts of one or two Elamite signs, no text may be restored from them with any degree of certainty. Repeated attempts to build up an Elamite version of the Old Persian inscription on similar bricks, last published in Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 38–41 (No. 16), have resulted only in failure, chiefly because there are in that inscription several Old Persian words of which the Elamite equivalents are yet unknown. These attempts have at least demonstrated the *probability* that the inscriptions are identical in phraseology in the two languages, but this probability does not amount to certainty, for most of the signs could also be rearranged to fit almost any other Old Persian text. Even if the complete text cannot be restored, there is at any rate little doubt that the inscription originated under Xerxes. Part of the word for "father" may still be read, and parts of the names Darius and Xerxes.

The following is a translation[12] of the Old Persian text of the eastern inscriptions:

> Says Xerxes the great king: By the will of Ahuramazda much that (is) beautiful Darius the king, my father, built and ordered (to build). By the will indeed of Ahuramazda I added to that (which had been) built, and built additional (construction). May Ahuramazda along with the gods protect me and my kingdom.

There is no indication that the northern face of the northeastern tower of the Apadana was provided with Old Persian and Babylonian inscription panels in addition to the Elamite. A decorative frieze of glazed bricks probably existed, though the number of fragments found in the debris is not sufficient to count as proof. The area north of the northwestern tower had been denuded by the elements to such an extent that no remnants of inscribed or decora-

8. *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, p. 127.

9. Cf. colored reproduction of OP brick inscription in *ILN*, April 8, 1933, p. 488.

10. For further inscribed bricks, found in the southern part of the Apadana, see pp. 77–78.

11. *AI*, p. 38 (No. 16).

12. As worded by Kent, "Another inscription of Xerxes" (*Language* IX [1933] 229–31). See also *AI*, pp. 38–41 (No. 16).

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tive units were preserved. However, many had apparently been washed over the near-by edge of the Terrace.[13] We found no indication that the front of the northern portico roof was decorated with such a frieze, and we have no information as to the distribution of the many decorative units uncovered by Herzfeld east of the building (Fig. 35)[14] and west of it at the foot of the Terrace.

In the course of one of the spot-tests carried through to elucidate certain details of the Apadana plan Haines found evidence that the western façade of the Terrace foundation had been shifted about 18 meters to the west (cf. Fig. 29 with Fig. 36 *B*). The original course of the façade was uncovered north of the northwestern tower. Here the foundation receded to form a bastion south of the Terrace stairway, balancing an identical bastion north of the entrance (see Fig. 21). On examining the northeast corner of the recess, we found that its face is finished, that is, smoothed, to a depth of at least 2.60 m. below the edge. At this point the test was discontinued; but it proved that at least a part of the original Terrace façade was completed before the architects decided to expand the Terrace toward the west in order to accommodate the western portion of the Apadana and its narrow western forecourt. On the other hand, bedrock (marked on Fig. 36 *B*) cropping out beneath the foundation stones of the northwestern tower of the Apadana and extending to the final western façade of the Terrace (see Pl. 8) shows that work on the original façade was not carried very far prior to the change in plan.

The debris strewn along the northern front of the Apadana included some measurable units of construction, namely sun-dried bricks (32.5 × 33 × 14; 33.5 × 33.5 × 13; 33 × ? × 13 cm.), of which all the walls had been composed, and baked bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 6; 32 × 32.5 × 6.5; 16 × 25.5 × 6.5 cm.), which had apparently been used for roof drains or the like.

The finds in the area under consideration include some fragments of bronze sheets, one in the form of a griffin,[15] others decorated with twelve-petaled rosettes—once perhaps attached to the doors of the building (cf. p. 159) by means of bronze nails with gold-covered heads and tacks of gold which also occurred in the detritus. A piece of a limestone horn with rectangular dowel hole may have belonged to one of the bull capitals of the northern portico. There was also a stone slab bearing on one face a carved rosette and the edges of four adjoining rosette(?) patterns. A small torus fragment inscribed with two Babylonian signs had presumably been carried here from some other part of the site. There were, further, a crudely carved stamp seal,[16] a stamping device of baked clay,[17] a loom weight(?) of the same material,[18] a hinge,[19] a socketed triflanged spearhead of bronze, and a few ornaments, including a fragmentary fibula of bronze.[20] Finally, some objects of post-Achaemenian times had strayed into the earlier detritus: Sasanian silver coins of Ardashir I (A.D. 226–40) and Khusrau II (A.D. 603?), an Arab-Sasanian silver coin (A.D. 682–83?), and some Islamic copper coins ranging in time from the eighth to the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries of our era.[21]

THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE APADANA

A smooth mound (Fig. 45 *A* and Pl. 5), rising to a height of almost 4 meters above the level of the denuded portions of the Apadana platform, covered the southern part of this area, except for the almost bare southwestern corner. Our excavations (Fig. 45 *B*) extended from the southernmost column bases of the main hall and the eastern portico to a trench previously dug along the northern edge of Palace G, and from the eastern edge of the Apadana toward the west as far as any building remains were preserved (Fig. 32). The excavations defined the southeastern tower of the Apadana, a row of storerooms which filled the zone between the two southern towers (corresponding zones on the remaining sides of the structure occupied by porticoes), and a small-columned porch along the northern edge of a courtyard bordered by the western extension of the Council Hall, Palace G, and the Palace of Darius. Finally, the southeastern corner of the main hall was uncovered, and all its entrances were defined by specific tests.

All excavated walls consist of sun-dried mud bricks, averaging 33 cm. square and 13 cm. in height.[22] The mud mortar found between the bricks raises each course to an average height of 16 cm. The wall faces are covered with a base layer of mud plaster, about 5 cm. thick, and surfaced with a coat of greenish-gray plaster which varies in thickness from 1 to 5 mm. We noticed a greenish-gray finish coat on the excavated walls of other important structures of the site, such as the Treasury and the Harem. The thickness of the Apadana walls will be pointed out from case to case. Their preserved height varies greatly because of damage wrought by falling columns (see e.g. p. 78). In the eastern portion of the area remnants of the walls were as high as 1.50 to 1.90 m., but at the western end of the excavation the walls had disintegrated to within a few centimeters of the floor level, or had entirely disappeared.[23]

In all units of the Apadana the floor is a layer of mud plaster, varying in thickness from 3 to 5 cm., surfaced with a thin finish coat of greenish-gray plaster which is similar to the surface coat of the walls. In places the flooring was laid directly on the bedrock which forms the core of the Apadana platform. Irregularities of the rock were packed with stone chips and dirt. Haines noticed that the greenish-gray surface coat of the walls extended to the subfloor —a fact which indicates that the walls were plastered before the floor was laid.

13. Herzfeld stated in one of his letters to the Oriental Institute that he uncovered great numbers of glazed bricks while clearing the debris at the foot of the Terrace wall west of the Apadana.

14. Cf. Herzfeld's reconstruction (in color) in *ILN*, April 8, 1933, p. 488.

15. PT5 459. Objects referred to by field number are described and illustrated in Vol. II.

16. PT5 495. 17. PT5 33.

18. PT5 398 (post-Achaemenian?).

19. PT5 66. 20. PT5 65.

21. All post-Achaemenian coins have been classified by George C. Miles.

22. The technical descriptions are based largely on the excellent plans, detail drawings, and field notes of Richard C. Haines.

23. On the excavation plan (Fig. 32) the preserved heights of the walls are indicated by numbers aligned with the faces of the walls.

For an analysis by F. R. Matson of flooring material from Room 5 of the southeastern tower see p. 285.

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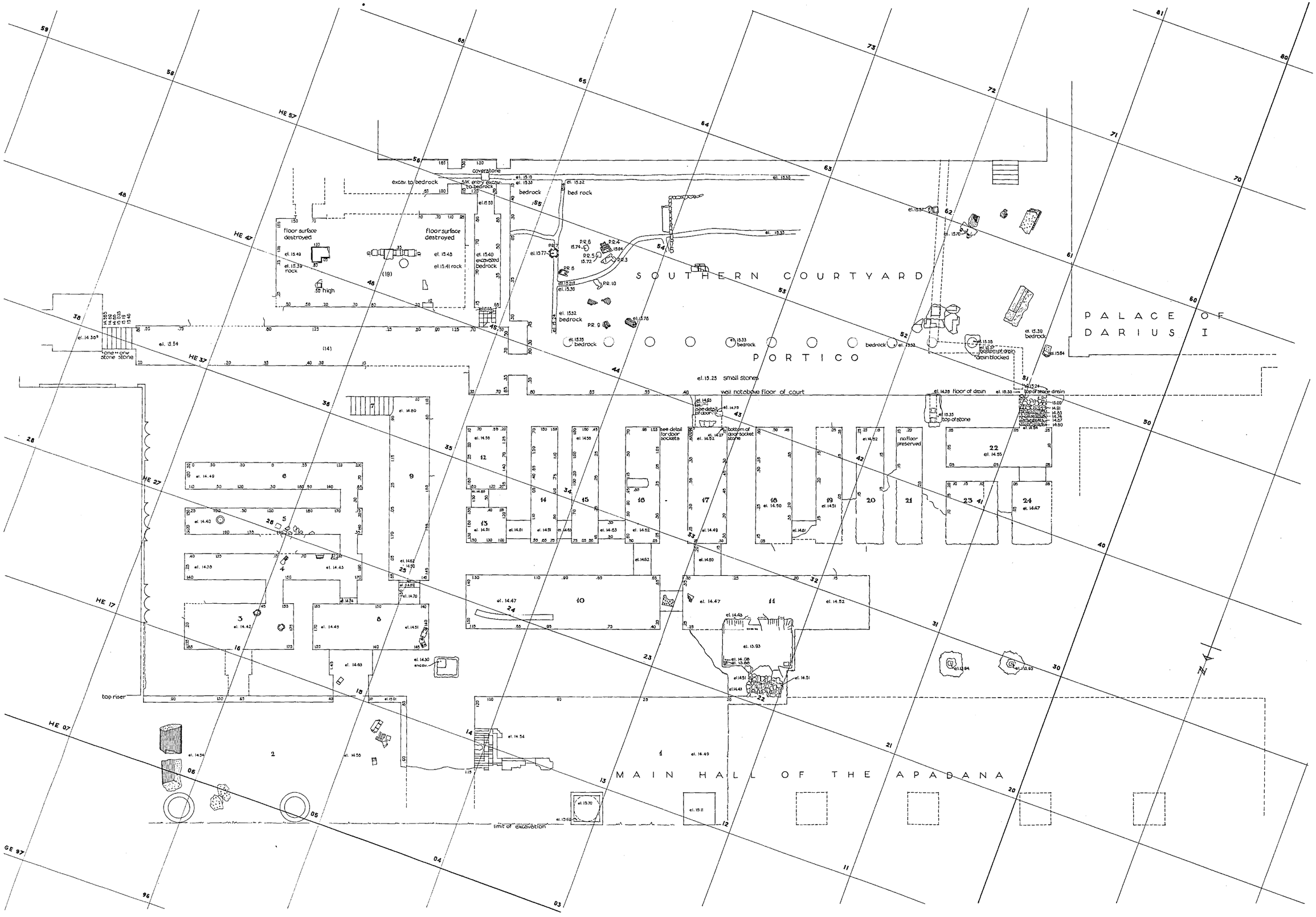


Fig. 32. Plan of Excavated Southern Part of Apadana. Scale, 1:200

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The Southeastern Tower

The plan of this tower, combined with the information from the northeast tower,[24] enables us to reconstruct quite convincingly the plans of the two western towers. As to the outer appearance of the building, Haines discovered the important fact that the eastern face of the southeastern tower is not smooth as suggested by the plain wall left after Herzfeld's excavation of the eastern stairway. The wall surface is actually broken by three units of three attached segments of circles, apparently carved from the mud-brick body of the wall and plastered over (see Figs. 36 *A*, 29, and 32). In our reconstructed plan of the Apadana (Fig. 30) we consequently postulate such elaboration for the exposed walls of all the towers,[25] while considering the fact that the northern wall of the tower under discussion—facing a portico—and the opposite wall—facing the occupied area on the south—were left plain.

The walls of the southeastern tower vary considerably in thickness. The northern wall measures 3.55, the eastern wall 3.08, and the western and southern walls measure 2.87 and 2.52 m. respectively. The tower has only one entrance (see Fig. 45 *C*), connecting the eastern portico with a vestibule (No. 8; see Fig. 32), from which a passage (9) leads to the tower stairs (7). The remaining partitions, Rooms 3–6, are interconnected and also linked with Vestibule 8.

The tower entrance is 2.72 m. wide at its northern end, but each jamb recedes 32 cm. about 1.60 m. south of this line, and the southern end of the doorway measures therefore 3.36 m. in width. One would assume that an opening of this form and width had a door with two leaves, but we could find no traces of socket stones or of depressions which would indicate their location. There is no evidence to the contrary in the doorway to the northeastern tower, but it is difficult to believe that all tower entrances were open, protected only by guards stationed in the vestibules.

VESTIBULE 8

The entrance to the southeastern tower has a simple sill of mud bricks, whose top is 5 cm. above the floor of the portico and 15 cm. above the floor of Vestibule 8. Both southern doorways of the vestibule show alterations. Originally the floor between this entrance room and Room 4 was continuous. Subsequently a mud-brick sill (30 cm. high) was built into the doorway, whose width was reduced from 1.35 to .65 m. by means of thin secondary jambs. In a similar manner the doorway to Passage 9 was reduced in width from 1.65 to .75 m., but in this case a mud-brick sill 20 cm. high was laid on top of an original sill of the same height and material (see Fig. 46 *A* and *C*). Replastering was noticed at the sides of both doorways. There may be nothing more mysterious about these changes than the desire of the guards to protect themselves against the chilly drafts of the winters. The original floor of the vestibule, worn presumably by continuous use, was covered by a second layer of flooring 3 cm. thick.

The tower entrance was not embellished with stone reliefs of guards, which so appropriately mark the guardrooms of the Throne Hall, the Harem, and the residential palaces of Darius and Xerxes. The manner of adornment of the doorway concerned—and perhaps of all tower entrances of the building—is strongly suggested by the discovery of two fragmentary limestone statues in the northwest corner of Vestibule 8 (see Fig. 46 *A–B*). The statues[26] were apparently identical, to judge by the preserved portions. They represent mastiffs sejant on rectangular pedestals. Originally they may have flanked the tower entrance in the same manner as sculptures once adorned two doorways of the Treasury (p. 171), the stairways to Xerxes' palace platform (p. 241), and a stairway of Palace G (p. 274). The mastiff statues had apparently been damaged and removed to their storage place in the vestibule long before the Apadana was destroyed, for their pedestals rested on the original floor, which, as mentioned above, was subsequently covered with another layer of flooring. A fragmentary ibex statue,[27] discovered by Herzfeld's crew in the debris of the northeast tower of the Apadana, is undoubtedly one of a pair of sculptures which flanked the entrance to that tower.[28]

As to other finds from Vestibule 8, two three-flanged, socketed bronze arrowheads lay appropriately in the northern doorway; a broken jar[29] was in the northeast corner, and a rim sherd of a large bowl lined with bitumen was in the debris above the floor. The walls of the vestibule show the effect of fire.

PASSAGE 9

There are clear indications that this passage had been occupied by guards when they were off duty. Domestic trash and mud had accumulated on the original floor (el. 14.50 m. above our datum; see Fig. 32) until—12 cm. above it at the northern end—another flooring was laid (see Fig. 46 *C*), which slopes upward almost 30 cm. toward the southern end and the foot of the tower stairs. Fragments of two pots, mixed with many broken sheep bones, lay between the two floors. Parts of another pot were found on the upper floor. A small clay sealing with abraded design (picturing perhaps one person) was on the lower floor, whereas a cylinder seal[30] occurred in loose dirt near the northwest corner. As to weapons, only one bronze arrowhead[31] was found, near the foot of the stairs. Scorched patches on the walls and on the upper floor surface show the effect of fire. The discolorations were not simply caused by cooking fires of the guards, for the steps and walls of the tower stairway (see below), acting as a flue for the flames which gutted the tower, were fire-blackened.

24. Rechecked and measured by Haines.

25. Ornamentation of exterior wall faces by means of groups of juxtaposed semicylinders is frequently encountered in pre-Achaemenid buildings of Babylonia and Assyria. E.g., together with niches such "reed" decoration is characteristic of certain buildings at Khorsabad; see Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad*. II. *The Citadel and the Town* (*OIP* XL [1938]) esp. pp. 37–39, Pls. 83 and 85. See also Walter Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1930) esp. pp. 32 ff.

26. E.g. PT7 377.

27. See Vol. II, chapter on "Sculpture and Applied Ornamentation."

28. A find-sketch by Krefter in the files of the Oriental Institute indicates that the statue lay near the north wall of the vestibule in the northeast tower. Pedestal fragments were found in the doorway connecting the vestibule with the northern portico. The occurrence of five hoofs in the debris proves that here too a pair of presumably identical statues had embellished the tower entrance. Statue and fragments have been entered on our plan (Fig. 29) in accordance with Krefter's sketch.

29. PT7 54.

30. PT7 33.

31. Cf. PT4 594.

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STAIRWAY 7

There is no doubt that the mud-brick steps (Figs. 36 *C* and 46 *D*) ascending eastward from the southern end of Passage 9 are the remains of a stairway which led to the roof of the Apadana. The six lowest steps are fairly well preserved, although they had been worn to such an extent that their treads have a pronounced slope. The walls and the steps show the effect of fire; but some patches of greenish-gray plaster are still visible on both risers and treads. Above this section of the stairs the treads of four more steps are recognizable with the aid of some fire-blackened patches. The stairway is 1.40 m. wide. The risers of its steps appear to have been originally 16 cm. high, and the treads, when uncovered, ranged from 29 to 43 cm. in depth, averaging 34.5 cm. (Fig. 36 *C*).

Our theoretical reconstruction of the stairway assumes that it reaches a landing about 6 meters above the normal floor level of the tower rooms. Here the mud-brick stairs reverse their direction and end at a height of about 11 meters above the tower floor. Since we believe that the tower was at least as high as the adjacent eastern portico of the building, the tower stairway—built of wood from this point upward—must have turned twice more before reaching the roof. Each intermediate landing corresponded, presumably, to the level of a floor. If true, the tower had four stories, including the ground floor.

ROOMS 3–6

The shapes and the locations of these rooms rather than the meager remnants of their former contents mark them as storerooms. To be sure, no treasures were here kept. The tower rooms appear to have been used for the storage of supplies for building and repairs. Masses of charcoal in Rooms 4 and 5 suggest storage of wood or wooden objects. A fragment of a large red-brown bowl from Room 6 was lined with green pigment, perhaps used for repairs of the greenish-gray wall surfaces and floors. In the same room occurred (10 cm. above the floor) some sherds with remnants of green glaze.[32] For reasons unknown, a number of column bases of stone had been stored in Rooms 3–5. We do not know of any place inside the Apadana where these small bell-shaped bases could have been used. Those of the southern porch were larger, though probably similar in shape (see p. 76). The column bases of two postulated pavilions or porches west of the Apadana (see p. 81) may have been similar in size and form to those found in the tower rooms under discussion.

It is difficult to explain why the two badly damaged bases found in Room 3 were 15 and 40–50 cm. above the floor. We hesitate to believe that they fell from an upper story of the tower. Both are 33 cm. high, and the bearing area on the top of one of them is 45.5 cm. in diameter. Their mason's marks (○ and ♀ respectively) are found on column bases of the Treasury also (see Fig. 71). In Room 4, a complete base and a piece of a second—both lying on their sides—leaned against the southern wall. Figure 37 *B* shows that the bearing area on the top of the better preserved specimen measures 46.5 cm. in diameter. The rough bottom part, 3.5 cm. high, had been hidden below floor level. The exposed portion of the base, 32.5 cm. high, is polished, as usual. The top of a torus fragment (Fig. 37 *C*), found in the same room, shows scratched lines which mark the radius and the periphery of the bearing area, indicating that the column (of wood or stone) which stood on the torus had a basal diameter of 44 cm. A column base standing on the floor of Room 5 was almost identical in form and dimensions with the base illustrated on Figure 37 *B*. In addition, shapeless stones were here piled against the northern wall.

The doorway leading from Vestibule 8 to the group of rooms under consideration has been referred to above (p. 73). In the western parts of Rooms 4 and 5, where traffic between the aligned doorways had been most intense, the worn floors show repaired patches and many bits of white plaster, which appear to have belonged to the secondary flooring. Room 6 too shows signs of frequent use, for almost its entire floor is patched. However, the exposed parts of the original greenish-gray floor are better preserved than the repaired areas

Room 6 was least affected by the conflagration which left its marks in all partitions of the tower. The debris of Rooms 4 and 5 contained large quantities of charcoal and ashes, and their walls, particularly those of Room 5, are discolored by flames. In Room 3 the northern wall was scorched by an exceptionally violent fire. The opposite side, facing the eastern portico, was similarly affected. These facts, combined with the peculiar appearance of the northern wall remnant (see Fig. 45 *C*), suggest that there was a window in the north wall, provided presumably with a wooden frame and perhaps a shutter of the same material. We did not succeed in proving the existence of a window beyond doubt, but the reasons mentioned show that its theoretical reconstruction is at least permissible.[33]

In addition to the column bases mentioned above, the following objects occurred in the rooms concerned. A fragment of a low bowl-shaped limestone mortar and a small oval lead disk were found in Room 3. In Room 4 a fragmentary unfinished rosette stone (Fig. 37 *E*) lay opposite the doorway to Room 3. The stone (75 cm. long, 13 cm. thick) had been intended to bear the designs of at least two, perhaps four, twelve-petaled rosettes, but only one was executed in part. Its center only is polished. Some petals are roughly worked out, and the rest of the design is marked in faint lines. The entire design was laid out with the aid of a compass, as shown by the marks of intersecting arcs. Room 5 contained a fragmentary limestone ear—presumably from one of the bull capitals of the main hall columns—and a prehistoric flint saw, which may have been picked up at near-by Tall-i-Bakun. Room 6 was used more than the other partitions, to judge by the condition of its floor (see above). Here we found a few objects of personal adornment: a bronze pin,[34] one of the frequent eye stones,[35] and a few bits of gold foil.

The Storerooms

Our excavations revealed that the area between the two southern towers, corresponding to the three monumental porticoes on the other sides of the building, is occupied by

32. See Vol. II, chapter on "Pottery."

33. Haines at first believed that the evidence was not sufficient to show a window on the reconstructed plan (Fig. 30) and to postulate windows in the corresponding walls of the other towers.

34. PT7 51.

35. See Vol. II, chapter on "Personal Ornaments."

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rooms whose form, location, and to some extent contents mark them as storerooms. Here, we believe, were kept the accessories of royal pomp and circumstance displayed during great functions of state, such as the event immortalized by the reliefs on the grand stairways.

Passages connecting two doorways of the main hall with the two southern exits of the building divide the storerooms into an eastern, a central, and a western group (see Fig. 32). The western portion is almost entirely obliterated, but its reconstructed plan (see Fig. 30) is so plausible that it may be considered certain except for minor details.

EASTERN GROUP

The only entrance to this group of six interconnected rooms (Fig. 47 *A*) leads from Vestibule 11 (see below) to Room 10. The opening has a mud-brick sill, but there is no clue to suggest that it had a door. At this point it may be emphasized that no pivoting devices or telltale depressions indicating the presence of doors were found at any doorways of the eastern and central groups of storerooms. However, the contents of these rooms were sufficiently protected by the doors which closed the entrances to the main hall and to the southern courtyard.

The doorway from Vestibule 11 to Room 10 measures 1.65 m. in width, whereas all the other openings connecting the eastern storerooms are narrower (1.35–1.40 m. wide). All are provided with mud-brick sills, ranging in height from 9 to 15 cm. A long portion—one brick thick—of the face of the northern wall had fallen into Room 10. This wall fragment had been scorched before it fell to the fire-blackened but otherwise well preserved floor. The other walls too were affected by fire, and a great deal of charcoal occurred in the eastern part of the room. In this deposit of burned wood—measuring roughly 1.50 m. in width, about 8 meters in length, and reaching from the floor to 60 cm. above it—occurred a considerable quantity of bronze pieces. There were many shapeless clumps, but several fragments[36] show scalloped circular depressions which appear to have been inlaid with rosettes of problematical material. The whole pile of charcoal, ashes, and bronze pieces indicated that furniture had here been stored. Other finds from Room 10 include fourteen small gold tacks, fragments of gold foil, a scaraboid bead of frit,[37] and a prehistoric flint saw.

The remaining interconnected partitions (12 to 16) are linked with Room 10 by one doorway, namely that between Rooms 10 and 16. The floors of the five storerooms are in good condition, suggesting that traffic was slight. Rooms 16, 15, 14, and 12 also contained stores of combustible nature which were destroyed by fire, as indicated by scorched and blackened walls and floors. Room 13—a sort of vestibule to Room 12—showed no effect of fire except for charcoal, which may have drifted here from Room 12, where a great deal of carbonized wood was found. A wall fragment, standing on the finished floor, subdivides Room 16.

Even the objects carelessly dropped or discarded during the looting of these rooms indicate that stores of great value had here been kept. Pieces of gold foil and gold tacks were scattered all over Room 16. In its southeast corner lay a piece of a heavy gold band ornamented with rosettes.[38] It must have been torn from a curved piece of wood to which it had been attached by means of gold tacks. Fragments of thinner, plain gold bands were found near by. Room 12 too contained foil, tacks, and bands of gold, in addition to a long thin rod of the same metal[39] and an earring of lead.[40] In the same room occurred one of the few extant metal vessels, a bowl of bronze,[41] and at the doorway to Room 13 lay a broken canteen of baked clay[42] near a fragment (17.9 cm. long) of an iron spike. There were a few fragments of gold bands in Room 15. Otherwise Rooms 14 and 15 were sterile as to remnants of objects here formerly stored. After completing the description of the Apadana storerooms, we shall refer to the distribution of inscribed bricks, which, though found partly in the debris of these rooms, have no bearing on their purpose.

WESTERN GROUP

Nothing is left of this block of rooms but traces of its eastern end, bordering Passage 24, Room 22, and the western exit to the courtyard. Haines' plausible reconstruction assumes that these rooms and the group of eastern storerooms were symmetrical (see Fig. 30).

CENTRAL GROUP

The northwestern portion of these rooms has disappeared, but the system of circulation is rather clear. The doorway—provided with a mud-brick sill 11 cm. high—between Rooms 18 and 19 suggests the location of openings between Rooms 19 and 20 and between 20 and 21 corresponding to the lane of circulation in the eastern block of storerooms. The floor of Room 21 is destroyed, but the floor surfaces in the extant parts of the other rooms are in good condition except for a lime plaster patch in Room 19. It is possible that all rooms were scorched, but only the better preserved walls of Rooms 18 and 19 show the effect of fire.

The relative sterility of the central storerooms may well be due to the fact that the protective layer of debris was here much shallower than in the eastern rooms. A gold nail[43] occurred in Room 19, and some bits of gold foil were found in the same room and in Room 21. Two painted sherds of a type of pottery found in the Islamic stratum of near-by Istakhr[44] had strayed into the debris of Room 18.

VESTIBULES, PASSAGES, AND EXITS

The two southern doorways of the main hall (see p. 79) gave access, we believe, to two vestibules, equal in size (see Figs. 32 and 30). A large portion of the eastern vestibule (11) is preserved. It is connected with the eastern group of storerooms (see above) and with a passage (17) which opens into the porch of the southern courtyard. Even the low remnants of the walls of Vestibule 11 show the effect of fire. Most of the floor has disappeared, exposing the bedrock, which was close to the surface. Large fragments of an ornamental stone ring lay on and beside the sill of the doorway to Room 10, but there is no doubt that the stone had encircled one of the pivoting

36. E.g. PT7 76 and PT7 121.
37. PT7 125.
38. PT7 94.
39. PT7 111.
40. PT7 118.
41. PT7 117.
42. Cf. PT3 145.
43. PT7 140.
44. See *OIC* No. 21, p. 113 and Fig. 79.

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devices of the near-by doorway to the main hall. There are no indications that the opening (2.05 m. wide) to Passage 17 had a door. The top of the mud-brick sill is 13 cm. above the floor.

Vestibule 11 was sterile as to finds, but in Passage 17, where the debris was somewhat higher, a few objects occurred: a small gold nugget, and—near the southern doorway—a perforated bronze strap with bronze nails and a piece of a bronze band decorated with a rosette. The floor of Passage 17 shows no indication of intense circulation. The greenish-gray surface coats of the walls and the floor are still visible in parts in spite of the fact that walls and floor were blackened by fire.

The doorway leading from Passage 17 to the southern porch is not so well preserved as suggested by Figure 47 *C*.[45] The western jamb was entirely destroyed, but the western edge of a plastered tread and a preserved plaster patch on the eastern jamb give the approximate width. The sill was actually a small stairway ascending from the level of Passage 17 to the level of the porch 73 cm. higher. There are indications that the steps had been rebuilt. The final stairway was made of a foundation of stones and rubble covered with lime plaster. Some square impressions in this plaster suggest that the treads consisted of baked bricks. During the alterations the width of the doorway was apparently increased from 2.05 to 2.32 m. Two terraced rectangular depressions in the bedrock at the northern end of the doorway show the locations of the sockets for a door with two wings (Fig. 47 *C*). The depressions contain remains of white plaster stained by rust, indicating that the sockets were made of iron (cf. iron sockets found in Treasury; Fig. 70 *P*, *Q*, *V*). One of the ornamental rings of limestone which once inclosed the door sockets was found near the eastern depression (Figs. 47 *B–C* and 37 *A*). It had been pushed aside by those who pilfered the iron socket.

The western route of circulation between the main hall and the southern courtyard is largely reconstructed (cf. Fig. 32 with Fig. 30), but the essential features are clear, namely the entrance to the main hall—though marked only by the socket holes for its door—and the exit to the southern porch. To be sure, the jambs of this exit too have been effaced, but its existence is proved by the stepped stone and rubble foundation of its stairs (shown on Fig. 47 *E*) leading to the higher level of the porch. A few patches of lime suggest that here too the treads had been covered with baked bricks, as in the case of the eastern doorway. We have no doubt that the western exit also had a door, but the floor at its northern end was too broken to provide proof in the form of distinct depressions caused by the removal of socket devices.

The plan of Passage 24 and of Room 22, branching off toward the east, could be determined only by tracing the remnants of their walls (5 cm. high), preserved below the level of the floors. Room 22 is actually a vestibule, but its western portion is obviously the continuation of Passage 24, with which it is linked by an opening 2.05 m. wide. Vestibule and passage were sterile as to finds, and there were no signs of fire on the extant portions of the floors. The same is true of Room 23, whose southern portion only is defined.

The western vestibule, corresponding in form and location to Vestibule 11, had been entirely obliterated. It is reconstructed on Figure 30. We assume that a wall separated the two vestibules and that doorways connected the western vestibule with Room 21 of the central group of storerooms and with the western storerooms.

The Southern Porch and Courtyard

Eleven equidistant circular spots, aligned parallel to the southern border of the Apadana, mark the site of a columned porch which protected the two southern entrances to the building and a doorway linking this area with the Council Hall (see Figs. 48 *A*, 29, and 32). The circular spots—except for the westernmost—are smoothed patches of bedrock, 1–2 cm. deep, wrought to bear the bases of the porch columns. The westernmost extant column foundation is a circular projection (2 cm. high) on top of a cover slab of a drainage canal (see p. 77). Our reconstructed plan (Fig. 30) postulates two more columns at the western end and lets the porch abut the Palace of Darius. We do not know whether the passage between this palace and the Apadana was roofed.

The column foundations average 80–85 cm. in diameter. The edge of each bears four chiseled guide marks, oriented with the axes of the Apadana. These marks presumably aided the masons in setting and aligning the column bases, which must have been similar in shape to the bell-shaped bases found in various buildings of the site. All bases of the porch have disappeared. The length of their bottom diameter is limited by the diameter (80 cm.) of the smallest of the eleven spots prepared for foundations. With the aid of drum fragments found in the courtyard, Haines calculated that the diameters of the fluted stone columns which once rested on the bases were 45 cm. at the top and 56 cm. at the bottom. This gives us the diameter (56 cm.) of the bearing surface on top of the bases. Haines concluded that these bases were intermediate in size between the larger ones from the site of Palace D and the smaller ones of the Harem. A column base (Fig. 56 *E*) found in the northwesternmost subsidiary room (19*b*) of the Council Hall (see p. 122) approaches the required size, since it has a bottom diameter of 74 cm. and a top diameter of 52.5 cm.

As to the order of the porch columns, we mentioned that some fragments of the fluted stone shafts were found. The capitals, to judge by fragments uncovered in the eastern portion of the courtyard (see Figs. 47 *D* and 32, Plot HE 44, P.R.[46] 3–10), were small-scale versions of the elaborate composite capitals used elsewhere on the site (see pp. 79 f.). There is one recognizable unit with rising leaves. Several examples of a rectangular element with double volutes were found, in addition to some fragments of restorable addorsed bull imposts (see Figs. 37 *D* and 48 *B–E*).

It is not astonishing that all the column bases have disappeared. Our observations during the excavation of the Treasury showed that such bases had been systematically hunted by stone-pilferers (see e.g. p. 179). It seems, however, that the stone drums of the column shafts were as

45. Here, as in other cases, dirt walls were left temporarily on top of low extant foundations and along the lines of plaster edges of floors where walls had obviously existed. The true heights of the wall remnants are marked by the numbers along the wall faces on Fig. 32.

46. Each excavation plot of 10 × 10 m. has its field sheet, subdivided into 100 units of 1 sq. m. All important finds are entered on these sheets and marked by P.R. (= Plot Record) numbers.

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much in demand as the bases, and as to the numerous units of the composite capitals of the porch columns only those were left which had been protected in the eastern and southwestern parts of the courtyard by relatively thick deposits of detritus.

There were no remains of the floor in either the porch or the courtyard. The excavation was carried down to bedrock in the entire area. On the porch, where the rock slopes toward the lower level of the Apadana (see Fig. 48 *A*), rubble and dirt had been used for leveling. Otherwise the rock surface of the porch and of the yard is continuous and rather level.

In addition to the above-mentioned entrances and approaches to the porch there are two more lanes of circulation (see Fig. 21). A passage between Palace G and Darius' palace links the courtyard under consideration with the courtyard south of the founder's residential palace; and another passage leads between Palace G and the Council Hall to the area south of the latter structure. Finally, there is a stairway of stone (see Fig. 47 *E*) ascending from the southern courtyard of the Apadana to Palace G. This stairway appears to have been flanked by two detached stone statues of bulls. The torso of one bull (Fig. 118 *B*) lay 3.80 m. north of the stairs (see Figs. 32 and 47 *E*), and a smaller fragment of a second torso was 1.40 m. east of the northeast corner of Darius' palace, near the western doorway from the porch to the Apadana. The find-spot of the heavy torso, rather than that of the smaller fragment, determines the original location of the statues, although the two southern entrances to the Apadana may have been embellished in a similar manner.

Some column fragments, also found in the southwestern portion of the courtyard, agree in size and form with those uncovered in the eastern part. There was a piece of a top drum (diameter, 45 cm.), a square unit of a composite capital with double volutes, and half a torso of an addorsed bull. Lintel fragments of a door and of a window or niche had fallen from Darius' palace, together with a piece of the western base course of its northeastern room (see p. 227).

Figure 32 shows two systems of drainage crossing the courtyard. The eastern canals are surface drains (see below). The western canal, starting near the western entrance from the porch to the Apadana and continuing beneath the platform of Palace G, is part of the principal underground drainage system of the site (see p. 210). It was cut into the bedrock and roofed with large stone slabs. To judge by its direction, it had been intended to take care of some of the Apadana drainage. However, the northern portion of the drain was completely blocked by stones piled up beneath the cover slab which carried a column of the porch. The canal is 67 cm. wide and about 1.65 m. deep, without the cover slabs. Some of these slabs appear to have been intended for different purposes, to judge by angular markings on their surfaces (see Fig. 32). The former existence of a roof drain in the southern wall of the Apadana is indicated by a capstone (2.05 m. long, 1.20 wide, .50 high) with two holes (32 cm. square) lying on top of another stone, in which a drainage channel (50 cm. wide) had been cut. The depth of the channel (47 cm.) was not considered sufficient; thus the bottom of the capstone also was channeled to give a total height of 70 cm. Although the connection is missing, it is to be assumed that drainage water was guided from this point to the courtyard canal—the bottom of which is about 80 cm. lower.

The eastern half of the courtyard was drained by a system of irregular and carelessly wrought surface channels cut into the bedrock. Their width varies from 10 to 35 cm. and their depth from a few centimeters to 18 cm. Sides and bottoms are rough. The channels slope toward a main surface drain which parallels the northern and eastern retaining walls of Palace G and empties into one of the underground tunnels at the southeast corner of that building (see Fig. 21). One square cover slab spanning the main surface drain north of Palace G (Plot HE 55; Fig. 32) suggests the manner in which it had been roofed. There are no indications whether the subsidiary channels had been covered.

A room corner of unwrought stones, lined on one side with mud bricks, was uncovered in Plots HE 53–54 (see Fig. 32). The crude structure belongs to some post-Achaemenian period. A near-by cluster of baked bricks included one unit of unusual dimensions (32 × 40 × 5.5 cm.) and others of common size (32 × 32 × 7 cm.).

The detritus covering courtyard and porch contained, in addition to the previously mentioned pieces of columns and animal statutes, a number of small objects: a large-headed ornamental bronze nail,[47] a gold rosette,[48] a pinhead of glass,[49] an oblong coral bead, a bronze arrowhead of common shape, the base of a footed vessel of baked clay,[50] and fragments of an interesting chalice of glass.[51]

Inscribed and Patterned Bricks

An important group of objects from this area—glazed bricks with inscriptions and patterns—has hitherto not been dealt with because the objects have no relation to the structural units in which they occurred. There were, altogether, twenty-three brick fragments with identifiable Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian characters. None of the three groups suffices to assemble the text, which was presumably the same as that restored by Herzfeld from fragments found east of the Apadana (see p. 71). We are here interested in the distribution of the inscribed units and of those bearing parts of designs, in order to determine their original location. Inscribed and patterned bricks were found in three main clusters. One group had fallen into the northern parts of Storerooms 14 and 15 and into their connecting doorway, that is, opposite (west of) the center of the western face of the southeastern tower. The patterned bricks were found in a compact pile, whereas the inscribed units were scattered over an area about 3.50 m. in diameter. The center of this area is about 9 meters from the tower face. Only bricks with Elamite (7) and Babylonian (3) characters occurred in this cluster. One brick with Babylonian inscription was found near a brick with Old Persian signs in the southern end of Room 15, and one Elamite specimen was lying in the center of Room 12. A second brick with Old Persian characters lay in the center of Passage 17. The find-circumstances of these bricks seem to prove that the Elamite and Babylonian inscription panels were originally close together, either side by side or superposed. Since these two versions had been adjacent, it is logical to assume that the Old Persian text completed the group, although the find-spots of the two

47. PT7 6.
48. PT7 3.
49. PT7 91.
50. PT7 145.
51. PT7 9 (possibly post-Achaemenian).

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extant bricks with Old Persian characters do not support this assumption. As to the original location of the trilingual inscription, the find-spots of most of its units indicate that it had been set into the center of the west face of the tower —above the roof of the storerooms—flanked by patterned glazed bricks, or in some other manner combined with them. We are puzzled by the absence of decorative bricks north and south of the cluster in Rooms 14 and 15. One would have expected a quantity of patterned units scattered roughly parallel to the face of the tower if its upper exterior had been embellished with a continuous frieze of such bricks. It must be emphasized that the storage area was undoubtedly much lower than the flanking towers and the southern wall of the main hall.

The second cluster of bricks was uncovered about 2 meters east of the western end of the passage (14) which parallels the southern face of the southeastern tower of the Apadana. About fifty bricks and fragments of such were piled against the southern wall of the corridor, roughly opposite the western end of the tower wall. There were only decorative units, but one inscribed brick fragment, possibly bearing an Elamite sign, was found 5 meters west of the eastern end of the same passage (see p. 122).

The third cluster of bricks had fallen into the northwesternmost section (19) of the Council Hall complex (see p. 122). About thirty patterned bricks, four fragments with Babylonian signs, and one piece inscribed in Elamite were found near the center of the room. One brick with Babylonian characters occurred in the northeastern portion of the same room.

All the bricks found in the passage (14) and in Section 19 of the Council Hall had once been located on the southern face of the southeastern tower of the Apadana. Our information might be more complete if we knew whether inscribed and patterned bricks had been found in the rooms previously excavated by Herzfeld east of Section 19 of the Council Hall. The bricks uncovered near the western end of the corridor may have fallen straight down. Thus their find-location suggests that the upper portion of the tower face was embellished with a continuous (or intermittent) frieze of glazed bricks extending from corner to corner. Certain bricks have glazed designs on two adjacent sides—a fact which indicates that they had been used as corner units (cf. Fig. 35 *A*). The corners had presumably been those of the tower, rather than those of the elaborations of certain façades such as were determined on the eastern side of the tower under consideration (see p. 73). The bricks shown on Figure 35 *B* were arbitrarily assembled by Herzfeld's staff without claim for accuracy. The fragments of Babylonian and Elamite brick inscriptions found together with decorative units in Section 19 of the Council Hall suggest again—though not so convincingly as the cluster of bricks from Storerooms 14–15 (see above)—that the inscription panels had been grouped close together, adjoining panels or a frieze of patterned bricks. This inscription too may have been high in the center of the tower face, although most of its bricks lay opposite a point about 6 meters west of the center. No units of the Old Persian inscription panel occurred in the area cleared by us south of the tower; but even the other two versions are represented by only a very small quantity of their original units. When complete, each panel consisted of about fifty bricks.

The majority of the patterned and inscribed bricks from the areas west and south of the tower rested on debris 30–50 cm. above the floors. The debris beneath some units was as high as .80–1.40 m., but the cluster of patterned bricks found at the southwestern corner of the tower was only 10–15 cm. above the floor of the passage (14). The shallowness of the underlying debris at this point suggests that the roof of the corridor—presumably made of mud mixed with chopped straw and spread on mats over wooden poles—was thinner than the roofs of the other partitions concerned.

THE MAIN HALL

The imposing hall, measuring 60.50 m. square, was inclosed on all sides by massive walls of sun-dried bricks. Thirty-six columns, arranged in six rows, supported its roof. Pairs of doorways gave access to the northern portico and to the southern storerooms and exits, and single openings connected the hall with the eastern and western porticoes (see Figs. 21 and 29–30).

Fortunately, remnants of the walls were preserved beneath the debris in the southeastern corner of the hall. Further sections of the inclosure are traceable in the shallower unexcavated debris to the north. The southern wall could be traced as far as the doorway to Vestibule 11, but the eastern wall remnant ends abruptly at a point 5.45 m. from the corner, as though it had been cut by a falling column. The thickness of the walls (5.32 m.) here determined is undoubtedly standard for the entire inclosure of the hall. The individual mud bricks measure 33 × 33 × 13 cm.

A puzzling, roughly pyramidal mass of mud bricks affected by fire was found leaning against the eastern wall remnant (see Figs. 49 *A–B* and 32), and from this pile a narrow row of bricks, several courses high, extended westward. There is no doubt that all bricks had fallen from above, for the floor below them and the wall face behind them are scorched. We suspect that the peculiar form of this debris has bearing on its original location; a vertical roof drain must have pierced the adjacent eastern wall somewhere in the vicinity (see Fig. 29). Furthermore, the plan of the debris (Fig. 32) suggests, perhaps accidentally, a portion of a fallen mud-brick frame of a window. If the bricks had actually been used for this purpose, they would appear to have stood on their edges, to judge by their position when found. Here again, as in the case of the assumed window between Room 3 of the southeastern tower and the eastern portico (p. 74), we have possibly a clue, but no proof, for the existence of an opening. In view of the use of stone windows and niches in other Persepolis palaces it would be justifiable to reconstruct five windows in the north wall, six windows each in the east and west walls, and five niches in the south wall of the Apadana hall.[52]

The excavation of the southeastern corner of the main hall provided additional proof that the Apadana was destroyed by a violent conflagration. The effect of fire was here even more pronounced than in most of the storerooms and the southeastern tower. The heat of the conflagration

52. Cf. *IAE*, Fig. 330; Fergusson, *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, Fig. 12.

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in the hall baked the drab-colored mud bricks underneath the originally greenish-gray plaster of the wall faces to such an extent that they turned light red, and most of the greenish-gray floor was burned and blackened to a depth of 5 mm. to 1 cm. below the surface. The combustible parts of the building consisted of the wooden portions of the roof (including presumably beams of Lebanon cedars),[53] the doors, and wooden frames and shutters of any windows which may have existed (see above). It is difficult to find an explanation for the rather uniform scorching of the walls and the floor. We hesitate to believe that the walls had been wainscoted and that the floor had been covered with wood, although it must be admitted that the burning of such wooden lining would have resulted in the observed effect. It is more plausible to assume that here, as well as in certain rooms and halls of the Treasury, where we noticed the same effect of a violent fire, the flames were fed by quantities of objects of combustible nature, including fabrics. The finds from the southeastern portion of the Apadana hall give little information as to the character of the furnishings here destroyed. There were two pieces of bronze bands decorated with rosettes,[54] some plain perforated fragments and nails[55] of the same material, several bits of gold foil, the plain golden tip of a scabbard or the like,[56] an oval lump of unwrought amethyst, and two arrowheads.

At this point we may refer again to the important discovery of Darius' foundation records (see p. 70 and Fig. 43). A square depression in the exposed bedrock at the destroyed northwest corner of the main hall of the Apadana induced Krefter to calculate the positions of the debris-covered northeast and southeast corners of the hall. In each of these corners he discovered a neatly wrought stone box (45 cm. square and 15 cm. high) closed by a well fitted lid (35.5 cm. square and 4 cm. high). Each receptacle contained two plaques (33 cm. square), one of gold and one of silver. All four plaques bear identical trilingual inscriptions (p. 70 and Fig. 42 *A–B*). A roughly squared stone lay on top of the northeastern foundation box, and below the box were four coins of gold and two of silver. Four coins of gold and three of silver were found beneath the southeastern stone case,[57] which was covered with a small light-colored limestone torus. Apparently both foundation boxes had been set into depressions just below the level of the lowest courses of the walls.

Our excavation, together with spot-tests, determined at last the exact number of doorways giving access to the hall. Two openings in the southern wall led to the storerooms and the southern porch exits (see Figs. 29–30 and 32). To be sure, the location of the western doorway was defined only by two square depressions (in Plot HE 20; see Fig. 32), which had accommodated pivoting devices (of iron?) for the two leaves of its door. As to the eastern doorway, enough of the eastern jamb was preserved to indicate that it consisted of mud bricks and not of stone. We are convinced, further, that the floor had not been protected by a stone sill, for on top of the bedrock in the northern portion was noticed a layer of shapeless stones, which had presumably been covered with a sill of mud plaster, finished perhaps with the usual greenish-gray surface coat. About 1.40 m. south of the northern edge of the opening the bedrock, scarped artificially, drops sharply 35 cm. to the top level of two lateral depressions (*ca.* 30 cm. square and 20 cm. deep). These depressions had contained pivoting devices for the two wings of the door. The location of the pivot holes necessitates reconstructing a recess in the face of each jamb. Consequently the southern portion of the doorway was wider (*ca.* 5.20 m.) than the northern end (*ca.* 4.55 m. wide). In the southern part of the doorway the bedrock slopes upward again, until it reaches the same level as the northern part. At the southern end we noticed depressions of problematical purpose.

The eastern and western walls of the main hall were each pierced by one centrally located doorway (see Fig. 29). There are no indications that the jambs were made of stone. As a matter of fact, the eastern doorway showed low remnants of mud-brick jambs (Fig. 49 *C–D*). Only the inner portions of the sills consisted of polished stone slabs. The rest of both sills may have been made of the common floor material, applied—at least in the eastern doorway—over a layer of shapeless stones with smoothed tops. There is little doubt that each opening had a door with two wings, for at both inner (western) corners of the eastern doorway the locations of pivoting devices were marked by depressions in the bedrock (see Fig. 38 *A*). A central slot cut into a stone slab in the eastern doorway (shown on Fig. 49 *D*) was presumably a part of the locking mechanism. At the western doorway the location of only one pivoting device could be traced (Fig. 38 *B*). However, from the width (5.37 m.) of the stone sill, which indicates that the distance between the jambs of the western doorway was about the same as that in the eastern doorway (5.25 m.), it is certain that the western door also had two leaves.

The construction of the two doorways leading from the northern portico to the main hall marks them as the principal entryways. Only here do we find the remains of stone jambs (see Fig. 29), but no traces of reliefs occur on the extant stones. For lack of time Haines was able to test only the doorway at the east, but there is little doubt that the two openings were alike. In contrast to the other doorways of the building, as far as we know, the entire sill consists of polished stone slabs (see Fig. 38 *C*). The pivoting points of a two-leaved door are marked by two quadrangular areas cut into bedrock at the two inner (southern) corners of the sill, almost a meter below the level of the sill. A fragment of an ornamental stone slab, such as apparently always encircled the sockets of important doors, was found above one of the depressions (Fig. 38 *C*).

Except for the bases, the columns of the hall and of the northern portico are alike (Pl. 16 *A*).[58] They have the type of ornate composite capital employed mainly in prominent public buildings of the site: the Council Hall, the Throne Hall and its unfinished gate, and the Gate of Xerxes. Our reconstruction of the Council Hall columns (Fig. 54 *E*) illustrates the upper portion of these Apadana columns[59] as well, except that the imposts of the latter consisted of ad-

53. To judge by their use at Susa (see p. 30). Carbonized cedar wood was found in the debris of the Throne Hall (see p. 132).

54. Cf. PT7 15. 55. E.g. PT7 131. 56. PT7 127.

57. One of the silver coins (PT7 364) was found by us when we re-examined the test trench. For descriptions of these coins see Vol. II.

58. For a comparative study of Persepolis columns and their origin see *IAE*, pp. 239–47.

59. For reconstructions of Apadana columns see *ibid.* Pl. LVIII; Flandin and Coste, Pls. 92–93 and 168 *bis;* Charles Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* II (Paris, 1852) Pls. 104–7. See also Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Figs. 207–9.

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dorsed bulls instead of man-bulls. Figure 39 *A* shows the form of the column bases in the Apadana hall: a square two-stepped plinth carrying a discoid torus (see also Figs. 50 *C* and 49 *E–G*). The shaft is elaborated with forty-eight flutes.[60] The best views of the extant columns of the Apadana hall are shown on Plates 15, 16 *B*, 17, and 18 *A*. A measurable fragment of the lowest element of the composite capital and a volute of the rectangular voluted unit (Fig. 40 *A–B*) were found in the debris of the hall. Haines suggests that three pairs of small holes noticed near the center of the volute rosette were used for determining the spiral curve of the ornament. The height of the columns of the hall is considered below in conjunction with the measurements of the portico columns.

THE PORTICOES

Flanked by towers, three spacious porticoes of identical plan inclose the central hall on the north, east, and west. The width of the hall and of the porticoes is the same. Monumental sculptured stairways (see below) connect the northern and eastern porticoes with the adjacent courtyards. The western portico opens onto a narrow forecourt, which extends to the edge of the Terrace, here more than 14 meters above the level of the plain (see Pl. 18 *B*).

The roof of each portico was supported by two rows of six stone columns. The columns of the porticoes are aligned with those of the hall, and the distance (8.65 m.) between column axes is the same. We mentioned above that the columns of the principal, northern portico have the same type of ornate composite capital as those of the hall. However, the bases of all portico columns are bell-shaped. The floral patterns of the bases in the northern and western porticoes are similar (Fig. 50 *D* and *B*). Those of the eastern portico are more elaborate (Figs. 50 *A* and 39 *B*). The capitals or impost blocks of the simpler columns in the subordinate porticoes consisted on the east of addorsed leonine monsters with horns[61] and on the west of the common addorsed bulls[62] such as terminate the columns of the northern portico and the hall also (e.g. Fig. 44 *D–E*).

Figure 29 records the distribution of the thirteen extant columns—or at least column shafts—of the Apadana. Since Coste's plan of 1840–41[63] shows the same number of standing columns, we know that none have fallen during the past century. Some threatened to collapse, however, and had to be supported by restoration in reinforced concrete (see Fig. 49 *E–G*). The rate of disintegration since 1619—when twenty columns were reported standing—is listed by Curzon.[64]

The heights of the columns as here tabulated were determined by Haines by means of reliable surveying instruments. The measurements include the lower portion of the column base, which was normally hidden by a floor layer about 10 cm. deep. The estimated height of the theriomorph impost block is based on the fragmentary addorsed bull capital which was found in the northern courtyard (see p. 70 and Fig. 44 *D–E*). The leonine capital of the eastern portico, measured by Coste,[65] may be a few centimeters higher. The saddles of all impost blocks and, consequently, the lower surfaces of the roof beams resting in the saddles were about a meter below the highest point of the columns.

Heights of Apadana Columns

	Hall[66]	Porticoes		
		North[67]	East[68]	West[69]
Theriomorph impost	*ca.* 2.10	*ca.* 2.10	*ca.* 2.10	*ca.* 2.10
Rectangular element with volutes	*ca.* 3.13	3.12		
Element with rising leaves	1.445	1.505		
Element with drooping leaves	1.165	*ca.* 1.225		
Shaft	9.865	9.665	15.655	15.63
Base	1.555	1.49	1.515	1.49
Total height	19.26 m.	19.105 m.	19.27 m.	19.22 m.

The total heights thus obtained are almost identical and therefore count as proof that the columns of the hall and the porticoes were of the same height. These measurements invalidate von Bissing's assumption[70] that the columns of the hall were taller than the others and that its roof was thus raised above the roofs of the inclosing porticoes.

In the course of our excavation of the southern area we uncovered the southern portion of the eastern portico and determined some features which have bearing on the other porticoes as well (see Figs. 29–30 and 32). The southern wall, interrupted by the entrance to the southeastern tower (p. 73), and the western wall, between the portico and the central hall, are lined with a bench of sun-dried bricks (see Figs. 45 *C* and 40 *D*). The broken top edge suggests that there was a slight overhang comparable with that of the stone benches in the Council Hall (see p. 111). The bench was built against the thick (5 cm.) mud plaster of the walls, whose exposed surfaces show remains of the common greenish-gray surface layer, apparently repaired in places by means of a second coat.

The floor, also finished with a greenish-gray layer, is especially well preserved in the western part of the portico, but most of the surface is discolored by fire. There is at least one point suggesting that the original floor was covered with a second floor layer (see Fig. 40 *D*). The walls too are scorched, particularly that section of the southern wall which separates the portico from Room 3 of the tower. We have pointed out (p. 74) that here a window may have been located.

Blocks of baked bricks (33 × 33 × 7 cm.) set in bitumen (see pp. 287 f.) occurred in the southwest corner of the portico (see Figs. 32 and 40 *C*). Some of the bricks are

60. One of the columns of the eastern portico has 52 flutes.

61. See Flandin and Coste, Pls. 93 and 168 *bis*.

62. A portion of one of the bull capitals is preserved *in situ;* see frontispiece and Pl. 15.

63. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 90.

64. *Persia* II 162, n. 1.

65. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 94.

66. Column in fourth row from north.

67. The only standing column.

68. Both columns in third row from north.

69. Column in third row from north.

70. In *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens*, pp. 45 f. So also Dieulafoy; see *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 330, n. 1.

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entirely red; others are red with a black core. The blocks have the appearance of walls one brick thick. Only one block shows a finished end, and none of the pieces are preserved to their original height. One side of each block is completely covered with bitumen (1–6 cm. thick), which is also used in both the horizontal and the vertical joints between the bricks. The horizontal joints measure .05–1 cm. in width, the vertical joints 4–7 cm. A puzzling row of slanting bricks is set into that face of each block which is not coated with bitumen. There is no doubt that these groups of bricks are sections of drains which presumably fell from the roof of the Apadana. The drain beneath Courtyard 17 of the Treasury also is built of bricks laid in bitumen (see p. 162), and similar bricks, which we attribute to roof drains, were found in Room 2 of the west wing of the Harem (see p. 261).

Among quantities of column fragments occurred two pieces of the leonine capitals of the eastern portico. One belongs to the lower part of a body, and the other appears to be part of a neck. A fragment of a tongue, painted red, may have belonged to one of these monsters, whereas a fragment with nostrils, painted in the same color, seems to be part of a smaller theriomorphic sculpture, perhaps of the size of the mastiffs found in the neighboring vestibule of the southeastern tower. The other finds from the southern part of the eastern portico include a bronze band with parts of two rosettes in *repoussé*, a fragment of a carnelian frame[71] of a small inlay rosette, lumps of lead, about fifteen iron spikes,[72] two bronze arrowheads of common shape, and two fragments of bricks with parts of Old Persian characters. The original location of the inscription to which these glazed bricks belonged is questionable.

THE AREA WEST OF THE APADANA

Carsten Niebuhr,[73] we believe, first recorded a group of foundations situated west of the then unsuspected southwestern tower. The same foundations appear on the plans of A. H. L. Heeren,[74] Flandin and Coste,[75] Dieulafoy,[76] and Curzon.[77] On these plans are marked two parallel rows of four foundations, the two northernmost pairs being separated by one centrally located unit. These foundations are omitted on the plans of Ker Porter,[78] Fergusson,[79] Texier,[80] and Stolze.[81] Herzfeld omits them on one plan,[82] but on another, partly hypothetical plan[83] shows twelve foundations in two rows west of our southwestern tower and eight foundations in two rows west of the northwestern tower. Finally, on his last-published plan of the site[84] Herzfeld sketches only some units of the southern group.

During the last season of our expedition Haines tested the areas west of the western towers of the Apadana and cleared seven foundations of the southern group and five of the northern (see Figs. 29 and 41 *A*, *C*). There was not time for a complete excavation. It is possible, therefore, that additional foundations exist. The excavated foundations are irregular stones, whose tops are approximately level with the top of the near-by Terrace façade. They bear from two to four V-sectioned depressions of rectangular plan (4–5 × 6–10 cm.). Haines noted similar cuts found beneath stones of base courses of walls in Xerxes' palace (see p. 242) and in the foundation stones of the (transferred) façade of Palace G (see p. 274 and Fig. 117 *A*). Although the exact reason for these cuts is unknown, they limited the size of the stones once placed between and above them. In the two groups of foundations under consideration the spaces limited by the V-sectioned cuts are usually squared and slightly depressed by chiseling. The sides of the squares—not always true—measure from 70 to 85 cm. in length. In contrast to all other foundation stones here uncovered the northwestern stone of the northern group is marked by a circle (70 cm. in diameter; see Fig. 41 *A*).

Considering the distribution of the two groups of foundations and the fact that in other structures of the site the foundations for column bases are at times marked by squared depressions, we conclude that the foundations concerned are the remnants of two hypostyle buildings—porches or pavilions—whose extent, plan, and structural details are unknown.

There are four puzzling depressions (17 cm. in diameter and 5 cm. deep) in the top of the western wall of the Terrace (see Figs. 41 *B* and 29). These depressions—apparently dowel holes—form an almost rectangular quadrangle opposite the western doorway of the Apadana hall, but they are not exactly centered on this opening. The two western holes are 1.45 m. from the Terrace edge. Although there is no clue as to the nature of the object once anchored in these depressions, one has to admit that the location was ideal for a monumental sculpture such as the statue of Xerxes—which according to Plutarch[85] was overturned by Alexander's soldiers—or an image of Anahita.[86]

The location of the four dowel holes and of the two hypostyle buildings indicate that a mud-brick fortification such as that which protected other parts of the Terrace was omitted along the edge west of the Apadana. However, this edge was undoubtedly lined with a parapet built of bricks, to judge by the absence of the pebbled strip which usually marks foundations beneath parapets of stone (cf. Figs. 25 and 95).

71. PT7 134.

72. E.g. PT7 142.

73. *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* II (Kopenhagen, 1778) Pl. XVIII.

74. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity* I, plan opposite p. 142 (apparently copied from Niebuhr's plan).

75. Pls. 67 and 90.

76. *L'Art antique de la Perse* II, Pl. 2.

77. *Persia* II, plan opposite p. 150.

78. *Travels* I, plan opposite p. 581.

79. *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, plan opposite p. 94.

80. *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* II, Pls. 93–94.

81. Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, Pls. 148–50.

82. *IF*, Fig. 46 (preceding pls. at end).

83. *AMI* I, plan preceding p. 65.

84. *IAE*, Fig. 328.

85. Plutarch *Alexander* 37. 3.

86. Cf. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 471.

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THE STAIRWAYS

Architectural Features

The platform on which the great audience hall was erected consists of a core of bedrock and a fill of rocks and rubble, buttressed on the west by a section of the retaining wall of the site. The narrow western courtyard and parts of the adjacent areas on the south are on the same level as the floor of the building. The southern courtyard is slightly higher, and the neighboring Palace of Darius and Palace G are further raised on platforms of stone. However, the level of the courtyards north and east of the Apadana is about 2.60 m. lower than the top of its platform. From these courtyards two monumental stairways of identical plan lead to the northern and eastern porticoes of the structure.

Each stairway has four symmetrically arranged flights of thirty-one steps. The two inner flights, built against the faces of the tower foundations, lead to a long landing, which is actually a narrow extension and forecourt of the portico. The two outer flights converge toward a short central projection of the inner landing. The façades and parapets of these stairways are completely covered with reliefs; but the faces of the tower foundations which extend beyond the areas occupied by the stairs show only plain, smoothly surfaced masonry. The parapets of both stairways are crowned by four-stepped crenelations, which show on either face a rectangular recess (see Fig. 40 *E*).

The dimensions of the two stairways, and therewith the extent of their sculptured façades, deviate by a few centimeters only. The entire stairway front is divided in both cases into three parts, which no doubt originally were of equal length. The divisions correspond to the façade of the outer (central) flights and the façades of the two wings formed by the inner flights.[87]

Eastern Stairway		Northern Stairway	
South wing	27.24	West wing	27.22
Center	27.155	Center	27.20
North wing	27.31	East wing	27.25
	81.705 m.		81.67 m.

Reliefs and Inscriptions

The sculptures of the northern stairway, exposed for many centuries to the elements and to vandalism and pilfering, have often been described.[88] The eastern stairway, discovered by Herzfeld, had fortunately been protected and preserved by a thick layer of mud-brick debris. In addition to his published preliminary articles (see p. 70, n. 5), Herzfeld planned a comprehensive treatment of the reliefs of the tribute procession, which was apparently in preparation at the time of his death.[89]

The reliefs presumably depict the Iranian New Year's festival. Each of the two stairways shows essentially the same scenes: a procession of twenty-three tribute-bearing delegations of the empire and lines of guards, dignitaries, horses, chariots, and attendants, in addition to other motifs.[90] However, the direction of approach of the various groups is reversed on the two stairways. Thus the reliefs on one stairway show the opposite sides of the persons depicted in the reliefs on the other stairway. The frames bordering the individual panels of the reliefs are ornamented with rows of twelve-petaled rosettes, but parts of the rosette decoration were left unfinished in several instances. The following notes are based mainly on the infinitely better preserved reliefs of the eastern stairway but are amplified by comparisons with the northern stairway sculptures.

The façades of both stairways show three panels—one in the center and one near the end of each wing—originally intended to bear inscriptions. In both cases the center panel was left blank. The eastern panel of the northern stairway was left uninscribed too, but the western panel bears a well known Old Persian inscription (Xerx. Pers. b; Pl. 60), which is almost exactly duplicated by the newly-discovered Old Persian text (Pl. 21 *A*) inscribed on the southern wing of the eastern stairway. The Elamite and Babylonian versions (missing on the northern stairway) of the same text were combined in the inscription panel located on the northern wing of the eastern stairway (Pl. 21 *B*). We have no practical explanation for the fact that the center panel was left blank while these two texts were crowded into one panel. Normally one would expect the Old Persian version in the center and the Elamite and Babylonian texts at either side. The inscription states:[91]

1. A great god (is) Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare among men, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one ruler of many.
2. I am Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of the lands of many tribes, king of this wide far-stretching earth, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.
3. Says Xerxes the great king: What was built here by me and what was built elsewhere by me, all this I have built by the grace of Ahuramazda. May Ahuramazda protect me with the gods and my kingdom, and what was built by me.[92]

In brick inscriptions once attached to the building proper Xerxes emphasizes his father's share in its construction (see p. 71). The omission in the stairway inscriptions of any reference to Darius' building activities suggests that the stairways were constructed during the reign of Xerxes and leaves little doubt that their reliefs were executed during his time. It has been suggested for stylistic reasons that the reliefs of the northern stairs are somewhat earlier than those on the east.[93] This is possible even for technical reasons, for the main front of the Apadana faces north, and it is plausible to assume that

87. Measured from the lowest steps of the inner flights to the lowest steps of the outer flights.

88. Most recently by Curzon, *Persia* II 159–61; Herzfeld, *IF*, pp. 43 ff. (corrections on pp. 251 ff.), and *AMI* I 22 f.

89. See *AI*, pp. 35 and 50; also p. ix, n. 5, above.

90. One of Herzfeld's letters to the Oriental Institute mentions that traces of pigments were found "everywhere at the sculptures which had been buried under the soil." Although he does not state which parts of the reliefs showed remnants of color, we must conclude that all stairway sculptures had been painted. It is unknown whether the whole surface of the gray limestone reliefs was colored or whether the background between the figures was left unpainted.

91. Based on Weissbach's translation of the OP text (*KA*, pp. 108–11). The OP and El. texts agree; the end of the Bab. text differs (see n. 92).

92. Bab. version of last paragraph: "By the grace of Ahuramazda have I built this house. May Ahuramazda protect me with the gods, my kingdom and what I have built" (*AI*, p. 26, No. 13).

93. Cleta M. Olmstead, "Studies in the Stylistic Development of Persian Achaemenid Art" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1936) p. 28.

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the stairway leading to the principal entrance of the building (see p. 79) was the first to be completed.

The reliefs of the central façade, which fronts the outer pair of stairs, show in the main panel two antithetic groups of four alternating Persian and Median guards (Pls. 22 and 53[94]). Standing rigidly at attention, each guard holds a lance whose globular end rests on his forward foot. The Persians, identified by fluted tiara and flowing candys, each hold in addition an elliptical shield,[95] whose buckle—flanked by two apertures—has the form of a curvilinear cross. The Medes, marked by dome-shaped hat, coat, and long trousers, each wear at the right side a short sword,[96] attached to the belt. Each of the four Persians and Medes to the right wears a ring suspended from his left ear, whereas the right ears of the opposite group are without ornament.

A narrow panel extending above this entire scene shows in the center the winged disk symbol, which is centered above the blank space (see p. 82) between the two rows of guards. The two appendages of the disk end in spiral knobs. The symbol is flanked by two winged sphinxes with leonine body, paws, and upturned tail. The head, except for its bull's ear—to which a pendant is attached—is human. It has the long, square-tipped beard reserved for the images of royalty and deity. Triple horns are marked on the tall tiara.[97] The wing is upcurled in the usual fashion of Achaemenid sculpture. The spaces below the winged symbol and the ends of the panel are filled with palmette-tipped segmented stalks, whose lower ends—apparently encircled by a band—are connected garland-fashion.[98] The raised forepaw of each sphinx touches one of the palmettes.

The triangular panels flanking the central groups of guards each show a rearing bull attacked by a lion. (Pls 19–20 and 53). The same scene occurs in corresponding positions on the façades of all major stairways on the Terrace. Since lion and bull are figures of the zodiac and since they are apparently associated—at least on the building under consideration—with the celebration of the Iranian New Year (coinciding with the spring equinox), Herzfeld suggests that this scene has astronomical meaning.[99] The rest of each triangular panel is filled with palmette-tipped stalks. A terraced row of cypress trees embellishes the space above each triangle. The newels each show the figures of two Persian lancers (Pls. 23 *C*, 24 *B*, 55 *C*, 56 *D*). Files of Persian guards, armed with lance, bow, and quiver, are carved on both inner faces just above the steps (Pls. 16 *B*, 17 *A*, 50, 42 *D*, and 43 *C*).

These guard reliefs are exactly duplicated on the inner stairs (Pls. 23 *A–B*, 24 *A* and *C*, 54 *B*, 55 *A–B*, and 56 *A–B*). The western, inner face of the central parapet of the eastern stairway—that is, the opposite side of the panel with winged symbol and sphinxes—is decorated with two antithetic rows of Persian guards, armed with lance and shield (Pl. 25 *A*). The ends of the parapets which flank the entrance from the outer to the inner landing bear reliefs of two Persian ushers, whose function is marked by their staffs (Pl. 25 *B–C*). The ushers stand back to back, one facing the outer landing, the other looking toward the building. Rows of Persian guards are again shown on the inner faces of the parapets which border the long inner landing. The guards nearest to the center, that is, to the entrance from the outer stairs, hold shields and lances (Pl. 26 *A*), whereas those standing behind have lances only (Pl. 26 *B*).

The reliefs on the façade of the right (northern) wing of the eastern stairway (Pls. 19 and 50–52) correspond to those on the left (eastern) wing of the northern stairway (Pls. 54 and 57–59). The main portion of the sculptured area is subdivided into three long horizontal panels, or registers, bordered by rosette frames and filled with rows of rather monotonous reliefs. In each register lines of guards (43 in the upper register, 28 in the middle, 21 in the lower) precede the other participants in the festival depicted. The guards are Susians dressed in the same manner as the "Immortals" in the famous brick reliefs of Susa (see p. 32).[100] They wear the flowing gown and three-strapped shoes which identify the Persians; but instead of the Persian tiara a twisted fillet only encircles the head. The globular butt of a lance, held vertically, rests on the forward foot of each soldier.

The Susians of the uppermost register are followed by a procession of grooms, horses of the royal stable, and chariots, each of the three groups being led by an usher equipped with a staff.[101] There is first a Median usher leading four Median grooms, each of whom carries a whip in his right hand and a folded rug under his left arm. The last groom carries in addition the king's chariot stool[102] strapped to his shoulders. The usher of this group is the only person in this procession who does not wear an earring; but he wears a bracelet, as do all the others.

The second group also is preceded by a Median usher. Behind him three Median grooms lead three of the king's riding horses, perhaps of the famous Nisaean breed from the area of present Kirmanshah and northern Luristan (see Nisāya on Fig. 2). The elaborate headgear of the horses shows the manner of use of horn-shaped bridle ornaments found in the excavations, and the bits too are presumably similar to excavated specimens.[103] A small bell is suspended from the neck of each animal.

The third group is led by a Susian usher, who in addition to the fillet and Persian gown of the Susian guards wears a Persian dagger stuck behind the belt in front of the body. He is followed by two chariots, each drawn by two stallions and guided by a Susian charioteer, whose head is

94. The remains of the northern stairway suggest that the two relief groups under consideration were identical on the two stairways; but our description is based on the eastern stairway.

95. The original shield was probably made of leather, edges and buckle consisting of metal.

96. For an elaborate Median sword see Treasury reliefs (Pl. 120 and p. 165).

97. For illustration in diffused light see *IAE*, Pl. LXIII, top.

98. Dr. Helene J. Kantor points out that these decorative units apparently combine Egyptian, Neo-Babylonian, and Assyrian features. Specific information will be found in her forthcoming publication dealing with plant ornament in the ancient Near East.

99. *IAE*, p. 251.

100. Cf. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pls. V–VII; the light-skinned soldiers of Pl. VII, though dressed in the same manner as the others, are called Persians by Dieulafoy.

101. P. J. Junge in his article "Satrapie und natio: Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staate Dareios' I.," *Klio* XXXIV = n.F. XVI (Leipzig, 1941) 24, esp. n. 4, considers the horses, chariots, and objects carried by the attendants as presents to the king from the dignitaries to be mentioned below (p. 84).

102. A golden stool according to Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* xii. 514*a* (quoting a historian by the name of Dinon). Our relief suggests that it consisted mainly of wood, which may have been gilded.

103. See Vol. II, chapter on "Martial Equipment."

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encircled as usual by a fillet. Both chariots appear to belong to the king. If the first one were reserved for Ahuramazda, we would expect the charioteer to be on foot, as explained by Herodotus, "for no mortal man may mount into that seat."[104] For lack of vertical and perhaps also horizontal space the sculptor reduced the dimensions of horses, chariots, and charioteers as compared with the preceding group. Breastband, bellyband, and reins passing through a tall rein guide with attached tassel distinguish the harness of the chariot horses from that of the riding horses. The charioteer holds the reins and, in his right hand, a raised staff. The wheels of the chariots show sturdy fellies, actually composed of two layers of wood and studded on the tread with nails. Twelve spindle-shaped spokes radiate from the discoid hub, whose axle pin is modeled in the shape of a small human figure.[105] The body of the more elaborate first chariot is decorated with a lozenge pattern inclosed on three sides by a frame of walking lions. The second chariot has only a frame of twelve-petaled rosettes. A slanting object—probably a bow case—covered with a scale pattern is shown at the side of the chariot body. A quiver may be pictured by an object protruding from the opposite side in front of the charioteer. A loop hanging from a ring at the rear end of the chariot is a grip for mounting the vehicle.

The Susian guards of the middle and lower registers are followed on either panel by thirty-two alternating Persian and Median dignitaries or nobles. A Persian has precedence in each case. The foremost persons of each line[106] show in their attitude respectful attention and face the direction of the procession. A pleasant change from the monotonous formalism of the other reliefs is provided by the unconventional postures of most of the other dignitaries; looking backward in many cases and obviously meant to be chatting with one another, they are shown holding hands or touching one another's shoulders or equipment in gestures of comradery. In the midst of this informal scene are some persons in the same respectful attitude as shown by those in front. Undoubtedly as indication of higher rank, the figures of the dignitaries, as well as those of the ushers and grooms in the top register, are somewhat taller than the figures of the preceding Susian guards, although these soldiers may represent a unit of the elite corps, the "Immortals."[107] The beards of the dignitaries, intermediate in length between those of the guards and the stately beards of royalty, may also have bearing on rank. The Persian nobles wear fluted tiara, flowing candys, and shoes with three straps. The dress of the Medes consists of domed hat with attached ribbon or the like, belted coat, long trousers, and laced shoes. On the shoulders of most Medes hangs a long topcoat with empty sleeves. The rounded end of the sleeve indicates that it was closed; but a flap above the end covers the opening for the hand, which could be withdrawn for warmth inside the sleeve. Front views show the manner of fastening the topcoat by means of two straps hanging from the shoulders. In a few side views the Medes are shown playfully curling one of these straps.

104. Herodotus vii. 40.

105. Cf. chariot of Syrian delegation (Pl. 32).

106. Four in each line of the northern stairway and in the lowest register of the eastern stairway, two in the middle register of the latter.

107. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 238 f.

The front views of the Persian nobles reveal that they are armed with a dagger stuck behind the belt in front. The anvil-shaped hilt is visible above the curious asymmetric scabbard top, a roughly rectangular bar with two scallops on the lower edge of one side but only one indentation on the shorter opposite side. The typical weapon of the Medes, a short sword worn at the right side, is here shown on the reliefs of the northern stairway only (Pls. 57–58; cf. p. 164). Many Persians and some Medes carry identical bow cases (actually of leather), suspended from their belts by means of straps riveted to the cases. The tip of the case resembles a parrot's head (cf. p. 166).

Persians and Medes wear the same types of ornaments: a twisted or plain torque (actually of gold?), earrings, and bracelets. Most of the nobles carry in one hand a blossom, usually identified with the lotus flower.[108] Others hold a budlike globular object whose markings suggest rudimentary foliage. The upper part of its stem is in some instances ribbed horizontally, whereas the end shows vertical ribs. In other cases the entire stem is covered with horizontal ridges, whereas the stalks of the open blossoms always have vertical ribs.

The panel with the Elamite and Babylonian versions of Xerxes' inscription (see p. 82) bounds the reliefs of the three registers just described. The triangular space forming the façade of the inner stairs, beyond the inscription panel, is embellished with the lion-and-bull motif and fill patterns in the same manner as the corresponding sections of the opposite wing of the stairway (see Pl. 19) and the central façade (see p. 83).

The southern wing of the eastern stairway bears the procession of tribute-bearing delegations of twenty-three nations of the empire (see Pl. 19),[109] corresponding—with slight deviations—to the reliefs on the west wing of the northern stairway (Pl. 61).[110] The reliefs of the tribute-bearers are arranged in three registers which balance those of the opposite wing. The delegations are separated by conventionalized cypress trees, which on the main portion of the façade are superimposed, dividing most of the procession into vertical groups of three units. Delegations 1–3 are shown on the inner wall of the outer flight. Five delegations at the end of the procession are carved on the façade of the parapet of the inner flight. Each delegation is preceded by an usher—Persians and Medes alternating—provided with the staff of office, armed with dagger or sword, and adorned with torque and earrings.

We mentioned above (p. 82) that Herzfeld, the discoverer of the eastern stairway, had stated his intention to publish the reliefs of the tribute procession. Our description has therefore been kept as brief as possible. The identifications of certain nations represented are based on comparisons with the throne-bearers of the tomb reliefs, who are identified by inscriptions.[111] Further nations of the

108. For variants of the "lotus" flower and other blossoms of the *Liliaceae* occurring in ancient Near Eastern art, we refer the reader to Dr. Kantor's forthcoming publication (see n. 98 above).

109. For a view of the southern wing from the level of the Council Hall see Pl. 17 *B*.

110. No woman is represented in the Apadana reliefs or in any of the other sculptures of the Achaemenid buildings and tombs at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam.

111. See also the descriptions of the throne-bearers on the eastern doorway of the Council Hall (pp. 117–20) and on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (pp. 134–36).

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tribute procession, not recognizable or not represented in the tomb reliefs, had been tentatively identified by Herzfeld. Julius Junge too has contributed valuable suggestions.[112] In numbering the delegations in vertical groups, starting at the head of the tribute procession (Fig. 33), we follow Herzfeld's scheme applied in his original description of the northern stairway.[113] Our illustrations recording the reliefs of the two stairways are plotted on diagrams (Fig. 34).

The Tribute Delegations[114]

Delegation No. 1: The Medes (Pl. 27; see Māda on Fig. 2)[115]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Delegation leader (envoy) in typical Median dress, domed hat, short sword at side. Eight unarmed attendants carrying tribute: pitcher, two bowls, Median sword, two heavy oblong rings perhaps originally elaborated with animal heads, two heavy plain oblong rings, overcoat, coat, trousers. Headdress of attendants is bashlyk with three knobs at anterior side of top; otherwise dress of attendants like that of leader: belted coat, long trousers, strapped shoes.

Northern stairway.—Persian usher.[116] Median envoy. Five tribute-bearers (lower halves only preserved), one leading a horse (absent on eastern relief). Here too the tribute carried by the last attendant consists of trousers.

Delegation No 2: The Susians (Pl. 28; see Ūvja on Fig. 2)[117]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and five attendants dressed alike: Persian gown (candys), low buttoned boots with six straps, fillet in form of simple band tied in two distinct ways at back of head. Tribute: two bows ending in duck heads; two sheathed daggers of Persian type; lioness, head turned and snarling at three attendants—one of whom with raised stick holds her by a rope, while each of the other two carries one of her cubs.

Northern stairway.—Identical as far as preserved, except for reversed direction.

Delegation No. 3: The Armenians? (Pl. 29; see Armina on Fig. 2)[118]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader and two attendants dressed alike in Median fashion: belted coat, trousers, band at ankles tied in front, three-knobbed headdress (bashlyk) with raised muffler flaps tied at back of head. Leader wears earrings. Tribute: bridled stallion with bell on chest, led by one attendant; vessel with two griffin handles, carried by second attendant.

Northern stairway.—Persian usher. Delegation leader and four tribute-bearing attendants. Dress identical as far as preserved, but head contours indicate that leader's headdress is domed Median hat; pointed hat end at neck of hindmost attendant shows that attendants wear bashlyk. This means that the leader and tribute-bearers of the Medes (to judge by the eastern relief of delegation No. 1) and of the Armenians(?) on the northern relief are dressed alike. Tribute: overcoat, coat, trousers, two almost cylindrical bowls. These objects are identical with some of the gifts carried by the Medes, but they are distinct from the tribute of the Armenians(?) on the eastern relief.

Delegation No. 4: The Arians? (Pl. 30; see Haraiva on Fig. 2)[119]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Delegation leader (probably unarmed), wearing overcoat, otherwise apparently dressed in same way as three attendants: belted coat of Median type, trousers tucked into boots, bashlyk consisting of band wrapped around head and neck. One end of band shown on backs of two attendants. Tribute: two bowls, Bactrian (two-humped) camel[120] with bell, skin of feline.

Northern stairway.—Lower half only preserved, except for anterior part of camel. Three instead of two attendants behind delegation leader in addition to bearer of animal skin.

Delegation No. 5: The Babylonians (Pl. 31; see Bābiruš on Fig. 2)[121]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Delegation leader (probably unarmed) with raised right hand and five attendants dressed alike: short-sleeved robe, semicircular(?) scarf with tasseled ends thrown forward over shoulders, conoid hat with long tip suspended behind, plain low shoes. Tribute: two pairs of shallow bowls, fabric with netted and tasseled border, humped bull.[122]

Northern stairway.—Apparently identical except for reversed direction.

Delegation No. 6: The Syrians (Pl. 32)[123]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Apparently unarmed delegation leader and five attendants dressed alike, except that the two hindmost attendants (grooms) are bareheaded: long short-sleeved gown with wavy pattern (suggesting wool?), scarf with tasseled corners draped over left shoulder, conoid turban-like headdress, lateral braid of hair extending to shoulder,[124] low boots with slightly upturned toes. Tribute:[125] two metal vessels, each with two handles ending in winged bulls; two shallow metal bowls; two oblong rings, each ornamented with two griffins; chariot with plain body, drawn by two stallions. Chariot, horses, and harnesses resemble closely those of king described above (pp. 83 f.). Axle pin of tribute chariot also is modeled in form of human figure, here resembling Egyptian god Bes.[126]

Northern stairway.—Delegation leader and two attendants only wear the characteristic headdress; none of the gowns are patterned, and folds of scarves are omitted. Third attendant and two grooms are bareheaded. Groom standing behind stallions' heads does not touch preceding attendant's shoulder in gesture of intimacy as on pendant relief. The gifts are here less impressive. First attendant carries two deep bowls instead of elaborate amphorae, and the preserved sample of the two rings carried by third attendant is ornamented with plain animal heads instead of winged monsters. Horses and chariots are approximately alike, but it is not known whether chariot hub of northern relief too had axle pin in human form. Strap and ring at rear of chariot body (cf. p. 84) are only suggested by unfinished projections.

Delegation No. 7: The Arachosians? (Pl. 33; see Harauvatiš on Fig. 2)[127]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and three attendants (lower part only of third) dressed alike: belted coat of

112. Oral information; see also his *Saka-Studien* and *Klio* XXXIV 32 ff.

113. *IF*, Fig. 12 (p. 46).

114. The geographical locations of the peoples mentioned in this section are indicated on the map of the Achaemenid Empire (Fig. 2).

115. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 2 (Vol. III).

116. On the northern stairway the usher's staff of office is in nearly all cases pictured at a much greater slant than on the eastern stairway.

117. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 3 (Vol. III).

118. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 20 (Vol. III), almost identical in dress with the adjacent Cappadocian (No. 21). Cf. delegation No. 9 (p. 87 below).

119. So tentatively identified by Herzfeld, according to Oriental Institute records. Throne-bearer No. 5 of the tomb reliefs (Vol. III) resembles figures of this delegation in part only.

120. Dr. Bryan Patterson informs us that the disk on the forelegs of all camels pictured in the tribute procession represent clipped patches of natural hair.

121. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 16 (Vol. III).

122. Zebu (or "Indian humped cattle") according to Bryan Patterson.

123. So *IAE*, Pl. LXXVIII, top, and Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 36 f.; not represented in tomb reliefs. Syria became an independent satrapy under Xerxes; see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 135 f., 237.

124. The Lydian throne-bearer on Xerxes' tomb is distinguished by the same sort of braid (see Vol. III).

125. For enlarged details see *IAE*, Pls. LXXXII, left, and LXXXIV, center and upper right and left.

126. See *ibid.* Pl. LXXXIV, upper left.

127. So identified by Herzfeld, according to Oriental Institute records, and Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 44, where in n. 6 "Nr. 8" should be corrected to "Nr. 7"; cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 10 (Vol. III).

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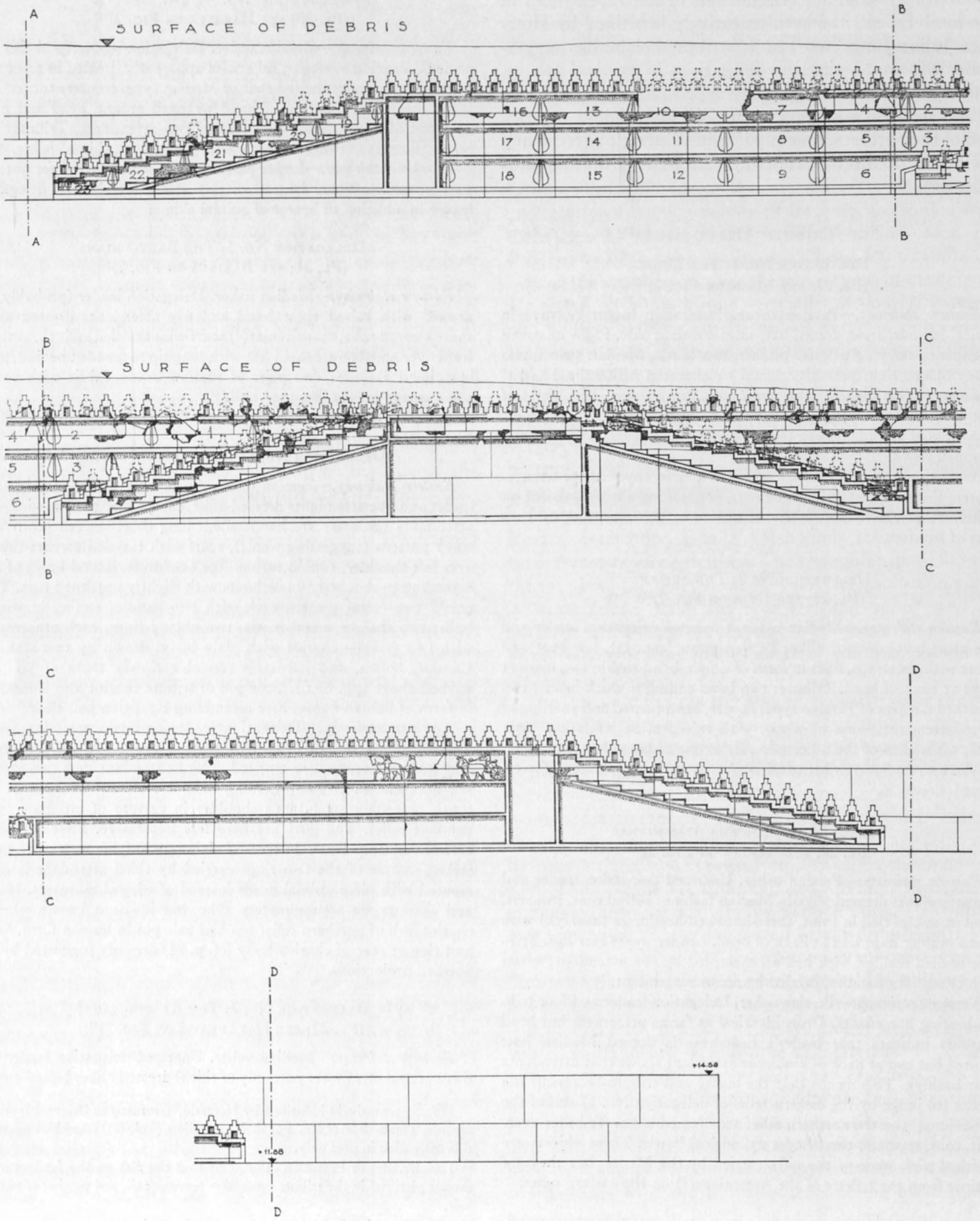


Fig. 33. Apadana. Elevation of Entire Façade of Eastern Stairway (Continued on Fig. 53 *A*). After Original Drawing by K. Bergner. Scale, 1:150

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Median fashion; trouser legs notched at side, perhaps tucked into high boots which are strapped at top and have slightly upturned toes; banded bashlyk with one end hanging on back and with conoid projection on top which may belong to cap encircled by upper, trapezoid portion of bashlyk. Tribute: two bowls, Bactrian camel with bell, skin of feline.

Northern stairway.—Upper half missing. Median usher and delegation leader followed by three attendants (instead of two). Tribute: only legs of camel and tail of feline skin carried by fourth attendant are preserved.

bowls, two dressed animal skins, scarf (or the like) with tasseled corners, two rams.

Northern stairway.—Identical as far as preserved, except for minor variations (e.g. shape of tucked-in sash end) and reversed direction.

Delegation No. 9: The Cappadocians? (Pl. 35; see Katpatuka on Fig. 2)[130]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and four attendants dressed alike: three-knobbed headdress (bashlyk)

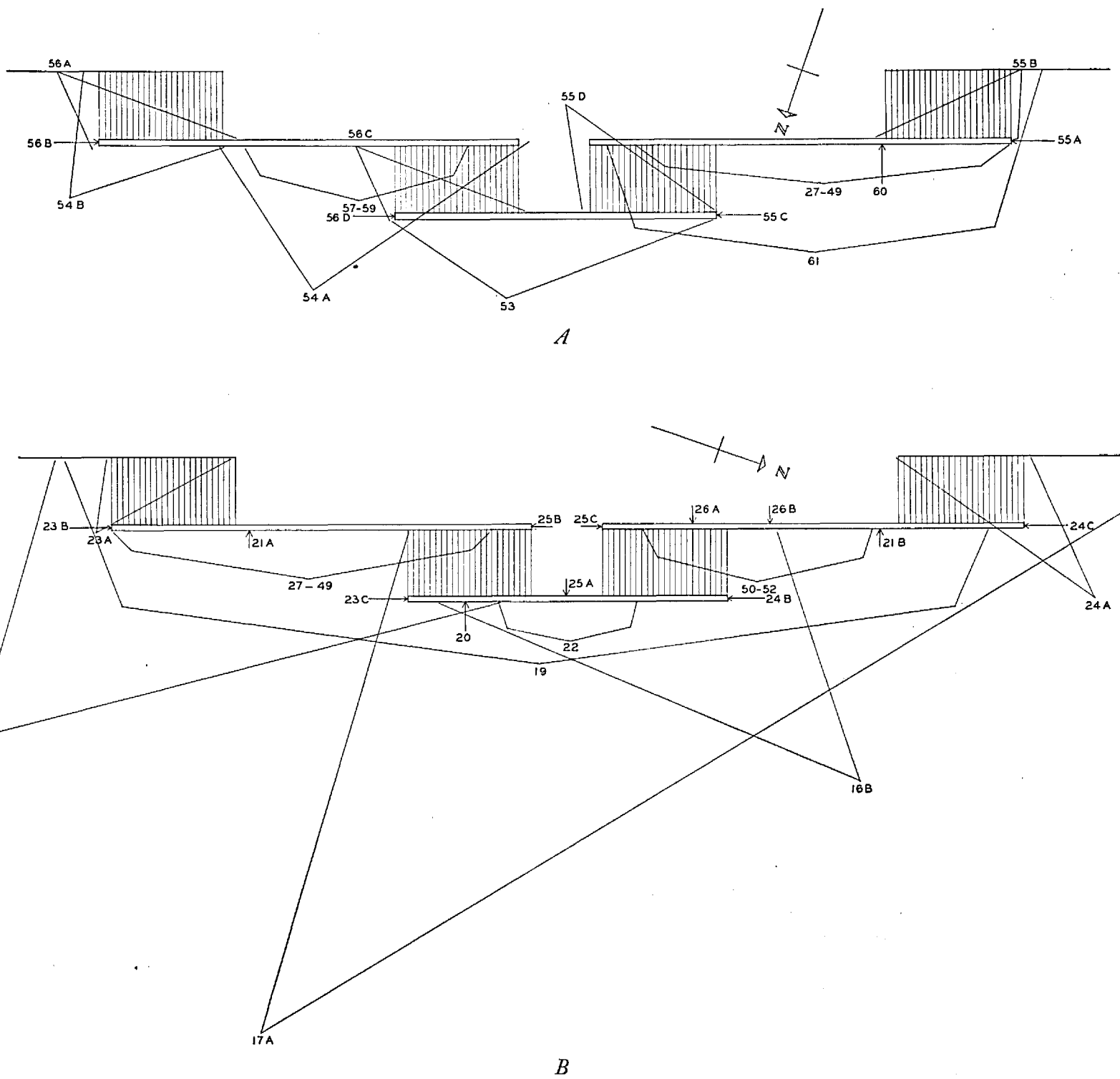


Fig. 34. Apadana. Schematized Plans of Stairways, Showing Locations of Reliefs Illustrated on Pls. 16*B*, 17, and 19–61. *A*. Northern Stairway. *B*. Eastern Stairway

Delegation No. 8: The Cilicians? (Pl. 34 and Fig. 2)[128]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader (with raised right hand) and six attendants dressed alike: fillet formed by band with one ribbed end protruding behind right ear; long short-sleeved gown with sash (resembling fillet) around waist, end of sash tucked between belt and gown; low boots with tongue, four straps and double loop of bow marked at front of bootleg.[129] Tribute: two pairs of with muffler flaps raised and tied at back of head;[131] belted coat, trousers and ankle straps of Median type; cape fastened at shoulder with fibula, tassels at lower corners. Tribute: bridled stallion with bell on chest, led by first attendant; overcoat; coat; trousers.

Northern stairway.—Identical except for reversed direction.

128. So *IF*, p. 47, and *IAE*, Pl. LXXX, above; see Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 40, nn. 5–6, and 41, n. 1; not represented in tomb reliefs.

129. See Council Hall throne-bearer No. 8 (p. 118).

130. So *IF*, p. 45; cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 21 (Vol. III).

131. Identical with hats of Armenian(?) delegates (delegation No. 3; p. 85); headgear of Median attendants (delegation No. 1; p. 85) essentially the same, but worn with flaps down, muffling the chin.

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Delegation No. 10: The Egyptians (Pl. 36; see Mudrāya on Fig. 2)[132]

Eastern stairway.—Upper half missing. Persian usher. Delegation leader (presumably unarmed) and four of the five attendants dressed alike, as far as preserved: long gown with ribbed lower border; fourth attendant (leading bull; see below) wears scarf(?) over gown; all Egyptians are barefooted. Preserved tribute: folded piece of fabric carried by third attendant, bull led by rope whose end is visible at side of fourth attendant.

Northern stairway.—Identical as far as preserved, except for reversed direction.

Delegation No. 11: The Saka Tigraxauda or Pointed-Hat Scythians (Pl. 37 and Fig. 2)[133]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Significantly, all members of delegation are armed: leader and five attendants have sword of Median type at right side; in addition, leader carries bow case at left hip. All are dressed alike: tall pointed headdress reinforced by three ribs, belted coat, trousers, and ankle straps of Median type. Tribute: bridled stallion with bell on chest, two oblong rings decorated with animal heads, overcoat, coat, trousers.

Northern stairway.—Identical as to dress, but posterior flap of headdress flares outward. As to weapons, only bow case of leader visible, for left—swordless—side of delegates is shown. Tribute identical.

Delegation No. 12: The Ionians? (Pl. 38; see Yaunā on Fig. 2)[134]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader and seven attendants dressed alike: long short-sleeved gown with wavy ribbed pattern (suggesting wool?), scarf with tasseled corners draped over left shoulder, bareheaded, low boots with slightly upturned toes (cf. almost identical dress, except for headgear, of Syrians; p. 85). Tribute: two ribbed metal cups, two pairs of shallow metal bowls, two sets of folded fabrics, two pairs of convex cones consisting of thin wavy layers.

Northern stairway.—The same in number of persons and in dress; but scarves draped differently and folds omitted, gowns of attendants shorter than gown of delegation leader. Tribute similar except for two pairs of cups and only one pair of bowls, two pairs of smooth globes instead of layered conoids.

Delegation No. 13: The Parthians? (Pl. 39; see Parthava on Fig. 2)[135]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and three attendants dressed alike: belted coat of Median type; baggy trousers reaching to ankles; shoes plain except for straps on last attendant's footwear; ear ornament (elliptic pendant suspended from ring); square-tipped stringy beard; curved object (strap end?) extending from back of head; lower, bunched part of hair either unfinished or gathered into bag[136] held in place by band encircling forehead. Tribute: pair of deep bowls, pair of shallow bowls, Bactrian camel with bell.

Northern stairway.—Preserved portion (lower half) identical, except for additional tribute-bearer walking behind camel and carrying skin of feline.

Delegation No. 14: The Gandarians? (Pl. 40; see Gandāra on Fig. 2)[137]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader and five attendants dressed alike: fillet;[138] short-sleeved coat[139] with broad belt; cape covering back from neck to point below calves, tassels at four corners, two of which are thrown forward over shoulders; bare legs; sandals with heel guard, two straps across top of foot connected by lengthwise strap. Tribute: humped bull (see delegation No. 5; p. 85), one lance and circular shield, two pairs of lances.[140]

Northern stairway.—Identical as to number of persons, dress,[141] and tribute.

Delegation No. 15: The Bactrians? (Pl. 41; see Bāxtriš on Fig. 2)[142]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and three attendants dressed alike: fillet consisting of band tied at right side of head; ear pendant of same type as that worn by Parthian(?) delegates; belted coat of Median type; baggy trousers with wavy pattern, trouser legs notched at side, perhaps tucked into boots, which have slightly upturned toes and strap at top. Tribute: pair of deep corrugated bowls; pair of shallow bowls with vertical flutes on rim, decorative ridge, and (lower vessel only[143]) horizontal ribs on body; Bactrian camel with bell.

Northern stairway.—Dress almost identical, but belt is double strap instead of single band and knot of fillet is shown on left side of head; four instead of three tribute-bearing attendants; position and size of camel's guide rope and of staff held by fourth attendant differ. Tribute: two pairs of deep plain bowls; one pair of shallow bowls, also plain except for simple ridge; camel with bell.

Delegation No. 16: The Sagartians? (Pl. 42; see Asagarta on Fig. 2)[144]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader with Median hat, belted coat, trousers, and ankle straps. Four attendants, whose dress differs in minor features only from that of attendants of Median, Armenian(?), and Cappadocian(?) delegations: three-knobbed headdress with alternately raised and lowered muffler flaps; belted coat and trousers of Median type, but no ankle straps. Tribute: overcoat, coat, trousers, bridled stallion.

Northern stairway.—Lower half only preserved. Five attendants instead of four. Extant parts of figures appear to be dressed in same manner as figures on pendant relief. Tribute: only stallion can be recognized.

Delegation No 17: The Sogdians? (Pl. 43; see Sugda on Fig. 2)[145]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Armed delegation leader and four attendants dressed alike: headdress with ear flaps and rounded

132. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 19 (Vol. III); so also *IF*, p. 45.

133. So Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 46, esp. n. 1; see also Junge, *Saka-Studien*, pp. 81 and 91 f., Pl. I 11. Herzfeld considers these delegates European Saka (*IAE*, Pl. LXXIX, above). Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 15 (Vol. III).

134. The writer agrees with Junge (oral information later published in *Klio* XXXIV 39) in tentatively identifying the members of this delegation with the Ionians of western Anatolia. Herzfeld identifies them with the Lydians (*IAE*, Pl. LXXVIII, bottom). On the tomb reliefs the Ionian throne-bearer (No. 23; Vol. III) closely resembles the Lydian (No. 22). For clarification of the various Ionians listed in Achaemenian inscriptions see Kent in *JNES* II 304–6; Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII 64 f. and *Zoroaster* I 396 f.; Cameron in *JNES* II 307 ff.

135. So tentatively identified by Herzfeld, according to Oriental Institute records; previously identified as Arachosians in *ILN*, March 25, 1933, p. 405. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 4 (Vol. III).

136. The hair of the Bactrian (throne-bearer No. 6; Vol. III) on Xerxes' tomb is pictured in a similar manner.

137. So Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 45. According to Oriental Institute records Herzfeld too originally identified the members of this delegation as Gandarians, but finally he considered them Sattagydians (*IAE*, Pl. LXXIX, below). Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearers Nos. 11–12 (Vol. III).

138. A simple band, to judge by fourth attendant's fillet, which shows tucked-in end of a band.

139. A line at neck of second attendant indicates that chest is covered.

140. All these lances have pairs of curious devices in form of small triangular wings projecting from sockets of heads.

141. But all fillets, as far as preserved, are tied in knot at back of head; positions of rope and staff held by second attendant also differ.

142. So Herzfeld in *IAE*, Pl. LXXXI, below, and *ILN*, March 25, 1933, p. 405; cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 6 (Vol. III).

143. Enlarged illustration in *IAE*, Pl. LXXXIV, lower left.

144. As suggested by Junge (oral information; see *Klio* XXXIV 42 and 23, n. 3). At any rate, the delegation leader's dress, identical except for missing sword with that of the leader of the Median delegation (Pl. 27), suggests that the territory of the nation here represented cannot be far from Media. According to Oriental Institute records Herzfeld tentatively identified this delegation with people of the Caucasus region.

145. According to Oriental Institute records Herzfeld was inclined to consider this delegation Sogdians. Junge is of the same opinion (see *Klio* XXXIV

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anterior point; long-sleeved belted overcoat with slanting lower edge, strap guard at front of belt;[146] tip of Median type scabbard protruding below overcoat at right side; bow case suspended from belt at opposite side (cf. northern relief); baggy trousers extending to ankles; plain shoes (or boots?). Tribute: sword similar to Median type but with crescent-shaped, almost annular pommel; pair of oblong rings; pair of short battle-axes;[147] bridled stallion with bell on chest.

Northern stairway.—Five armed attendants instead of four. Same dress except for minor deviations and headdress, which is definitely pointed and slants forward. On delegation leader's chest is marked band by means of which overcoat is tied. As to weapons, bow cases only are visible, since swords are worn on opposite side. Stallion's groom has no bow case, a fact which suggests that groom on eastern relief too is armed with only a sword. Same tribute except for second pair of battle-axes carried by additional attendant.

Delegation No. 18: The Indians
(Pl. 44; see Hinduš on Fig. 2)[148]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed delegation leader with right arm and shoulder bare, cape with tasseled corners draped over left shoulder and apparently covering skirt which reaches probably from waist to just above ankles; fillet in form of band tied at back of head; sandals with heel guard and two straps across top of foot connected by lengthwise strap. Four attendants wear same type of fillet but no cape; upper body bare; skirt from waist to knees, belted or rolled at top; barefooted. Tribute: two pairs of jar-shaped objects (of gold or filled with gold dust?[149]) in two baskets suspended from carrying stick balanced across shoulders of first attendant; jackass[150] led by two attendants; pair of double-edged battle-axes.

Northern stairway.—Five attendants instead of four. Dress identical. Same tribute except additional attendant carries in his hands two more baskets with pairs of jar-shaped objects.

Delegation No. 19: The Skudrians?
(Pl. 45; see Skudra on Fig. 2)[151]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and three attendants dressed alike: headdress with ear flaps and pointed top, cape with tasseled corners, trousers apparently tucked into medium-high boots. Tribute: two sets of two lances and almost hemispherical shield with ribbed pattern (indicating wickerwork?), bridled stallion.

Northern stairway.—Lower portion only preserved. Extant part suggests that the two reliefs were identical (except, as always, for reversed direction). A relief fragment described and illustrated by Herzfeld[152] undoubtedly belongs here. It shows the missing parts of the two attendants carrying shield and lances. Their legs and the butt ends of their two pairs of lances are preserved *in situ*.

Delegation No. 20: The Arabians?
(Pl. 46; see Arabāya on Fig. 2)[153]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Unarmed, apparently bareheaded, delegation leader wearing long robelike garment with tasseled corners and embroidered lower edge, lower part wrapped smoothly around body, upper part (or scarf?) draped over left shoulder, line above right elbow suggesting end of sleeve of tightly fitting undergarment; sandals with heel guard and two straps across top of foot connected by lengthwise strap. Two attendants dressed alike, as far as preserved: scarflike garment, apparently in one piece, wrapped in folds around body and draped over left shoulder, lower front open, one tasseled end of scarf pulled backward below right arm; sleeve end of undergarment marked above right elbow; extant sandal of first attendant identical with that of delegation leader; hair neatly groomed above forehead and at temple; cheeks smooth (or beard unfinished?), goatee marked by a few lines. Tribute: folded fabric with embroidered(?) edge and four tasseled corners; dromedary.[154]

Northern stairway.—Three instead of two attendants. Dress of first attendant (third person from left) suggests that tribute-bearers wear shirtlike undergarment beneath draped scarf. Tribute the same, but extra attendant carries a second folded fabric. As usual, position of hand of attendant leading tribute animal differs.

Delegation No. 21: The Drangianians?
(Pl. 47; see Zranka on Fig. 2)[155]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and three attendants dressed alike: fillet marked by smooth band encircling head, scarf with tasseled corners draped over left shoulder, long-sleeved belted[156] coat of Median type beneath scarf, Median trousers with ankle straps. Tribute: lance and circular shield carried by one attendant; long-horned bull led by two attendants.

Northern stairway.—Probably four attendants instead of three. Dress of delegates, as far as preserved, apparently the same. Tribute: circular shield and lance carried by one attendant; two lances carried by second attendant; staff in front of third attendant is probably stick (longer than on eastern relief and held vertically) carried by animal driver; bull and probable fourth attendant missing.

Delegation No. 22: The Libyans
(Pl. 48; see Putāyā on Fig. 2)[157]

Eastern stairway.—Persian usher. Delegation leader and two attendants dressed alike, as far as preserved: bareheaded, hair neatly groomed above forehead and at temple (cf. delegation No. 20); cape with characteristic serrate edges over long shirtlike garment with serrate lower edge; one attendant definitely barefooted, one strap of

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43). Throne-bearers Nos. 7 (Sogdian), 8 (Chorasmian), and 14 (Saka Haumavarga) of the tomb reliefs (see Vol. III) closely resemble one another as well as the members of Apadana delegation No. 17. There is a possibility that this delegation may represent the Saka Haumavarga, rather than the Sogdians. At any rate, it represents undoubtedly one of the nations of the northeastern region of the empire

146. In form of two joined deer legs, apparently identical in form with the strap guard of the royal bow case shown in the Treasury reliefs (see p. 166 and Pl. 121).

147. Perhaps the type of weapon carried on the back when not in use, as shown in a few seal patterns (see Vol. II, seal No. 30).

148. So *IAE*, Pl. LXXX, bottom. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 13 (Vol. III), who is almost identical with the representatives of the other two southeastern nations: the Gandarian (throne-bearer No. 12) and the Sattagydian (throne-bearer No. 11).

149. Cf. Herodotus iii. 94.

150. Bryan Patterson informs us that the animal here shown is a strong well built donkey and not an onager, as originally assumed by us.

151. In tentative agreement with Junge's opinion (oral; see *Klio* XXXIV 47); cf. headdress especially of throne-bearer No. 25 in the tomb reliefs (Vol. III).

152. See *IF*, p. 50 and Fig. 17.

153. The tribute-bearing attendants of this delegation resemble most closely the Arabian representative on the tomb reliefs (throne-bearer No. 18; Vol. III); see also Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 36. Oriental Institute records, based on Herzfeld's tentative identifications, suggest that the Macians are here represented (cf., however, the dissimilar throne-bearer No. 29).

154. Arabian or one-humped camel, whose habitat, according to Professor Warder C. Allee, roughly extends over Arabia, the Sahara, and the Sudan as far as the Niger River.

155. The identification is questioned because of the fact that on the tomb reliefs the Drangianian and Arachosian throne-bearers (Nos. 9–10; Vol. III) are identical, whereas on the Apadana reliefs the delegation tentatively identified with the Arachosians (delegation No. 7; Pl. 33) and the delegation under consideration differ to some extent. The dress of the throne-bearers and of the members of delegation No. 21 agree as to fillet and coat of Median type. According to Oriental Institute records Herzfeld was inclined to identify this delegation with the Margians, i.e., people of the region of modern Merv (Marguš on Fig. 2). Junge identifies the tribute-bearers under consideration with the Lydians (see *Klio* XXXIV 38), i.e., the people of Sparda (see our Fig. 2).

156. Belt marked by only one hanging end, where it is tied in front.

157. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 27 (Vol. III). Cameron (*JNES* II 309) agrees with Posener (*La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 186 f.) in identifying Putaya with Libya. Herzfeld places Putaya ("die Punt") on both shores of the southeastern end of the Red Sea (see *IF*, p. 55, and *Archaeological History of Iran*, Pl. I). George Steindorff and Keith C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East* (Chicago, 1942) p. 101, locate the land of Punt in roughly the same area, namely on the Somali coast.

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sandal perhaps indicated on foot of second attendant. Tribute: lance carried by attendant leading antelope with twisted horns;[158] chariot drawn by two horses,[159] led by second attendant,[160] who holds staff.

Northern stairway.—Identical number of persons. Details of dress indistinct, but hair above forehead and at temple definitely treated in same manner. Tribute apparently identical, but positions of chariot and antelope reversed. Mutilation of chariot hub on both reliefs suggests that here too the axle pin was elaborated (cf. Pls. 32 and 52).

Delegation No. 23: The Ethiopians (Pl. 49; see Kūšiyā on Fig. 2)[161]

Eastern stairway.—Median usher. Unarmed delegation leader and two attendants with Negroid features and hair. All are bareheaded and wear skirt reaching from waist to ankles, with ribbed band along vertical edge suggesting embroidery or the like. Scarf with ribbed edge draped over leader's upper body and left shoulder; right shoulder and arm bare. Bands, perhaps connected with skirt, extend over both shoulders of two attendants; end of band projects from back of neck. Leader and first attendant wear stereotyped sandals provided with heel guard and two cross straps connected by lengthwise strap; second attendant barefooted. Tribute: vessel with lid, problematical contents; elephant tusk carried on shoulder of second attendant, who in addition leads an okapi.[162]

Northern stairway.—Lower half only extant. Identical number of persons, though only feet of Median usher, delegation leader, and second attendant preserved. Skirt of first attendant identical with garments shown on eastern relief. Tribute: only okapi recognizable.

158. Probably the addax (*nasomaculata*), according to Bryan Patterson.

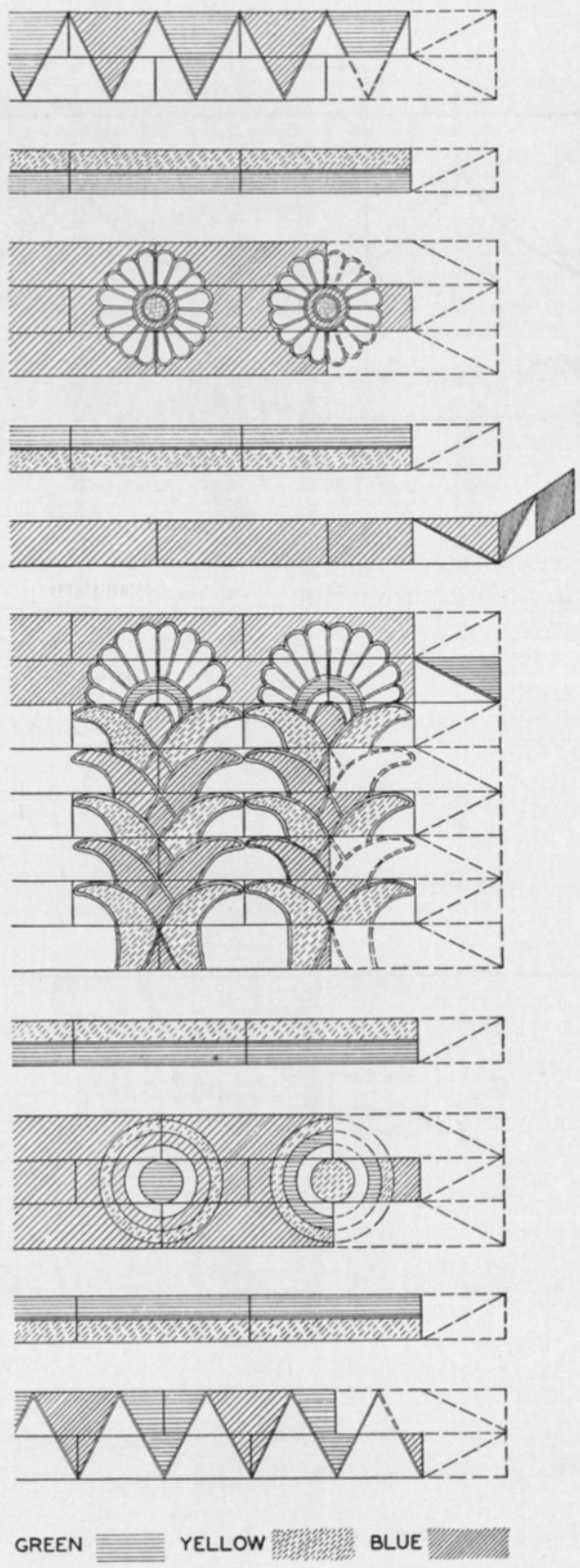
159. Professor Allee informs us that these horses are not of Arab stock. In his opinion they resemble the barbs found in the desert regions of North Africa, from Dongola to Senegal.

160. The sculptor distorted the position of the groom in relation to the chariot reins and the position of the horses' hind legs.

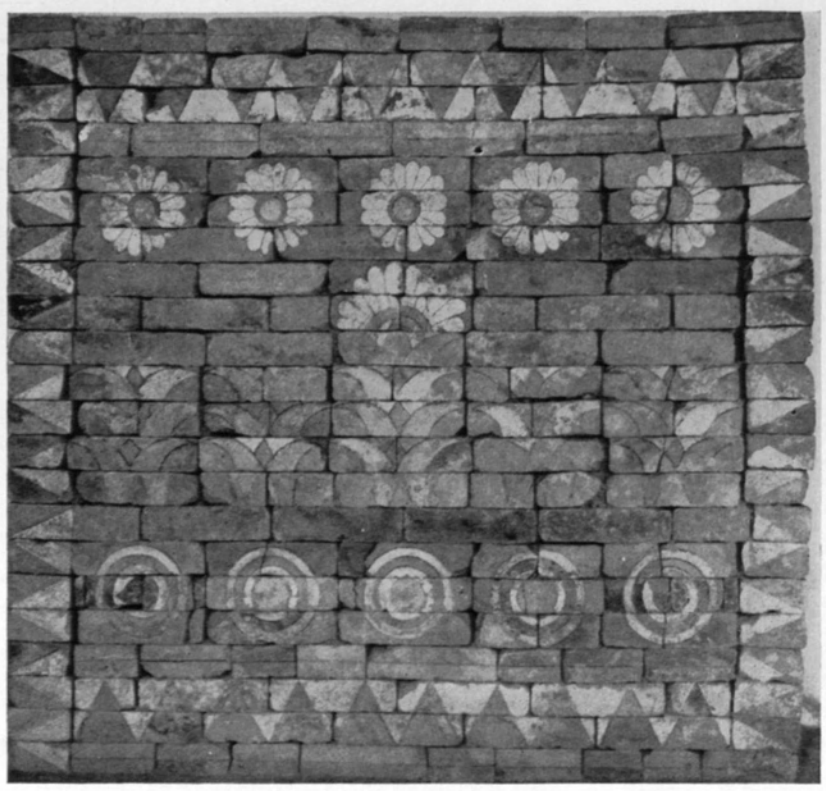
161. Herzfeld locates their home in Nubia and the Sudan in *Archaeological History of Iran*, Pl. I, and identifies them as Ethiopians in *IAE*, Pl. LXXXI, top. Cf. tomb reliefs, throne-bearer No. 28 (Vol. III).

162. Bryan Patterson states that the animal here shown is a member of the giraffe family and that it is similar to the okapi (*Okapia johnstoni*) except for the shape of the head and the size of the hindquarters, tail, and scrotum. He suggests that the discrepancies may be due to the unfamiliarity of the sculptor with the animal. On the other hand, he admits the possibility that the relief represents a now unknown relative of the okapi that formerly may have existed in the upper Nile area. At present the okapi is found in the Ituri Forest near the headwaters of the Nile.

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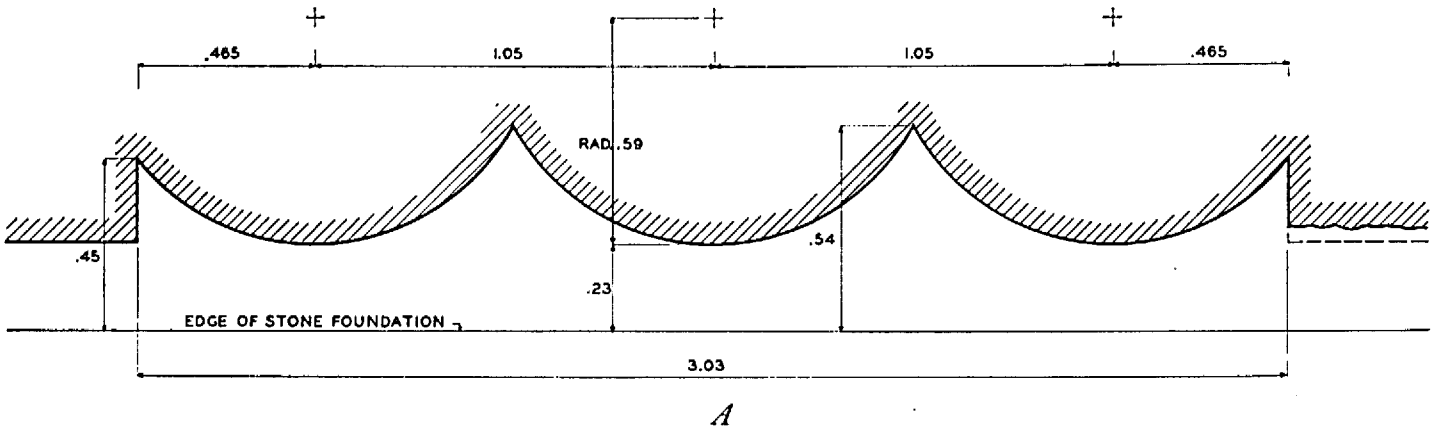


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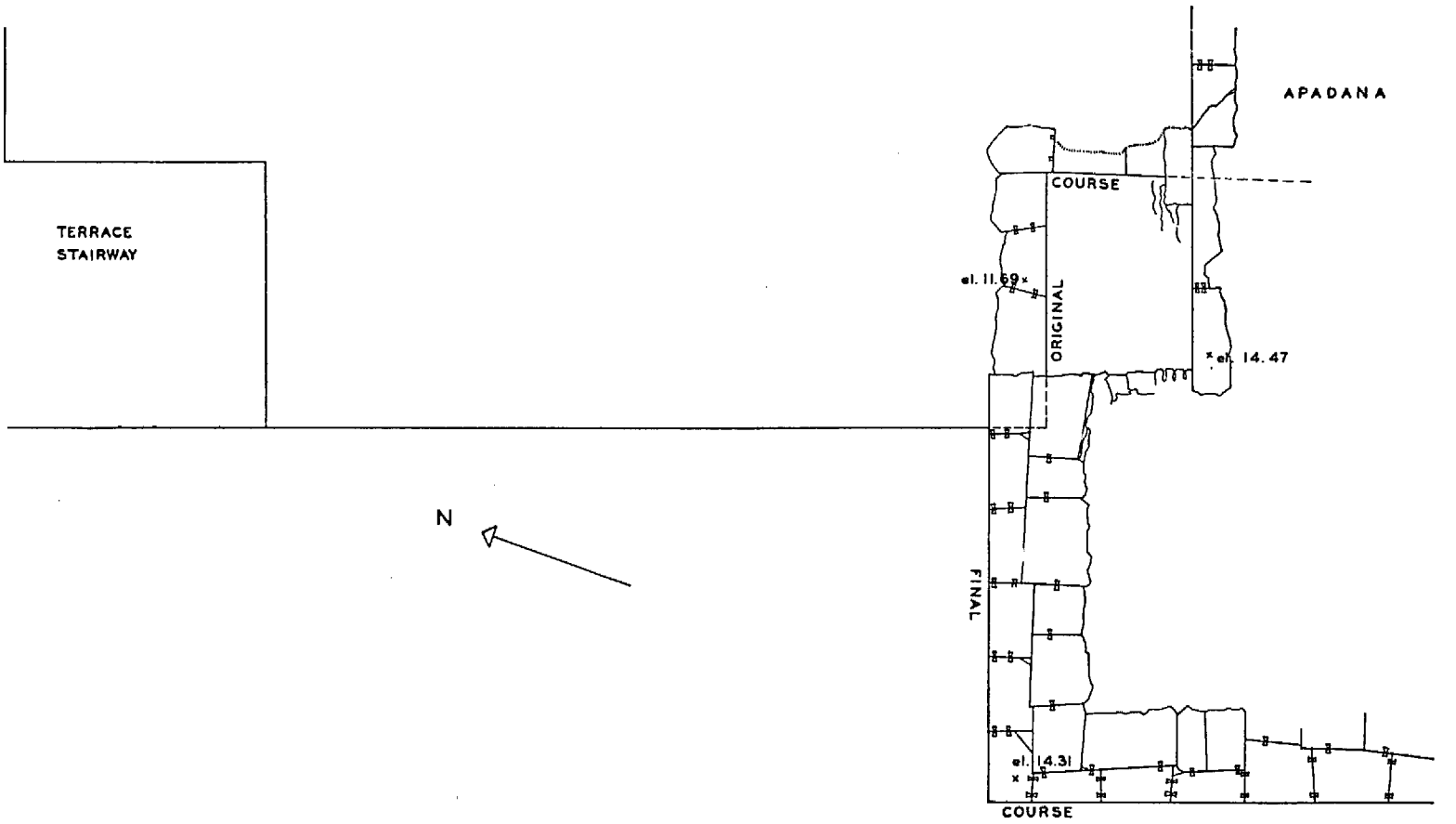


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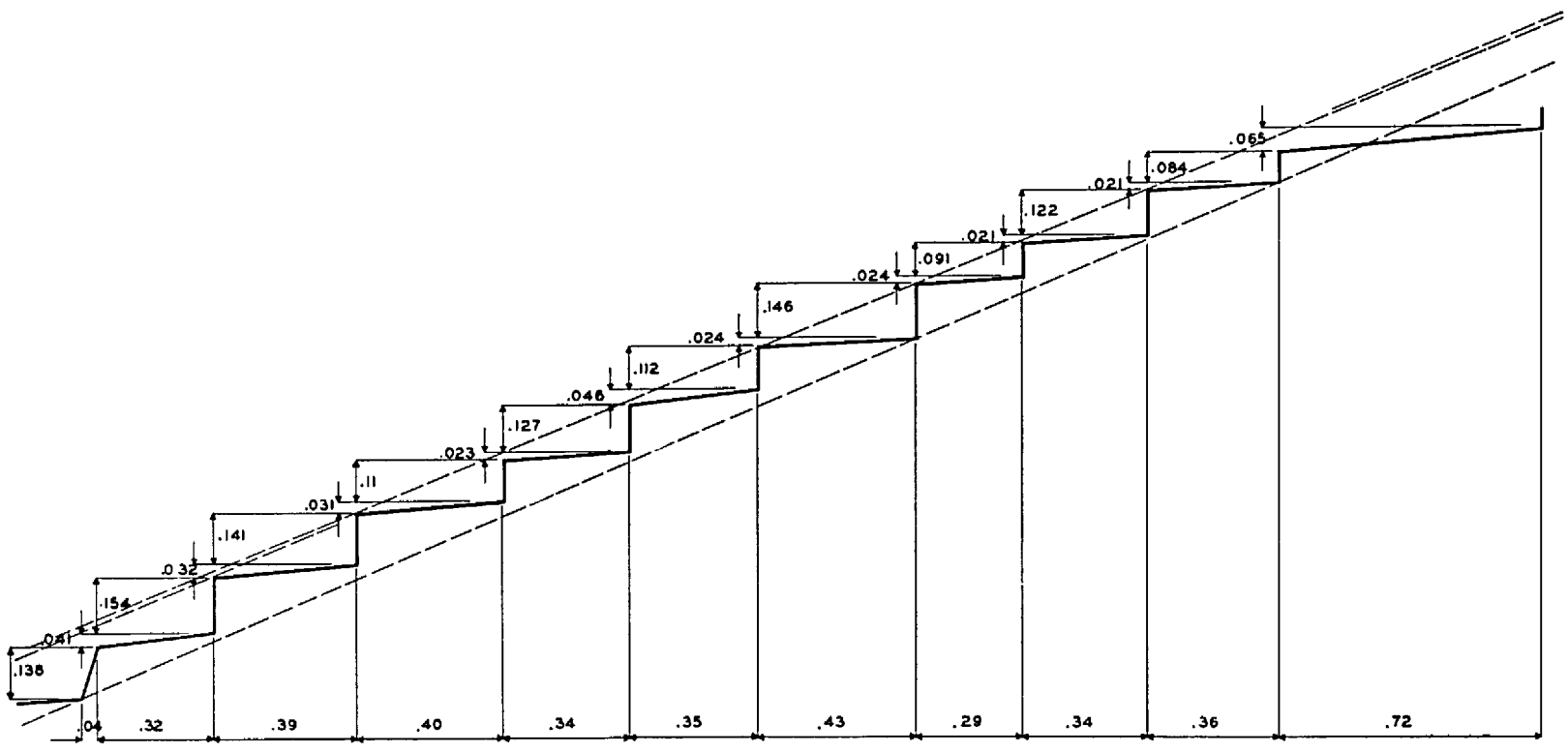
Fig. 35. Apadana. Glazed-Brick Decoration. Composition Problematical.
A. Bands of Decorative Units. Scale, 1:15. *B*. Arbitrarily Combined Panel. Scale, 1:20



A

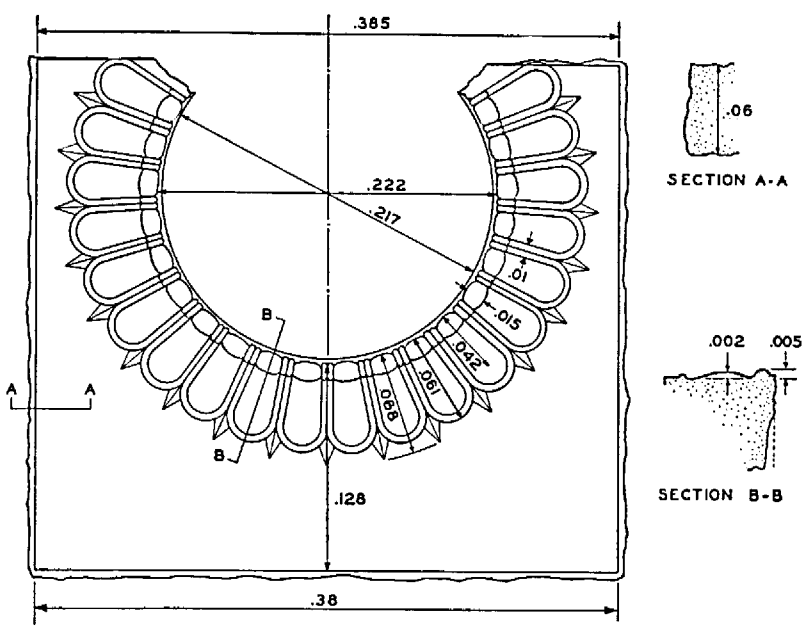


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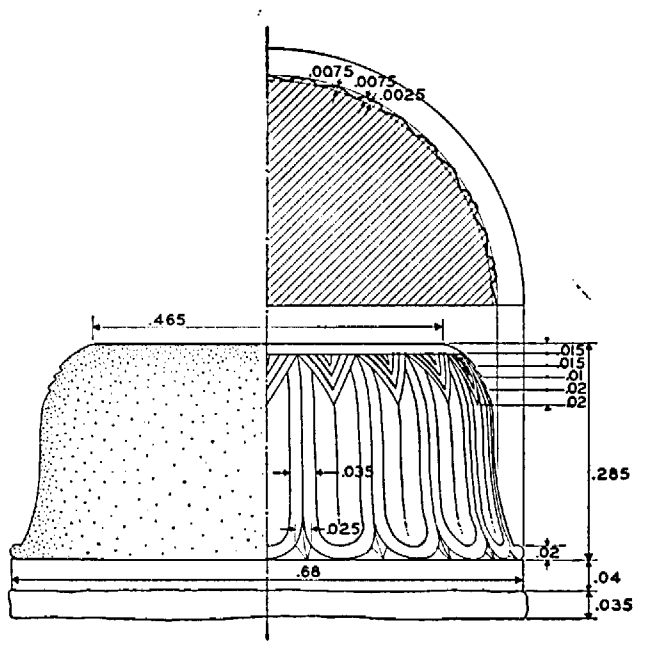


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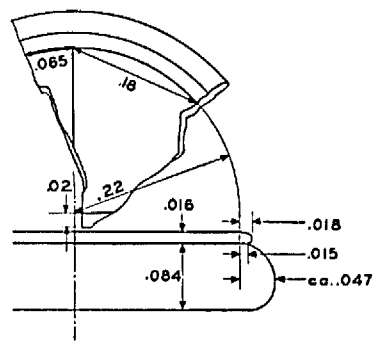
Fig. 36. Apadana. *A*. Unit of Exterior Tower Decoration. Scale, 1:20. *B*. Course of Original Terrace Wall. Scale, 1:200. *C*. Cross Section of Stairway 7 of Southeast Tower. Scale, 1:20



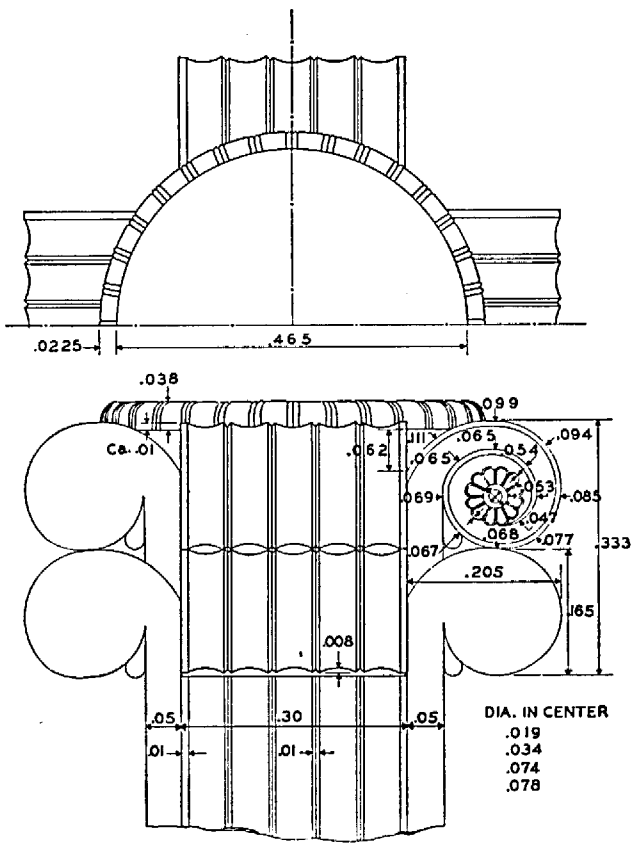
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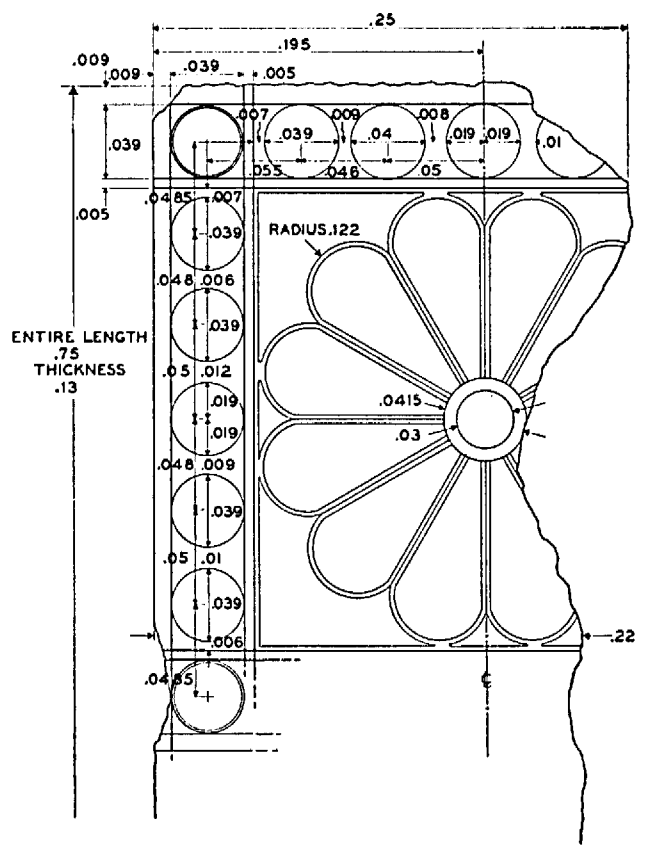
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D



E

FIG. 37. APADANA. SOUTHERN PART. *A*. DECORATIVE SOCKET RING FROM PASSAGE 17. SCALE, 1:5. *B*. COLUMN BASE FROM ROOM 4. SCALE, 1:10. *C*. TORUS FROM ROOM 4. SCALE, 1:10. *D*. VOLUTE UNIT OF COMPOSITE CAPITAL OF SOUTHERN PORTICO COLUMNS. SCALE 1:10. *E*. ROSETTE STONE FROM ROOM 4. SCALE, 1:4

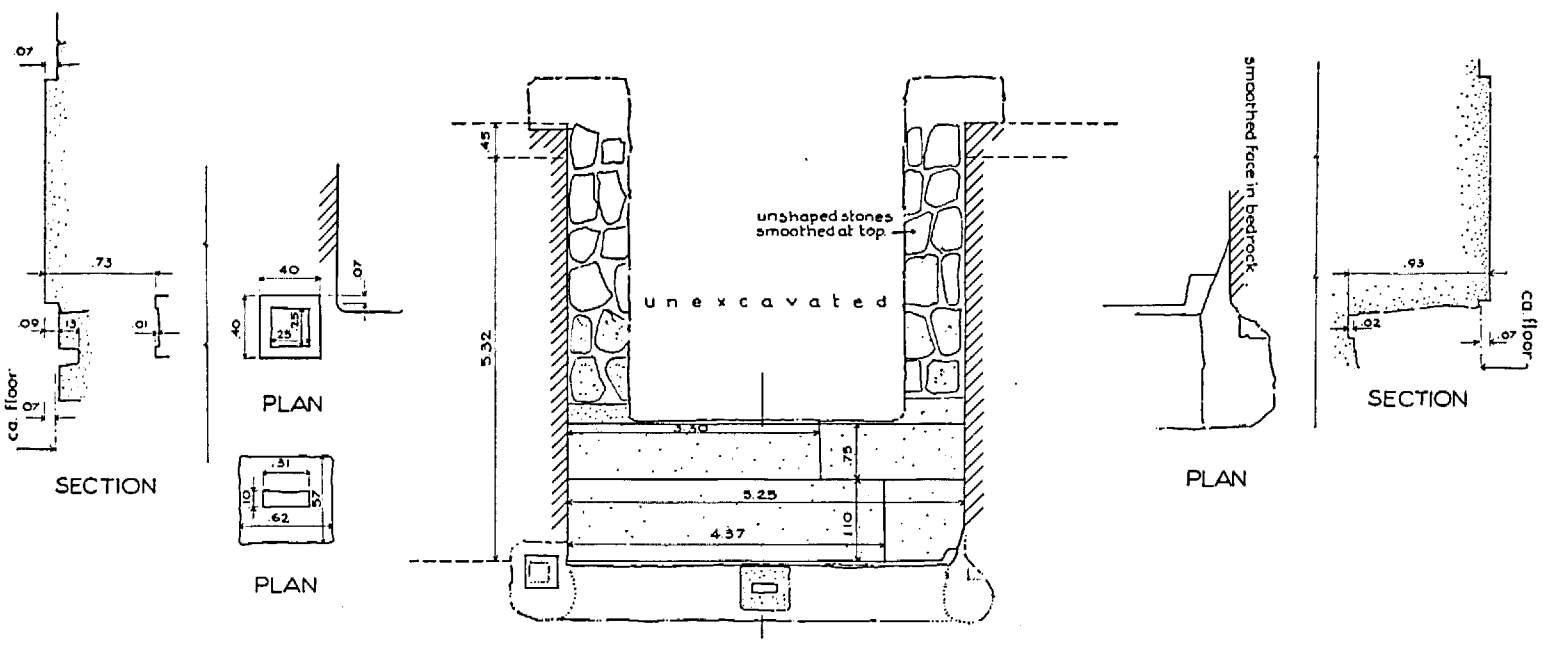
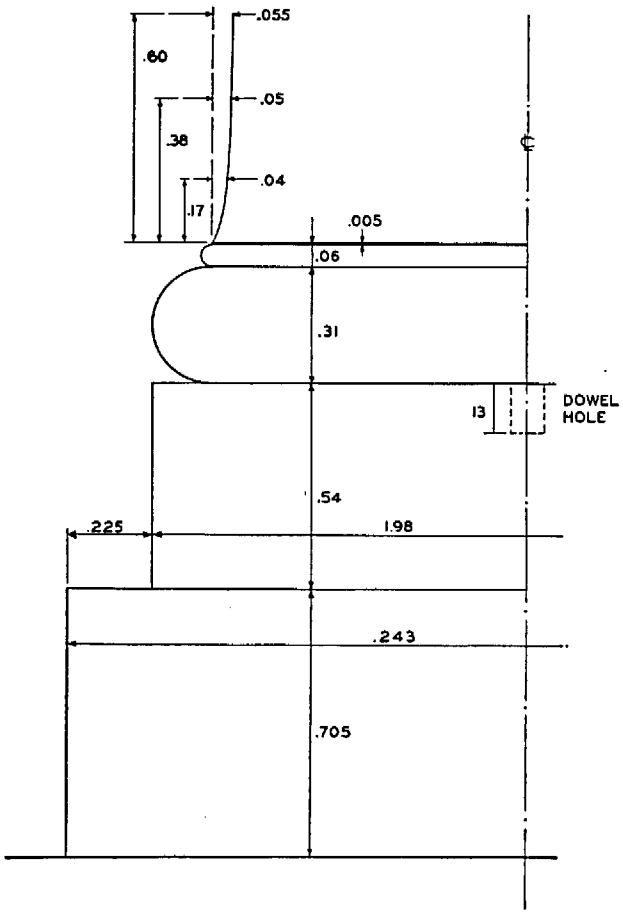
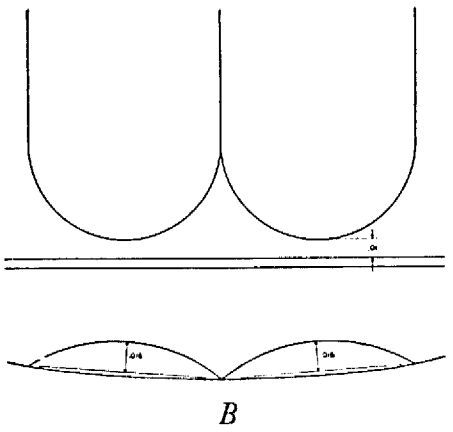


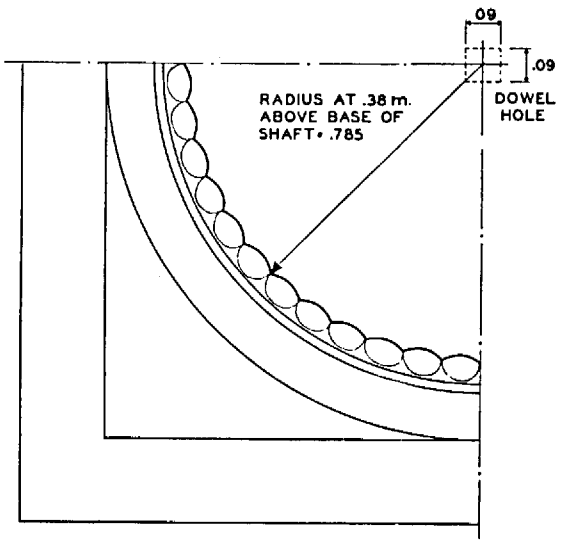
FIG. 38. APADANA. MAIN HALL. *A*. EASTERN DOORWAY. SCALES, 1:100 AND 1:50. *B*. WESTERN DOORWAY. SCALES, 1:100 AND 1:50. *C*. EASTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL, WITH DECORATIVE SOCKET RING. SCALES, 1:100, 1:50, AND 1:20



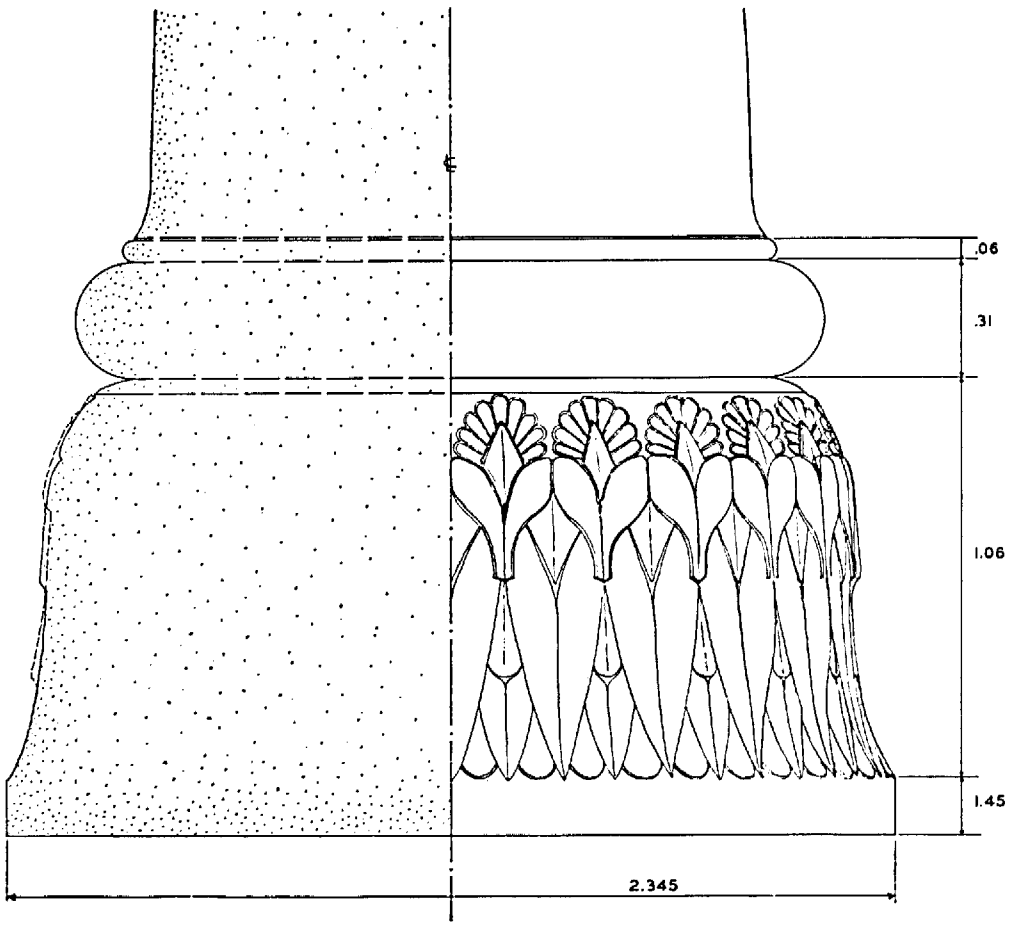
A



B

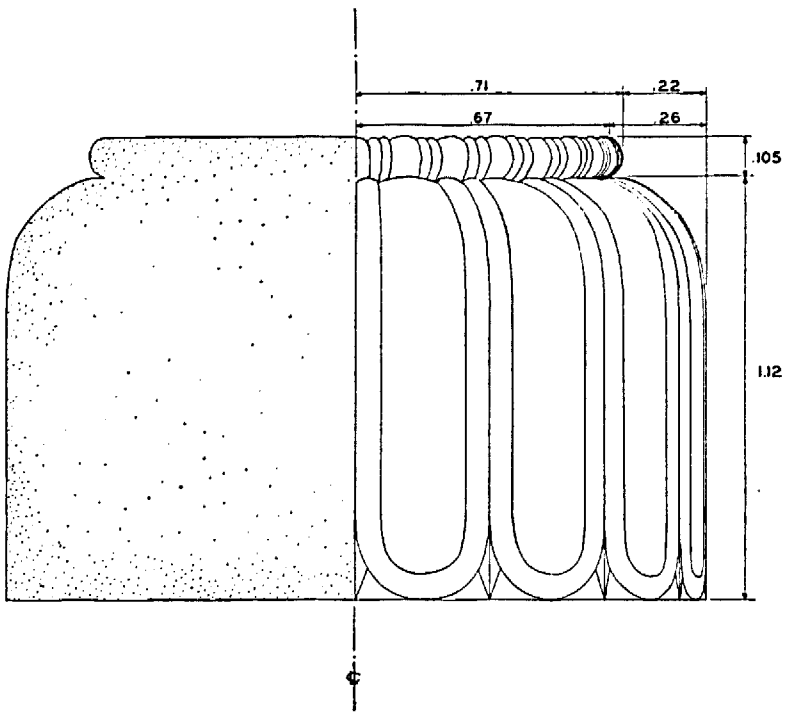


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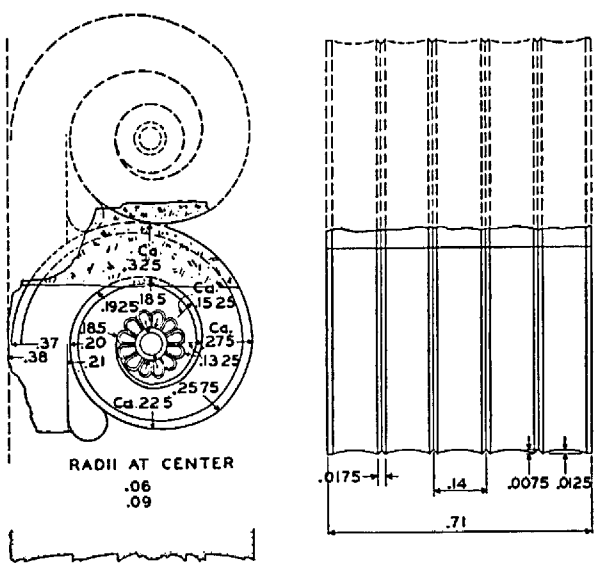


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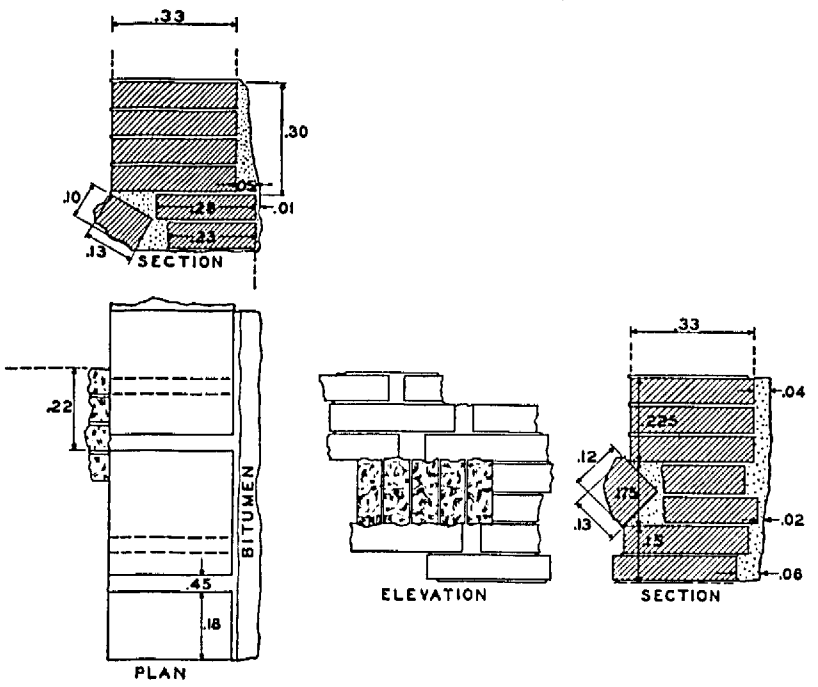
FIG. 39. APADANA. *A–C.* BASE AND LOWER SHAFT OF COLUMN IN MAIN HALL. SECTION, ELEVATION AND SECTION OF TWO FLUTES, QUARTER PLAN. *D.* COLUMN BASE IN EASTERN PORTICO. SECTION AND ELEVATION. SCALES, 1:20 (*A*, *C*, *D*) AND 1:4 (*B*)



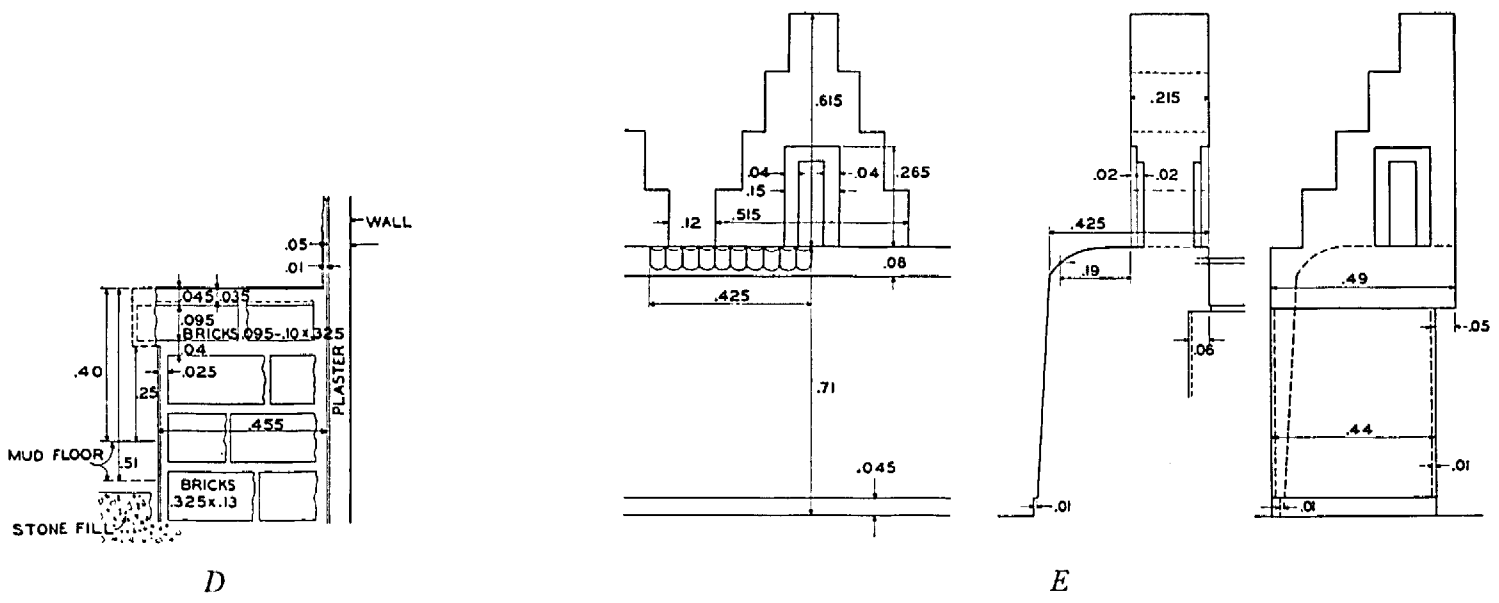
A



B

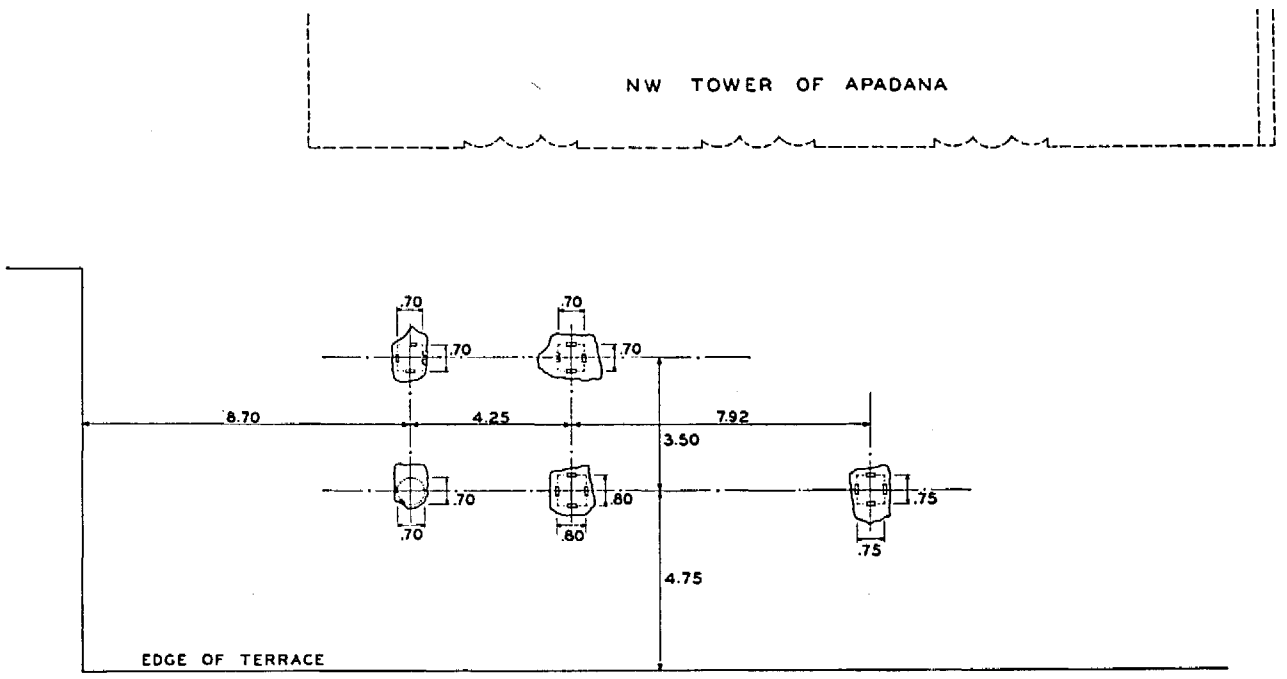


C

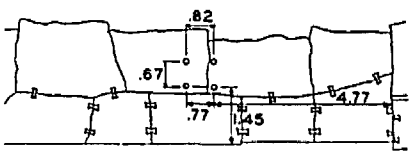


D E

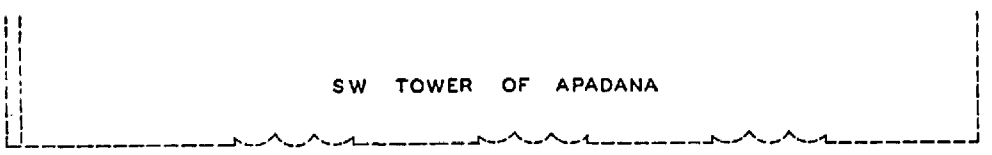
Fig. 40. Apadana. Scale, 1:20. *A–B*. Drooping Leaf and Volute Units of Columns of Main Hall. *C*. Baked Bricks Laid in Bitumen in Eastern Portico. *D*. Bench of Unbaked Bricks in Eastern Portico. *E*. Stone Parapet of Eastern Portico. Front View, Section, and End View at Stair Head

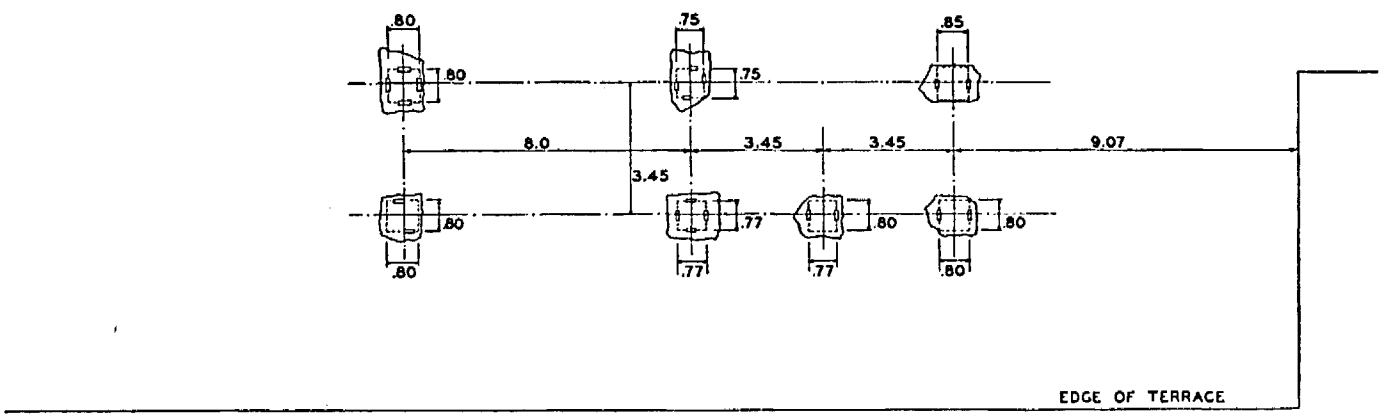


A



B

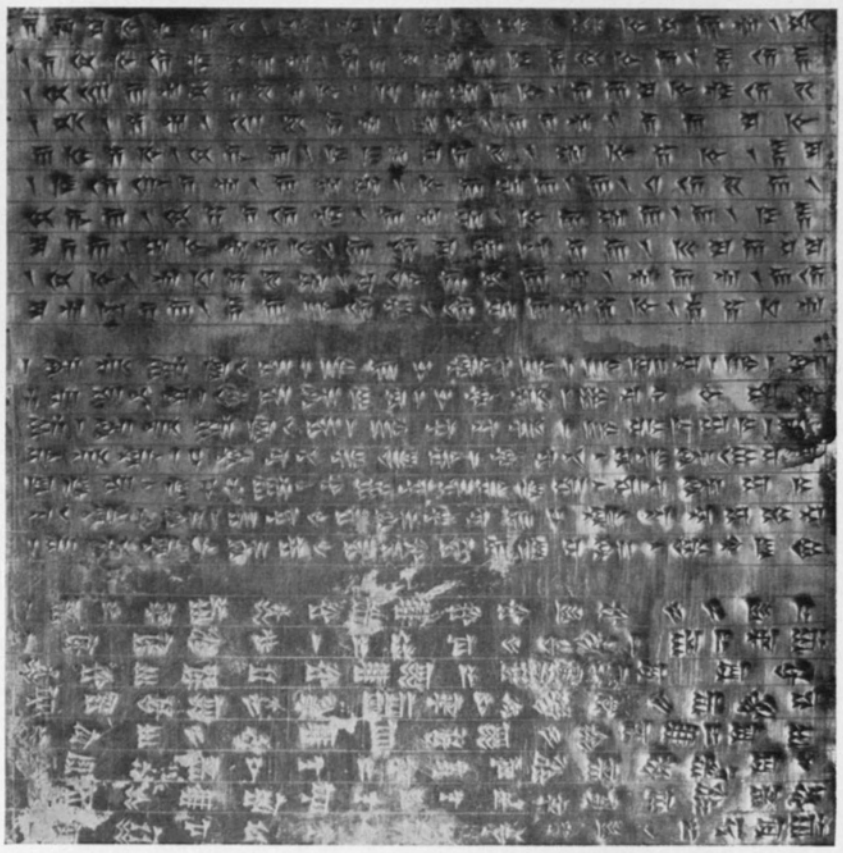




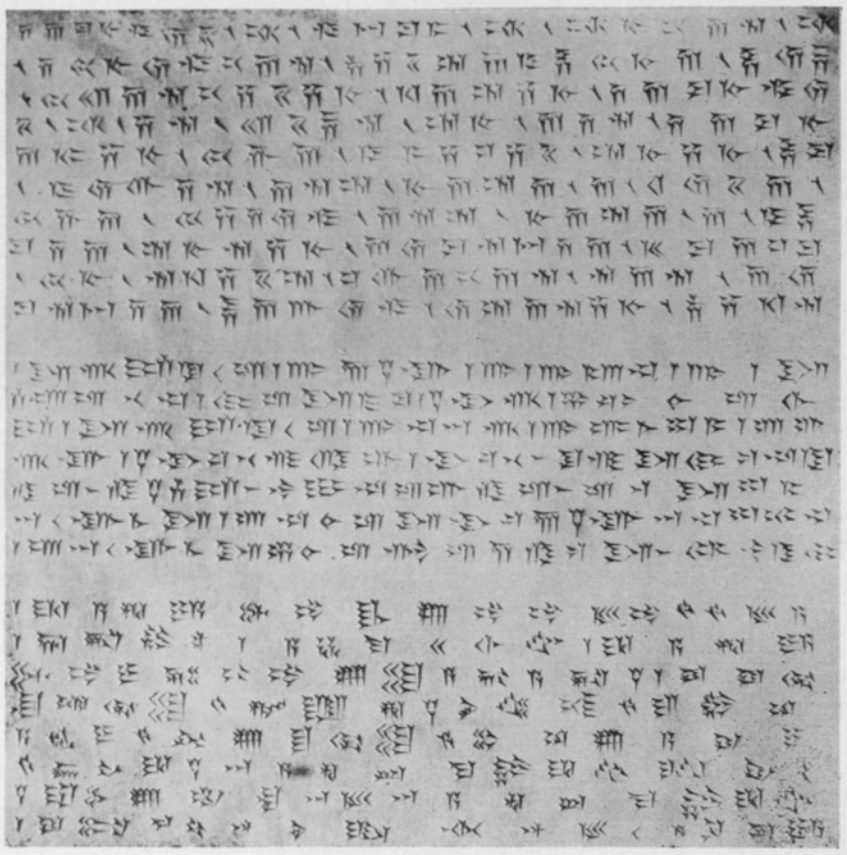
C

FIG. 41. APADANA. SCALE, 1:200. *A*. COLUMN FOUNDATIONS WEST OF NORTHWEST TOWER. *B*. DEPRESSIONS ALIGNED WITH WESTERN ENTRANCE. *C*. COLUMN FOUNDATIONS WEST OF SOUTHWEST TOWER

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A



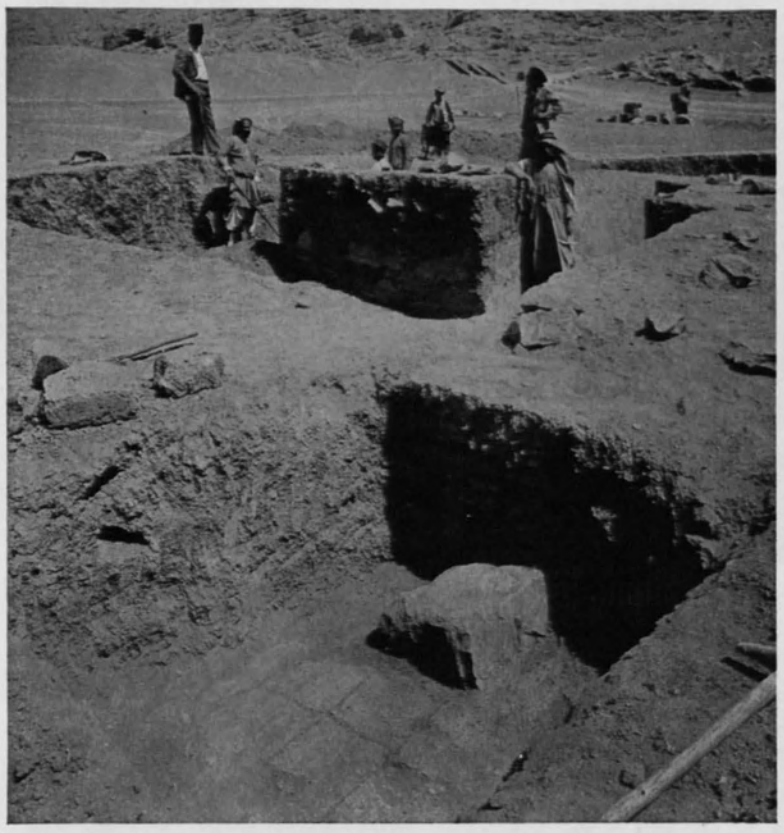
B



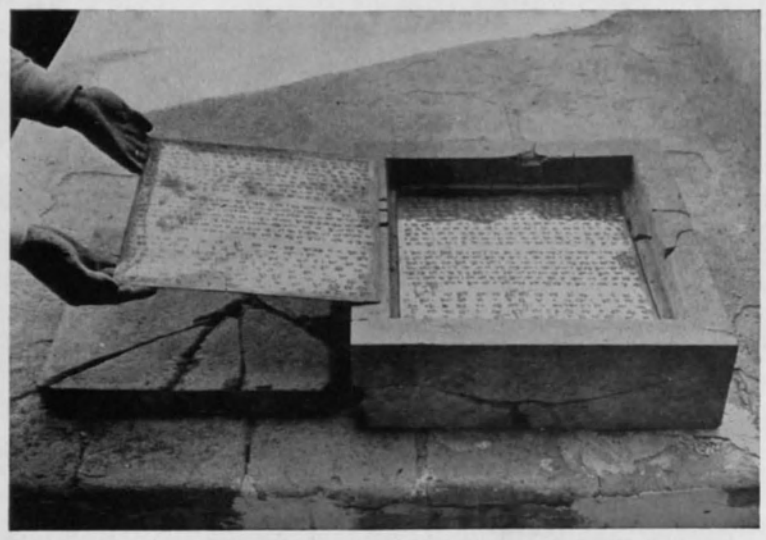
C

Fig. 42. Apadana. *A–B*. Gold Tablet and Cast of Silver Tablet of Darius I from Northeast Foundation Deposit. Scale, 1:3. *C*. Old Persian Inscription of Xerxes on Glazed Bricks (Oriental Institute Museum No. A 24112). Scale, 1:10

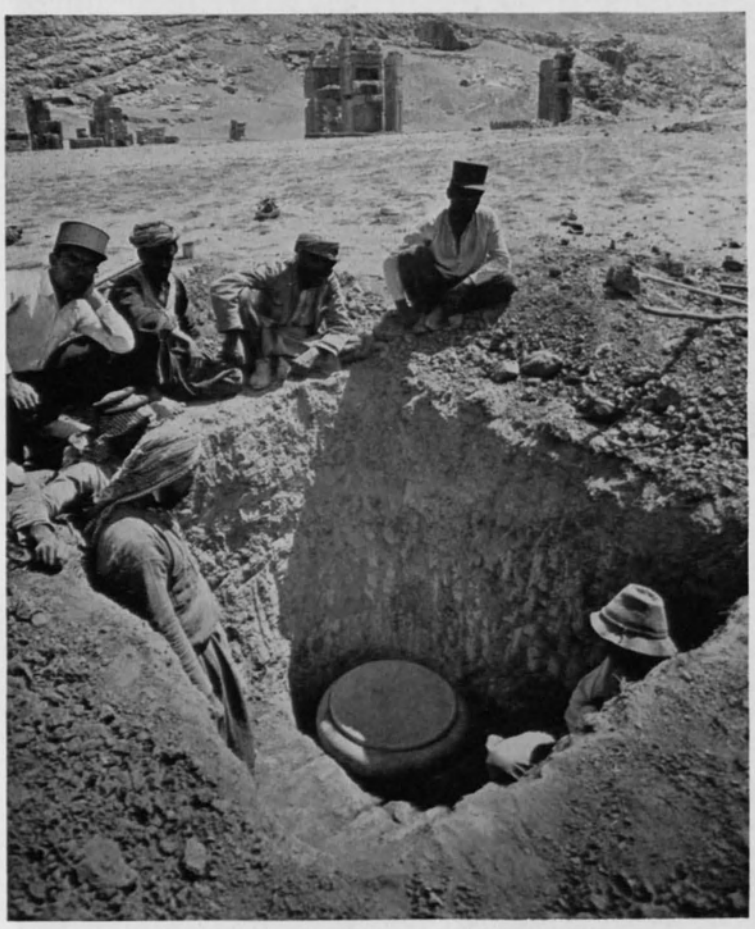
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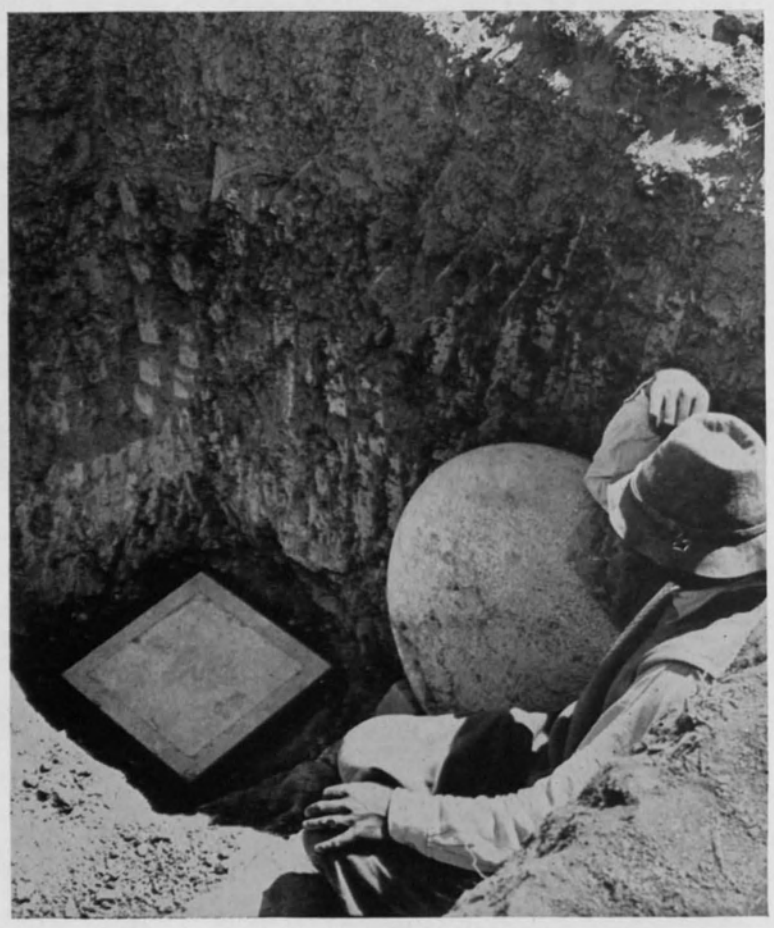
A



B



C



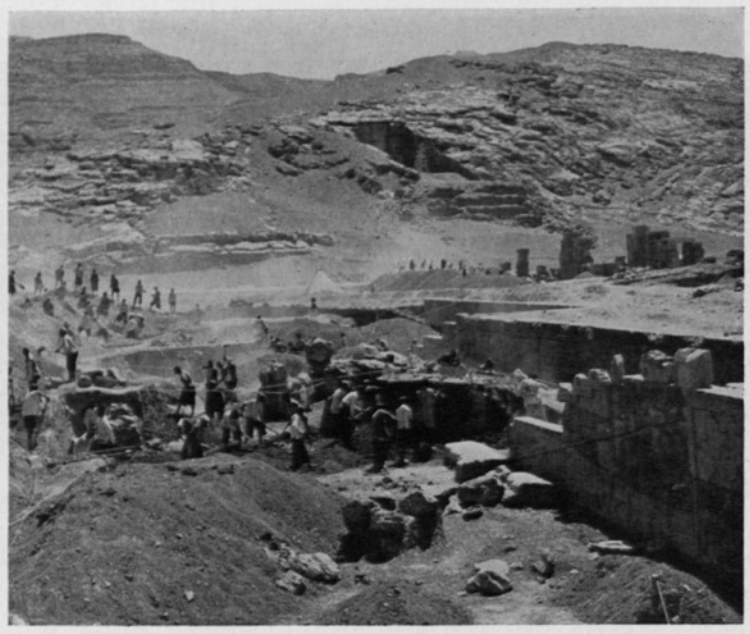
D

FIG. 43. APADANA. KREFTER'S DISCOVERY OF FOUNDATION DEPOSITS. *A*. FIND-SPOT OF NORTHEAST DEPOSIT. *B*. STONE CASE WITH TABLETS OF GOLD (*inside*) AND SILVER. *C*. SOUTHEAST DEPOSIT BENEATH EXPOSED TORUS. *D*. STONE CASE CONTAINING SECOND PAIR OF TABLETS

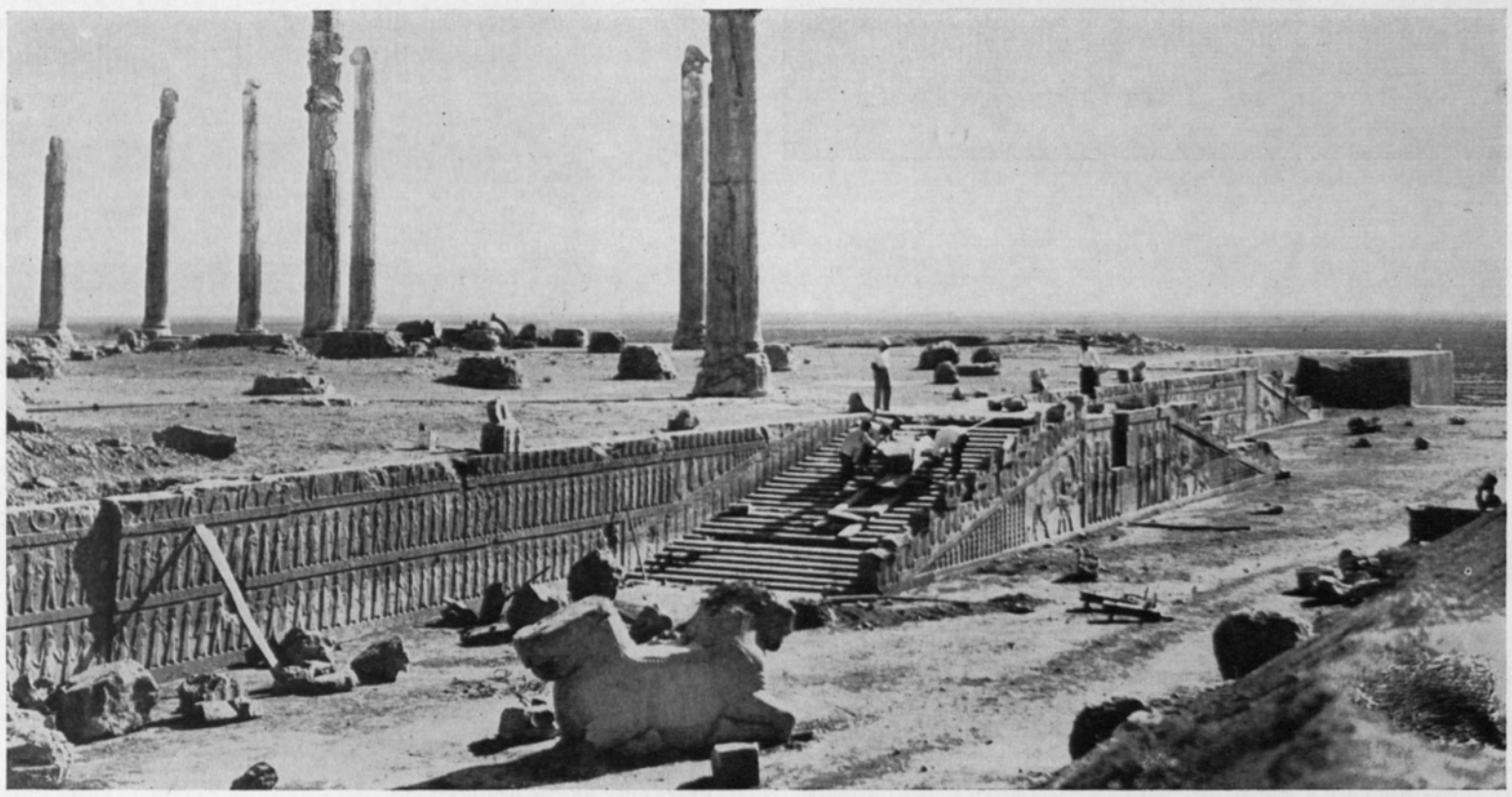
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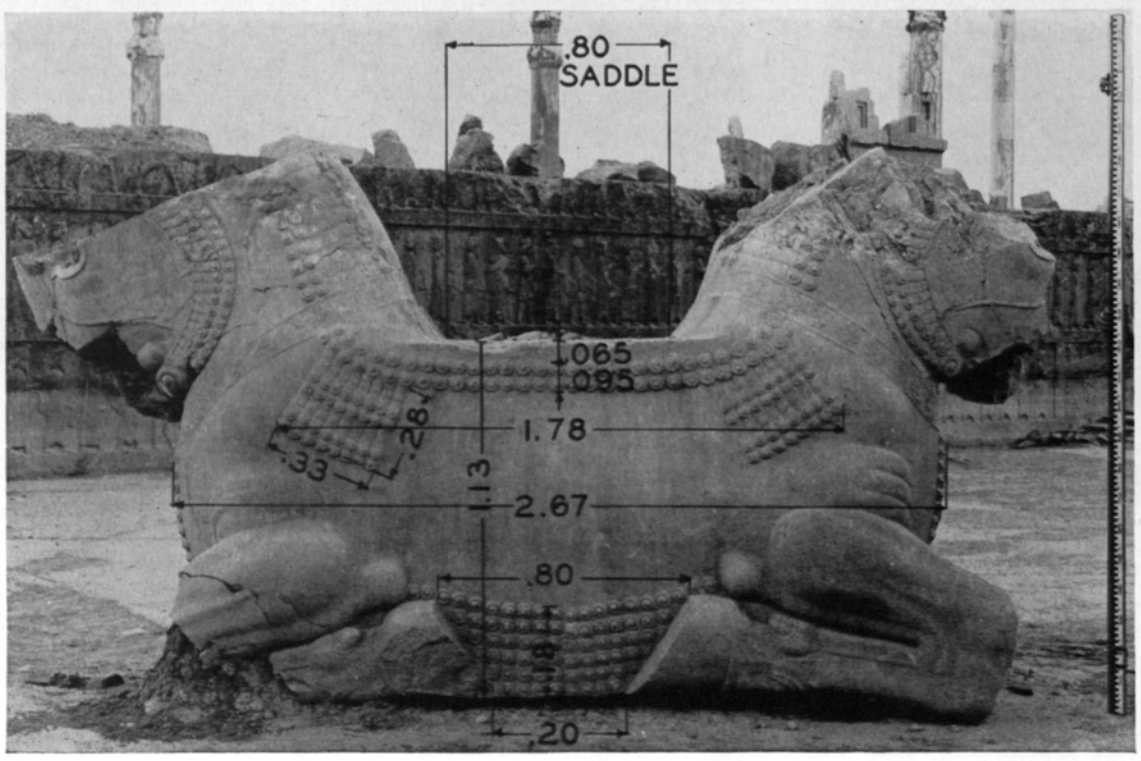
A



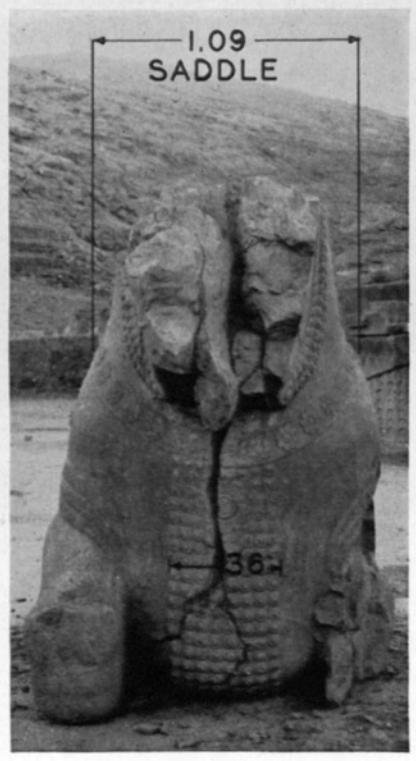
B



C



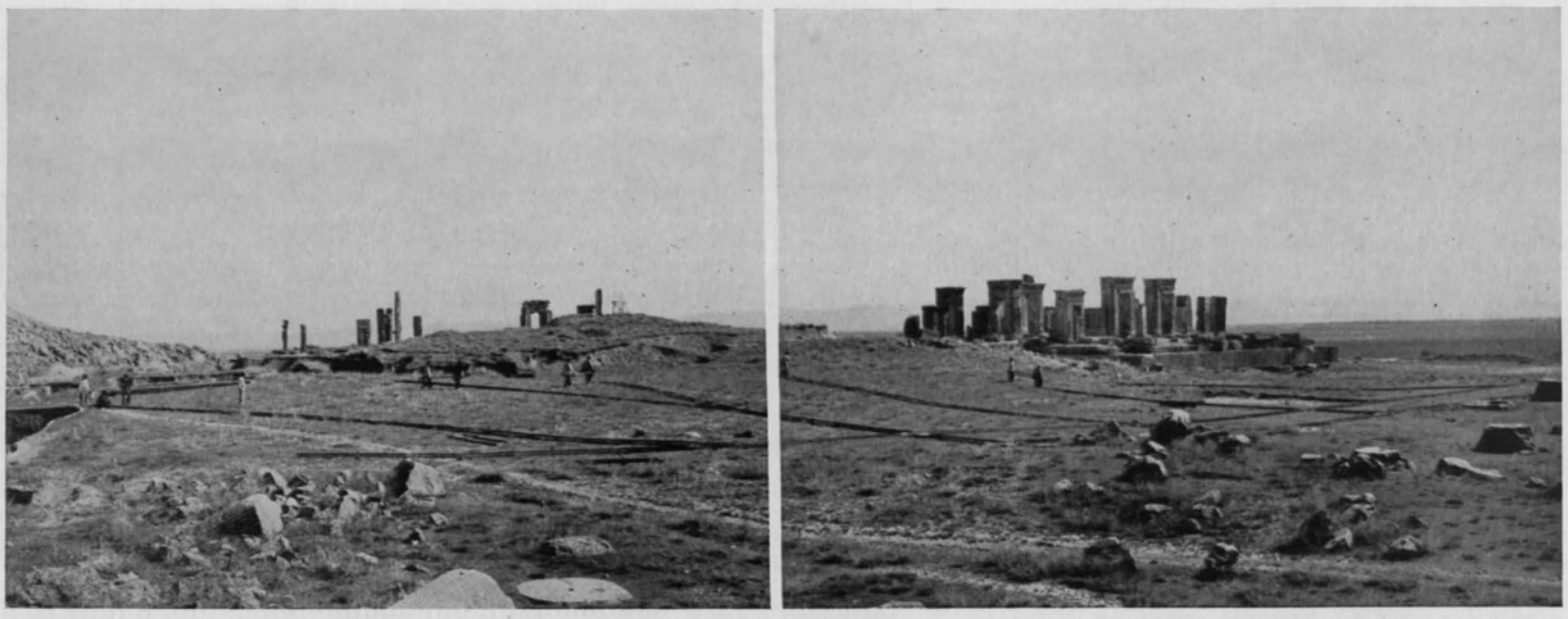
D



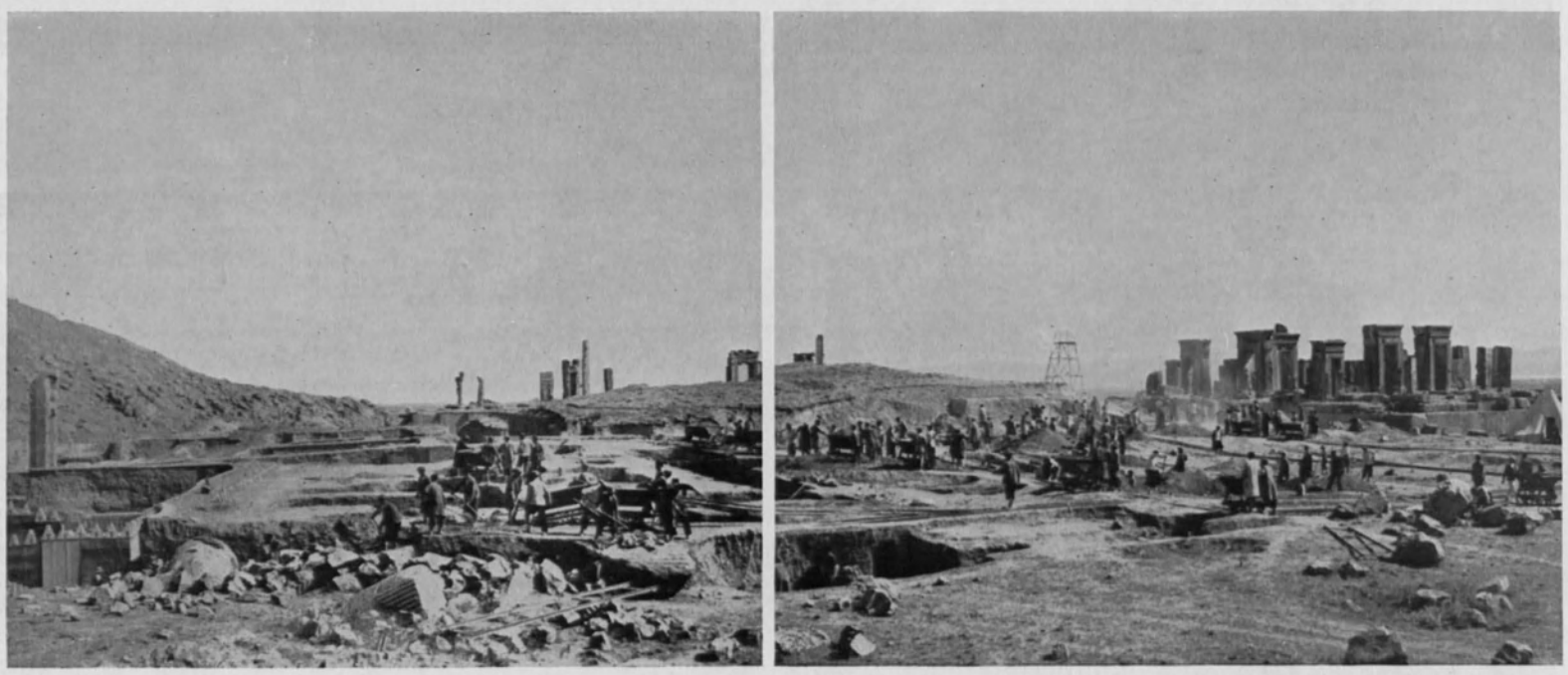
E

Fig. 44. Apadana. Clearing North Front. *A–B*. Excavation Views. *C*. Replacing Fallen Reliefs. Bull Capital, Presumably from a Northern Portico Column, in Foreground. *D–E*. Front and Side Views of Newly Found Bull Capital, with Measurements

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A



B



C

FIG. 45. APADANA. SOUTHEASTERN PORTION. *A*. BEFORE EXCAVATION. *B*. DURING EXCAVATION. *C*. EXCAVATED FOUNDATIONS OF SOUTHEAST TOWER

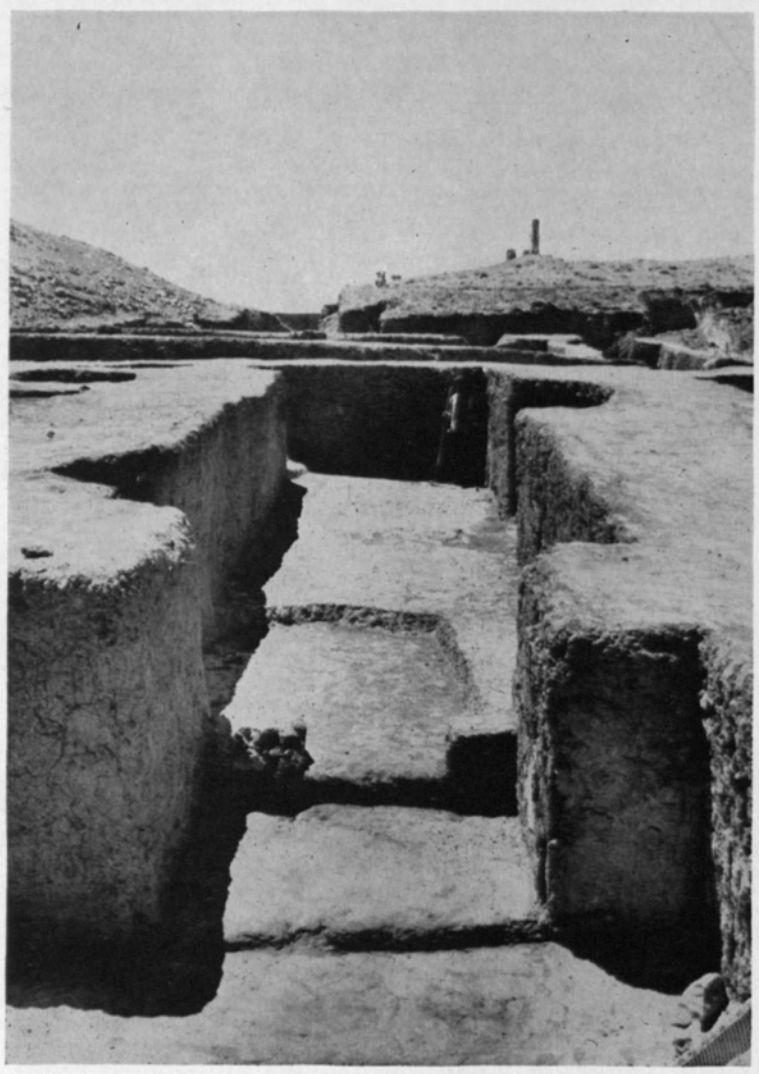
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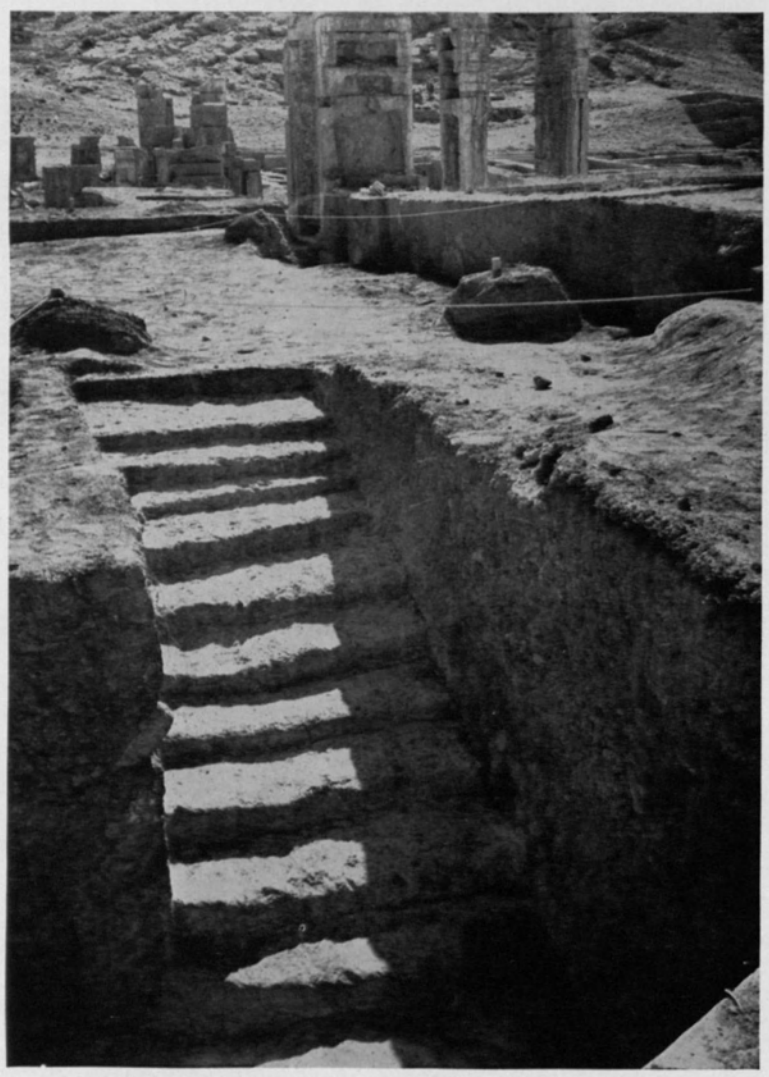
A



B



C



D

FIG. 46. APADANA. SOUTHEAST TOWER. *A*. DOORWAY BETWEEN PASSAGE 9 AND VESTIBULE 8, WITH MASTIFF STATUE AS FOUND (*direction of view, NW*). *B*. CLOSE-UP OF MASTIFF STATUE AND PEDESTAL OF SECOND STATUE. *C*. PASSAGE 9 (*direction of view, SSE*). *D*. STAIRWAY 7 (*direction of view, approximately E*)

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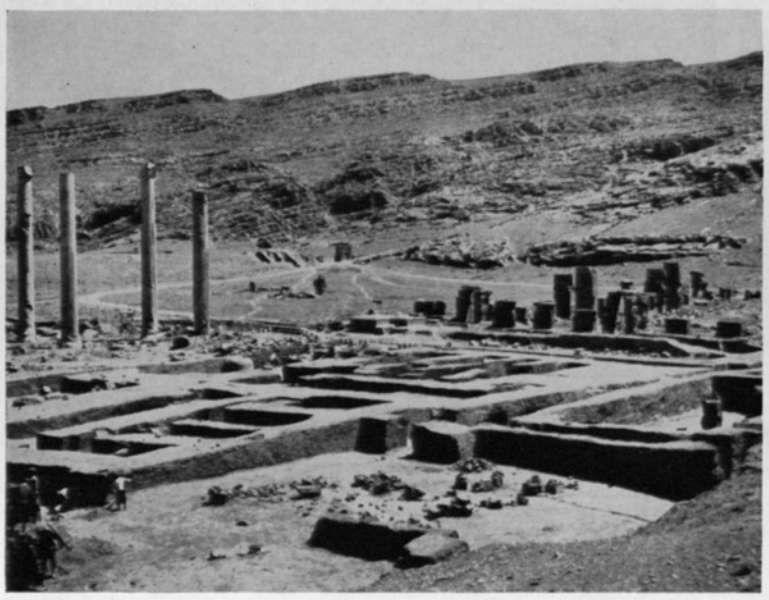
A



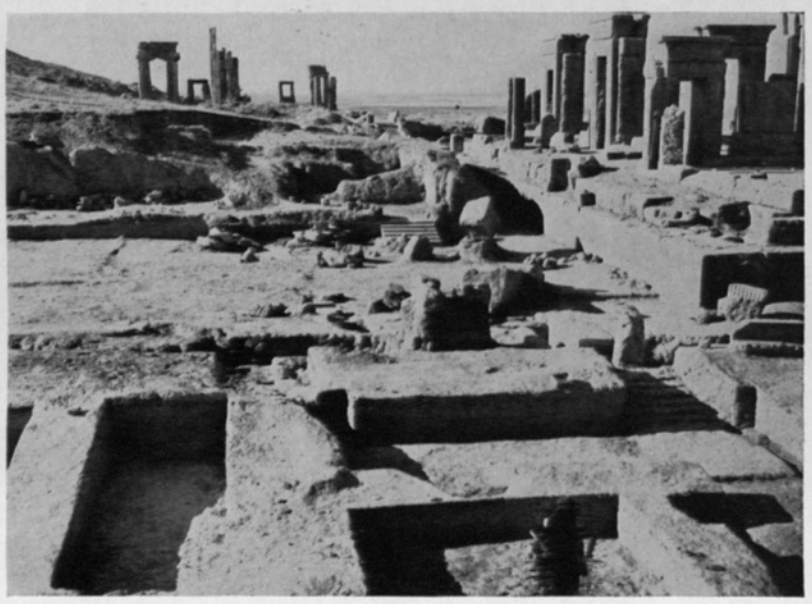
B



C



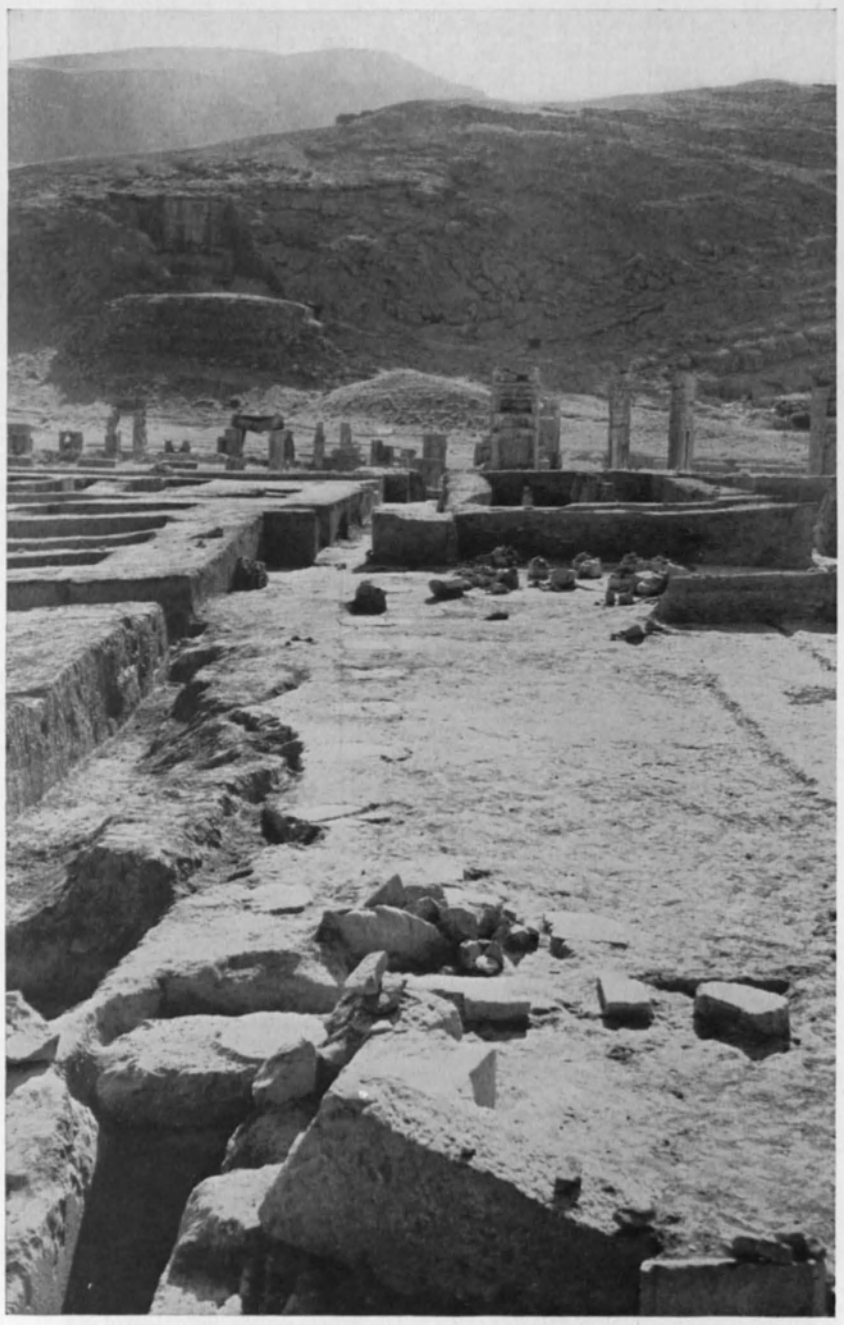
D



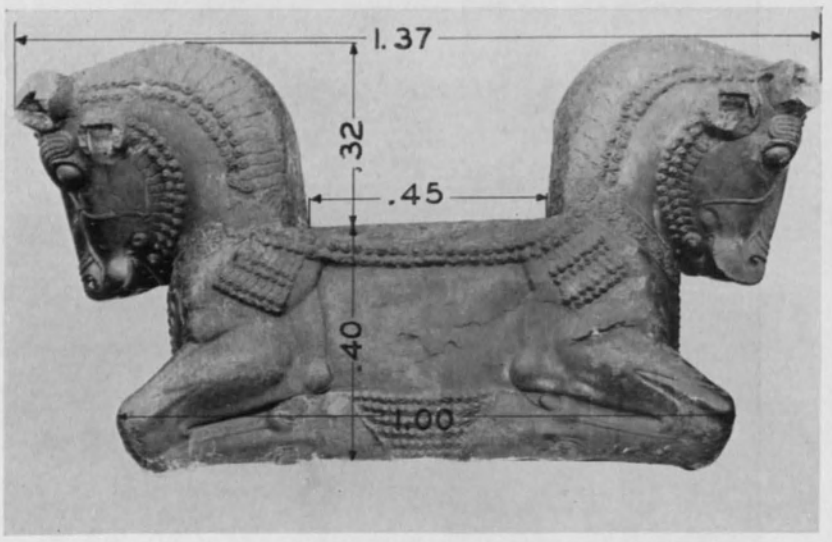
E

FIG. 47. APADANA. SOUTHERN PART. *A*. EAST GROUP OF STOREROOMS (*direction of view, E*). *B*. ORNAMENTAL STONE RING OF EASTERN SOCKET AT DOORWAY BETWEEN PASSAGE 17 AND SOUTHERN COURTYARD. *C*. GENERAL VIEW OF SAME DOORWAY (*direction, SSE*). *D*. EAST PART OF COURTYARD (*direction of view, NNE*). *E*. WEST PART OF COURTYARD (*direction of view, SSE*)

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A



B



C



D



E

FIG. 48. APADANA. SOUTHERN PORCH. *A*. ROW OF COLUMN FOUNDATIONS (*direction of view, ENE*). *B–C*. RESTORED BULL CAPITAL. *D–E*. CAPITAL FRAGMENTS AS FOUND NEAR EAST END OF COURTYARD

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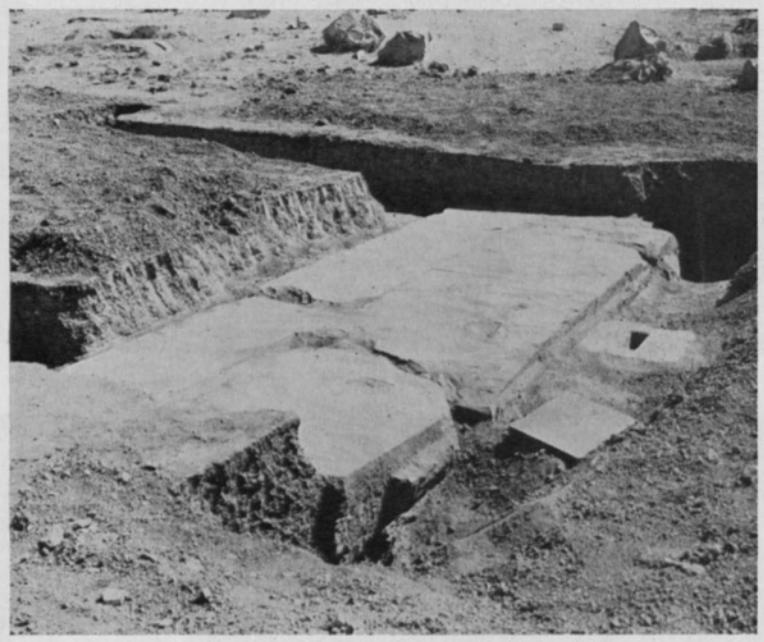
A



B



C



D



E



F



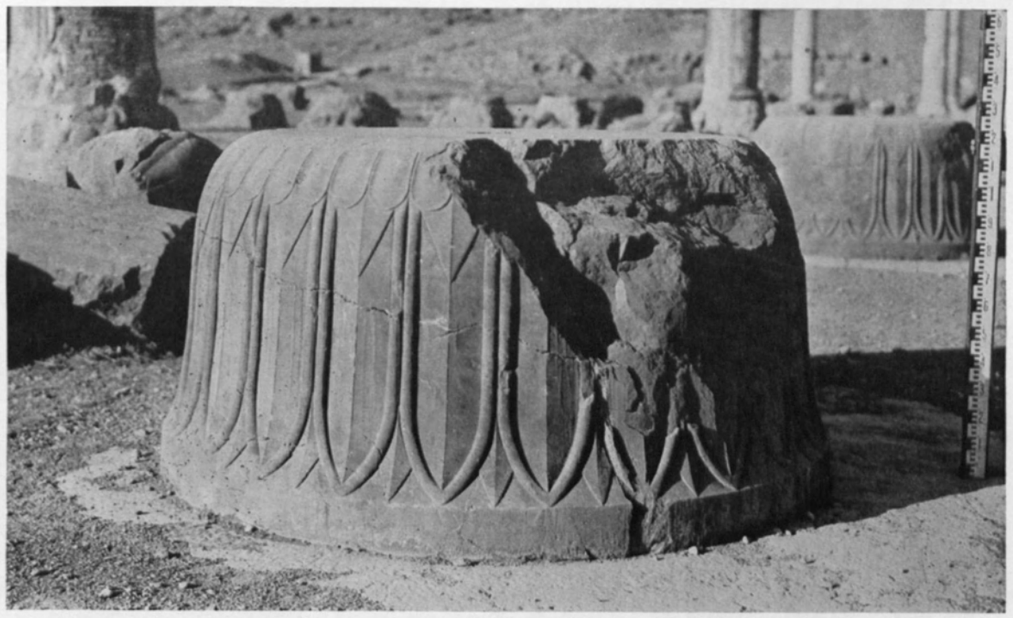
G

Fig. 49. Apadana. Main Hall. *A*. Excavated Southern Strip (*direction of view, ENE*). *B*. Fallen Mud Bricks near Southeast Corner (*direction of view, NE*). *C*. General View of Eastern Doorway (*direction, approximately E*). *D*. Close-up of Stone Sill of Eastern Doorway. *E–G*. Restoring Columns

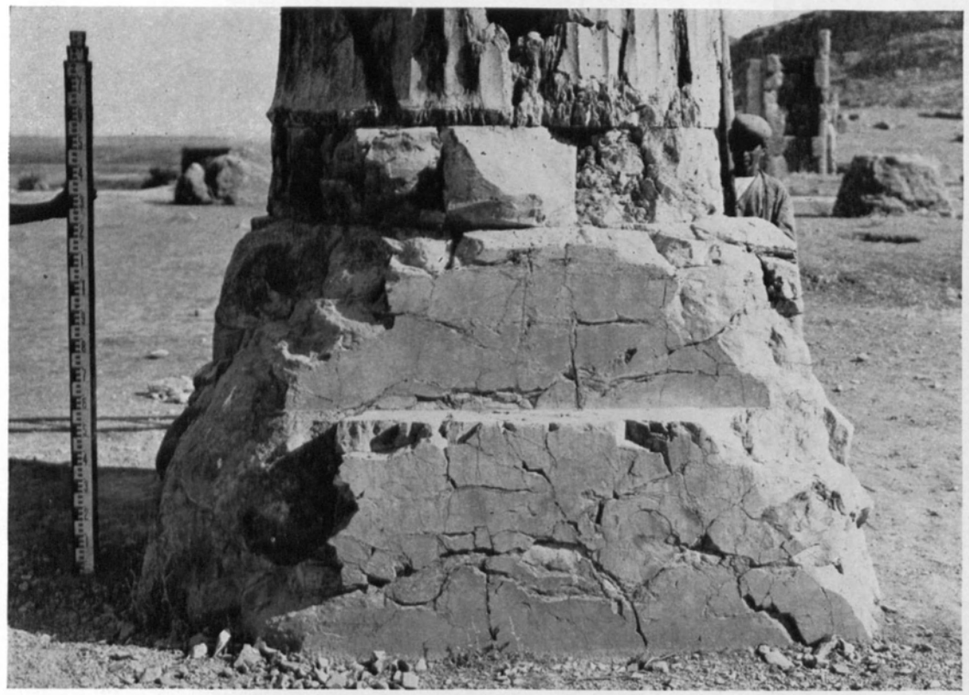
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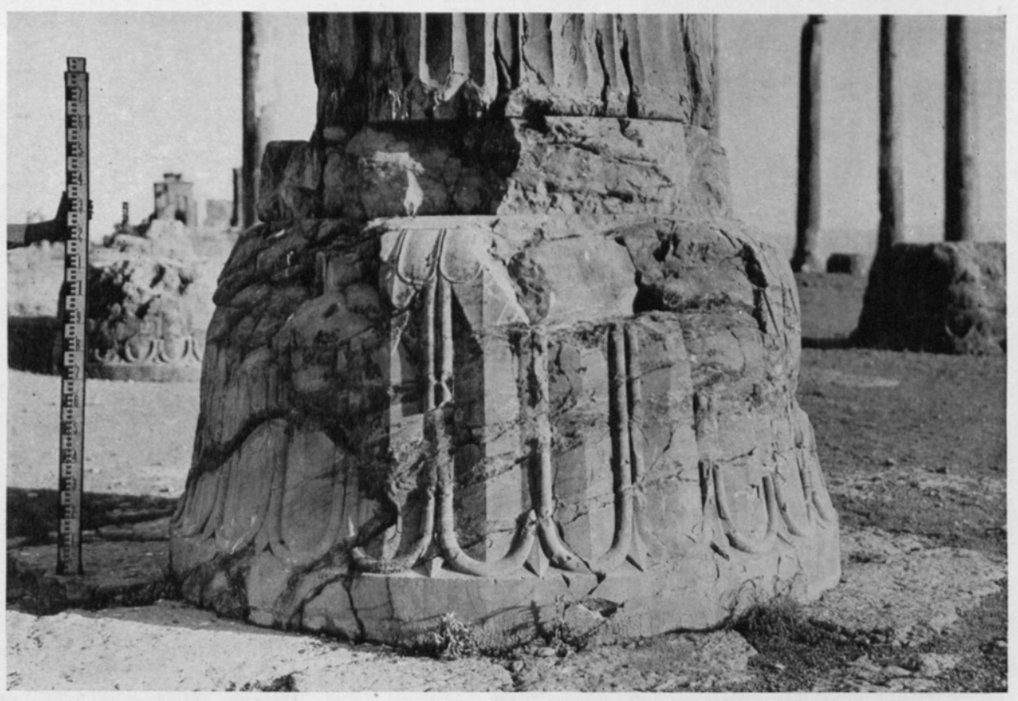
A



B



C



D

Fig. 50. Apadana. Column Bases. *A*. Eastern Portico. *B*. Western Portico. *C*. Main Hall. *D*. Northern Portico

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THE COUNCIL HALL

Prior to Herzfeld's excavation of the central area of Persepolis, parts of three sculptured doorways, some stones of the base courses of walls, and fragments of stone columns were the only remnants of this building which were visible on the surface of the debris.[1] Because of its location the structure had been called the "Central Edifice." Herzfeld coined the designation "Tripylon,"[2] which name he derived from the number of the monumental doorways.[3] We prefer to call the building "Council Hall" —a designation suggested by the newly uncovered reliefs of dignitaries ascending its main stairway.[4] In addition to serving as a place of assembly of the nobles before the king, the structure was the main link of communication between the northern area of open courts and spacious public buildings and that portion of the site which was occupied by the residential palaces of the kings.

The general plan of the Terrace (Fig. 21) shows that the Council Hall stands at the southern end of the open court which extends between the unbroken inclosure of the Throne Hall and the eastern stairway of the Apadana. Built on a platform, about 2.60 m. above the level of the court, the structure rose above the Throne Hall, but it was surpassed in height by the lofty Apadana.[5] That Council Hall and Apadana were related is shown by their location, their connected platforms, and the combined effect of their stairway façades. These features suggest contemporaneousness and support our attribution of the Council Hall to Darius I (see p. 116). Our plan of the Council Hall (Fig. 51) is based on Bergner's field survey, which we corrected by further soundings in the southern and western portions of the building and completed by uncovering the northwestern rooms and passages. Our reconstruction (Fig. 52) differs in a number of points from Herzfeld's version.[6]

THE MAIN STAIRWAY

The double reversed stairway giving access to the northern portico of the Council Hall (Fig. 53) shows a variant of the plan employed for the great Terrace stairway (Fig. 25) and for the eastern stairs to Xerxes' palace platform (Fig. 95). The reliefs on the latter stairs (Pl. 166) and those on the stairway under consideration (Pl. 62) are composed almost identically. The sculptures of the Council Hall differ in one significant feature. Here dignitaries of the court are shown ascending the stairs, whereas the stairway leading to Xerxes' residential palace is embellished with processions of servants carrying supplies for the royal table. Both stairways have the same number of steps (thirty); but whereas the upper and lower flights of Xerxes' stairs are alike, the lower flights of the stairway concerned each have twenty steps, as compared with eight steps of the upper flights. Two intermediate steps are on the lateral landings of the Council Hall stairway, and its total height is 2.59 m. from the bottom landing to the uppermost tread. Xerxes' eastern stairway measures 2.62 m. in height.

The eastern and western façades of the Council Hall stairway each picture a row of eight alternating Persian and Median guards (Pl. 64),[7] all armed with lance, bow, and quiver. The Medes wear, in addition, a sword, which rests in a scabbard whose trefoil tip is in several cases elaborately carved (Pl. 65). The Persians' dagger—usually tucked behind the belt in front—is not visible, or it is absent. Both Persians and Medes wear earrings.

The files of guards continue on the frontal façades of the lower flights (Pl. 62). On either side two Persians and one Mede face a framed blank panel, originally intended to bear an engraved inscription. To judge by the eastern stairway to Xerxes' palace platform, the left (eastern) panel of the Council Hall façade had been intended for the Babylonian text, the right panel for the Elamite version, and the center panel (see below) for the Old Persian text of an inscription (cf. p. 241). The reliefs on the eastern doorway of the Council Hall indicate that the inscription if executed would have been a foundation record of the last years of Darius I or the beginning of Xerxes' reign (see p. 116). The rest of each wing of the frontal façade bears the usual relief of a bull attacked by a lion (see p. 83) and a row of segmented stalks crowned by palmettes (cf. p. 83, n. 98).

The center of the main façade (Pl. 63) pictures at either side of the blank inscription panel four Persian guards armed with lance and shield. Two winged sphinxes with lion body and human head flank the upper portion of the panel. Each sphinx is followed by a row of palmettes (see above), and then begins a procession of dignitaries. Sphinxes, palmettes, and dignitaries are placed in rosette-bordered panels corresponding in height to the portico parapet (see Pls. 62 and 71 *A*). A lion-and-bull motif followed by palmettes is behind each group of Persian guards in a roughly triangular space, which is bordered above and below by the procession of Persian dignitaries (Pls. 66–69). The procession of Persian nobles continues on the newels of the intermediate landings (Pls. 67 *C* and 68 *C*) and on the northern parapets of the upper flights (Pls. 70 and 71 *B*).

Median dignitaries are sculptured on the northern parapets of the lower flights (Pl. 72 *A*),[8] on the parapets of the intermediate landings (Pls. 72 *A–B* and 74 *A*, *C*), and on the southern walls of the upper flights (Pls. 73–74 *B*). The two lower newels bear pairs of Persian ushers (Pl. 72 *D*), unarmed but provided with staffs. Their ears are adorned with rings.

The foremost persons in the processions solemnly ap-

1. For views of its appearance before excavation see *IAE*, Pl. XLVII, top; *AMI* I, Pl. 16, Fig. 26; Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, Pl. 50; Flandin and Coste, Pls. 144–45.

2. Also "Triple Porte"; see *AMI* I 25 f.

3. *IAE*, pp. 229 f.

4. For the same reason Junge uses the similar designation "Adelsratshalle" in reference to this building in his article "Hazarapatiš: Zur Stellung des Chiliarchen der kgl. Leibgarde im Achämenidenstaat," *Klio* XXXIII = n.F. XV (Leipzig, 1940) 18, n. 5.

5. See Krefter's reconstruction sketch in *IAE*, Pl. XLVIII.

6. Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 332.

7. Our illustrations of the stairway reliefs are plotted on Fig. 53 *E*.

8. Only the east wing is illustrated; for some reliefs of the west wing see *IAE*, Pl. LXXVI.

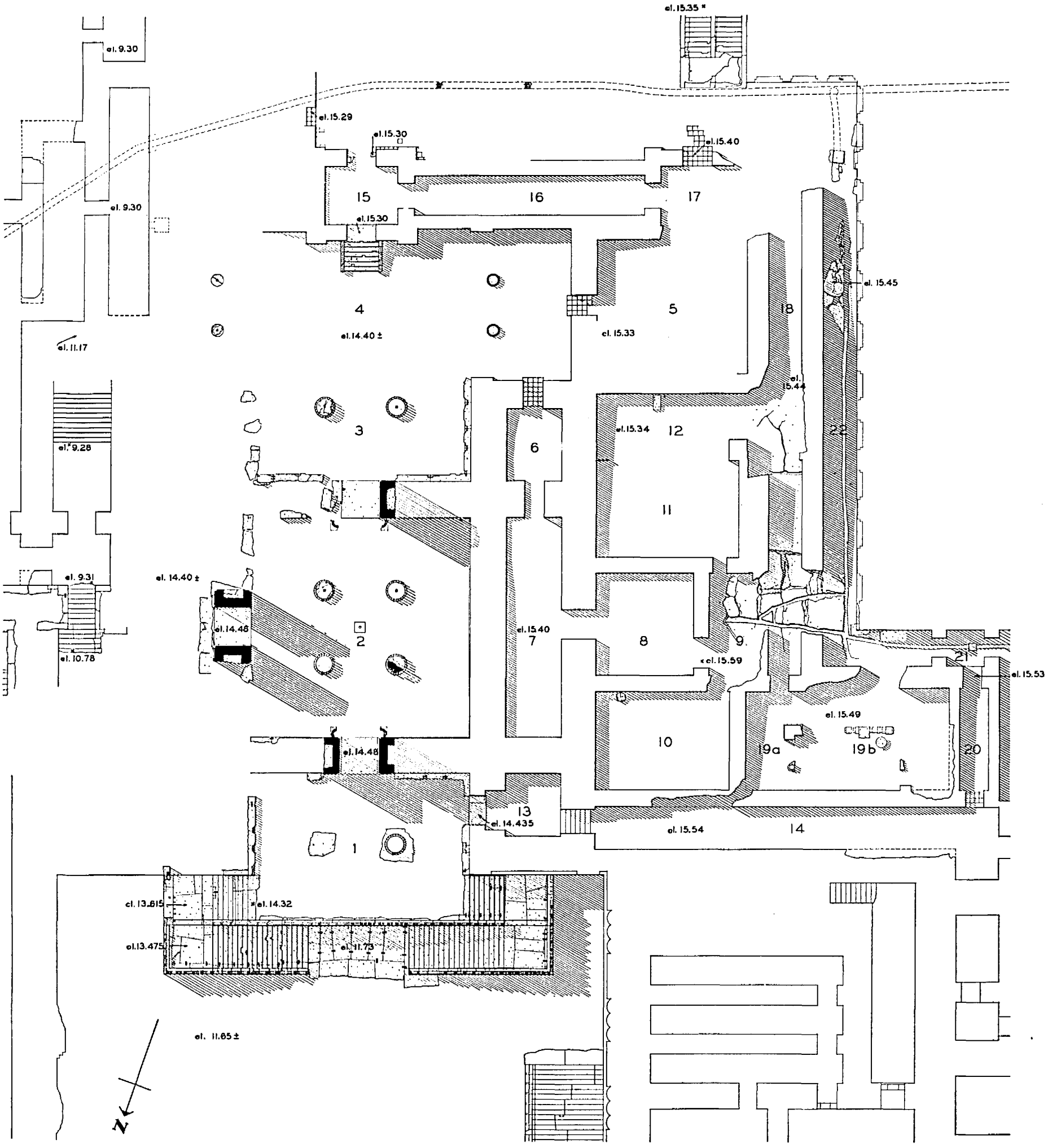


Fig. 51. Plan of Extant Remains of Council Hall. After Original Surveys by K. Bergner and R. C. Haines. Scale, 1:300

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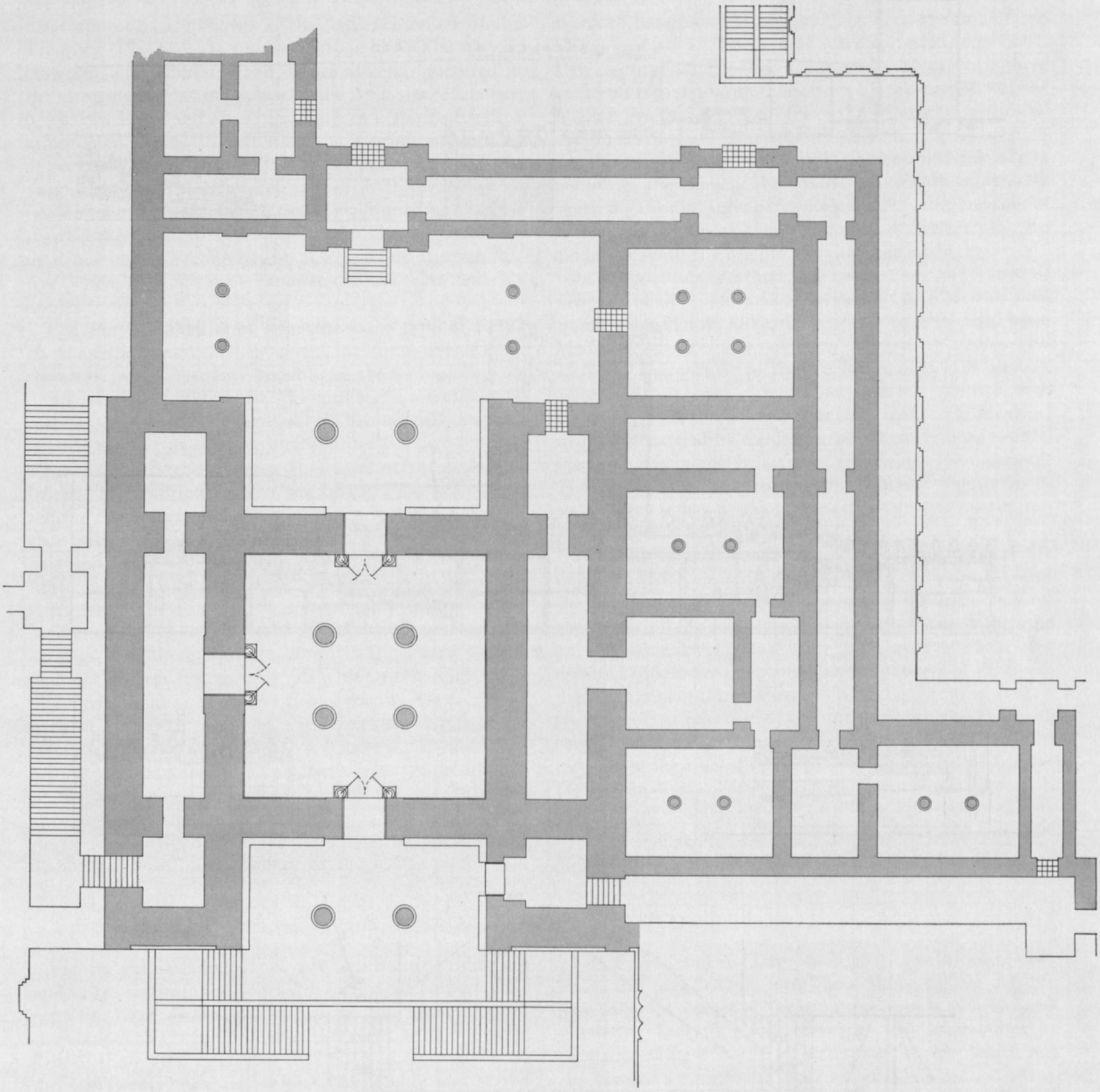
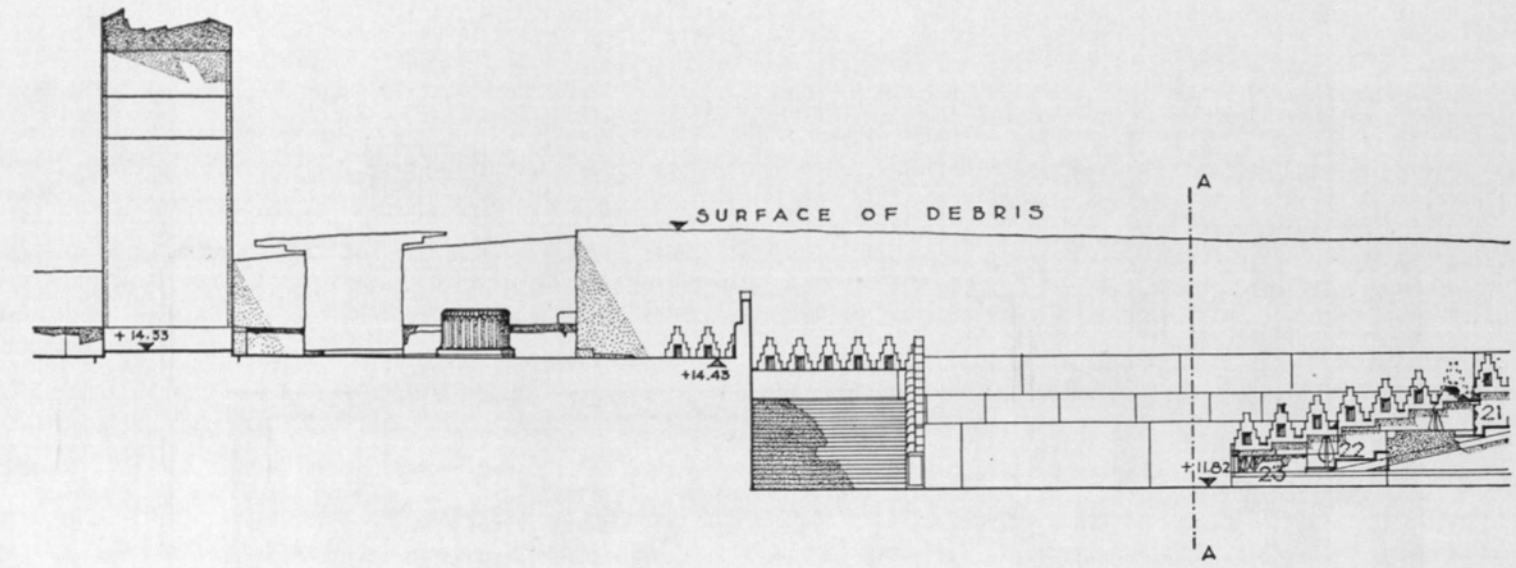
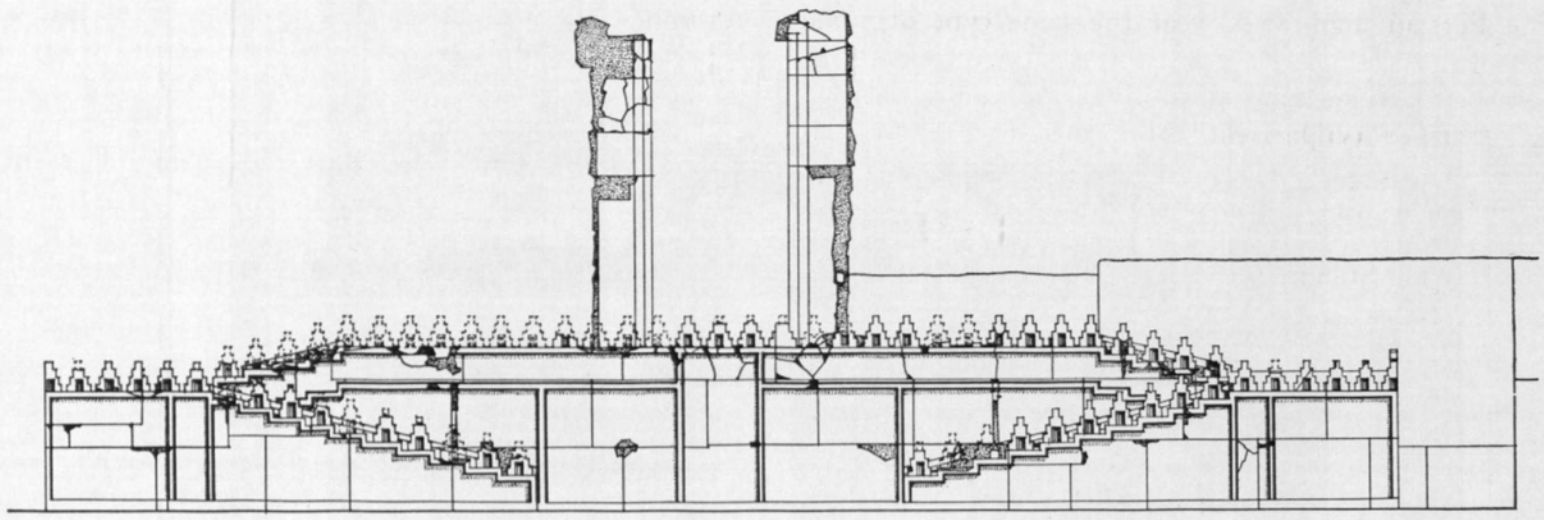


FIG. 52.—RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF COUNCIL HALL. SCALE, 1:300

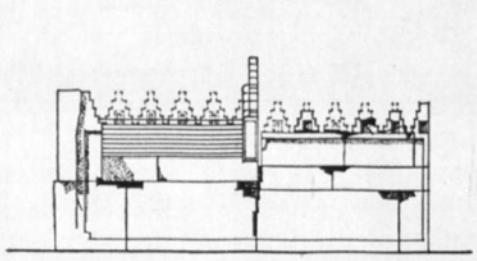
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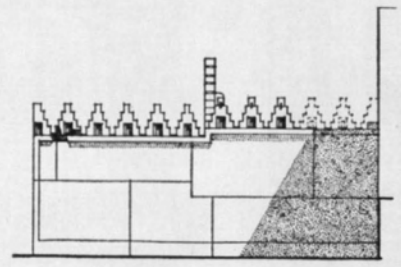
A



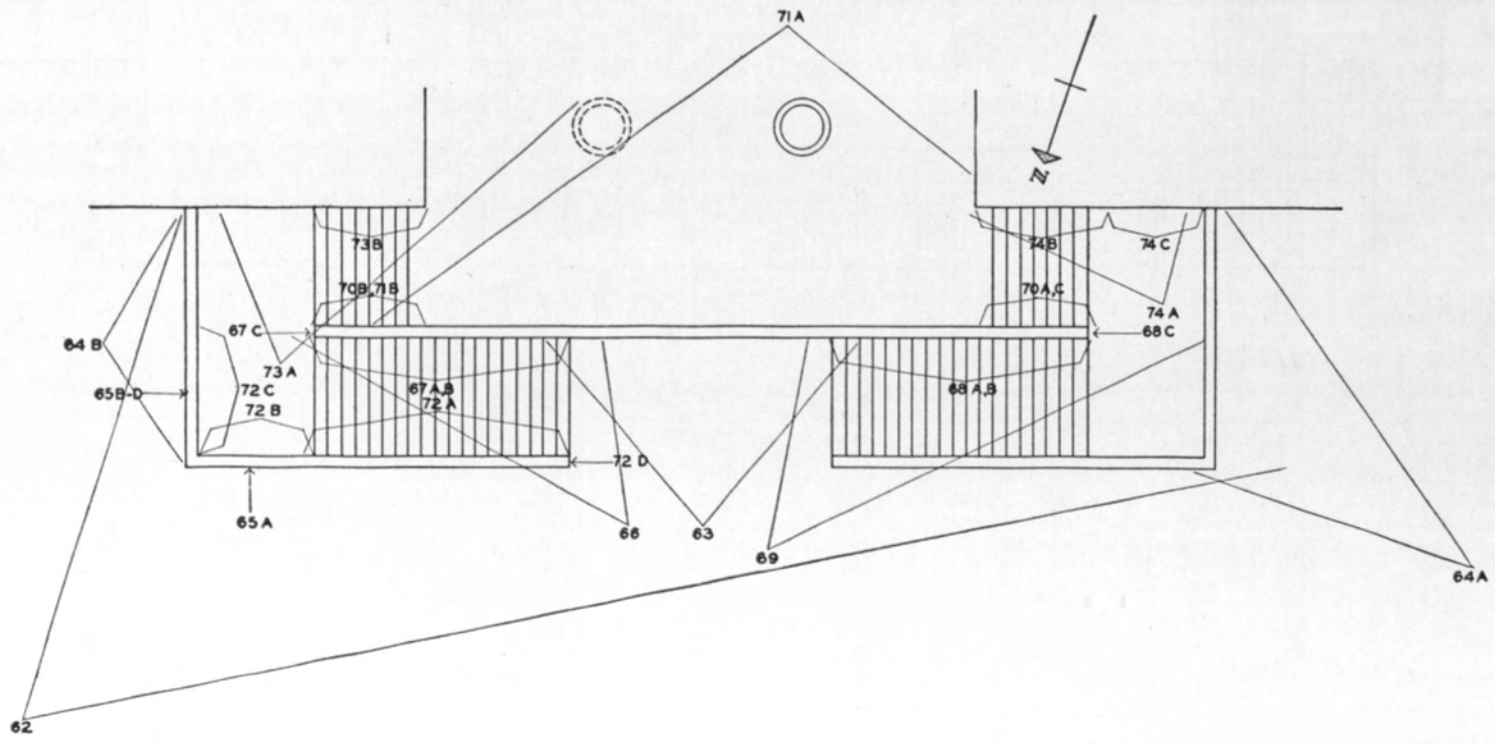
B



C



D



E

Fig. 53. Council Hall. Main Stairway. *A*. West Wing, with Northern Portico and Adjoining Portion of Apadana (for Continuation see Fig. 33; *direction of view, WSW*). *B*. Northern Façade, with Northern Doorway (*direction of view, SES*). *C*. Eastern Façade (*direction of view, WSW*). *D*. Western Façade (*direction of view, ENE*). *E*. Schematized Plan Showing Locations of Reliefs Illustrated on Pls. 62–74. Scale, 1:200. *A–D* after Original Drawing by K. Bergner. Scale, 1:150

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proach the royal presence, and some of the dignitaries hold one hand in front of the mouth in an attitude of respect most appropriately shown in the audience reliefs of the Treasury (Pls. 120–23) and the Throne Hall (Pls. 96–99). However, most Persians and Medes alike are pictured in the same manner as the nobles in the Apadana reliefs (see p. 84, Pls. 51–52 and 57–58), namely, in a spirit of festive informality—quite distinct from the attitude of the files of servants shown on the residential palaces and of the various groups of foreign delegations in the tribute procession, not to speak of the rows of rigid guards. There is reason, therefore, to assume that the Council Hall was used not only for conferences of state but also for festive assemblies, such as banquets of the king and his nobles.[9]

The Persian dignitaries wear the same type of fluted tiara as the guards. Their gown, at times fortunately shown in front view, may possibly be the form of Persian dress described by Herzfeld.[10] It consists of a rectangular piece of cloth with a central slit. When slipped over the head it reaches to the feet in front and back and to the wrists of the extended arms. It is open at the sides and belted. The knotted ends of the belt are marked in our reliefs. The footgear of the dignitaries is the low Persian shoe with three straps and, usually, three buttons. The hair and beard are groomed in curls, but the tip of the beard is wavy,[11] as in the case of the Median dignitaries and guards. The beards of the Persian guards, on the other hand, are always curled to the tip. Many dignitaries wear earrings, and those who are shown in front view wear a plain or ribbed torque or a plain flat neck ring. Most dignitaries hold one lotus(?) flower (see p. 84, n. 108)—without buds—in the hand not otherwise occupied. All those who are shown in front view have a dagger tucked behind the belt knot. As a rule, those who are pictured in profile have a bow case attached to their left side, but some appear to be completely unarmed.

The Median dignitaries wear their usual native dress: domed hat with an appendage at the back (except in a few cases; see below), belted coat, and long stiff trousers.[12] In some cases shoes are suggested by straps. A long-sleeved overcoat hangs loosely on the shoulders of some of the Medes (see p. 84). Two straps serve to fasten it in front. Two dignitaries (Pl. 74 *B–C*) wear bashlyks with three knobs on top, similar to those worn by the members of the Median delegation and others in the tribute procession of the Apadana. Here, however, the beards project beneath the chin straps of the bashlyks,[13] whereas in the Apadana sculptures the chins of the tribute-bearers are completely covered. In the servant processions of the residential palaces the chins of the Median food-carriers also are hidden beneath the muffler straps of the bashlyks.

As to postures, gestures, paraphernalia, and types of weapons of the dignitaries, the Persian and Median processions are almost alike. In addition to blossoms, some Medes carry globular objects, apparently fruits (Pl. 72 *B–C*). In contrast to the Persian nobles (see above), many Medes shown in front view are not adorned with torques or neck rings. Their bow cases seem to be identical with those carried by the Persians, but their short swords, suspended from the belt at the right side, are distinct.[14] The scabbard of only one of the Median dignitaries is elaborated; it has a small palmette engraved on the top (Pl. 72 *B*, first figure at left).[15]

Herzfeld[16] directs attention to the disproportion of the figures, which is caused by the changing distances between the stairs and the stepped tops of the parapets and by the desire of the sculptors to align the heads of persons on the same level. Thus very tall, medium-sized, and dwarfed Medes are sculptured on the parapet of the lower flight of stairs of the east wing (Pl. 72 *A*). On the identically constructed parapets of the upper flights, however, the reliefs of the Persian dignitaries (Pls. 70 *C* and 71 *B*) do not follow the rule of isocephaly to a point of absurdity. Here, with one exception, the heads of not more than two persons are aligned on each step—as compared with as many as four in the Median procession—and the proportions of nearly all persons are uniformly alike.

THE NORTHERN PORTICO

Eighty Persian guards in two confronting files are sculptured on the inner (southern) face of the portico parapet (Pl. 72 *A*), which is topped by the usual stepped crenelations (Fig. 56 *C*) in the same manner as the parapets of the stairs. Each row of forty soldiers includes at the end twenty men armed with lances only and at the head twenty guards carrying shields in addition to lances. The elliptical shields, large enough to protect the upper body, are identical in form with those carried by the guards in the center of the stairway façade (Pl. 63) and elsewhere. In each shield there are two perforations at opposite points of a central pattern or buckle, which has the form of a curvilinear cross within a circle.

Herzfeld[17] discovered in the debris of the Council Hall fragments of composite stone capitals topped by magnificent addorsed man-bulls (see Figs. 54–55). We do not know the distribution of the fragments when they were uncovered, but we may guess that the pairs of large columns in the northern (1) and southern (3) porticoes and the four columns of the main hall (2) were alike. All had apparently identical bell-shaped bases (see Fig. 54 *D–E*).

The northern and southern (see p. 121) porticoes have remnants of stone benches (Fig. 56 *E*) which once paralleled and abutted the mud-brick walls. The original appearance of the floors of the porticoes and the main hall is not known to us. We were told that the pavement of baked-brick fragments now covering this area was restored by Herzfeld's crew.

The northern portico has no doorway in its eastern wall

9. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 182 f.

10. *IAE*, p. 259.

11. With a few exceptions: e.g. the foremost dignitary on the northern parapet of the upper western flight (Pl. 70 *C*), whose beard is curled in the same fashion as that of the Persian guard in front of him. As to the beards of the dignitaries in the Apadana procession, see p. 84.

12. As the line marking in other instances the upper edge of footgear is here absent in most cases, these trousers suggest the sort of stocking-like garment offered (in addition to Median style coats and overcoats) as part of the tribute by delegates of the Medes, Cappadocians(?), Saka Tigraxauda, and Sagartians(?) in the Apadana procession. The representatives of these nations seem to wear the same type of trousers (Pls. 27, 35, 37, and 42). Their coats too are identical.

13. The headdress of a third Mede (Pl. 72 *A*, 12th figure from left), also showing three knobs, does not have a chin strap indicated.

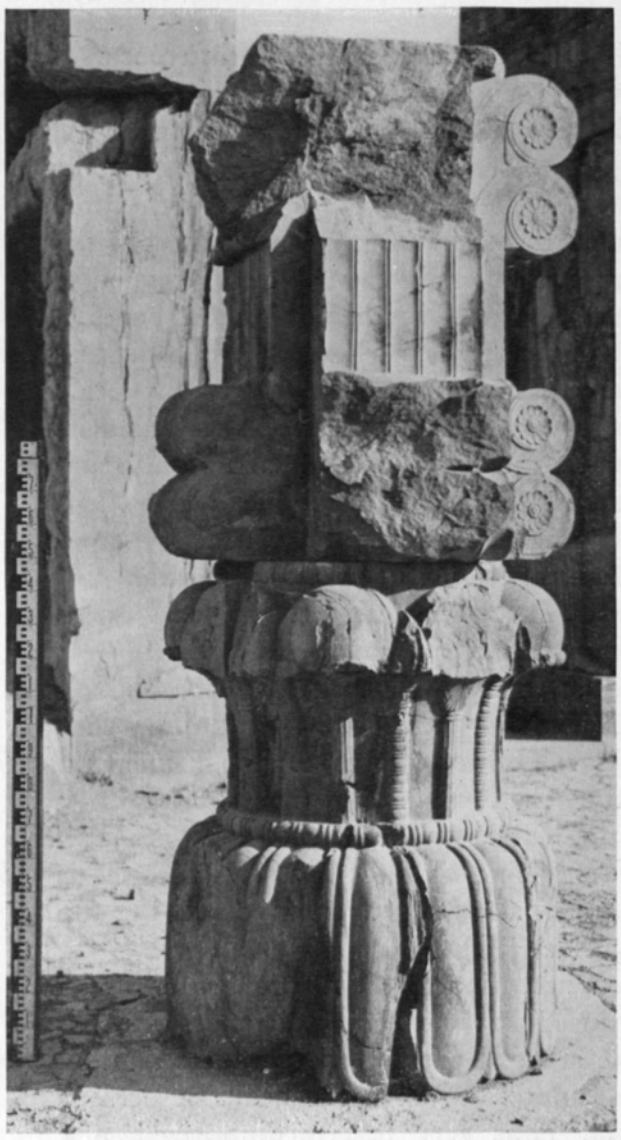
14. For the most elaborate Median sword shown in the Persepolis reliefs see Pl. 120.

15. Drawing in *IAE*, Fig. 368.

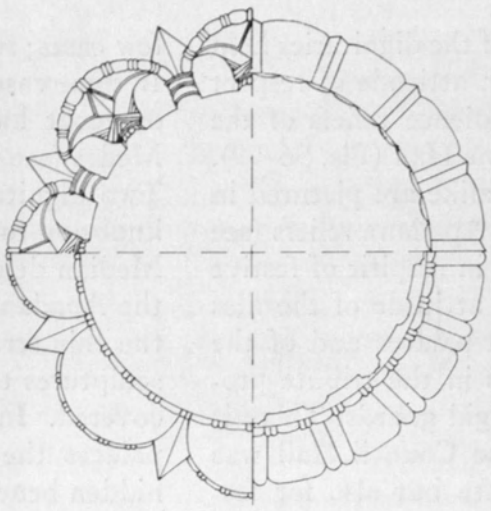
16. *Ibid.* p. 268.

17. *IAE*, pp. 250 f. and Pl. LXI.

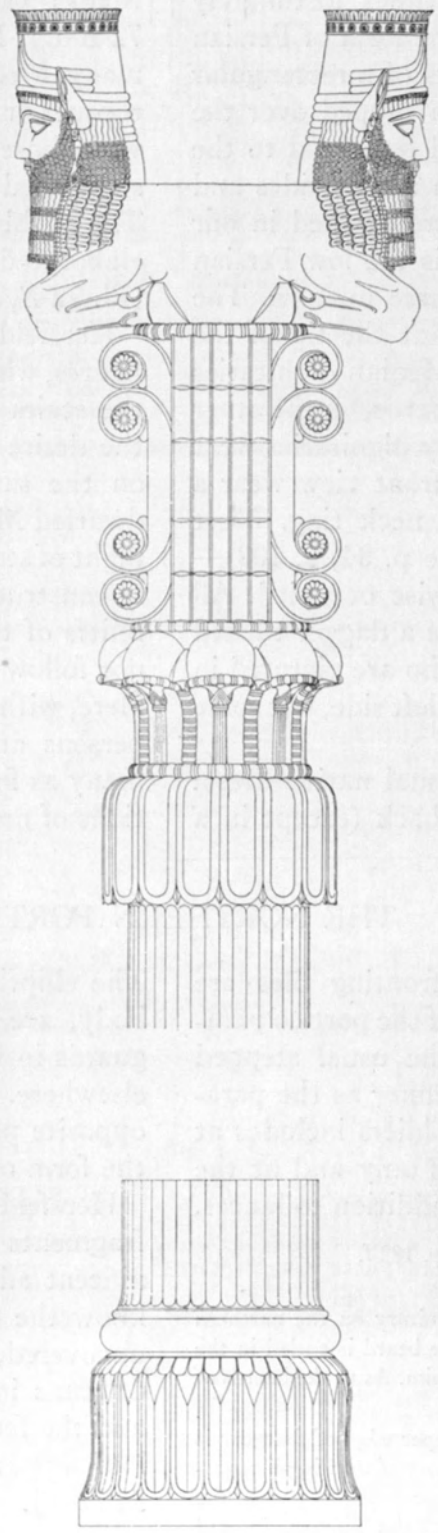
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A



B





C



D

E



F

FIG. 54.—COUNCIL HALL. COLUMNS. *A*, *C*. LOWER UNITS OF CAPITAL. *B*. QUARTER-PLANS OF TWO UNITS. VIEWS FROM BELOW AND ABOVE. SCALE, 1:20. *D*. BASE. *E*. THE ORDER. RECONSTRUCTION BY E. F. NOYES. SCALE, 1:40. *F*. DETAIL OF UNIT WITH RISING LEAVES

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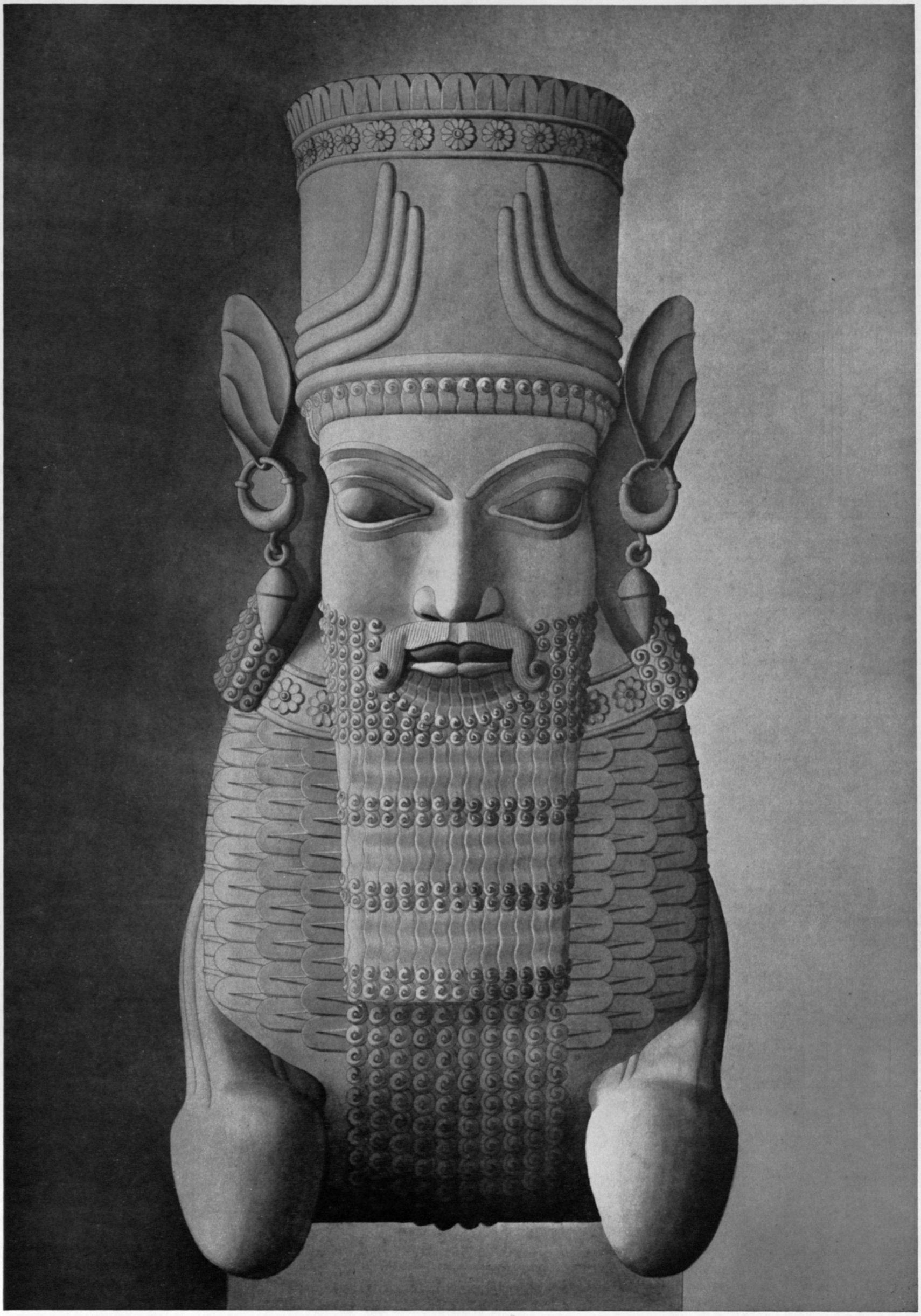


Fig. 55. Council Hall. Man-Bull Unit of Composite Capital. Front View. Reconstruction by J. A. Bornholdt. Scale, 1:6

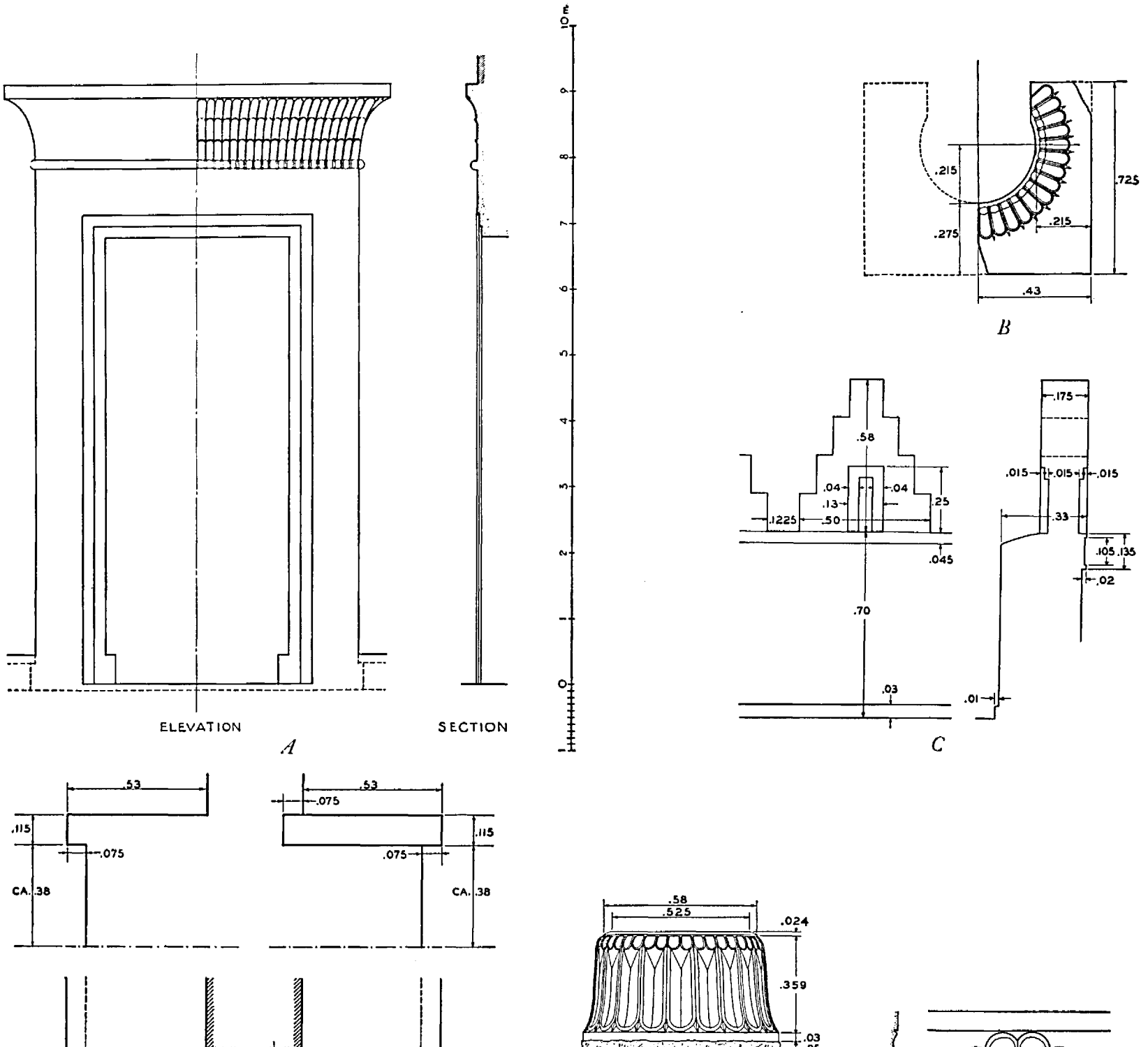


FIG. 56. COUNCIL HALL. *A*. DOORWAYS OF MAIN HALL. *B*. DECORATIVE SOCKET RING AT EAST JAMB OF NORTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *C*. PARAPET OF NORTHERN PORTICO. *D*. STONE BENCHES IN NORTHERN (*left*) AND SOUTHERN PORTICOES. *E*. COLUMN BASE IN ROOM 19*b*. *F–J*. DETAILS OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY: RECONSTRUCTED CRENELATION (*F*), CROSS SECTION OF EASTERN PARAPET (*G*), PETAL DESIGN ON INNER EDGES OF PARAPETS (*H*), MASON'S MARK ON INNER FACE OF EASTERN PARAPET (*I*), ROSETTES (*J*) ON OUTER FACES (*above*) AND RISERS (*below*) OF PARAPETS. SCALES, 1:80 (*A*), 1:20 (*B–E*), 1:8 (*F–G*), 1:4 (*H*), AND 1:2 (*I–J*)

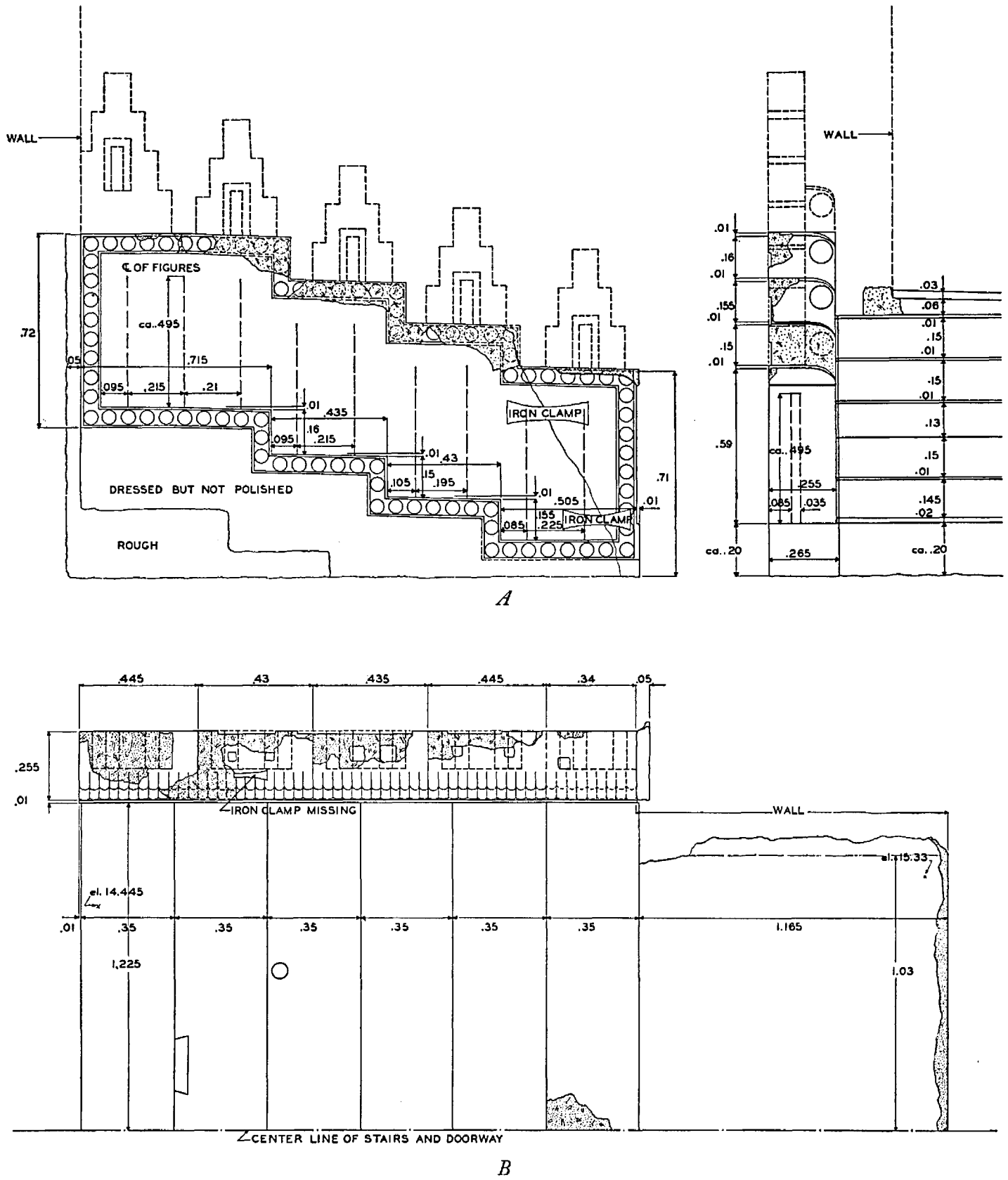


FIG. 57. COUNCIL HALL. SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:20. RECONSTRUCTIONS IN BROKEN LINES. *A*. ELEVATION OF EASTERN FAÇADE AND STAIRS. *B*. PLAN OF EASTERN HALF. *C*. CROSS SECTION OF STAIRS AND ELEVATION OF EASTERN PARAPET

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to balance the doorway—provided with a stone sill—which opens into an assumed guardroom (13) on the west. Seven stone steps lead from Room 13 to the higher level of Passage 14, which gives access to the southern porch of the Apadana (see Fig. 21) after a junction with another passage (20), to be considered below.

THE MAIN HALL

The mud-brick walls of the exactly square (15.46 m.) hall stand on base courses of stone, but the eastern walls—here as in the rest of the building—are almost completely eroded and have crumbled to the lower area of the neighboring Harem. We mentioned above that the four columns which carried the roof of the hall had presumably the same order and dimensions as the columns of the porticoes (see Figs. 54–55). In the very center of the hall a square stone with a small incised central circle was uncovered by Herzfeld, who called it a measuring stone.

Three monumental stone doorways of almost identical dimensions (Fig. 56 *A*) give access to the northern and southern porticoes and to postulated rooms on the east. The western wall is unbroken. Fragments of ornamental socket rings of stone are preserved at the two opposite entrances (see Figs. 51 and 56 *E*), and it is to be assumed that similar devices existed at the eastern doorway. The stone rings occur in pairs, one at either side of the stone sills, indicating that doors with two wings opened into the hall. The reliefs of the northern and southern doorways show the king leaving the hall. The eastern doorway relief pictures him seated on the throne and facing the interior of the hall. None of the Council Hall reliefs show the king entering this focal area of the building.

The Northern Doorway

As usual, the same relief scene is repeated on the two jambs (Pl. 76). The king, pictured at the exaggerated scale of royalty and further distinguished by a long, square-tipped beard, wears formal attire. Cuts at the sides of the tall tiara suggest that it had been covered with gold and perhaps with jewels. Holes near the neck and at the wrists show that the figure had been adorned with a necklace and bracelets. The gown of the king is the stereotyped Persian candys. Herzfeld found remains of red paint on the lower part of the candys, alternating with traces of blue along the lower edge.[18] The plain low shoes were painted blue, below patches of red covering the ankles. The shoes of the two attendants (see below) were coated with the same red pigment as that used for the king's gown. On both jambs the king's right hand holds a long staff or scepter and his left a lotus flower (see p. 84, n. 108).[19] This means that here, as in other instances, the two jambs do not picture exact mirror images of the king.

The two attendants following the king are bearded, as shown by some curls preserved on the west jamb. The gown is the same as that worn by the king, but the headdress is a narrow band leaving the top of the head exposed, and the shoes, painted differently (see above), have three buttons and straps. One attendant carries the royal parasol, the second holds a fly-whisk over the king's head and a towel in his other hand. As far as observable, the pairs of attendants on the two jambs are shown as reflected images. Apparently it did not matter whether the whisk and the towel were carried in the right hand or in the left, as long as they appeared in the conventional position. The royal scepter, however, always had to be held in the right hand of the king (see above).

The symbol of Ahuramazda[20] floats above the king and his attendants. The upper body of the god rises from a central ring. Wings spread at either side, and a bird's tail below the ring seems to continue the god's gown. Appendages with curled ends flanking the bird's tail are probably survivals of the sacred snakes found on the original, Egyptian versions of the winged symbol. The god, similar in appearance to the king, faces the same direction (north) as the persons below. On both reliefs his open right hand is raised in a benedictory gesture, whereas his left hand holds a ring.

The Southern Doorway

The relief on the extant, west jamb of the southern doorway (Pl. 75) pictures the same, though better preserved, scene that is described above. The king in formal attire, accompanied by two attendants, leaves the main hall under the protective symbol of the god. All figures face the southern portico. The sculptures of the attendants preserve some details which are destroyed on the northern doorway: the hair pattern above the bandlike headdress, the short beard curled to the tip,[21] and the earring worn by the bearer of the parasol.

The Eastern Doorway

Plates 77–81 illustrate the important eastern doorway. Here the king is pictured seated on his throne, and behind him stands a second royal person, the crown prince. The right hand of the latter does not hold a scepter but touches the back of the throne. Cuts beside the tall tiaras and the wrists indicate that both the king and the crown prince were adorned with articles of formal attire: a band (presumably) of gold covering the headdress, and bracelets—perhaps of the same material—attached to the wrists. We are not certain whether there is evidence of necklaces too. These indications of formal attire appear to be the main features distinguishing the figures of this scene from the better preserved images of the king and the crown prince in the reliefs which were uncovered in the Treasury (Pls. 119–23). We agree with Herzfeld[22] in identifying the royal persons as Darius I and Xerxes, his chosen successor (see pp. 167–69). The doorway reliefs under consideration must be attributed, therefore, to the last years of Darius' reign. The construction of the building as a whole was presumably completed at the time of his death, or shortly after Xerxes ascended the throne. In either case the omission of foundation inscriptions in the prepared panels of the main stairs (see p. 107) is inexplicable, in view of the presence of inscriptions of Xerxes on the residential palace of his father (pp. 223–24) and on the audience palace—the Apadana—founded by his father (pp. 82 f.).

The royal persons are shown under the protection of a canopy, the angular poles of which are marked at the edges of the relief. The top of the baldachin is embellished with two antithetic files of five lions walking toward a central winged disk symbol (Pl. 79). There are rosette

18. Shown in color in *ILN*, April 8, 1933, p. 488.
19. Mutilated, as in all similar doorway reliefs.
20. Cf. better preserved relief on east doorway (Pl. 79).
21. Cf. the different beards of the dignitaries on the main stairway (p. 111).
22. See *IF*, p. 108; *AMI* I 25; *SAOC* No. 5, pp. 8 f. Herzfeld's references to Xerxes as second king or coregent should be disregarded.

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borders above and below. Network and tassels fringe the lower edge. Above the canopy floats the winged symbol of the god, identical with the Ahuramazda figures on the other doorways (see p. 116).

The dais carrying the enthroned king, the crown prince, and the baldachin is symbolically supported by twenty-eight persons, representing as many nations of the empire (Pls. 80–81). The throne-bearers are arranged in three tiers, separated by plain ledges. There are nine persons in the upper and lower registers and ten in the center. As far as ascertainable, the groups on the two doorway jambs are alike. Certain differences in attire prove that the sculptor intended to show the throne-bearers from different sides, although several pairs of pendant figures have the appearance of reflected images. The throne-bearers, the royal persons, and the god all face toward the west, that is, toward the interior of the main hall.

For identification of the throne-bearers we have to depend largely on the reliefs of similar, in some instances almost identical, supporters of thrones pictured on the façades of the royal tombs at Naqsh-i-Rustam and Persepolis. The tomb inscription of Darius I[23] fortunately names the nations represented, and the remnants of the individual legends[24] engraved above the throne-bearers on Darius' tomb and on the southern tomb at Persepolis prove that the sequence of the nations enumerated agrees with the order of their sculptured representatives. However, when comparing the tomb reliefs with the tribute procession of the Apadana, with the throne-bearers on the Council Hall doorway under consideration, and with the throne-bearers on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (see pp. 134–36) we find that in the noninscribed reliefs only a limited number of nations can be identified beyond any doubt. Most delegations and throne-bearers are assignable with certainty to one or another of about nine groups of nations (see below); but the affinities of some representatives remain obscure at present.

Similar, at times identical, dress and weapons mark on the tomb reliefs the representatives of such groups of nations as were undoubtedly in many cases ethnically related and occupied contiguous geographical tracts, exposed as a rule to similar climatic conditions. The nations represented in the tomb reliefs—termed primarily according to their dress—may be divided into groups as follows:[25]

Group	Designation	Throne-Bearer on Tombs		OP Name of Land or People (see Fig. 2)	Main Distinguishing Features*
		No.	Nation		
I	Persian	1	Persian	Pārsa	Persian candys;† Persian dagger (in front)
		3	Susian (Elamite)	Ūvja	
II	Median	2	Median	Māda	Belted Median coat; long trousers; short Median sword at side
		4	Parthian	Parthava	
		6	Bactrian	Bāxtriš	
		20	Armenian	Armina	
		21	Cappadocian	Katpatuka	
III	East Iranian	5	Arian	Haraiva	Belted Median coat; short baggy trousers; high boots; short sword of Median type at side
		9	Drangianian	Zranka	
		10	Arachosian	Harauvatiš	
IV	Scythian	7	Sogdian	Sugda	Fur(?)-trimmed "cutaway coat"; long trousers; pointed headress with ear flaps; short sword of Median type at side
		8	Chorasmian	Uvārazmiš	
		14	Saka Haumavarga	Sakā Haumavargā‡	
		15	Saka Tigraxauda	Sakā Tigraxaudā§	
		24	Saka beyond the sea	Sakā Paradraya	
		25	Skudrian	Skudra	
V	Indian	11	Sattagydian	Thataguš	Bare chest and legs; skirt; sandals; long sword suspended from left shoulder
		12	Gandarian	Gandāra	
		13	Indian	Hinduš	
		29	Macian	Maka	
VI	Hellenic	22	Lydian	Sparda	Short mantle (chlamys) over shirt (chiton); long sword suspended from left shoulder
		23	Ionian	Yaunā	
		26	Petasos-wearing Ionian	Yaunā Takabarā	
		30	Carian	Karkā	
VII	Western Lowlands	16	Babylonian	Bābiruš	Long robe
		18	Arabian	Arabāya	
		19	Eygptian	Mudrāya	
		27	Libyan	Putāyā	
VIII	Northern Mesopotamian	17	Assyrian	Athurā	Belted short-sleeved coat; bare legs; boots with ornamental laces; dagger in front
IX	Negro	28	Ethiopian	Kūšiyā	Bare chest and legs, though partly covered by blanket hanging across shoulder; skirt; sword (club once) suspended from left shoulder; Negroid features

* For variations see description and illustrations of the tomb reliefs in Vol. III.

† H. H. Schaeder, *Das persische Weltreich* (Breslau, 1941) p. 14, points out that the candys was adopted by the Persians from the dress of the inhabitants of Elam.

‡ *Hauma*("haoma")-drinking(?) Scythians. § Pointed-hat Scythians.

23. NR a; *KA*, pp. 86–91.

24. See our Vol. III; *KA*, pp. 96–98; A. W. Davis, "An Achaemenian tomb-inscription at Persepolis" (*JRAS*, 1932, pp. 373–77).

25. Roughly corresponding to Herzfeld's grouping (*IF*, pp. 38, 50–56); but in all matters pertaining to his identification of relief figures his corrections (*ibid.* pp. 251–57) should be consulted.

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The throne-bearers on the façades of the royal tombs and those on the eastern doorway of the Council Hall are not shown in the same sequence, but—an indication of closer connection—the delegations in the tribute procession of the Apadana are pictured in almost the same order as the throne-bearers of the Council Hall.[26] As far as the mutilated doorway sculptures permit close identification, it appears that the first sixteen nations represented in the reliefs of the Council Hall (Pls. 80–81) and of the Apadana (pp. 85–88 and Pls. 27–42) are identical. The remaining seven delegations (Nos. 17–23) of the Apadana correspond to the Council Hall throne-bearers Nos. 22(?), 19, 23(?), 24(?), 25(?), 26, and 27 respectively. Five throne-bearers of the doorway reliefs (Nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, and 28) may not be represented in the tribute procession. Four of these throne-bearers (Nos. 17, 18, 20, and 28) belong to the Scythian block of nations (group IV; see table), and one (No. 21) belongs to the Indian group (V).

The throne-bearers of the doorway reliefs are arranged on the two jambs as follows:[27]

South Jamb (Pl. 80)	North Jamb (Pl. 81)
Nos. 9–1	Nos. 1–9
Nos. 19–10	Nos. 10–19
Nos. 28–20	Nos. 20–28

Throne-Bearer No. 1: Mede

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, and legs destroyed. Contour of domed Median headdress with band at back; belted Median coat; short Median sword at right side; outline of long trousers.

North jamb.—Destroyed.

Throne-Bearer No. 2: Susian

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs destroyed. Persian candys; dagger with scabbard of Persian type in front; rest mutilated.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for parts of legs.

The position behind the Mede indicates that the Susian and not the Persian is here depicted.

Throne-Bearer No. 3: Armenian?

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, and legs destroyed. Median dress; portion of domed (or knobbed?) headdress with band at back.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for parts of legs.

This figure belongs definitely to group II (see table), but identification as Armenian is not certain, for the Cappadocian and the Armenian, for instance, are indistinguishable on the tomb reliefs. This throne-bearer is unarmed, as are all the others in the doorway reliefs except Nos. 1, 2, 11, and 22.

Throne-Bearer No. 4: Arian?

South jamb.—Portions of head, arms, and legs destroyed. Bashlyk; belted Median coat; long cape hanging on back and held by two straps extending across shoulders to chest; trousers and footgear doubtful.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for portion of chest.

The mutilated parts of the dress were presumably similar to the clothes of Apadana delegation No. 4 (Pl. 30), attributable to group III (see table).

Throne-Bearer No. 5: Babylonian

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, lower body, and legs destroyed. Characteristic long tip of headdress preserved (cf. Pl. 31); scarf with tasseled ends.

North jamb.—Destroyed.

Throne-Bearer No. 6: Syrian

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, upper chest, and legs destroyed. Scarf with tasseled ends over long gown.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for folds of scarf on chest.

The most characteristic feature of the Syrians' dress on the Apadana reliefs (Pl. 32), namely, the turban-like headgear, is not recognizable (destroyed?) on the doorway sculptures.

Throne-Bearer No. 7: Arachosian?

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, and lower legs destroyed. Scarf with tasseled ends over coat of Median type.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for outline of scarf.

Were it not for the location of throne-bearer No. 7 we should not be justified in correlating this figure with tribute delegation No. 7 of the Apadana (Pl. 33). We do not know whether the throne-bearer's trousers were short and baggy (although the outline of the mutilated leg seems to suggest that) and whether his headdress resembled the bashlyk of the tribute-bearers, who definitely belong to group III (see table). The delegates in the Apadana procession do not wear scarves such as that pictured on the doorway relief. Only the coat of Median type is definitely alike on both reliefs.

Throne-Bearer No. 8: Cilician?

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs destroyed. Long gown and ribbed sash identify this throne-bearer with Apadana delegation No. 8 (p. 87 and Pl. 34).

North jamb.—Destroyed except for sash and lower part of gown.

The Cilicians are not represented in the tomb reliefs. It is interesting to note, however, that the representative of the neighboring Assyrians (see Fig. 2), namely throne-bearer No. 17 in the tomb reliefs,[28] the assumed Cilician tribute-bearers in the Apadana procession and on the western stairway of Darius' palace (p. 229), and the Cilician(?) throne-bearer (No. E4) on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (see p. 135 and Pls. 110–11) are the only figures distinguished by elaborately laced boots.

Throne-Bearer No. 9: Cappadocian?

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, and legs destroyed. Headdress possibly three-knobbed (cf. Apadana delegation No. 9; Pl. 35); belted coat of Median type and probably long trousers.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for general outline of body and legs.

There is little or no differentiation in dress among the representatives of group II, to which throne-bearer No. 9 belongs. It is therefore not possible to state with certainty which nation is represented on the noninscribed reliefs except for Media proper, being undoubtedly always first in order.

Throne-Bearer No. 10: Egyptian

South jamb.—Head, arms, upper chest, lower part of gown, and legs mostly destroyed. Long gown without belt (cf. Apadana delegation No. 10; Pl. 36).

North jamb.—Destroyed.

Throne-Bearer No. 11: Saka Tigraxauda

South jamb.—Most of head, arms, lower body, and legs destroyed. Long tip of headdress alluded to in name of this Saka nation preserved behind (mutilated) head; belted coat of Median type; strap attached to belt.

North jamb.—Head, arms, upper chest, and part of lower legs destroyed. Belted coat and long trousers of Median type.

The representatives of the same nation in the Apadana procession (delegation No. 11; Pl. 37) and on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (throne-bearer No. W6; Pls. 108–9) also wear coat and trousers of Median type. Only in the tomb reliefs are the Saka Tigraxauda pictured in the usual "cutaway coat" of the Scythian group of peoples. There is no doubt that a weapon—most probably a short sword of Median type such as is worn by the delegates of the same nation in the Apadana procession (Pl. 37)—was attached to the sagging strap which is fastened to the belt (cf. throne-bearer No. 22; p. 119).

26. See *IF*, Fig. 9.

27. For complementary descriptions of the closely related reliefs of the throne-bearers on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall see pp. 134–36.

28. See Vol. III.

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Throne-Bearer No. 12: Ionian?

South jamb.—Head, arms, chest, and legs mostly destroyed. Scarf with tasseled ends projecting at either side; gown with ribbed pattern on lower portion.

North jamb.—Head, arms, and portions of legs destroyed. Scarf (with soft folds) and gown as on south jamb; top of boot preserved on right leg.

Although identification with the Ionians is uncertain, there is no doubt that throne-bearer No. 12 and Apadana delegation No. 12 (p. 88 and Pl. 38) represent the same nation.

Throne-Bearer No. 13: Parthian?

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Belted coat of Median type.

North jamb.—Head, arms, and one leg mostly destroyed. Part of profile with bearded chin; coat and long trousers of Median type.

As far as he is preserved, throne-bearer No. 13 is dressed in the same fashion as the members of delegation No. 13 in the Apadana procession (p. 88 and Pl. 39). Obviously, throne-bearer and tribute-bearers belong to group II, but their identification with the Parthians, while plausible, is not certain.

Throne-Bearer No. 14: Gandarian?

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs destroyed. Long cape hanging on back and held by two straps with tasseled ends which extend over shoulders to chest; shirtlike gown leaving center of chest bare; broad twisted belt; bare toes of one foot preserved.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for outline of cape.

There is no doubt that throne-bearer No. 14 and Apadana delegation No. 14 (p. 88 and Pl. 40) represent the same nation. However, Sattagydians (also of group V), for instance, could well be dressed in the same fashion (cf. throne-bearer No. 21).

Throne-Bearer No. 15: Bactrian?

South jamb.—Head, arms, and lower legs mostly destroyed. Belted coat of Median type; trousers mutilated below knees.

North jamb.—Head, arms, and chest mostly destroyed. Lower half of belted Median coat preserved; long trousers, lower part marked by wavy horizontal lines, lower ends distinctly separated from shoes.

Together with the Median coat, the peculiar pattern of the trousers identifies this throne-bearer with delegation No. 15 of the Apadana (p. 88 and Pl. 41), although the trousers of the tribute delegation are short, after the fashion of those of group III.[29] There is no certainty that the figures concerned represent Bactria; but their dress, at any rate, assigns them to one of the eastern Iranian nations of group II or III.

Throne-Bearer No. 16: Sagartian?

South jamb.—Head, arms, and parts of legs destroyed. Belted coat of Median type.

North jamb.—Head, chest, and arms destroyed. Coat and plain long trousers of Median type.

Except for the destroyed headgear of throne-bearer No. 16, his dress is identical with that of the members of Apadana delegation No. 16 (p. 88 and Pl. 42). Identification with the Sagartians (see Asagarta on Fig. 2), not represented on the tomb reliefs, is quite uncertain; but we may assume that the sculptures concerned picture a people whose territory is close to Media proper.

Throne-Bearer No. 17: Scythian

South jamb.—Head, arms, chest, and lower legs destroyed. Belted "cutaway coat"; long trousers.

North jamb.—Head, arms, lower body, and right lower leg destroyed. Slanting portion of coat below belt missing (destroyed); end of left trouser leg distinctly separated from shoe.

The style of the throne-bearer's coat definitely indicates that this figure must be assigned to the Scythian group. Although the tribute delegation occupying the seventeenth place in the Apadana procession (pp. 88 f. and Pl. 43) obviously belongs to the same group, it does not seem to represent the same nation, for there is an important difference in the attire of the two sets of figures: the delegates in the Apadana reliefs tentatively identified as Sogdians (No. 17) are permitted to bear their own swords—a privilege shared only by the leader of the Medes (p. 85 and Pl. 27) and by all members of delegation No. 11, the Saka Tigraxauda (p. 88 and Pl. 37)—whereas the unarmed throne-bearer No. 17 of the Council Hall is in no manner distinguished from other unarmed representatives of the Scythian group on the same doorway. We have pointed out that here too the Saka Tigraxauda (throne-bearer No. 11) apparently bears a weapon, and we shall see that a second armed representative (throne-bearer No. 22) of a Scythian people should be correlated with Apadana delegation No. 17. This means that the nation of throne-bearer No. 17 is apparently not represented in the Apadana procession.

Throne-Bearer No. 18: Scythian

South jamb.—Head, chest, arms, and lower legs destroyed. Belted "cutaway coat"; long trousers.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for slanting portion of coat and upper part of trousers.

The coat indicates that this figure must be assigned to one of the Scythian nations apparently not represented in the Apadana procession.

Throne-Bearer No. 19: Indian

South jamb.—Head, upper chest, arms, and portions of legs destroyed. Navel marked; short skirt, either rolled at waist or held by broad twisted belt; legs bare; some toes of one foot preserved; perhaps sandaled.

North jamb.—Head, one arm, left upper body, and greater part of legs destroyed. Right breast and navel (marked on both reliefs) show that upper body is bare; skirt and belt(?) as on other figure.

The tribute-bearers (not the leader) of delegation No. 18 in the Apadana procession (p. 89 and Pl. 44) and throne-bearer No. 19 are almost identical in appearance and represent the same people—undoubtedly the inhabitants of the Indus Valley.

Throne-Bearer No. 20: Scythian

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Upright tip of pointed headdress preserved in outline; belted "cutaway coat."

North jamb.—Destroyed except for parts of belted "cutaway coat" and upper trouser legs.

There is no doubt that throne-bearer No. 20 belongs to the Scythian group as attested by the better preserved throne-bearer No. E10 of the Throne Hall reliefs (p. 136).

Throne-Bearer No. 21: Sattagydian?

South jamb.—Head, upper chest, arms, and legs destroyed. Bare upper body, navel marked; short skirt; broad twisted sash, one end of which hangs in front.

North jamb.—Most of head and parts of arms and legs destroyed. Portion of face with tip of stringy beard preserved; upper body and legs bare; skirt and sash as on south jamb.

The Apadana procession apparently includes only two nations of group V: the Indians and the Gandarians(?), represented by delegations Nos. 18 and 14 respectively. The Council Hall reliefs add throne-bearer No. 21 as the representative of a third nation, perhaps the Sattagydians; the Macians too could be represented by this figure.[30]

Throne-Bearer No. 22: Sogdian?

South jamb.—Most of head, chest, arms, and lower legs destroyed. Pointed tip of headdress curves forward and down; belted "cutaway coat"; trousers; double-edged battle-ax suspended from Y-shaped strap attached to right side of belt.

North jamb.—Head, arms, body, and legs mutilated. Contours of face with stringy beard preserved; top of headdress with pointed tip curving forward and down; fur(?)-trimmed edges of "cutaway coat" on chest; long trousers, lower end distinctly separated from shoes; head end of battle-ax visible (one edge preserved), rest hidden by body.

29. The Bactrian on the tomb reliefs (throne-bearer No. 6; see Vol. III) is pictured with plain long trousers of Median type.

30. Cf. throne-bearer No. 29 of the tomb reliefs (Vol. III). As to Herzfeld's tentative identification of Apadana delegation No. 20 with the Macians, see p. 89, n. 153.

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Among the twenty-eight representatives of as many nations which are pictured on the doorway reliefs of the Council Hall there are only four persons privileged to bear arms: the Mede (No. 1), the Susian (No. 2), the Saka Tigraxauda (No. 11), and the assumed Sogdian (No. 22). In the Apadana procession not even the Susians (delegation No. 2) bear their own weapons; but we have pointed out (p. 119) that the Saka Tigraxauda and the assumed Sogdians (both of group IV) are both represented by armed delegations. It is interesting, furthermore, that the tribute offered in the Apadana reliefs (Pl. 43) by the assumed Sogdians (delegation No. 17)[31] includes the kind of battle-ax worn by throne-bearer No. 22 of the Council Hall.

Throne-Bearer No. 23: Scythian

South jamb.—Head, upper chest, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Belted Median coat; trousers doubtful; long cape hanging on back.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for upper left arm, lower edge of coat, and shoes.

We believe that the throne-bearer under consideration and throne-bearer No. W12 of the Throne Hall represent the same nation (see p. 136), which according to the headdress preserved on the Throne Hall figures must belong to the Scythian group (IV). The nation concerned is perhaps represented in the tribute procession of the Apadana by delegation No. 19 (p. 89), tentatively identified as the Skudrians of Thrace.[32]

Throne-Bearer No. 24: Group VII

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Long gown opening in front; two straps with tasseled ends hanging on chest.

North jamb.—Destroyed except for left lower arm and parts of feet. Toes of left (sandaled?) foot bare; end of sleeve visible on left wrist.

It is doubtful whether the nation represented by this throne-bearer is shown in the Apadana procession. There is some resemblance to the more elaborately dressed members of the Arabian(?) delegation (No. 20; p. 89 and Pl. 46).[33]

Throne-Bearer No. 25: Group III?

South jamb.—Portions of head, arms, and legs destroyed. Bareheaded; belted coat of Median type; scarf over upper body with tasseled ends projecting at either side; trousers apparently of Median type; shoes.

North jamb.—Portions of head, lower body, and legs destroyed. Bareheaded; curly beard; neckline of belted Median coat preserved; one end of scarf clearly shown in front of right shoulder, other end behind left shoulder,

As far as they are preserved, throne-bearers Nos. 25 and 7 are dressed alike. If No. 7 is correctly identified as the representative of one of the East Iranian nations (Arachosia?), throne-bearer No. 25 also should be assigned to this group. There is a close resemblance between the dress of throne-bearer No. 25 and that of the members of Apadana delegation No. 21 (tentatively identified as Drangianians; see p. 89 and Pl. 47).

Throne-Bearer No. 26: Libyan

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Long beltless gown, neckline marked; cape hanging on back and held by two tasseled straps extending across shoulders to chest; one lateral edge of cape marked by oblique parallel lines; feet apparently sandaled.

North jamb.—Back of head, lower part of gown, and legs mutilated. Bareheaded; curly beard; dressed like figure on south jamb, but all edges of cape are clearly fringed and rows of vertical dashes pattern one side of cape.

The fringed cape identifies this throne-bearer with delegation No. 22 of the tribute procession (pp. 89 f. and Pl. 48) and with the Libyan throne-bearer (No. 27) of the tomb reliefs.[34]

Throne-Bearer No. 27: Ethiopian

South jamb.—Head, arms, and legs destroyed. Upper body bare; long skirt of two thicknesses, as suggested by two vertical edges, with top rolled or held by twisted sash.

North jamb.—Head, arms, and legs mostly destroyed. Lower curls of beard preserved; skirt like that on south jamb, but belt marked as narrow band; sash tied around (otherwise bare) upper body and knotted on chest;[35] feet either bare or sandaled with toes exposed.

There is no doubt about the identity of this figure with the tribute-bearers of the last delegation (No. 23) in the Apadana procession (p. 90 and Pl. 49) and with the Ethiopian of the tomb reliefs (throne-bearer No. 28).[36]

Throne-Bearer No. 28: Scythian

South jamb.—Head, arms, and feet mostly destroyed. Belted "cut-away coat"; long trousers.

North jamb.—Head, most of arms, upper chest, and feet destroyed. Dress like that of figure on south jamb, but upper part of coat shows fur(?)-trimmed edges such as are usually marked on coats of Scythian group.

This throne-bearer represents the seventh nation of the Scythian group pictured on the doorway under consideration. Only six representatives of this group of peoples support the throne of Darius on the façade of his tomb (listed on p. 117). We conclude, therefore, that the seventh nation had recently been added to the empire and that it is represented by throne-bearer No. 28, who is shown at the very end of the file of figures—even behind the Ethiopian—in the Council Hall reliefs. It is possible that this throne-bearer represents the Dahians (Dahā on Fig. 2), who are first listed in the somewhat later "Daiva" inscription on foundation slabs of Xerxes.[37] The territory of the Dahians appears to have been east of the Caspian Sea at that time.[38]

THE EAST ROOMS

Plate 124 and Figure 51 indicate that the entire eastern section of the Council Hall is destroyed. There is little doubt, however, that the eastern and western rooms were roughly symmetrical. Consequently, our reconstruction (Fig. 52) shows a suite of three eastern rooms corresponding to Room 6, 7, and 13 on the west. Our reconstruction logically connects the remnant of a stone stairway ascending northward from Room *B* of the main wing of the Harem (see p. 256) with these eastern rooms and suggests the original route of circulation between the Council Hall (via the eastern doorway of its main hall), the Harem, and the Throne Hall (see Fig. 21). There is no satisfactory explanation of a mud-brick stairway rising south of the Harem stairs of stone to a landing without outlet (see p. 256). There may have been some connection between these mud-brick stairs and the postulated rooms in the southeast corner of the Council Hall complex (east of Vestibule 15 and of the northeast corner of the area between the Council Hall and Palace D); but there is no proof whatsoever.

31. As to the possible identification of delegation No. 17—and consequently of throne-bearer No. 22—with the Saka Haumavarga, see pp. 88 f., n. 145.

32. See *IF*, Fig. 9.

33. See Throne Hall throne-bearer No. E12 (p. 136).

34. See Vol. III.

35. See throne-bearer No. W14 on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (Pls. 108–9).

36. See Vol. III.

37. See Vol. II, section on "Foundation Documents of Xerxes."

38. See Junge, *Saka-Studien*, pp. 71 ff., and "Ākaufačiya: Ein Beitrag zur Länderkunde des Alten Iran" (*ZDMG* XCVIII [1944] 369–76).

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THE SOUTHERN PORTICO, THE COURTYARD, AND THE SOUTHERN STAIRWAY

The two large bases found in the southern portico (3) probably supported stone columns of the same size and order as those in the northern portico and the main hall (see p. 111). On the other hand, to judge by fragments uncovered by Herzfeld, the pairs of smaller stone columns which carried the roofs of the eastern and western porches of Courtyard 4 seem to have had capitals in the form of horned feline monsters, resembling those of the eastern portico of the Apadana (p. 80). Stone benches abutted the walls of Portico 3 (see Fig. 56 *D*).

From the open courtyard (4), which is on the same level as the main hall, a small sculptured stairway (Figs. 56 *F–J* and 57, Pls. 82–87)[39] of six steps led to Vestibule 15—90 cm. above the level of the courtyard—and to the complex of residential palaces beyond. Two pairs of palace officials, distinguished by their usher's staffs, are shown on the newels of the parapets (Pl. 87 *B–C*). They are Persians, as indicated by their costume. The headdress is a plain band leaving the top of the head exposed. Rings are shown at their ears. Nine Persian guards standing on four imaginary steps on the outside of each parapet and facing the courtyard (i.e., north) are dressed in the same fashion, including earrings, except for their fluted tiaras (Pls. 83–84 and 87 *A*). They are armed with bow, quiver, and lance. It is interesting to note that portions of two figures on the eastern façade have been restored by two sculptured clamps of iron which were intended primarily to repair the faulty stone at the points concerned (Pl. 83).

The inner faces of the two parapets bear two files of twelve alternating Persian and Median servants carrying supplies for the royal table (Pls. 85–86). In contrast to the servant processions on other stairways, the persons are here not pictured in the actual process of ascending the steps. They are shown in pairs, one Persian and one Mede walking on each step, but the direction of the procession indicates, of course, that the servants are mounting the stairs to take the table supplies to the residential area.

The sculptor did not intend to picture the right and left sides of the same servants on the opposite flanks of each step. A glance at the illustrations shows that the supplies carried by such persons differ in most instances, although the positions of Persians and Medes coincide on both parapets.

All servants wear bashlyks. The Persians, who otherwise match the guards and ushers as to gown and shoes, wear turban-like scarves wound about the head. The Medes, dressed in the usual belted coat and long trousers, have two kinds of bashlyks: one has the plain domed top of the normal Median headdress; the other ends above the forehead in three (or less) knobs. Both kinds of headgear are provided with flaps covering ears and chin and with a dorsal projection which protects the back of the neck. All Persians and Medes alike have mustaches, and the upper edges of beards are marked in many cases above their covered chins.

The two files of servants carry the following objects:

	East File (Pl. 85)		West File (Pl. 86)	
Top step	P.[40]	two bowls	P.	bowl with lid
	M.[41]	chalice with lid	M.	?
5th step	P.	wineskin[42]	P.	wineskin[42]
	M.	two bowls	M.	two bowls
4th step	P.	chalice with lid	P.	bowl with lid
	M.	kid	M.	lamb
3d step	P.	bowl with lid	P.	chalice with lid
	M.	two bowls	M.	bowl with lid
2d step	P.	bowl with lid	P.	two bowls
	M.	two bowls	M.	wineskin[42]
Bottom step	P.	wineskin[42]	P.	bowl with lid
	M.	lamb	M.	kid

The foregoing table shows that there are only six stereotyped subjects repeated at varying degrees of frequency. The fact that certain articles are carried by both Medes and Persians provides some variation. Animals are carried solely by Medes, as in the other servant processions.

THE WEST ROOMS AND PASSAGES

The average level of the western portion of the Council Hall complex is about a meter higher than that of the principal, central area. A stairway of baked bricks leads from the western portico of Courtyard 4 to the higher level of Room 5. Although no remnants of stone bases were here found, the size of the room indicates that its roof was supported by four columns. We do not believe that a second entrance existed in the partly destroyed southern wall.

Another stairway of baked bricks rises from the above-mentioned portico to Room 6, which is a vestibule giving access to the long Room 7. The thick western walls of Rooms 6, 7, and 13 appear to limit the planned portion of the Council Hall. The subsidiary rooms to the west, including Room 5, may have been added at random. Their walls are more flimsily constructed, and they were certainly lower than those of the main structure.

There is no connection between Hall 2 and Room 7, but an opening in the west wall of the latter leads to the group of subsidiary rooms referred to. One enters first an almost square unit (No. 8), which may well have been an open courtyard, presumably drained by a branch of a system of surface channels cut out of bedrock (see Fig. 51) and stopping in Vestibule 9, west of the assumed courtyard. This vestibule links the small courtyard with an apartment (Rooms 11–12) on the south and a single room (10) on the north. Two columns each may have supported the roofs of Rooms 10 and 11, but no traces of bases remain. The shafts, here as in the other subsidiary rooms of the western wing, were made undoubtedly of wood.

We do not believe that there were any doorways in the missing portions of the west walls of Rooms 9 and 12. In our opinion, Rooms 9–12 could be entered solely via the western rooms (6–7) of the main structure and through Courtyard 8. Room 5, as we have seen, is connected only with the western portico of Courtyard 4. There remains a small apartment consisting of the partly reconstructed Rooms 19*a* and *b*. This apartment appears to have been

39. Now in the Tehran Museum.
40. Persian.
41. Mede.
42. Or waterskin.

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exceptionally secluded. There is no reason to assume that doorways existed in the destroyed southern wall of Room 19*b* or that an opening connected the northern part of Passage 18[43] with Vestibule 9 or Passage 22. Therefore, a person leaving Courtyard 4 with the intention of reaching this apartment had to ascend the small sculptured stairway to Vestibule 15 and proceed through Passage 16, Vestibule 17, and Passage 18, at whose northern end a doorway opens into Room 19*a*. The wall dividing the two rooms is assumed, but its former existence is suggested by a slight break in the north face of the southern wall. Fragments of mud-brick walls found in both rooms and a row of roughly squared stones in Room 19*b* appear to be remnants of secondary constructions built at an unknown time. We assume that the roof of Room 19*b* was carried by two columns, but only one bell-shaped base of stone (Fig. 56 *E*) was found. It was inverted in the center of the room.

The northwestern part of the Council Hall complex, including Rooms 19*a* and *b*, and Passages 14 and 20 were uncovered by us in connection with the excavation of the southeastern section of the Apadana. As mentioned above, the major portion of the Council Hall had been cleared previously, and we have no information as to whether objects were found which could throw light on the use of the subsidiary western rooms. Some may have been used as living quarters for palace officials. Others may have been storerooms. The isolation of Rooms 19*a* and *b* and a few of the objects found in their debris suggest that they had been employed for storage. A heavy band of gold[44] lay on the floor of Room 19*b*, near its assumed eastern doorway. A small discoid gold button with shank was near the inverted column base. Room 19*a* contained a sword hilt of iron,[45] a clay whorl,[46] and a small lead disk. A bronze band[47] with rosette pattern, which may have been applied to a wooden door, was found in the southeast corner near the doorway to Passage 18. One of the frequent onyx eye stones had been lost in this passage, about 4.50 m. south of the doorway to Room 19*a*. In contrast to many rooms and halls of the Treasury, neither Rooms 19*a* and *b* nor any of the other subsidiary rooms and passages of the Council Hall show traces of burning on the walls. This proves that at least the western part of the building was not destroyed by fire, and it is possible that the entire structure escaped the conflagration (or conflagrations) which destroyed the Apadana, the Throne Hall, and the Treasury.

A quantity of baked and glazed bricks occurred in the detritus of Room 19*b* and Passage 14. They must have fallen from the southeast tower of the Apadana and are dealt with in the description of that building (see pp. 77–78). However, it is appropriate to repeat at this point that a pile of about thirty fragments of bricks with various designs occurred 30–50 cm. above the floor of Room 19*b*, whereas a similar pile of decorated bricks and, some distance away, an inscribed specimen were found only 15 to 20 cm. above the floor of Passage 14. This seems to indicate that the roof of the passage had been rather flimsy, else we should have expected to find a thicker layer of debris beneath the bricks.

We have already mentioned that Passage 14 links the northern portico of the Council Hall with the southern porch of the Apadana. Most of the objects found in this corridor had presumably been lost during the looting of the site. Near the western end we found a seal pendant[48] framed in gold, a small gold nail, and part of a bronze fibula. In the central portion of the passage occurred a button of gold and a gold rosette which had once been the head of a bronze tack or nail.

Passage 14 is a branch of a system of service lanes planned to detour traffic around the Council Hall. A cross-corridor (20) connects Passage 14 with Vestibule 21 and the long, presumably roofless, Passage 22, which separates the high platform of Palace G from the Council Hall complex. The doorway connecting Passages 14 and 20 has a sill of baked bricks (32 × 32 × 7 cm.), whereas the floor of the opening between Passage 20 and Vestibule 21 is simply covered with mud plaster—the same material, it seems, which was used for surfacing the subsidiary western rooms, to judge by the badly preserved remnants of their floors.

A canal cut in bedrock drains Passage 22 in its entire extent. Branches of the crude drainage system extend eastward across Passage 18 as far as Room 9, and the western part of the main canal after crossing Vestibule 21 enters and drains in several branches the open courtyard south of the Apadana. A roughly square stone slab (55 × 57 × 10 cm.) was used in Vestibule 21 to cover part of the channel.

Passage 22 links the southern courtyard of the Apadana with the area south of the Council Hall complex. While testing a strip of the latter area, Haines found that at least parts of it must have been paved with baked bricks (33 × 33 × 5.5 cm.), remnants of which are marked on the plan (Fig. 51). The same material was used for the sills of the doorways leading from Rooms 15 and 17 into the open and also for a doorway which gave access to this area from the completely destroyed rooms bordering it on the east.[49]

43. The drains presumably were channeled beneath the walls.

44. PT7 21; see Vol. II for objects whose field numbers are given.

45. PT7 17.

46. PT7 16.

47. PT7 15.

48. PT7 67.

49. The Iranian Antiquity Service uncovered additional rooms south of Room 16, opposite the east stairs to Xerxes' palace.

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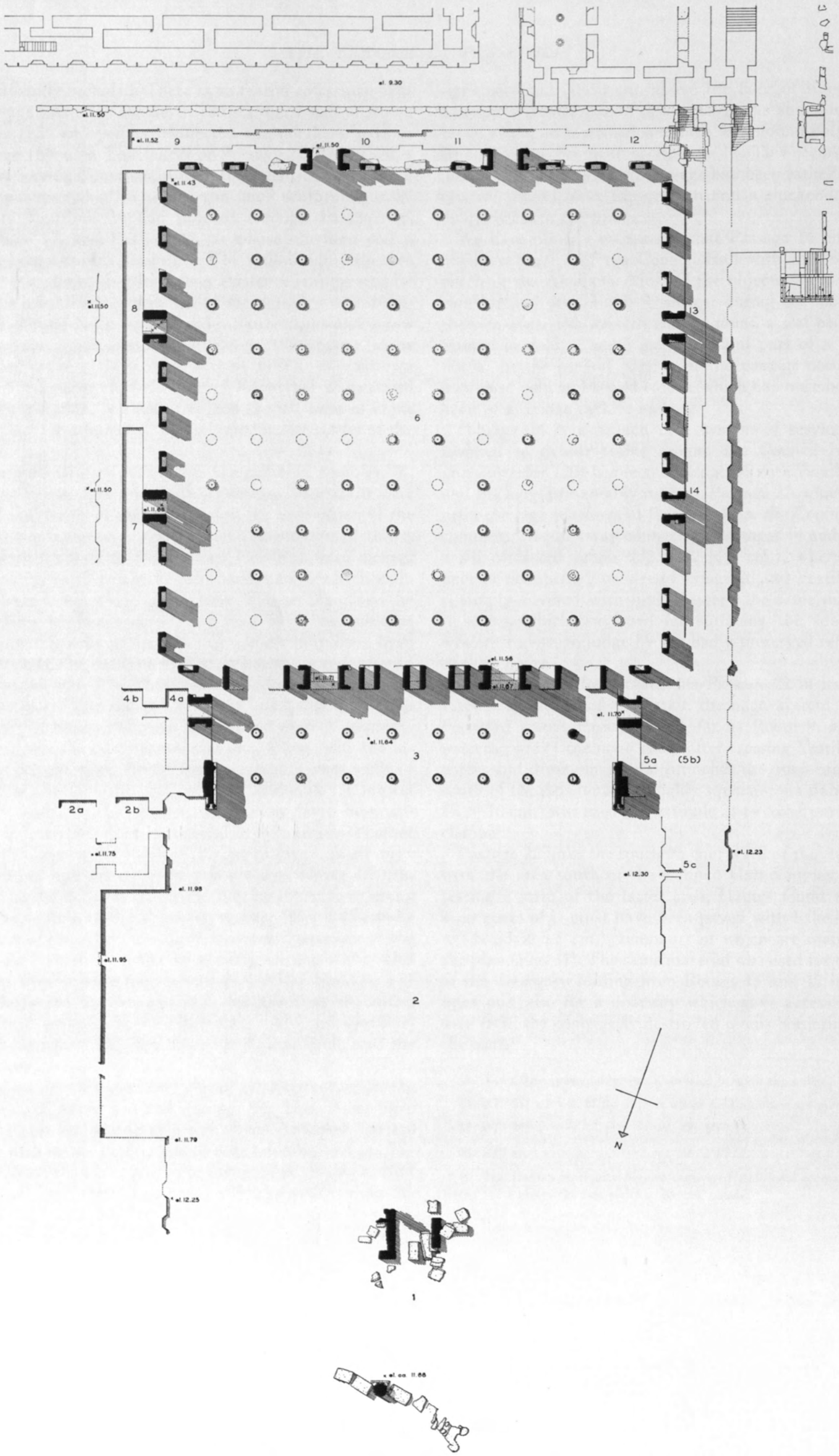


FIG. 58. PLAN OF EXTANT REMAINS OF THRONE HALL. SCALE, 1:600

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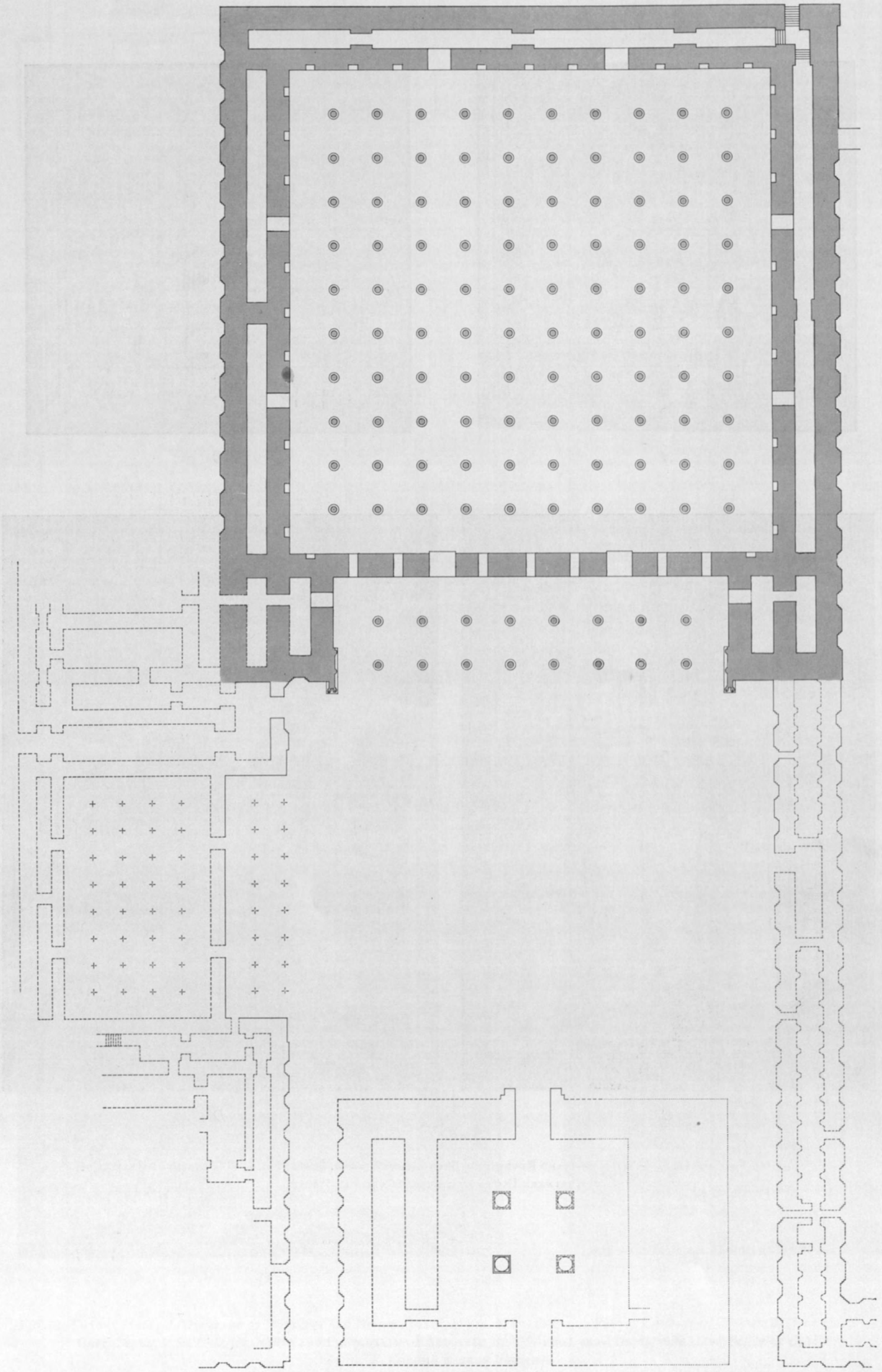


FIG. 59. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF THRONE HALL COMPLEX. SCALE, 1:600. PARTS EXCAVATED OR RECONSTRUCTED BY THE IRANIAN ANTIQUITY SERVICE ARE SHOWN IN BROKEN LINES

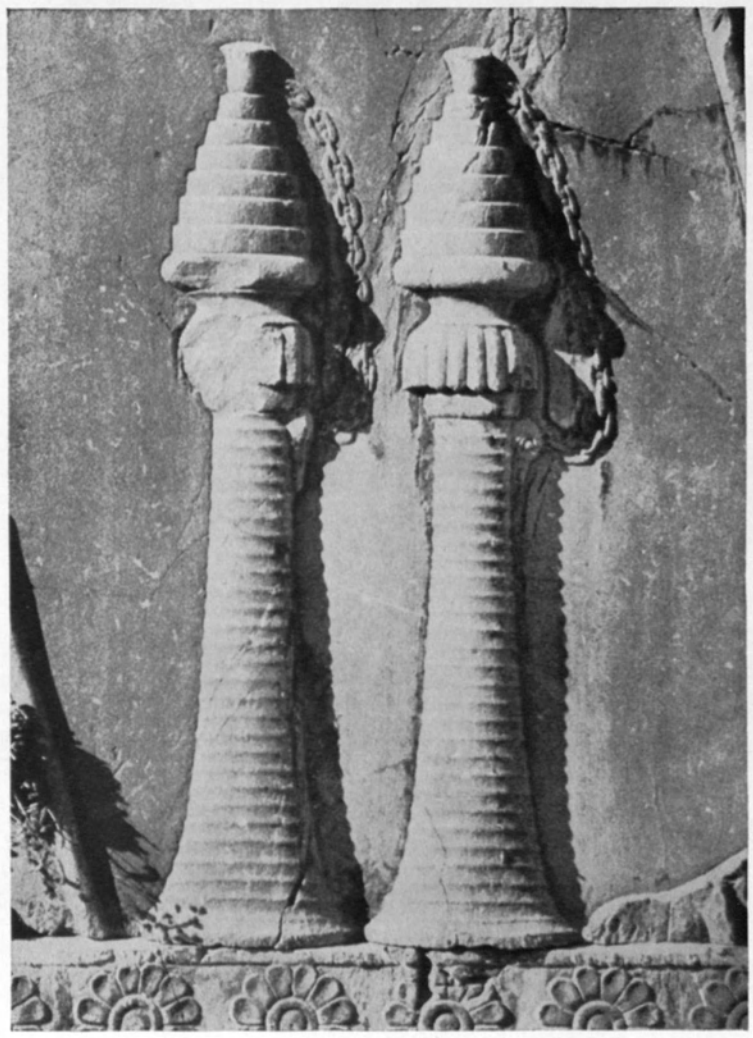
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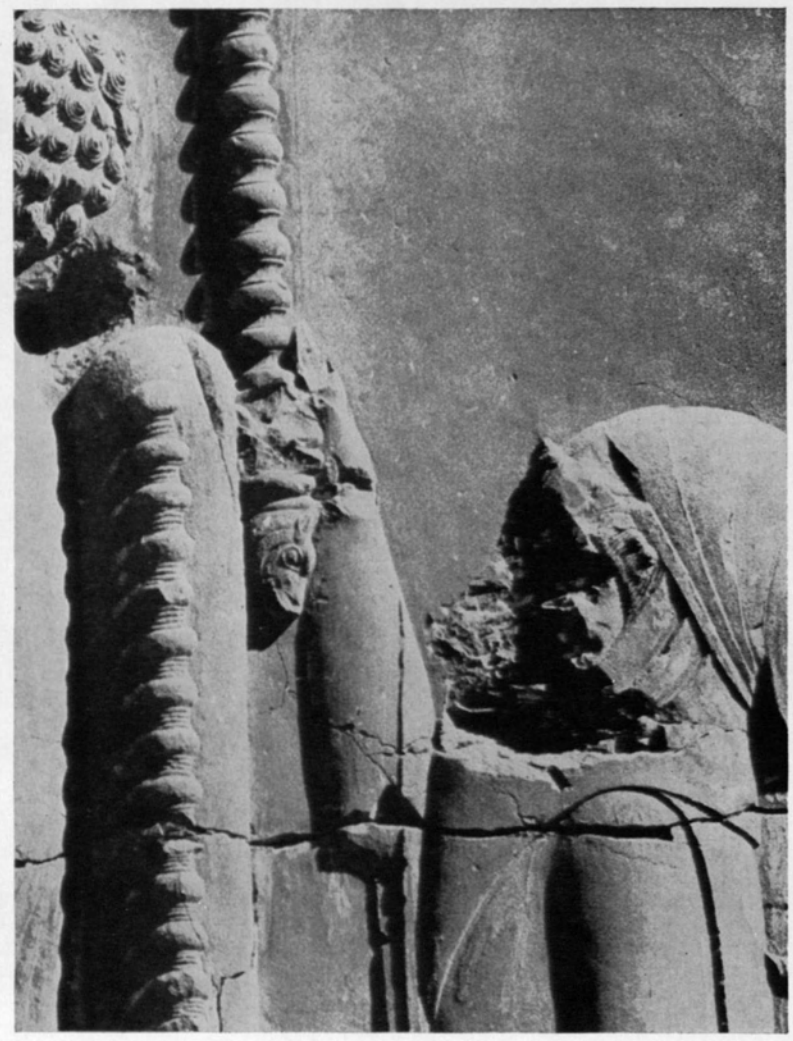
A



B



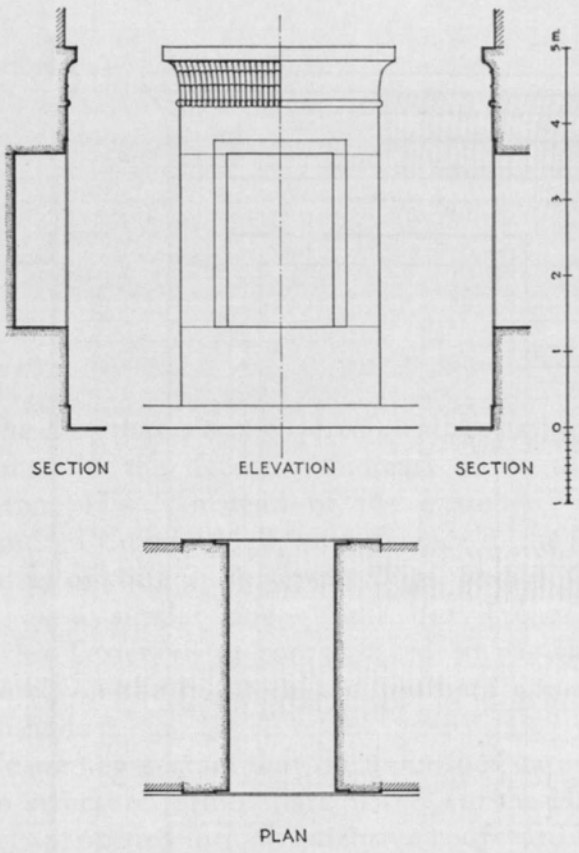
C



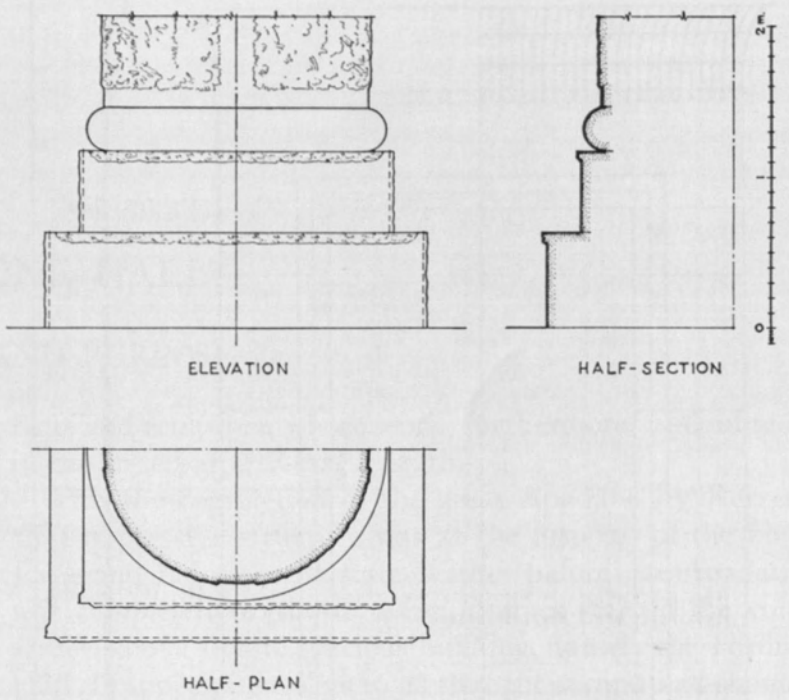
D

Fig. 60. Throne Hall. *A–B*. Obverse and Reverse of Foundation Record. Scale, 1:4. *C–D*. Details of Reliefs on Northern Doorways: Censers and Fly-Whisk

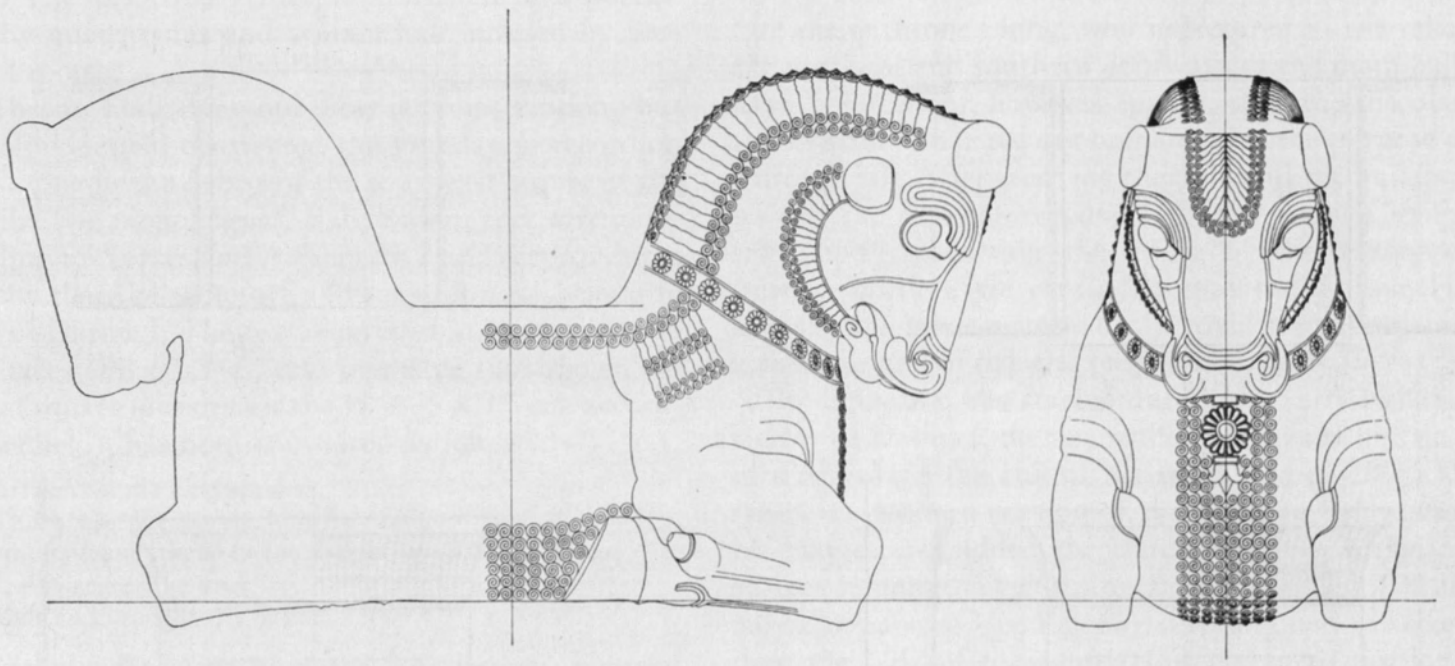
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A



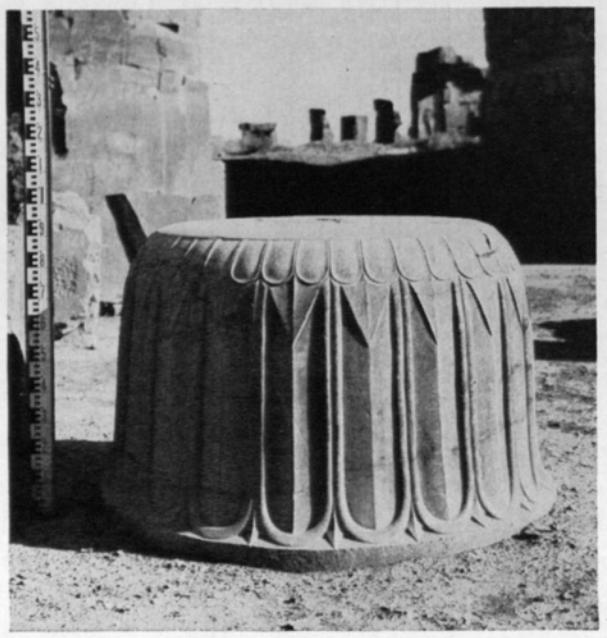
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C

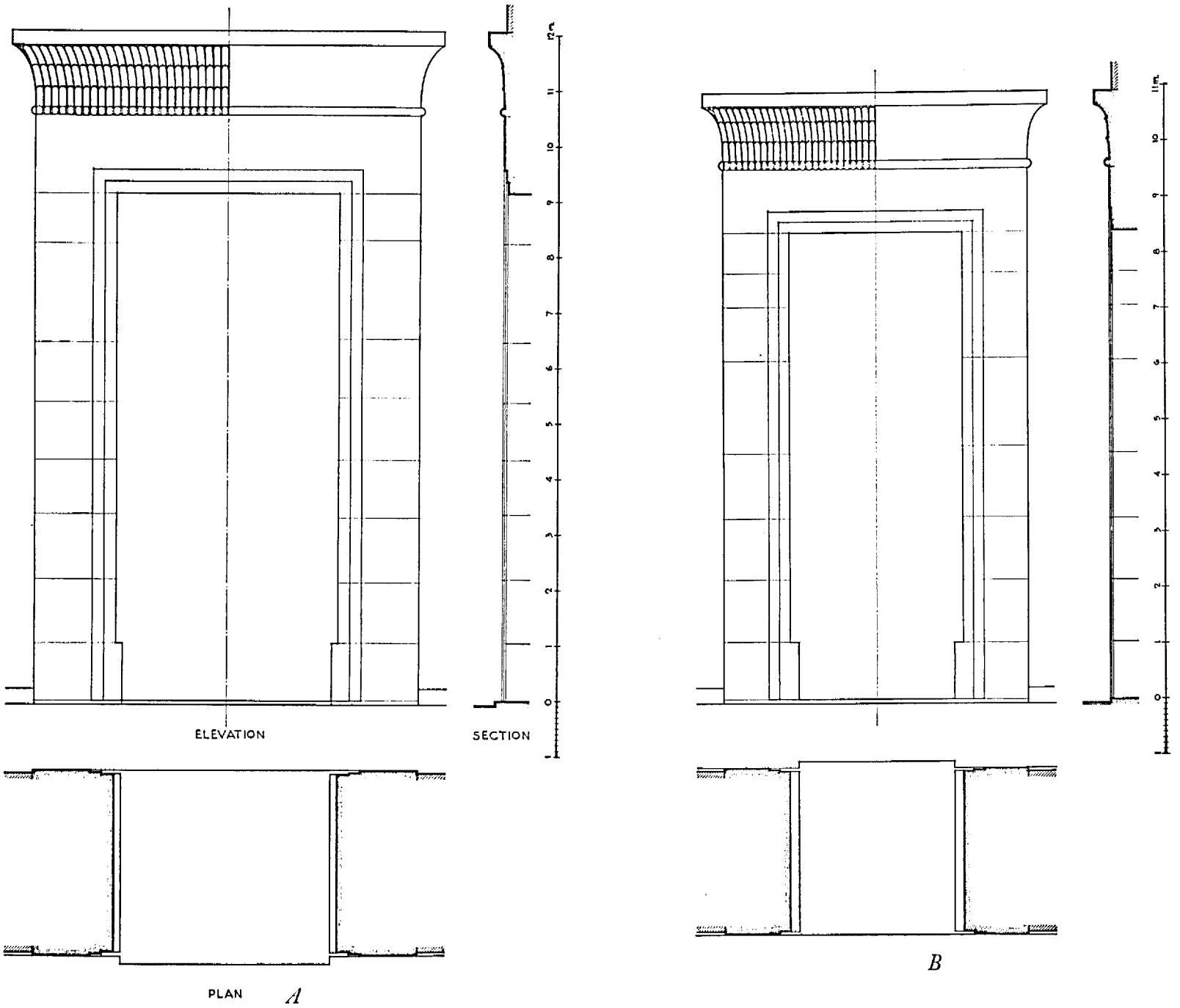


D



E

Fig. 61. Throne Hall. *A*. Diagrams of Windows and Niches. Scale, 1:100. *B*. Diagrams of Partly Completed Column Base of Unfinished Gate. Scale, 1:50. *C–D*. Drawings and Photograph of Addorsed Bull Capital from Unfinished Gate. Scale of *C*, 1:30. *E*. Column Base in Portico



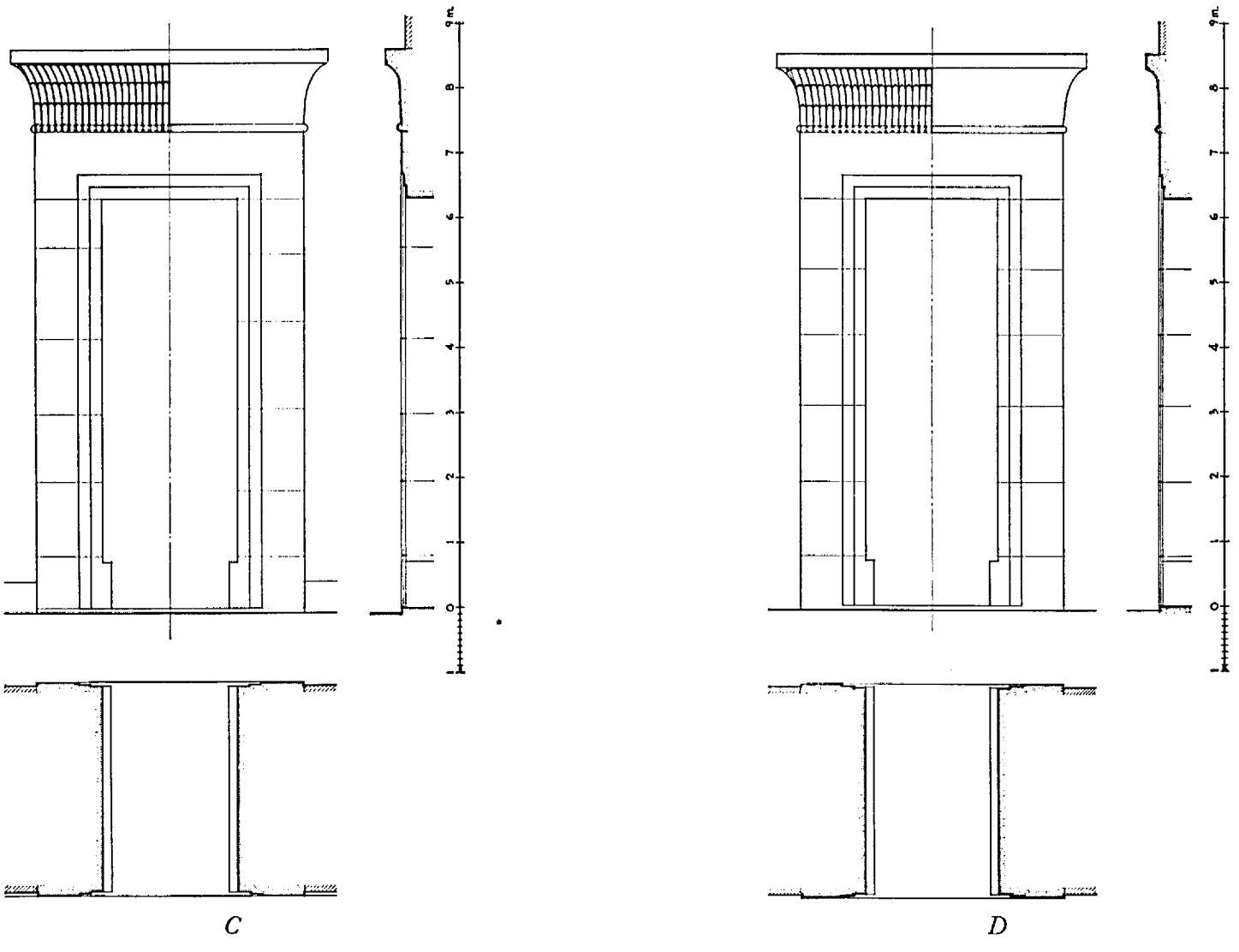


FIG. 62. THRONE HALL. RECONSTRUCTED DIAGRAMS OF NORTHERN (*A*), SOUTHERN (*B*), EASTERN AND WESTERN (*C*), AND GUARDROOM (*D*) DOORWAYS. SCALE, 1:100

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THE THRONE HALL

FOUNDATION AND PURPOSE

The fact that we uncovered another hall of a hundred columns in the Treasury induced us to use the term "Throne Hall," instead of the customary designation "Hundred-Column Hall," in reference to the second great building of state at Persepolis (Figs. 58–59). Our term, as well as a similar one—"Salle des Trônes"—used by Charles Texier,[1] is of course based on the throne scenes pictured on the northern and southern doorways of the main hall.

We are now certain that the unfinished gate north of the main structure formed part of the Throne Hall complex. The gate opened into an extensive courtyard bordered on the west by narrow rooms and on the east by a spacious building. The principal structure consisted of a portico flanked by guardrooms and a main hall inclosed by passages and rooms.

The Throne Hall does not bear any inscription, but fortunately Herzfeld discovered the foundation record on a slab of stone in the debris of the southeast corner of the main hall.[2] The monolingual, Babylonian, text attributes the building to Xerxes and Artaxerxes I and disproves the assumption that the structure and its sculptures belong to the time of Darius I. The text, engraved in eleven lines on the two faces (Pl. 60 *A–B*) and one edge (not shown) of the almost square limestone slab (35 × 35 × 7.5 cm. according to Herzfeld), has been translated as follows:[3]

> Artaxerxes the king speaks:
> This house[4] Xerxes the king, my father,
> laid its foundations[5] in the protection of Ahuramazda;
> I, Artaxerxes the king,
> built and brought (it) to completion.[6]

We conclude, therefore, that the building was planned by Xerxes and his architects. The initial work undoubtedly included the scarping of the bedrock along the southern edge—which drops more than 2 meters to the level of the Harem and the Treasury—and the leveling of the area to be occupied by the main building. The foundations (or foundation?) referred to presumably include the stone base courses of the walls, and much of the preparatory work of the quarry miners and of the masons engaged in modeling the other stone parts of the structure was probably in progress during Xerxes' reign. The inscription does not specify the amount of work accomplished under either ruler. Perhaps all upper parts of the structure and all reliefs were executed under Artaxerxes, but the "blueprints" of the details may well have been prepared by Xerxes' architects and sculptors, whose work, furthermore, undoubtedly continued after Xerxes' death.

With the completion of the great Apadana by Xerxes, that impressive structure was at the disposal of the king for grand functions of state. Either before the Apadana was completed or shortly after, Xerxes started the construction of a second spacious building, namely the Throne Hall. It appears senseless to us that the second hall should have been intended for the same purposes as the first, incomparably more impressive, structure. Nevertheless, the ambitiously planned, though never finished, gate, the spacious forecourt, and the enormous main room suggested at first glance that the Throne Hall complex was intended for the assemblage of a multitude of people appearing before the enthroned king, who is pictured in the reliefs on the northern and southern doorways of the main hall. We have pointed out, however (p. 42), that the discovery of the Treasury changed our opinion as to the purpose of the Throne Hall. After studying the plan and the building history of the royal storehouse and after tracing its expansions and considering the effect of the razing of its western portion, we concluded that the Throne Hall is actually the last extension of the royal storehouse, namely a treasure hall of palatial proportions.

The Treasury was started during the early building activities of Darius I, then expanded northward and doubled in size toward the end of his reign (see p. 200). Xerxes razed the western portion of the building before erecting his Harem and added the third and final section to the eastern remnant. The third section, namely Hall 38 and its subsidiary rooms (see Fig. 63), certainly had to accommodate the bulk of the contents of the razed portion, and soon the building must have been filled to capacity. Only the width of a street separates the northern inclosure of the Treasury from a terrace of bedrock at least 2.20 m. in height. Consequently, no more space was left for expansion on the same level.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that Xerxes decided to erect on the elevated area beyond the street an independent, massive treasure house of adequate dimensions, namely our Throne Hall. The enormous main hall of a hundred columns may well have been intended to display the greatest of the royal treasures, and thus to relieve congestion in the old Treasury and make room for further tribute and booty expected to flow to the heart of the empire.

The ground plan of the Throne Hall supports our theory very well. Its main room, inclosed on three sides by long corridors and subsidiary rooms, is simply a greatly enlarged variant of the "museum" halls (Nos. 38 and 41, also 62 and 73; see Fig. 63) of the Treasury, which are bordered by storerooms.

The sculptures of the Throne Hall do not contradict the identification of the building as a treasure house.

1. *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* II 186 ff.

2. Or in the outer southeast corner? Herzfeld stated by letter that the document had been "moved a few feet from its original position by the crumbling of the walls at the eastern corner of the building."

3. By George G. Cameron.

4. *AI*, p. 45 (No. 22): "palast."

5. *Ibid.:* "fundament" (sing.).

6. *Ibid.:* "gebaut und vollendet"; W. Eilers (oral): "ausgeführt und errichtet."

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There are protective subjects: the guardian bulls flanking the portico, the reliefs of soldiers, and the victorious royal hero shown in the doorways to the east and west. Further, the nations represented on the southern doorways by the bearers of the king's throne were largely the contributors to the treasures assumed to have been displayed and stored in this building. Finally, the audience scene pictured on the jambs of the northern doorways (Pls. 96–99) and that shown in the Treasury reliefs (Pls. 119–23) are so closely related that they appear to correlate the functions of the two buildings.

The reasons mentioned persuade us that the Throne Hall and the great Apadana had indeed been constructed for distinct purposes. Whereas the Apadana served for great receptions of state and symbolized the political power of the king, the Throne Hall was primarily an enormous "palace museum," exhibiting the economic wealth of the empire. Here too receptions took place, as indicated by the throne reliefs; but only the forecourt could accommodate a considerable number of people, if our assumption is correct that the greater portion of the main hall was filled with treasures on display.

THE UNFINISHED GATE

The monumental entrance (1; see Fig. 58) to the forecourt of the Throne Hall was never completed. This fact is clearly shown by unfinished remnants of stone parts visible on the surface (Pl. 90 *A*) or exposed in minor tests. We did not excavate the gate area. The surface stones include parts of guardian monsters—such as the bulls or winged man-bulls of the Xerxes Gate—facing the forecourt (Pl. 90 *B*). Their position determines the location of the southern doorway of the structure. We have no information concerning its other openings, but we assume that the gatehouse was entered through a northern doorway, which may have been intended to be guarded by another pair of stone monsters (see Fig. 59).

Part of a plain column shaft, undoubtedly meant to be carved with flutes, stands on a partly finished base consisting of a torus and a two-stepped plinth (Fig. 61 *B*). The measurements of this base indicate that the columns of the unfinished gate had been intended to be approximately as tall as those of the Apadana, where, furthermore, the columns of the central hall have the same order. In addition to the stepped column base, the stones of the unfinished gate include a unit with rising leaves (Pl. 90 *C*) and the addorsed bulls (Fig. 61 *C–D*)[7] of a composite capital—features common to both groups of columns.

The plan of the unfinished gate, as far as it is preserved, has now been determined by the work of the Iranian Antiquity Service (see p. 5). According to this plan there are two north-south passages—one at either side of the gate structure—in addition to a (projected) monumental entryway through the gate. An avenue leading between niched walls from the Gate of Xerxes to the unfinished gate was also uncovered by the Antiquity Service.

THE FORECOURT

When testing the areas north of the guardrooms which flank the Throne Hall portico, Haines established beyond doubt the existence of a spacious courtyard (2)[8] bordered on the east and west by mud-brick structures and extending between the portico and the unfinished gate. The soundings were confined to tracing walls. Neither the contents of the rooms nor the debris of the courtyard were cleared. On the east the course of the border wall was traced northward almost to the point where we expected it to turn west in order to abut the east wall of the unfinished gate. It was subsequently proved, however, that the wall continues in a straight line. The center portion of the eastern wall of the forecourt is recessed, forming a rectangle (34.30 × 9.00 m.) open toward the courtyard and suggesting a portico. When Haines sounded one spot for clues relative to the existence of columns, he found in the mud-plaster floor a hole indicating the location of a column base. The stone sills of two doorways (1.70 m. wide) leading from the recessed strip to unexcavated rooms on the east lend importance to this area. The Iranian excavations showed that we were right in postulating a portico whose roof was carried by two rows of eight columns. South of this portico Haines determined the existence of rooms (2*a* and 2*b*) interconnected and linked with the forecourt by two unusually wide openings (3.05 m.). The northern and southern portions of the eastern inclosure of the forecourt show remnants of niches, whereas the wall of the portico is plain.

As far as it was traced by us the western wall of the courtyard runs in a straight line without portico recess. The eastern face of this wall is provided with niches, one of which is pierced by a doorway opening into a room (5*c*) 4 meters in width. The western wall of this room is the outside wall of the Throne Hall complex. Its niches differ slightly in size from those embellishing the western outer face of the main building. Furthermore, the western face of the wall under consideration is set back about 25 cm. from the face line of the wall to the south. The break may have occurred at the destroyed northwest corner of the main building where the west wall of Room 5*c* abuts. The excavations of the Antiquity Service largely confirmed our original reconstruction (Fig. 59), which assumed that a flight of narrow rooms—such as were suggested by our test in Room 5*c*—formed the western border of the forecourt. The work of the Antiquity Service supplemented our knowledge as to the system of communication between the courts on the east and west of this flight of rooms and determined the unsuspected existence of open passages on both sides of the unfinished gate.

7. Now in Persepolis Museum.

8. Modifying our previous opinion (see *OIC* No. 21, p. 93).

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THE PORTICO OF THE MAIN HALL

The illustrations of Dieulafoy[9] and Herzfeld[10] show the appearance of the Throne Hall subsequent to the diggings of the Governor of Fars in 1877.[11] Herzfeld's crew removed the governor's dump piles from the western and southern sides of the building, and we cleared the rest. The interior of the main hall was not re-excavated, although there seem to be some untouched strips of original debris (Pl. 88).

We excavated the portico (3) in its entire extent (Pl. 89), notwithstanding the fact that its major architectural features were already known. The heads of the two colossal guardian bulls (Pls. 92–93) which flanked it had previously been uncovered by Herzfeld.[12] In the chaotic debris of fallen portico columns and stone parts of the façade of the main hall we found the remnant of one column shaft still standing on its bell-shaped base (see Pl. 91 and Fig. 61 *E*). The columns of the portico and the main hall were alike as to base, shaft, and floral sections of the composite capital. The impost blocks,[13] however, seem to be distinct. Shattered fragments found in the debris of the portico suggest that here the columns terminated in addorsed human-headed bulls, as in the Council Hall (see Figs. 54–55), whereas the impost blocks of the main hall had the common shape of addorsed bulls. The number of portico columns—two rows of eight—has always been correctly assumed.

The floor of the portico fades without even a step into the forecourt area. Masses of charcoal and ashes, epecially deep along the front row of columns, and burned patches on the mud-brick portions of the bordering walls confirm previous assumptions that the structure had been destroyed by fire (see p. 132).

The objects found in the detritus of the portico are instructive because many of them must have been lost or discarded in this area when the contents of the main hall and its subsidiary rooms were carried to the front of the building during the looting of the site. Some objects had undoubtedly belonged to the guardrooms flanking the portico. A few may have been thrown here with the earth excavated previously in the main hall.[14]

The categories of finds are closely related to objects uncovered in certain portions of the Treasury. This is an additional, though not decisive, feature correlating the two buildings (see p. 129). There were first of all a number of small sculptured objects: a lion's paw of blue composition,[15] a fragment of a miniature bull's head of the same material, a bronze leg of a quadruped,[16] and a pair of well modeled bronze horses.[17] Specimens of stone were represented by some inset teeth[18] of an animal statue and a fragment of a carved vessel or the like. A few modeled bronze fragments[19] suggest pieces of furniture, and one object of the same material resembles a doorknob.[20] Two sheets of bronze[21] which were once applied to woodwork belong to a group of specimens represented frequently in the Treasury and elsewhere. They are decorated with rosettes or stars and pierced for attachment. One sheet[22] lay on the floor in front of the eastern doorway to the main hall. Twenty-one gold-capped bronze nails,[23] used for the attachment of ornamental sheets, were found in various parts of the portico.

There were no cuneiform tablets or seal-impressed clay labels, but one cylinder seal[24] and one signet ring[25] occurred in the portico debris. Martial equipment too was almost entirely absent. There was one well wrought axhead of bronze,[26] and a broken lance head of iron lay appropriately not far from the entrance to the western guardrooms. Personal ornaments, on the other hand, were more frequent than one would have expected in this location. There were four onyx eye stones,[27] a lapis lazuli pendant in the form of a bovine,[28] a gold ornament of unusual shape,[29] beads of carnelian, amethyst,[30] and composition,[31] and one bead of amber,[32] which is the only object of this material found at Persepolis. There were also bronze fragments of a bracelet and a fibula. A portion of a thin chain of braided gold wire occurred in the partly tested Room 2*a* (see p. 130), outside the limits of the portico.

In addition to a number of nondescript bronze fragments there occurred some utensils of the same material: a needle,[33] a double tube,[34] a punch, a pulley wheel(?),[35] and the like. Iron fragments included parts of long spikes, a piece resembling the plowshares(?) from the Treasury (see p. 185), and a clamp. One clay whorl[36] had somehow strayed into this area.

Several fragmentary vessels of baked clay once used by the palace guards lay in the doorway which leads to the western guardrooms. The pots, ranging in color from light yellowish tan to light red and red-brown, closely resemble in shapes certain vessels found in the quarters of the garrison.[37] A bronze lid[38] and a fragment of a bronze vessel[39] occurred in the portico debris, also an unbaked brick (33.5 × 34 × 13.5 cm.), which had fallen from one of the bordering walls.

9. *L'Art antique de la Perse* II, Pls. VIII–XI.

10. *IAE*, Pl. XLVII, top.

11. See Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, "Vorwort des Herausgebers" (1st page).

12. The head of the eastern bull is now on exhibit in the Oriental Institute Museum (Pl. 92 *B–C*).

13. To use Herzfeld's term; see *IAE*, pp. 239 ff.

14. See Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, *loc. cit.*

15. PT5 83. Objects referred to by field number are described and illustrated in Vol. II.

16. PT5 28.

17. PT5 175.

18. PT4 1105.

19. E.g. PT4 1079 and PT4 1100.

20. PT5 814.

21. E.g. PT5 60.

22. Cf. PT7 15.

23. Cf. e.g. PT6 638 and PT6 53.

24. PT5 36.

25. PT5 86.

26. PT4 1094 (see p. 166, n. 49).

27. See Vol. II, chapter on "Personal Ornaments."

28. PT5 89.

29. PT5 114.

30. PT5 62 and PT5 245.

31. PT5 6.

32. PT5 173.

33. PT5 365.

34. PT4 1081.

35. Cf. PT5 479.

36. PT5 63.

37. Cf. PT3 59, PT3 311.

38. PT5 286.

39. PT5 61.

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THE GUARDROOMS

Two doorways of stone (Fig. 62 *D*) link the portico with pairs of rooms on the east and west. Persian guards carved on the jambs of each doorway mark the rooms as guardrooms. The latter were not excavated, but trenches determined the outlines of the eastern rooms (4*a* and *b*) and Room 5*a* on the west. Room 5*b*[40] is postulated, but there can be no doubt that it exists, balancing Room 4*b*.

The guard reliefs (Pls. 94–95) are almost identical with those found in the Harem (see p. 257) and the residential palaces of Darius (Pls. 136–37) and Xerxes (Pls. 176 *B–C* and 177 *B–C*). Each jamb shows two bearded Persians facing the portico. They wear the long candys, Persian shoes with three straps and buttons, and the headdress typical of the palace attendants and guards: a narrow band leaving the top of the head exposed. Each guard holds a long lance with globular shaft end, and the foremost of each pair is provided with a tall shield (actually of wickerwork). The reliefs on the two opposite jambs are in each case represented as mirror images.

THE MAIN HALL

General Notes

The spacious hall (6), 68.50 m. square, is even larger than the central hall of the Apadana. Its roof was supported by a hundred columns of stone, arranged in ten rows. All have fallen and are shattered, except for most of the bases, which are identical in form and dimensions with those of the portico (see Fig. 61 *E* and Pl. 91). The order of the columns is the same in both parts of the building, except, apparently, for the impost blocks, as mentioned above (p. 131). Haines computed the total height of the Throne Hall columns to be 12.96 m.[41] Consequently the building was about two-thirds as tall as the Apadana, whose columns ranged in height from 19.105 to 19.27 m. We have mentioned (p. 130) that the columns of the unfinished gate had been intended to approximate those of the Apadana. This means that the entrance structure, if it had been completed, would have surpassed the main building in height.

Stolze, who examined the building shortly after the excavations of the Governor of Fars, mentions that the entire floor of the main hall was covered with a layer of ashes and charcoal, which on microscopic analysis proved to be cedar,[42] that is, the carbonized remains of roof beams. Herzfeld states that this layer was from 1 foot to 3 feet thick, and he describes the effect of fire on the column remnants.[43] He emphasizes that the hall must have been filled with combustible material. This agrees well with our opinion as to the principal purpose of the building (see pp. 129 f.). On the other hand, the destruction by fire, as evidenced by the appearance of the broken columns, was not so extensive as implied by Herzfeld, nor was its effect on the columns so negligible as described by Stolze, who states that the excavated bases were in a perfect state of preservation. At any event, there is no doubt that the collapse of the Throne Hall and its portico was caused by a conflagration, which may well have coincided with the burning of the Treasury, situated beyond the street on the south, and perhaps with the destruction of the Apadana as well.

A small test clearing the southeast corner of the main hall revealed that its floor did not have brown-red surface finish such as was used for the Treasury floors. A surface coat of white plaster was suggested by small patches of this material applied over a layer of mud plaster. The base course of stone carrying the mud-brick sections of the walls is 55 cm. high at this spot and at other points examined.

There are two monumental sculptured doorways of stone in each wall. Figure 62 shows that the northern doorways, leading from the portico into the hall, are highest. The southern ones are next in size, and the pairs of eastern and western doorways slightly exceed the dimensions of the guardroom doorways, which are the smallest, although they are far from unimpressive. Haines closely examined all doorways and confirmed Curzon's statement[44] that there are no clues for the existence of doors, such as pivoting devices or holes left after their removal. It is difficult to believe that portieres only were used to close the entrances. Further, the lack of doors throws doubt on our assumption that the Throne Hall contained the king's greatest treasures. However, the palace guards and the certainty of the death penalty for theft may have been considered sufficient protection for the contents of the building.

The eastern, western, and southern walls are each adorned with nine stone niches, whereas the northern wall has only one niche at either end in addition to seven stone windows opening into the portico (see Fig. 61 *A*). These windows admitted light to the frontal, northern section of the hall. We have to assume that its other portions were lighted—though dimly at best—by means of openings near the roof, perhaps above each of the twenty-seven niches in the three other walls. In such case, the main hall would have risen in clerestory fashion above the roof of the inclosing narrow passages and rooms. Curzon[45] expressed a similar theory, but Herzfeld[46] believed that the hall was completely dark except for the light admitted through the seven windows. On the other hand, Herzfeld and Krefter employed clerestory lighting in their restoration of the Harem (see e.g. Fig. 22).

The Northern Doorways

The jambs of the two doorways leading from the portico into the hall are adorned with two identical pairs of reliefs

40. Partly covered by the quarters of the present gendarme post, stationed here by order of the Iranian Government.

41. According to Flandin and Coste, Pl. 168 *bis*, 11.41 m.; Curzon, *Persia* II 177, 37 ft. (11.28 m.); *IAE*, p. 229, *ca.* 30 ft. (9.14 m.).

42. Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, "Bemerkungen zu den Tafeln" (4th page).

43. *IAE*, p. 229.

44. *Persia* II 179.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *IAE*, p. 229.

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which picture in the uppermost of six registers the enthroned king giving audience and in the remaining panels rows of Persian and Median guards (Pls. 96–101). Two files of five guards face each other in each register. The four lower registers show alternating Persians and Medes. The former, wearing the usual flowing candys and fluted tiara, are armed with lance, bow, and quiver. The Medes, distinguished by domed hat, belted coat, and trousers, also have lances; but their bows are hidden in cases, and a sword is suspended from the right side of the belt. The uppermost register of guards—closest to the throne—is distinct. Here Persians only are pictured. The first two in each file are armed solely with lances, and the remaining six guards carry lances and shields. The latter are identical in shape with shields shown in the reliefs of the Council Hall (e.g. Pl. 63) and elsewhere. Each register is framed by twelve-petaled rosettes.

The impressive display of soldiers obviously illustrates the guards lined up at the audience, which is the main theme of the doorway decoration. The scene is so closely related to that pictured in the two Treasury reliefs and described below (pp. 162–69 and Pls. 119–23) that it will suffice here to point out features in which the two sets of sculptures differ.

The Treasury orthostats, picturing nine persons, are about twice as long (6.225 m.) as the audience reliefs (*ca.* 3.20 m.) of the Throne Hall, where only six persons are shown (Pls. 98–99). Two instead of four palace guards or attendants are posted outside the canopied space in the latter reliefs. It is more important that the crown prince (Xerxes), who stands behind the enthroned king (Darius I) in the Treasury sculptures, is missing in the Throne Hall scene, where in all probability Artaxerxes I is shown occupying the throne of his predecessors. About twenty-five years[47] may have lapsed between the completion of the audience reliefs of the Treasury (487–486 B.C.; see p. 169) and the sculpturing of the adapted Throne Hall scene.

The reliefs on the doorways under consideration are executed in such a manner that the two jambs in each case show opposite sides of the persons depicted. This applies to the audience scene as well as to the guards below and duplicates the manner in which the Treasury audience is shown. On the two sets of reliefs the seated king, his attributes, the throne, and the footrest are alike (cf. pp. 163–64) except for marks indicating that on the Throne Hall sculptures, in contrast to those of the Treasury, the king's figure had been embellished with the ornaments of formal attire. Cuts beside the tiara suggest that it had been covered, presumably by a sheet of gold whose upper edge was perhaps dentate. Holes beside the wrists and neck show that bracelets and a necklace had been attached. The presence of an ear ornament is suggested in one case at least (Pl. 99) by a hole in the king's ear lobe and two(?) holes beside it. The dais, elevating royalty in the Treasury reliefs above the level of the others, is omitted in the Throne Hall sculptures, where, however, the persons below royal rank are shown proportionally smaller than those in the Treasury.

The two censers in front of the throne are almost identical in the two sets of sculptures (cf. p. 164); but the neat, arrow-shaped slots marked on the Treasury censers are missing on the later sculptures, where the chain connecting stopper and duck's head consists of solid elongated rings (Fig. 60 *C*) instead of S-shaped links.

The Mede received in audience—perhaps the *hazarapat*—is discussed on pages 164 and 169. In the reliefs under consideration he bows more stiffly than in the Treasury sculptures. His left arm is flexed more closely, and his usher's staff therefore slants less. His head is not raised enough to let his eyes meet those of the king, and the folds of his coat are omitted. The abnormal position of the Mede's sword as pictured in the eastern relief of the Treasury (Pl. 123) is corrected in the sculptures of the Throne Hall (Pls. 99 and 96 *A*), where the hilt points backward, as it does in all the other representations at Persepolis of Medes bearing their swords.

In the place of the omitted crown prince stands the attendant with fly-whisk and towel, who always appears behind the king, enthroned or walking, except on those reliefs of the Council Hall and the Treasury which include the crown prince. In several instances the reliefs of the bearer of towel and fly-whisk show—as in this case—a beardless person, that is, presumably a eunuch. It is possible that the beardless towel-bearer of the Treasury reliefs (see pp. 165 and 169) and the attendant under consideration represent the same office, perhaps that of cupbearer or lord chamberlain. Whether or not one of these identifications is correct, the question of precedence over the bearer of the royal weapons (see below) is decided by the fact that the duties of this person—undoubtedly a high dignitary—required him to stand as close as possible to the king. The interposition of the crown prince between king and attendant in the Treasury sculptures explains the absence of the whisk, which the attendant in the Throne Hall reliefs holds over the king's tiara. The end of the whisk handle has the form of an animal head (Fig. 60 *D*), perhaps that of a bovine.[48]

Behind the attendant with fly-whisk and towel stands the Median bearer of the royal weapons, whose counterpart in the Treasury reliefs is discussed on pages 165–66 and 169. The dignitary shown in the audience scene of the Throne Hall is a simplified copy of the weapon-bearer pictured in the Treasury. The weapon-bearer's sword, which is the most beautiful detail of the older relief, is left plain in the Throne Hall sculptures (see Pl. 98). The king's battle-ax is a simple two-bladed weapon (see Pl. 99) without the elaborations shown on the Treasury ax, but the grip is roughened in both reliefs. In the eastern relief of the Treasury (Pl. 123) the top of the king's bow case is attractively modeled and resembles a parrot's head, whereas in the Throne Hall sculptures the bow case ends in a plain disk, partly hidden behind the canopy pole. However, both sets of reliefs show strap guards in the form of deer legs.

It is a significant fact that in the Treasury as well as in the Throne Hall the king's weapons are shown as reflected images, whereas the Mede's own sword appears only where his right side is pictured. The king's battle-ax is illustrated with more emphasis than his bow case, for the former is always held in full view in that hand of the weapon-bearer which is turned toward the observer (see Pls. 98–99), whereas the bow case is always in the background,

47. Rather more than less.

48. Herzfeld states that the whisk proper was made of the tail of a wild bull (*IAE*, p. 261). As to an Assyrian prototype of the whisk with animal handle, see Austen Henry Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1853) First Series, Pl. 5.

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partly covered by his head and body.[49] There is no technical reason for this, for the guards' bow cases are shown in normal fashion (see Pls. 100–101). They are always attached to the left side of the soldiers.

Behind the bearer of the royal weapons, but outside the canopied area, stands a Persian soldier with fluted tiara. He holds with both hands a pole which is either the shaft of a lance whose head is not indicated or the support of a problematical rectangular process of the baldachin (see below and p. 166).[50] At the opposite end of the relief, also beyond the canopied area, stands the bearer of the incense pail. He is a Persian (less probably a Susian),[51] as shown by the candys, but his head is covered by a bashlyk, whereas the bearded pail-bearer of the Treasury scene wears the fillet-like headdress of the palace attendants (see Pls. 121 and 123). On the doorway reliefs under discussion as well as on the Treasury orthostats this attendant is pictured in mirror reflection, that is, the incense pail always appears in full view. It is treated in the same manner as the royal battle-ax (see above). None of the other persons are shown in all details as reflected images.

The entire scene is inclosed by a frame with twelve-petaled rosettes, and above the king and his highest dignitaries spreads the royal baldachin, supported on round poles. Its ornamentation, composed of antithetic files of bulls and lions, winged disk symbols, rosette bands, and tasseled network, is described in connection with the Treasury reliefs (p. 167), where only the supports and the lowermost parts of the canopy are preserved. In the same section (p. 166) we refer to the above-mentioned rectangular process jutting outward from the lowest panel of the canopy (Pl. 99; see also Pl. 123) and a second faintly raised rectangular area behind the tip of the king's bow case (carried by the weapon-bearer) and behind the pair of poles, one of which is held by the Persian guard.

The Southern Doorways

As far as discernible, the two pairs of reliefs adorning the jambs of the southern doorways are identical (Pls. 102–12). Parts of the reliefs of each doorway are distinct and complementary (see below). All the sculptures under consideration show the enthroned king (Pl. 105) facing north, that is, the interior of the main hall. The king's throne, footstool, dress, and royal paraphernalia are alike on the northern and southern doorways except for one distinctive feature. In the southern reliefs the king does not appear in the full regalia of formal attire. The stones show no slits and round holes which would indicate that his sculpture had been adorned with necklace, bracelets, and tiara cover (cf. p. 133). Among the Persepolis reliefs of royal persons[52] the only other representations of the king without these ornaments occur in the audience scene of the Treasury (Pls. 119–23) and in the Harem (Pls. 193–94).

In the scene under consideration the sole attendant of the king is the person holding the towel in one hand and the fly-whisk over the ruler's tiara. The attendant's face is mutilated in all four reliefs; so we are not able to state whether he is beardless, as is his counterpart in the audience scene of the northern doorways. It is also unknown whether the handle of the fly-whisk was sculptured in the manner illustrated on Figure 60 *D*.

The royal baldachin spreading above the king and his attendant is almost identical with that on the northern doorways, but on the southern doorways the winged symbol with the partly encircled figure of Ahuramazda[53] floats above the canopy. It is interesting to note that here the god holds a lotus flower (see p. 84, n. 108) with two buds in his left hand, whereas in the similar Ahuramazda symbol on the sculptured doorways of the Council Hall he holds a ring (see e.g. Pl. 79).

The king's throne, his attendant, and the baldachin stand on a large dais, such as appears also in the king–crown prince reliefs of the Council Hall and, more elaborately, on the royal tombs. In the reliefs under consideration the dais—and with it the throne—is supported in each case by the representatives of fourteen nations of the empire. They are arranged in three registers separated by the "rungs" of the dais. The uppermost row includes four persons, and five are shown in the central and lower rows. The two jambs of each doorway picture two distinct groups of throne-bearers. Consequently, twenty-eight nations are represented, agreeing in number with the bearers of the throne of Darius I on each jamb of the eastern doorway of the Council Hall. In the tomb reliefs likewise representatives of twenty-eight nations bear the throne, but two additional representatives appear at the sides of the dais legs.

So far as the preservation of the reliefs permits comparison, it appears that the subject nations supporting Darius' throne in the Council Hall coincide with those bearing (in a different arrangement) the throne of Artaxerxes I in the Throne Hall. As to the identifications—often tentative—of the nations represented and as to their sequence in comparison with that of the throne-bearers on the royal tombs and that of the delegations in the Apadana procession, our remarks in reference to the Council Hall throne-bearers (pp. 117–20) pertain also to those under discussion and should be consulted in each case. The relations of the Council Hall reliefs with the tribute procession of the Apadana are noted on page 118. The following table shows the arrangement of the throne-bearers in the Throne Hall reliefs. The figures on the western jambs of both doorways are marked with "W," and those on the eastern jambs with "E." The numbers in parentheses designate the corresponding throne-bearers of the Council Hall reliefs, whose descriptions (pp. 118–20) are complemented in most cases by those of the better preserved reliefs under discussion. The following descriptions are based on both of the usually identical figures of the pairs of throne-bearers pictured on Plates 108–13.

49. This is one of the reasons why the writer prefers Weissbach's translation of the Aspathines inscription to that of Kent (see p. 169, n. 76).

50. See also *OIC* No. 21, pp. 29 f.

51. Not well enough preserved in any Throne Hall relief to show whether he is bearded or beardless.

52. Tomb reliefs and combats of the royal hero excepted.

53. In *IAE*, p. 255, Herzfeld describes the colors which he discovered on one of these Ahuramazda symbols: "On a deep black background. . . . Turquoise blue changes with a light scarlet red; the yellow has an orange or gold shade; deep purple and lapis blue, and, scantily used, an emerald green. . . ." Herzfeld does not indicate the find-spot of the relief, but he mentions that it belongs to "the doors of the Hall of a Hundred Columns" and that the original was destroyed shortly after the discovery. His illustration (*ibid.* Pl. LXIV) does not show the color scheme.

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Western Jambs

W4 (7)	W3 (5)	W2 (4)		W1 (1)
W9 (17)	W8 (15)	W7 (13)	W6 (11)	W5 (9)
W14 (27)	W13 (25)	W12 (23)	W11 (21)	W10 (19)

Throne-Bearer No. W1(1): Mede

Curled beard; curled hair bunched at back of neck; domed headdress, band at back; belted coat; short Median sword at right side; long trousers, no ankle strap.

Throne-Bearer No. W2 (4): Arian?[55]

Face destroyed. Bashlyk muffling chin, one end hanging at back of head; long cape with tasseled corners hanging on back, two straps extending across shoulders to chest; belted Median coat; trousers, notched at sides, apparently tucked into boots with upturned toes; straps around calves.

Throne-Bearer No. W3 (5): Babylonian

Curled beard; curled hair bunched at back of neck; conoid hat with long tip suspended behind; short-sleeved robe; scarf, tasseled ends thrown forward over shoulders; boots.[57]

Throne-Bearer No. W4 (7): Arachosian?

Face destroyed. Bashlyk with squared top, muffling chin; belted coat of Median type; scarf with tasseled ends, one thrown forward over right shoulder, the other backward over left shoulder; trousers apparently tucked into boots with upturned toes; straps around calves.

Throne-Bearer No. W5 (9): Cappadocian?

Curled beard with stringy tip; round headdress (knobbed?), two bands at back; Median belted coat and long trousers; short cape, two curved ends thrown forward over shoulders and fastened by means of fibula.

Throne-Bearer No. W6 (11): Saka Tigraxauda

Face destroyed. Bearded; conoid headdress (presumably with cheek flaps), tip undulating backward, scalloped appendage curling upward from lower posterior edge of hat; belted Median coat; long trousers, apparently ending at ankles. Unarmed, in contrast to corresponding throne-bearer (No. 11; p. 118) of Council Hall reliefs.

Throne-Bearer No. W7 (13): Parthian?

Bearded; curled hair bunched at back of neck; straight hair on top of head above fillet; belted Median coat; trousers apparently tucked into boots with upturned toes.

Throne-Bearer No. W8 (15): Bactrian?

Face destroyed. Probably bearded; curled hair bunched at back of neck; slightly wavy hair on top of head above fillet; belted Median coat; long trousers offset at ankles.

Throne-Bearer No. W9 (17): Scythian[60]

Face destroyed, stringy tip of beard preserved. Straight hair bunched at back of neck; round cap with cheek flaps; belted "cutaway coat," fur(?)-trimmed edges on chest; long trousers offset at ankles.

Eastern Jambs

E1 (2)	E2 (3)	E3 (6)		E4 (8)
E5 (10)	E6 (12)	E7 (14)	E8 (16)	E9 (18)
E10 (20)	E11 (22)	E12 (24)	E13 (26)	E14 (28)

Throne-Bearer No. E1 (2): Susian

Bearded; headdress uncertain; Persian candys, upper part plain, elaborate folds marked on lower portion; dagger with scabbard of Persian type in front; boots, straps marked on shaft.[54]

Throne-Bearer No. E2 (3): Armenian?[56]

Apparently bearded; hair bunched at back of neck; headdress with knobs in front, band at back; Median belted coat and long trousers.

Throne-Bearer No. E3 (6): Syrian

Head destroyed. Conoid headdress encircled by band(?); gown reaching to calves; scarf with pairs of long bifurcate tassels at corners, one end thrown forward over left shoulder; boots with upturned toes.

Throne-Bearer No. E4 (8): Cilician?

Face destroyed. Hair apparently bunched at back of neck; problematical scalloped headdress; short-sleeved gown reaching to calves; sash around waist, ribbed end tucked between sash and gown; boots with trifurcate strap in front.[58]

Throne-Bearer No. E5 (10): Egyptian

Face destroyed. Curly hair; bareheaded; characteristic beltless gown reaching to ankles, ribbed lower border; apparently barefooted.

Throne-Bearer No. E6 (12): Ionian?

Curled beard with stringy(?) tip; hair bunched at back of neck; straight hair on top of head; short-sleeved gown reaching to calves; scarf with pairs of long bifurcate tassels at corners, one end thrown back over left shoulder; boots with upturned toes (see almost identical dress of Syrian, No. E3).

Throne-Bearer No. E7 (14): Gandarian?

Curled beard; curled hair bunched at back of neck; wavy hair on top of head; fillet, knotted at back of head; short skirt from waist to knees, tassel at one corner; top of skirt apparently rolled, suggesting twisted sash; long cape with tasseled corners hanging on back, held by two straps which extend (on top of short-sleeved shirt?) across shoulders and chest to top of skirt; legs bare.

Throne-Bearer No. E8 (16): Sagartian?

Curled beard; curled hair bunched at back of neck; domed headdress, two knobs in front, muffler flaps raised and tied behind;[59] long-sleeved belted coat and long trousers, both of Median type.

Throne-Bearer No. E9 (18): Scythian

Face destroyed. Beard stringy at tip and on cheek; straight hair at temple and bunched at back of neck; round cap with cheek flaps; long-sleeved, belted "cutaway coat," fur(?)-trimmed edges on chest; curved device (blade of battle-ax[?]; see No. E14) projecting from point behind body and above right knee; long trousers offset at ankles.

54. On the western doorway; the Susian's boots on the eastern doorway are plain.

55. See Council Hall throne-bearer No. 4 (p. 118) and Apadana delegation No. 4 (p. 85).

56. See Council Hall throne-bearer No. 3 (p. 118).

57. One upper edge preserved on the western doorway, where also an edge of the scarf with tasseled corner is marked in front of the figure.

58. See Council Hall throne-bearer No. 8 (p. 118).

59. See hats of tribute delegation No. 16 (Pl. 42).

60. See description of Council Hall throne-bearer No. 17 (p. 119).

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THRONE-BEARER No. W10 (19): INDIAN

Short beard of straight stringy hair, tip pointed; straight hair above and below fillet, which is knotted at back of head; upper body bare, breasts and navel marked; short skirt from waist to knees, tasseled corner, top of skirt apparently rolled, suggesting twisted sash; legs and feet bare.

THRONE-BEARER No. W11 (21): SATTAGYDIAN?

Stringy beard along lower face, pointed tip resting on shoulder; mustache marked; curled hair bunched at back of neck; straight hair on top of head; projection on vertex may be tuft of hair tied by means of band, the end of which is indicated;[63] upper body apparently bare except for scarf draped over left shoulder, one end thrown forward, the other backward; short skirt from waist to calves, top of skirt apparently rolled, suggesting twisted sash; legs bare; sandals with thick soles, heel guard, two straps across top of foot connected by lengthwise strap.

THRONE-BEARER No. W12 (23): SCYTHIAN[65]

Portion of stringy beard on cheek, tip resting on shoulder; straight hair on forehead; slightly wavy hair bunched at back of neck; round cap with cheek flaps, tip (intended to be pointed?) jutting upward; belted coat, resembling Median type but short-sleeved and end of knotted belt slanting backward; short cape (identical with that of Cappadocian[?], No. W5), two curved ends thrown forward over shoulders and fastened by means of fibula; legs bare from knees to calves; boots with upturned toes.

THRONE-BEARER No. W13 (25): GROUP III? (SEE P. 117)

Curled beard with stringy tip; straight hair at temple and wavy hair on top of head; fillet tied at back of head; long-sleeved belted coat and long trousers, both of Median type; short scarf, draped over left shoulder, one end thrown back, the other—with tassel showing—thrown forward; no line separating trousers and shoes. The resemblance between this throne-bearer and the members of tribute delegation No. 21 is even more pronounced than that between the mutilated throne-bearer No. 25 of the Council Hall (see p. 120) and the figures in the Apadana procession tentatively identified as Drangianians (p. 89).

THRONE-BEARER No. W14 (27): ETHIOPIAN

Prognathous features; patches of curly beard marked on cheek and chin of figure on eastern doorway; figure on western doorway beardless; short curly hair; bareheaded; long skirt from waist to ankles; upper body bare except for sash which extends from waist along both sides to points behind shoulders, ends thrown forward across shoulders to chest, where they are either knotted or joined by means of clasp (figure on western doorway shows fringe at lower edge of sash); barefooted.

THRONE-BEARER No. E10 (20): SCYTHIAN

Short, slightly curved nose; beard of straight stringy hair, tip lying on shoulder; straight hair on forehead and at back of neck; round cap with raised tip,[61] cheek flaps, and flap protecting back of neck; on top of coat, which reaches to point above knees, a long-sleeved belted "cutaway coat," fur(?)-trimmed edges on chest; long trousers.[62]

THRONE-BEARER No. E11 (22): SOGDIAN?

Slightly concave pronounced nose; stringy beard with squared tip lying on shoulder; mustache marked; slightly wavy hair bunched at back of neck; round cap with cheek flaps, tip bent and jutting forward; long-sleeved belted "cutaway coat," fur(?)-trimmed edges on chest; problematical curved object (ax blade or end of belt?) protruding from buckle or knot of belt; long trousers offset at ankles.[64]

THRONE-BEARER No. E12 (24): GROUP VII (SEE P. 117)

Slightly curved nose; hair combed upward to row of curls above forehead; hair on top of head groomed in waves; curled hair bunched at back of neck; bareheaded; short-sleeved gown reaching to ankles;[66] long scarf with tasseled corners (manner of draping uncertain). Throne-bearer No. E12 appears to be more closely related to the members of tribute delegation No. 20 (p. 89)—tentatively identified as Arabians—than the less well preserved throne-bearer No. 24 of the Council Hall (p. 120). Nevertheless, according to their locations the two throne-bearers represent the same nation.

THRONE-BEARER No. E13 (26): LIBYAN

Beard marked by parallel lines on preserved part of cheek of figure on eastern doorway; figure on western doorway beardless;[67] hair combed upward above forehead, slightly wavy on top of head, and bunched in curls at back of neck; long beltless gown reaching to ankles; long cape with serrate edges held by two flaps which are thrown forward across shoulders, outer edges of flaps also serrate.

THRONE-BEARER No. E14 (28): SCYTHIAN[68]

Features similar to those of the assumed Sogdian (No. E11) but stringy beard jutting forward—instead of drooping; hair combed up above forehead and bunched in waves at back of neck; round cap with cheek flaps, pointed top of cap projecting in front; long-sleeved belted "cutaway coat," fur(?)-trimmed edges on chest, cuffs or bracelets on wrists; curved device (blade of battle-ax[?]; see No. E9, perhaps also No. E11) projecting from point behind body and above right knee; long trousers offset at ankles.

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN DOORWAYS

The jambs of the two pairs of side entrances opening from the main hall into the narrow passages and rooms on the east and west are adorned with reliefs showing the royal hero in combat with four distinct animals and monsters. The hero is always pictured the same. The most significant feature is his long square-tipped beard, such as is worn by royalty,[69] by the figure of the god, and by certain monsters of divine nature. The headdress is not the tall cidaris. It is the fillet-like band with open top such as that worn by certain palace attendants and palace guards. The shoes are the usual Persian shoes distinguished by three straps and buttons from the plain shoes worn by royalty. The hero's gown may be the candys tucked up for combat.

61. Inverted conoid, but perhaps meant to be pointed (see Pl. 113).

62. See illustration of cast in Metropolitan Museum in Robert William Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia* (New York and London, 1929) Fig. 27.

63. It would seem that this unusual hair decoration links throne-bearer No. W11 with the similarly embellished members of a tribute delegation representing a nation of the Indian group (V; see p. 117) in a relief of Artaxerxes I on the façade of Palace H (see p. 281).

64. See Rogers, *loc. cit.*

65. See description of Council Hall throne-bearer No. 23 (p. 120).

66. See Rogers, *loc. cit.*

67. Contour of face suggests that the sculptor had intended to indicate a beard but neglected to carve its details.

68. Representative of the Dahians? See discussion of Council Hall throne-bearer No. 28 (p. 120).

69. Contrary to his earlier opinion (*IF*, p. 137) Herzfeld later decided that the hero is not a king (*IAE*, p. 257). For his suggested interpretation of the combat scenes see *IAE*, *loc. cit.*

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One leg, the sword arm, and that side of the chest corresponding to the latter are bare. The lower portion of the gown, which is pulled up over the belt and falls in folds over the hero's hips, and the upper part, thrown over his shoulders, are of one piece of fabric.[70]

On the jambs of the doorways concerned as well as in Darius' palace (Pls. 144–46) and in the Harem (Pls. 195–96) the hero and his antagonists are always represented as reflected images. The dagger with which he stabs the animal or monster is in his right hand on one jamb and in his left on the opposite side. In contrast thereto the pairs of reliefs of the enthroned or walking king always show the scepter in his right hand, to mention the most significant feature.

The northern doorways of the eastern and western walls show the hero in combat with composite monsters. In the reliefs of the southern doorways of the two walls he dispatches animals—a lion and a bull—without monstrous characteristics. In all instances the hero faces the interior of the main hall as though he were trying to force the entrance, and his zoomorphic antagonists appear to challenge this attempt. The same relative position of hero and opponent exists in the combat scenes of the other palaces mentioned above, but there is one exception which seems to prove that this position was intentional. In the doorway leading from the main hall of Darius' palace to the western exit the hero's back is turned toward the hall and he faces the exit, whereas the antagonist, a bull in this instance, faces the hall.

In contrast to the hero's other opponents, all of which are duplicated at least once in other combat reliefs, the rampant monster attacking him in the northern doorway of the west wall is unique (Pl. 114; but cf. p. 165 and Pl. 120). Its feathered head with long curved beak, its wing, and its hind legs with long talons belong to a bird, whereas its body and forelegs are those of a quadruped, presumably a lion. However, the curved strip on its belly is also patterned with feather symbols and not with the tufts of fur marked on the images of lions. One ear is erect and rises above the feathered comb. The object grasped by the hero is presumably a horn. The monster's odd fan-shaped tail is apparently meant to be that of a bird, for it has three tiers of long feathers.

On the jambs of the northern doorway (Pl. 116) of the eastern wall the monstrous opponent of the royal hero has the head, body, and forelegs of a lion. The feathered neck, wings, and taloned hind legs belong to a bird. Since the monster is shown in profile, only one bull horn—grasped by the hero—is pictured, and only one ear is apparent. In this instance too the pattern on the monster's belly indicates feathers. The tail is that of a scorpion. The same monster[71] appears on the southern doorway in the west wall of the main hall of Darius' palace (Pl. 145) and on the eastern doorway of the main hall of the Harem (Pl. 196).

The rampant lion attacking the hero in the reliefs of the southern doorway of the western wall (Pl. 115) is also pictured in the Harem (Pl. 195) and—less impressively—in Darius' palace (Pl. 146). The object grasped by the hero above the forehead of the animal seems to be the forelock.

Finally, the southern doorway of the eastern wall shows the hero dispatching a bull (Pl. 117), which has rather the appearance of a sacrificial animal than of a ferocious opponent in combat. This impression is given by a band of twelve-petaled rosettes adorning its neck. The protective guardian bulls at the entrance to the Throne Hall, the bovine guardians of the Gate of Xerxes, and all the column capitals in the forms of man-bulls and bulls have such a neckband embellished with rosettes. The scene under consideration occurs in the Palace of Darius, but there, as pointed out above, the positions of hero and bull are reversed.

THE LATERAL ROOMS AND PASSAGES

The two eastern doorways of the main hall (6) give access to two long narrow rooms (7–8) separated by a wall. The rooms are paralleled on the opposite, western side by a passage actually consisting of two sections (13–14) which are connected with the main hall by its western doorways. The two parts of the passage are linked by a doorway which was either open or simply covered by a curtain. The two southern doorways of the hall open into a suite of four passage sections (9–12) interconnected in the same fashion as the two sections of the western corridor. There are no clues which would indicate that any units of these passages had been separated by doors. Stone steps in the southwestern corner of the building descend from the southern and western passages to a common landing from which further steps of stone lead down to the northern rooms of the Harem complex. An additional stairway of stone, separated from the stairs just referred to by the southwest corner of the Throne Hall, ascends from the Harem level to the Council Hall (see Figs. 51–52). In this manner the three buildings—Throne Hall, Harem, and Council Hall—are interconnected.

Herzfeld's plan[72] shows in the southern wall of our Section 11 of the Throne Hall a doorway which suggests an exit to the street separating the structure from the Treasury. Actually there is a drop of 2.20 m. to the uppermost level of the street.[73] There is no indication that Herzfeld's crew determined the existence of stairs which would have taken care of the difference in level. Hence we consider the "doorway" a digging error and omit it on our drawings.

On the east and west the exterior face of the outer inclosure of the Throne Hall is provided with three-stepped niches, but it is not known whether the southern face was treated in the same manner. Between the eastern inclosure of the Throne Hall and the eastern defense wall of the Terrace proper (see Fig. 21) a small test revealed the existence of structural remains whose purpose and time of construction can only be determined by further investigations.[74]

70. Shown most clearly on Pl. 144 *A*.

71. Better preserved and illustrated.

72. *IAE*, Fig. 331.

73. Another well defined street level was found 67 cm. below the uppermost road surface.

74. This area was subsequently excavated by the Iranian Antiquity Service.

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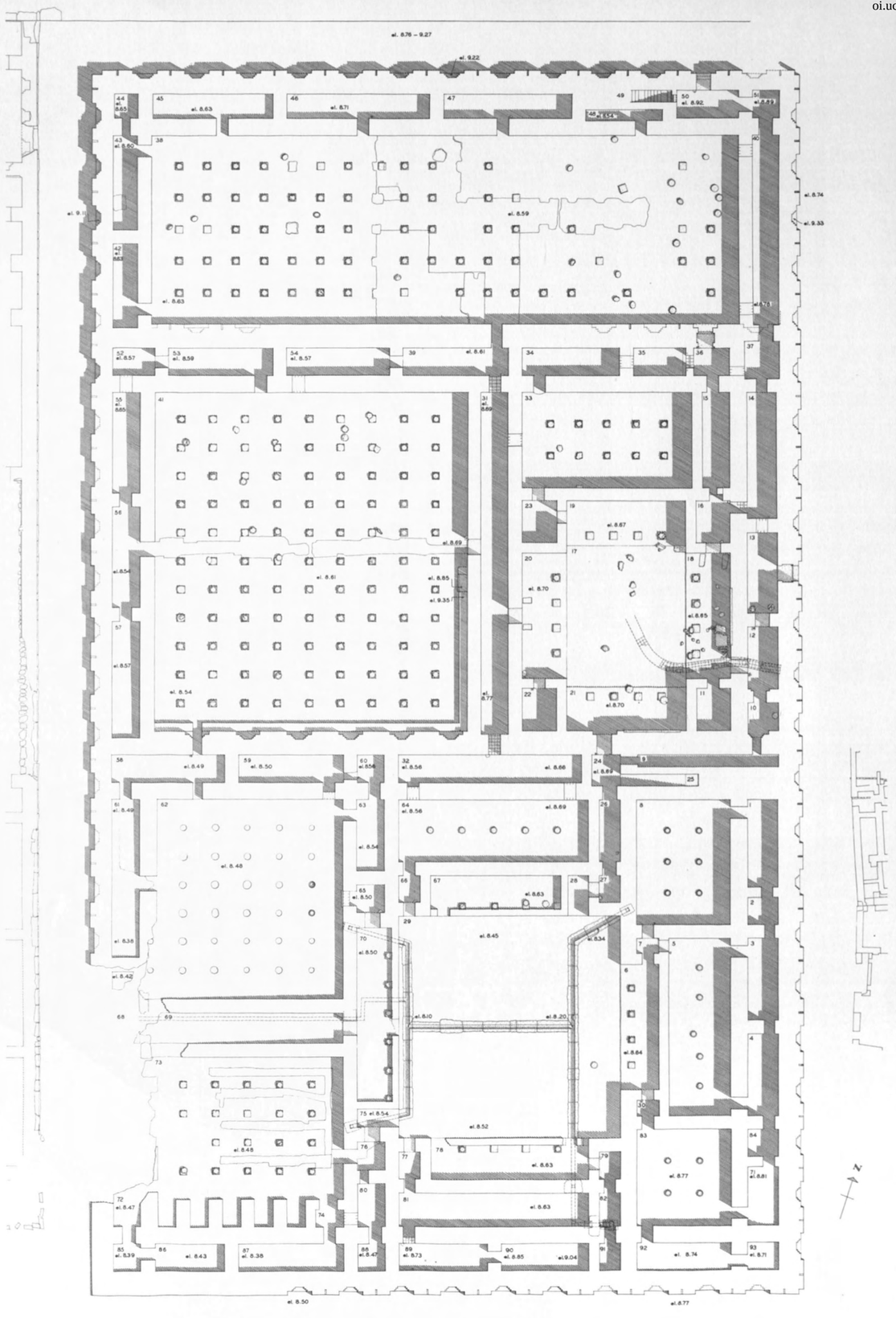


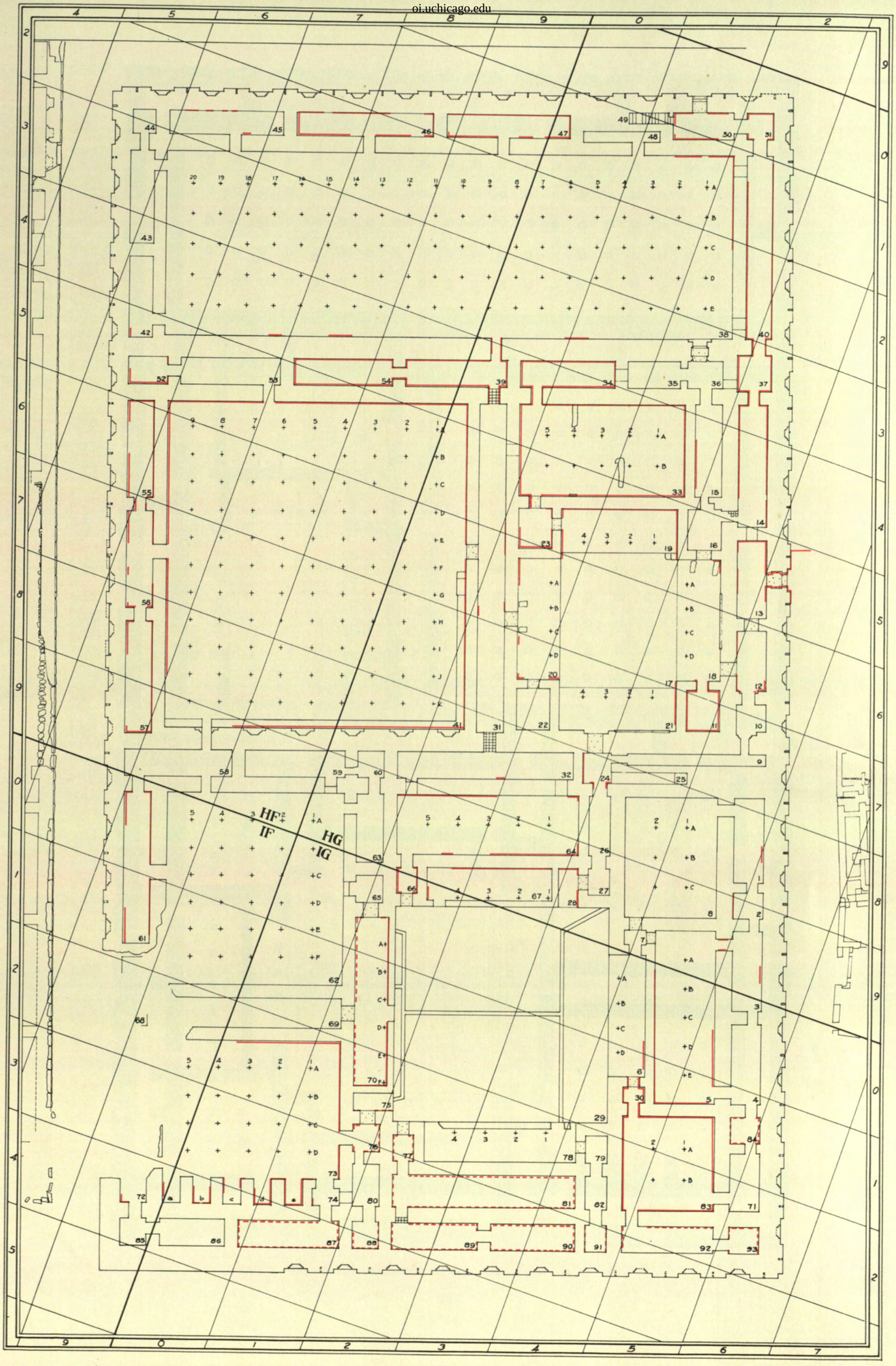
Fig. 63. Plan of Final Treasury as Excavated. Scale, 1:400

INDEX OF TREASURY UNITS

No.	Designation	Page	No.	Designation	Page
1–2	rooms	192	63	room	198
3–4	rooms	193	64	room	190
5	room	192–93	65	room (originally vestibule)	194–95
6	portico	189			
7	vestibule	192	66	vestibule	190
8	room	192	67	room (originally portico)	189
9	passage	187			
10	passage room	170–71	68	room	197
11	room	172–73	69	corridor	197
12–13	passage rooms	170	70	room (originally portico)	189–90
14	passage room	184			
15	room	175–76	71	room	194
16	passage room	175	72	room	196–97
17	courtyard	171–72	73	hall	195–96
18–21	porticoes	171–72	74	room (originally passage)	196
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			77	vestibule	191
25	ramp	187	78	room (originally portico)	190
26–28	passages	188			
29	courtyard	188–89	79	vestibule	191
30	vestibule	193	80	room	195
31	corridor	176–77	81–82	rooms	191
32	room	177	83	room	193–94
33	room	173–75	84	room	194
34	room	175	85–86	rooms	197
35	room	175–76	87	room	196
36	room (originally vestibule)	175–76	88	room	195
			89–91	rooms	191
37	passage room	184–85	92–93	rooms	194
38	hall	181–83	94	corridor	199
39	room	177	95	hall	199
40	passage room	185	96–97	rooms	199
41	hall	178–80	98	hall	199
42	room	183	99	vestibule	199
43–44	rooms	183–84	100–107	rooms	199
45–48	rooms	184	108	passage	199
49	stairway	186	109	vestibule	199
50	vestibule	185–86	110–15	rooms	199
51	passage room	185	116	corridor	200
52–53	rooms	181	117–18	passages	200
54	room	177–78	119	hall	200
55–57	rooms	180	120–26	rooms	200
58–61	rooms	198	127	hall	200
62	hall	197–98	128–29	rooms	200

Fig. 64. Schematized Plan of Final Treasury, with Scorched Walls Marked in Red and Excavation Grid Indicated. Scale, 1:400

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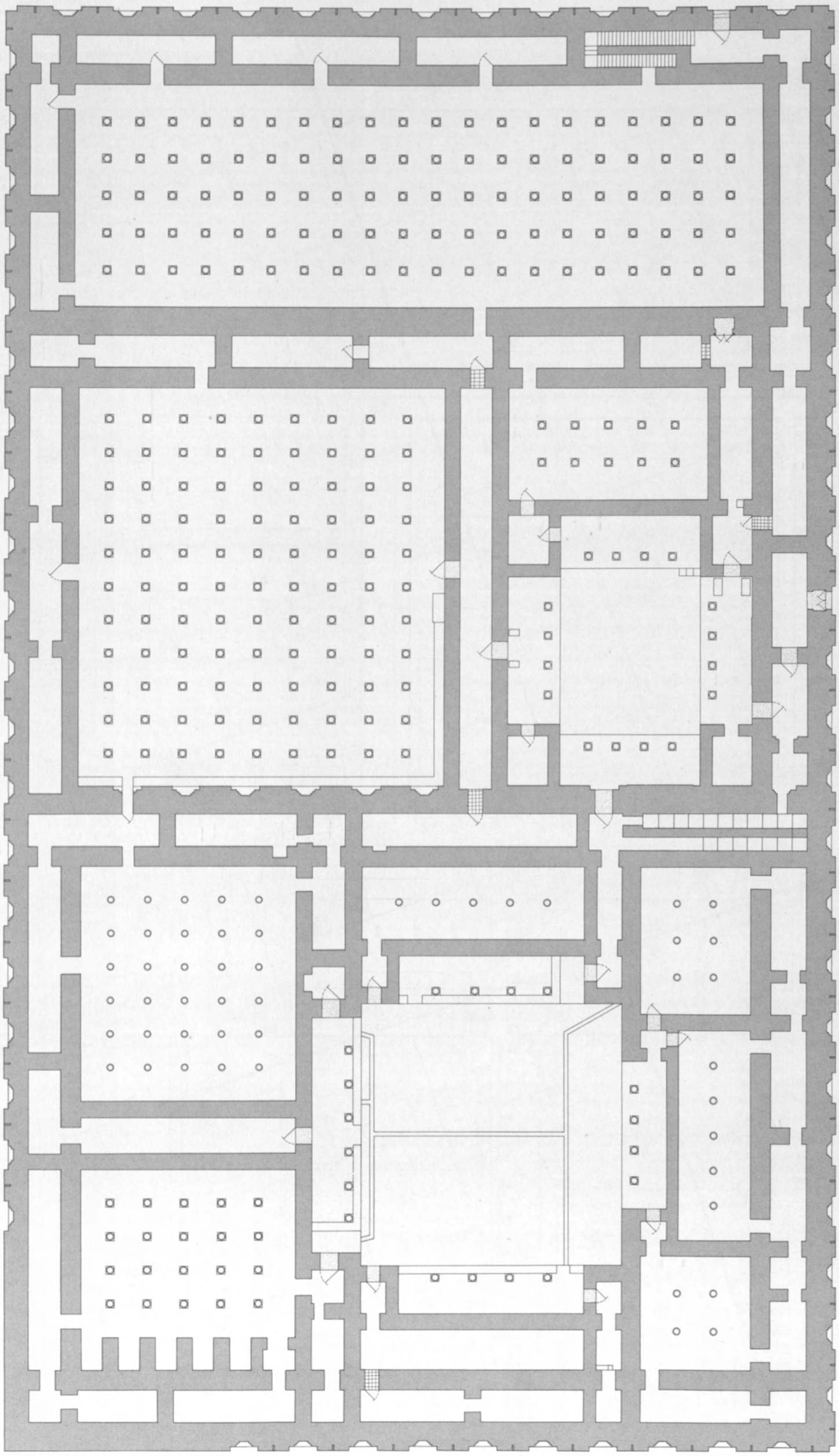


Fig. 65 Reconstructed Plan of Final Treasury. Scale, 1:400

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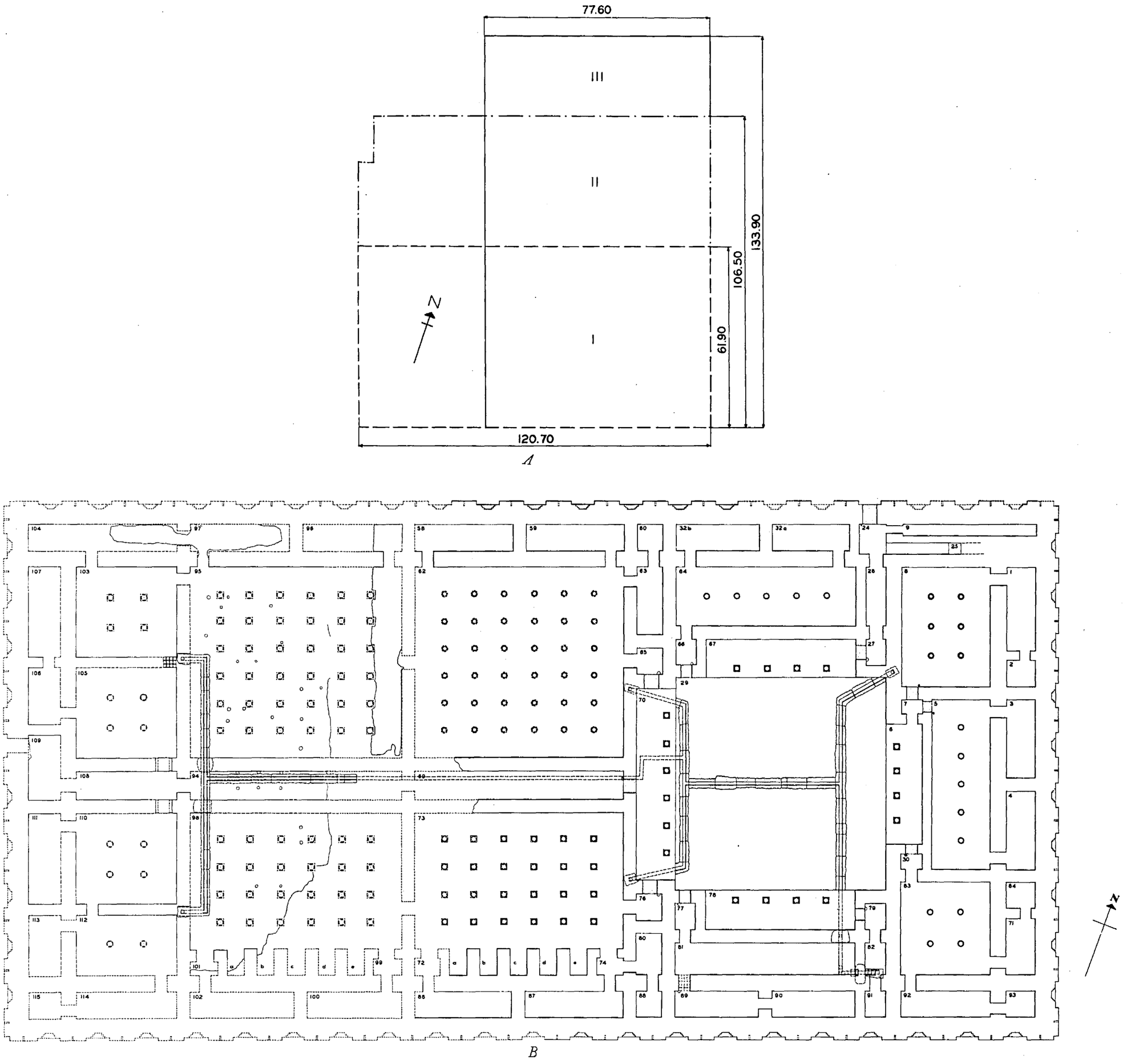


FIG. 66. TREASURY. *A*. DIAGRAM OF BUILDING PHASES. SCALE, 1:1,200. *B*. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF ORIGINAL BUILDING. SCALE, 1:400

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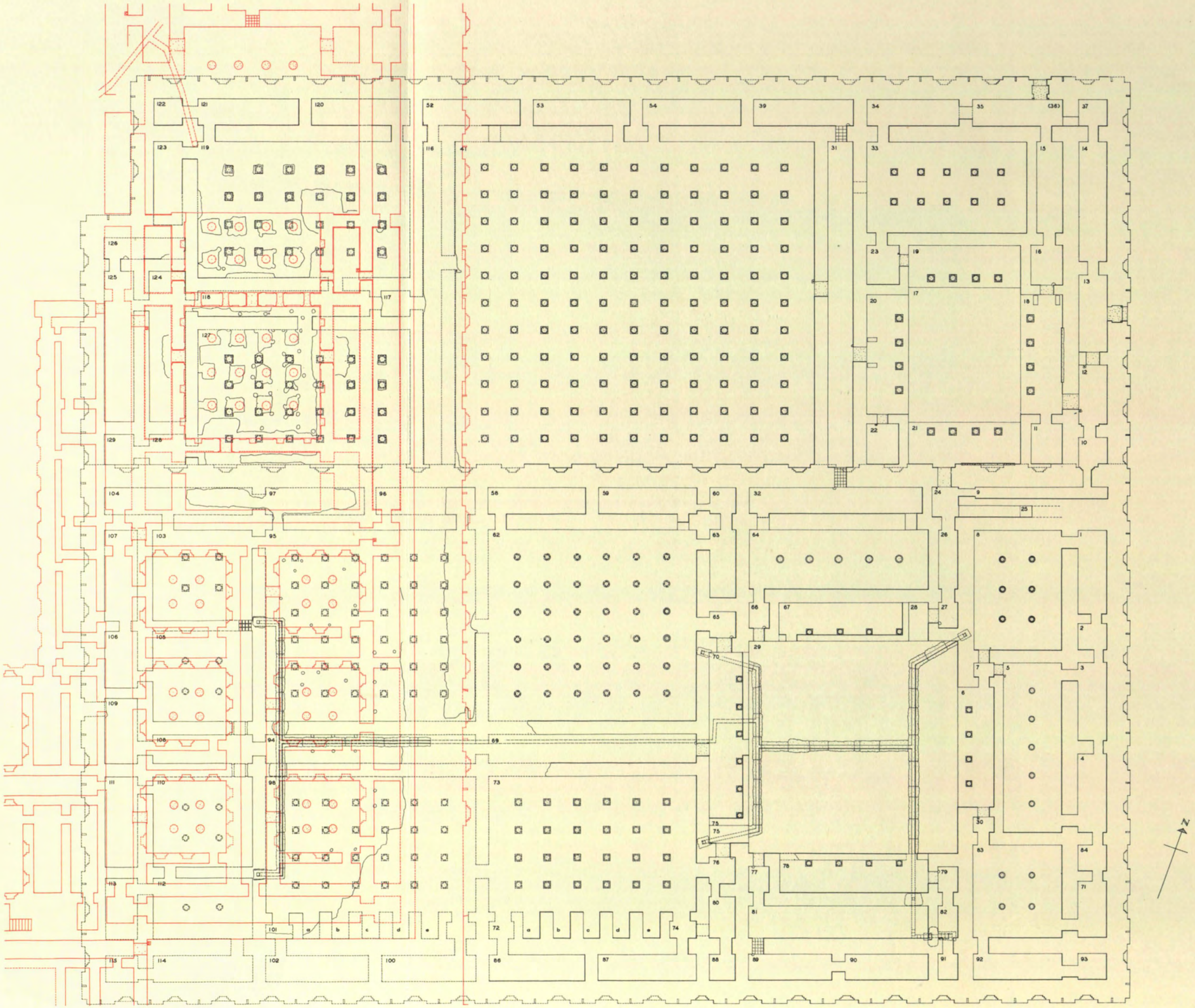
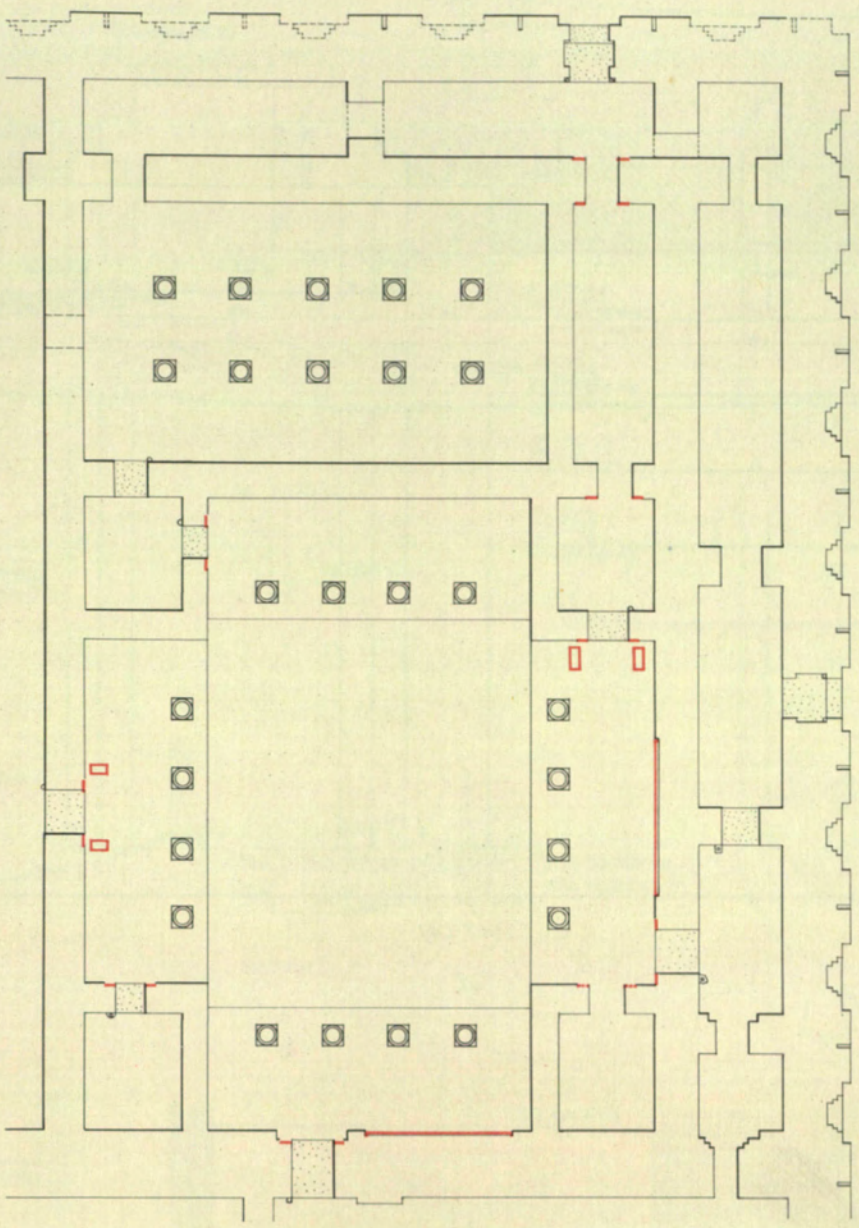


FIG. 67. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF SECOND PHASE OF TREASURY, WITH SUPERIMPOSED HAREM AND WESTERN INCLOSURE OF FINAL TREASURY MARKED IN RED
ORIGINAL SURVEYS BY R. C. HAINES AND F. KREFTER. FINAL DRAWING BY A. R. HAUSER. SCALE, 1:400

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A



B

Fig. 68. Treasury. *A*. Plan of Courtyard 17 Complex with Locations of Painted Doorway Frames, Statuary, and Reliefs Marked in Red. Scale, 1:300. *B*. Painted Decoration of Doorways Marked on *A*, Showing also Approximate Colors of Walls and Floors. Reconstruction by E. F. Noyes. Scale, about 1:40

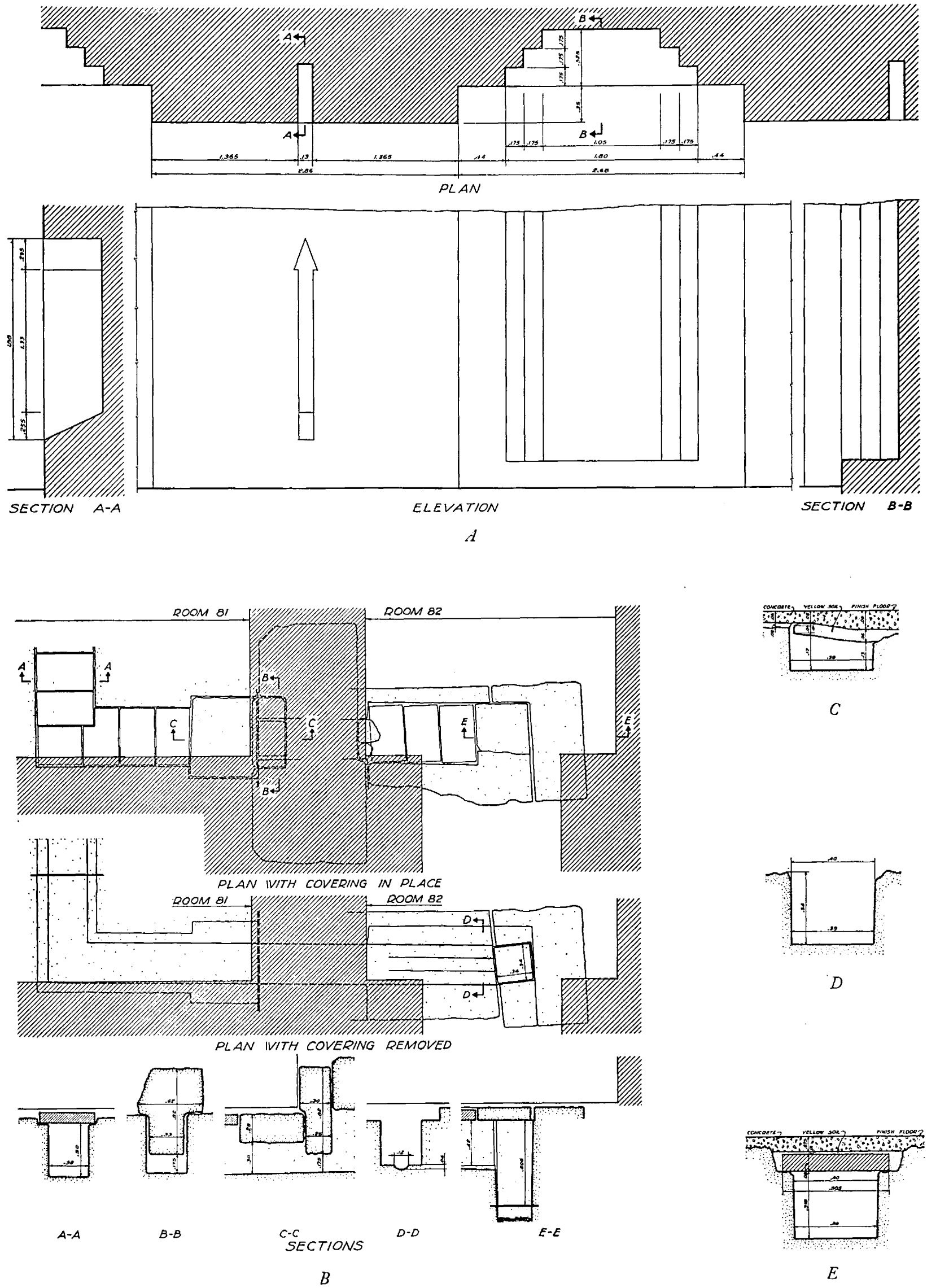


FIG. 69. TREASURY. DIAGRAMS OF DETAILS. *A*. NICHES AND SLOTS IN EXTERIOR WALL. *B*. CANAL AND FLOOR DRAIN IN ROOMS 81–82. *C*. DRAINAGE CANAL IN NORTHERN PART OF ROOM 70. *D*. CANAL IN COURTYARD 29. *E*. CANAL IN ROOM 78
SCALES, 1:40 (*A–B*) AND 1:20 (*C–E*)

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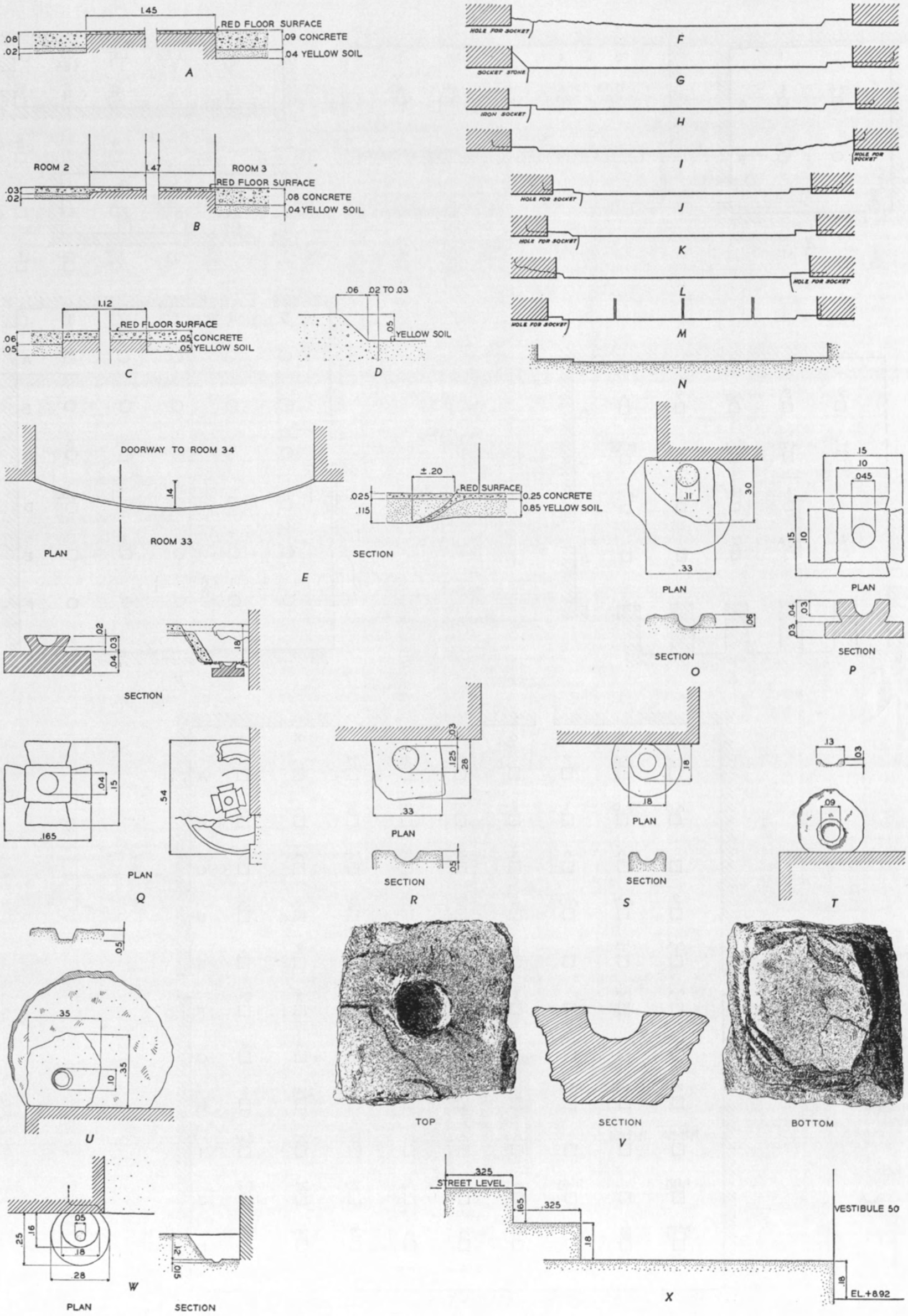


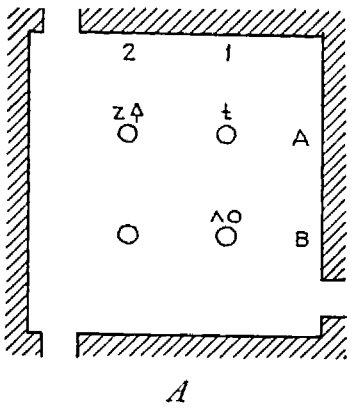
Fig. 70. Treasury Floors. *A*. Center of Room 32. *B*. Doorway between Rooms 2 and 3. *C*. Southern Part of Room 72. *D*. Portico Edge in Passage 75. Scale, 1:8. *E*. Doorway between Rooms 33 and 34

Notched Edges of Treasury Doorsills of Stone and Baked Brick. *F*. Room 65. *G*. Hall 41. *H*. Corridor 69. *I*. Vestibule 76. *J*. Vestibule 66. *K*. Vestibule 77. *L*. Vestibule 79. *M*. Room 89 (Brick). *N*. Horizontal Section through Stone Door of Tomb of Darius I

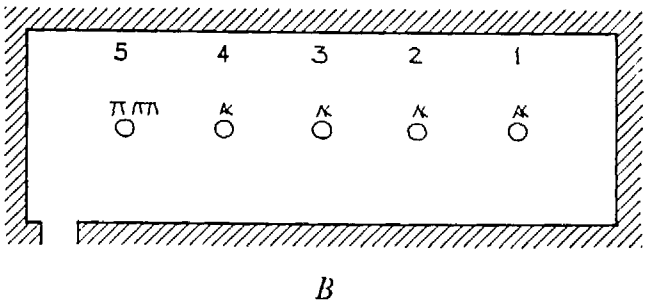
Treasury Door Sockets. *O*. Room 54 (Stone). *P*. Hall 41 (Iron; Original Western Doorway). Scale, 1:8. *Q*. Corridor 69 (Iron). Scale of Left Half, 1:8. *R*. Room 43 (Stone). *S*. Room 58 (Stone). *T*. Room 46 (Stone). *U*. Room 47 (Stone). *V*. Room 32 (Iron; Found in Loose Earth). Scale, 1:2. *W*. Vestibule 50 (Stone)

X. Sill and Steps of Street Entrance to Vestibule 50 of Treasury

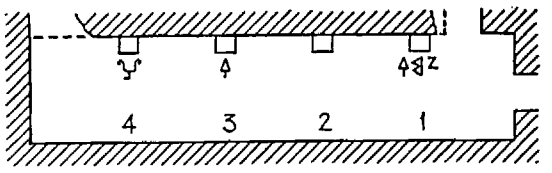
Scale, 1:20 unless Otherwise Noted



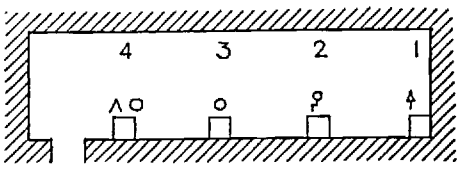
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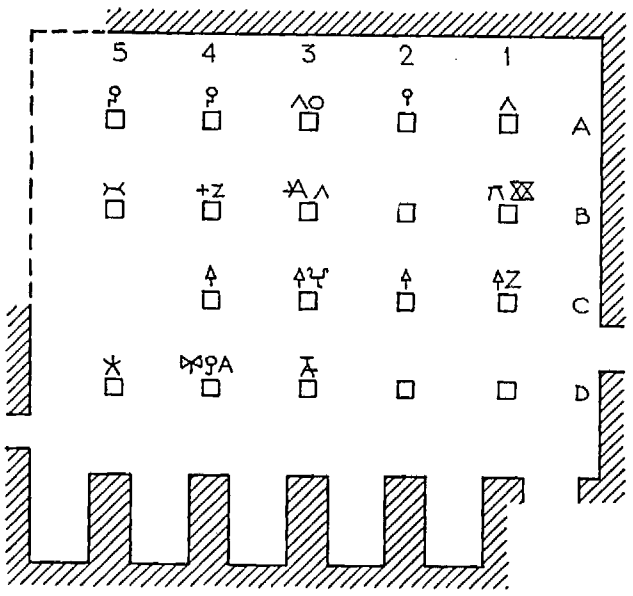
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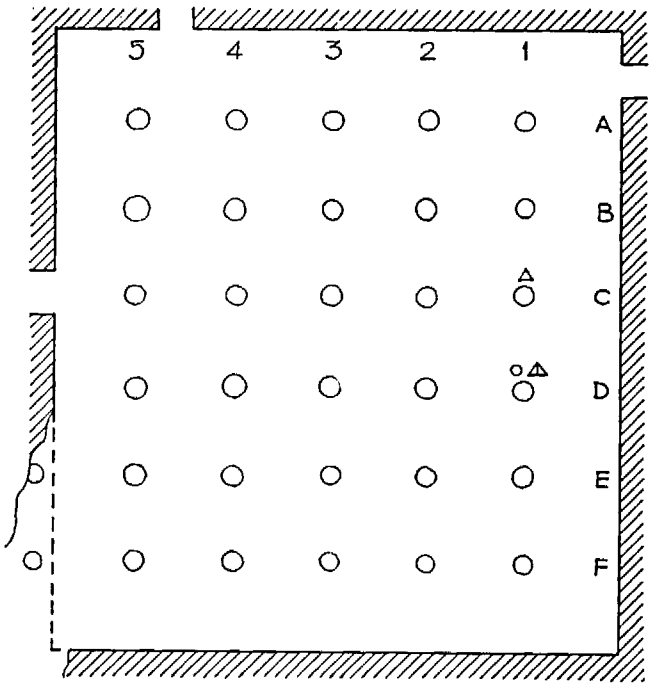
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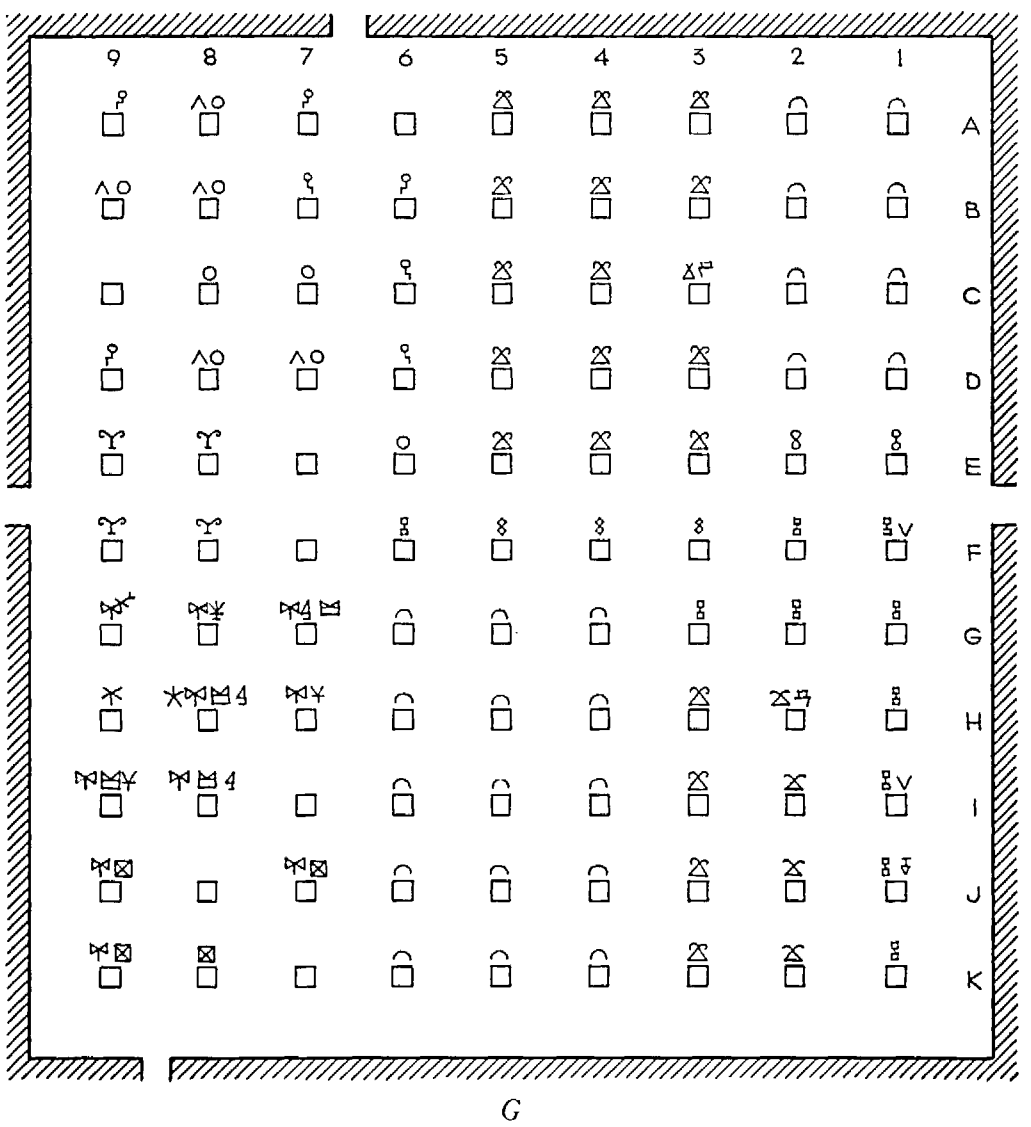
D



E

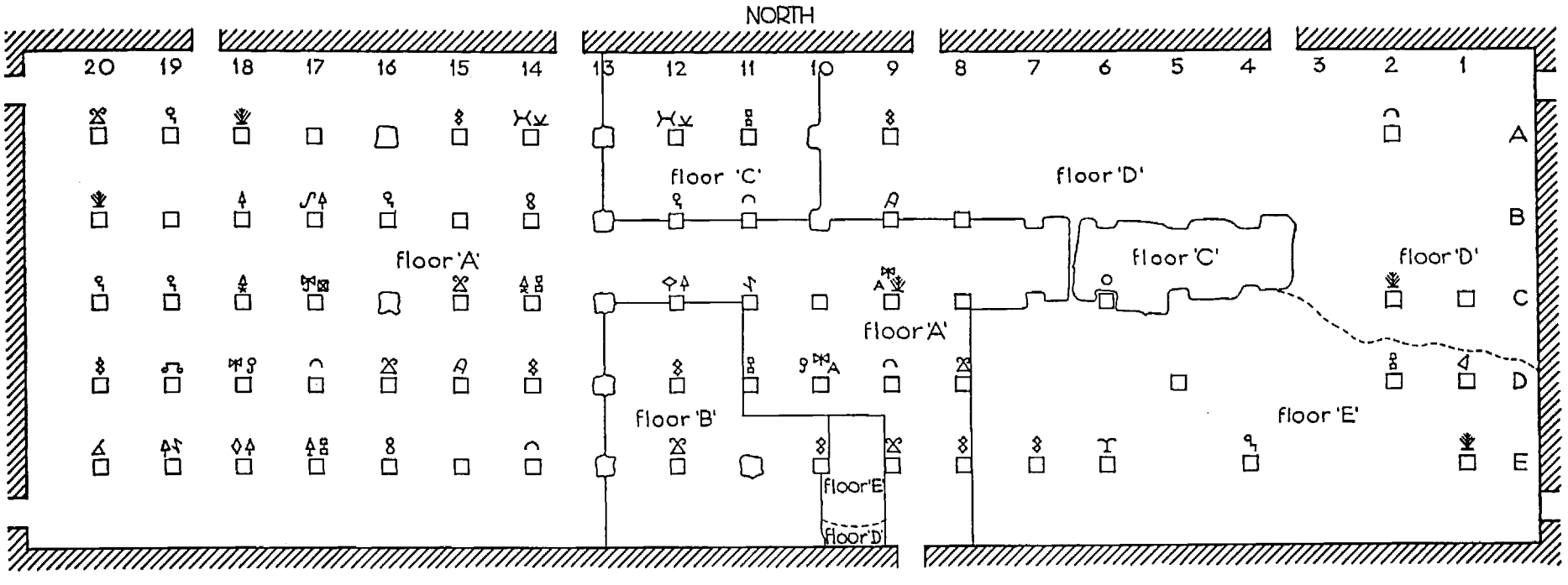


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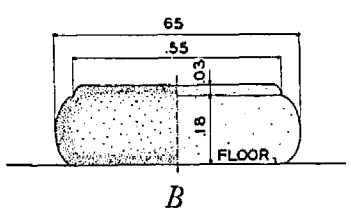


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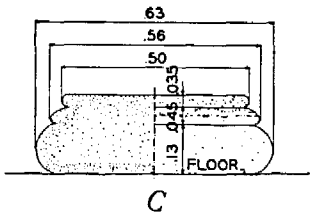
FIG. 71. TREASURY. SCHEMATIC DRAWINGS OF MASONS' MARKS ON COLUMN BASES. FIRST BUILDING PHASE: *A*. ROOM 83. *B*. ROOM 64. *C*. PORTICO 78. *D*. PORTICO 67. *E*. HALL 73. *F*. HALL 62. SECOND BUILDING PHASE: *G*. HALL 41



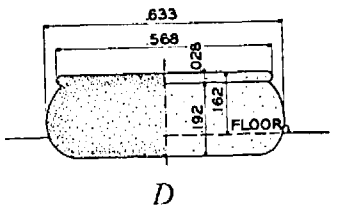
A



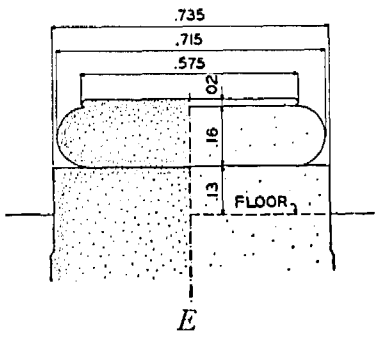
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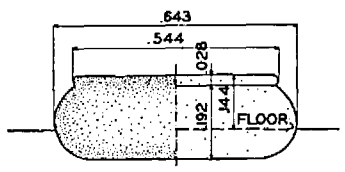
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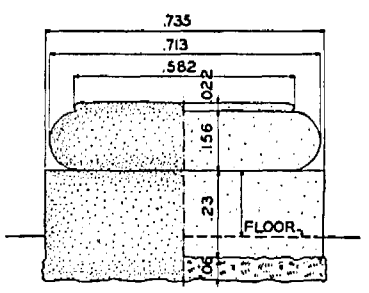
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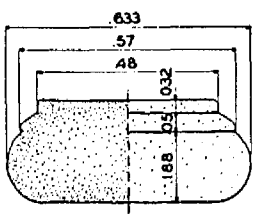
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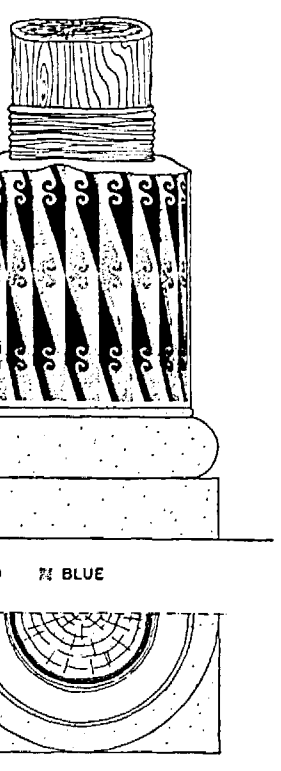
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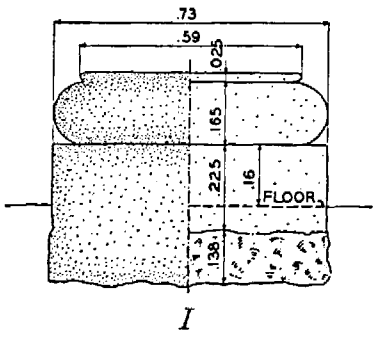
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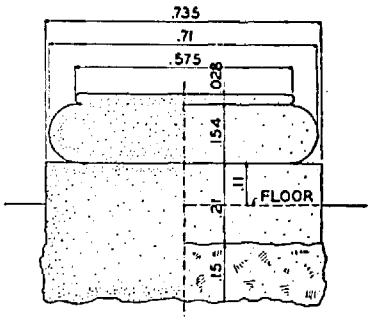
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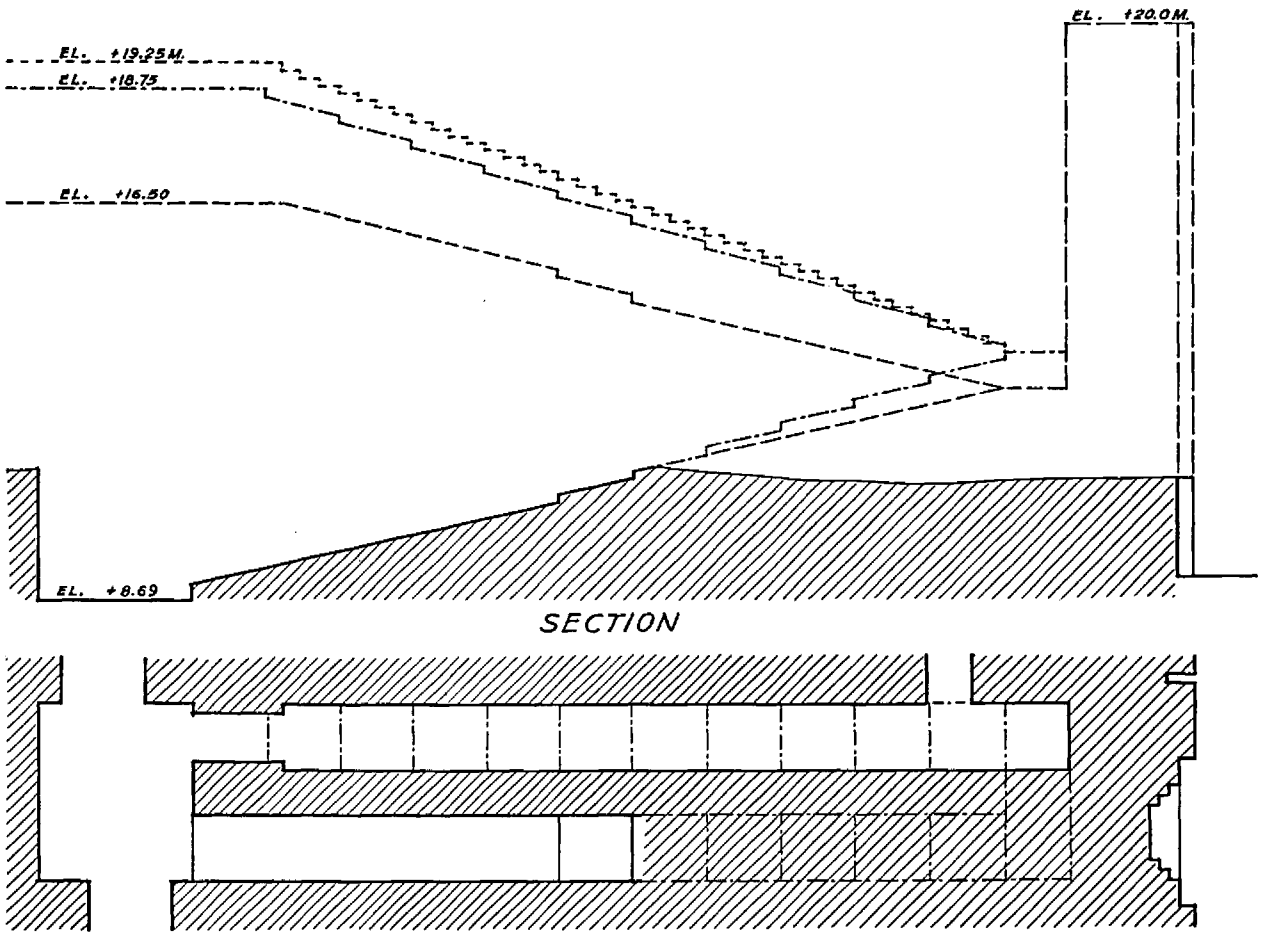


I

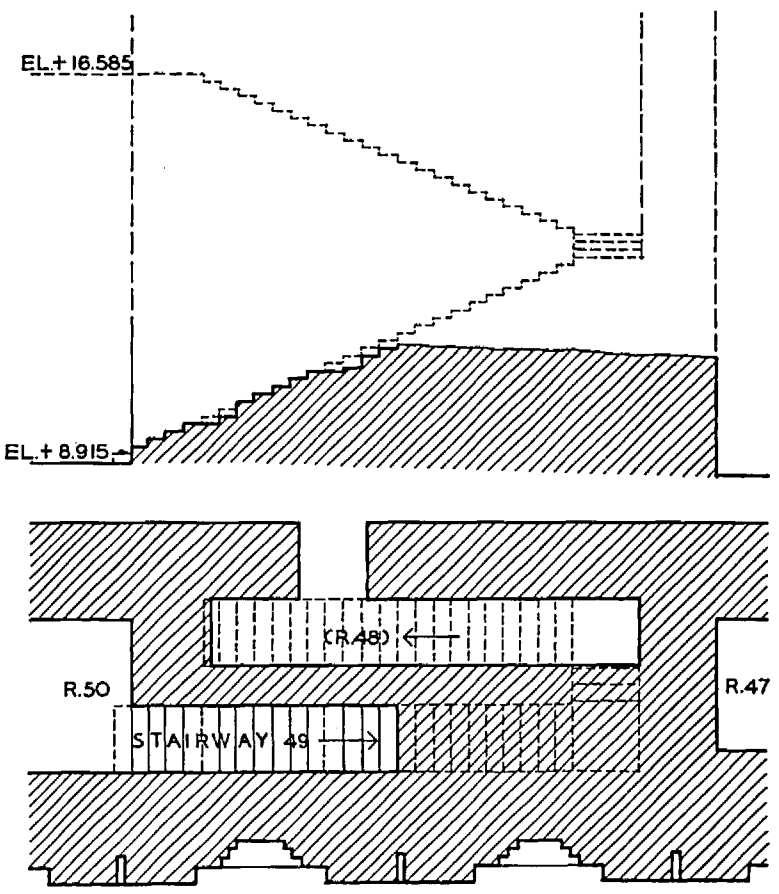


K

FIG. 72. TREASURY. *A*. SCHEMATIC DRAWINGS OF MASONS' MARKS ON COLUMN BASES OF THIRD BUILDING PHASE (HALL 38), WITH REFLOORED AREAS INDICATED. COLUMN BASES. SCALE, 1:20. FIRST PHASE: *B*. ROOM 5. *C*. ROOM 8. *D*. ROOM 83. *E*. PORTICO 6. *F*. ROOM 64. *G*. HALL 73. *H*. HALL 62. SECOND PHASE: *I–J*. HALL 41, INCLUDING RECONSTRUCTION OF PAINTED PLASTER SHELL WITH DESIGN IN RED, BLUE, AND WHITE. THIRD PHASE: *K*. HALL 38



A



B

FIG. 73. TREASURY. PARTLY RECONSTRUCTED DIAGRAMS OF RAMP 25 (*A*) AND STAIRWAY 49 (*B*). SCALE, 1:150

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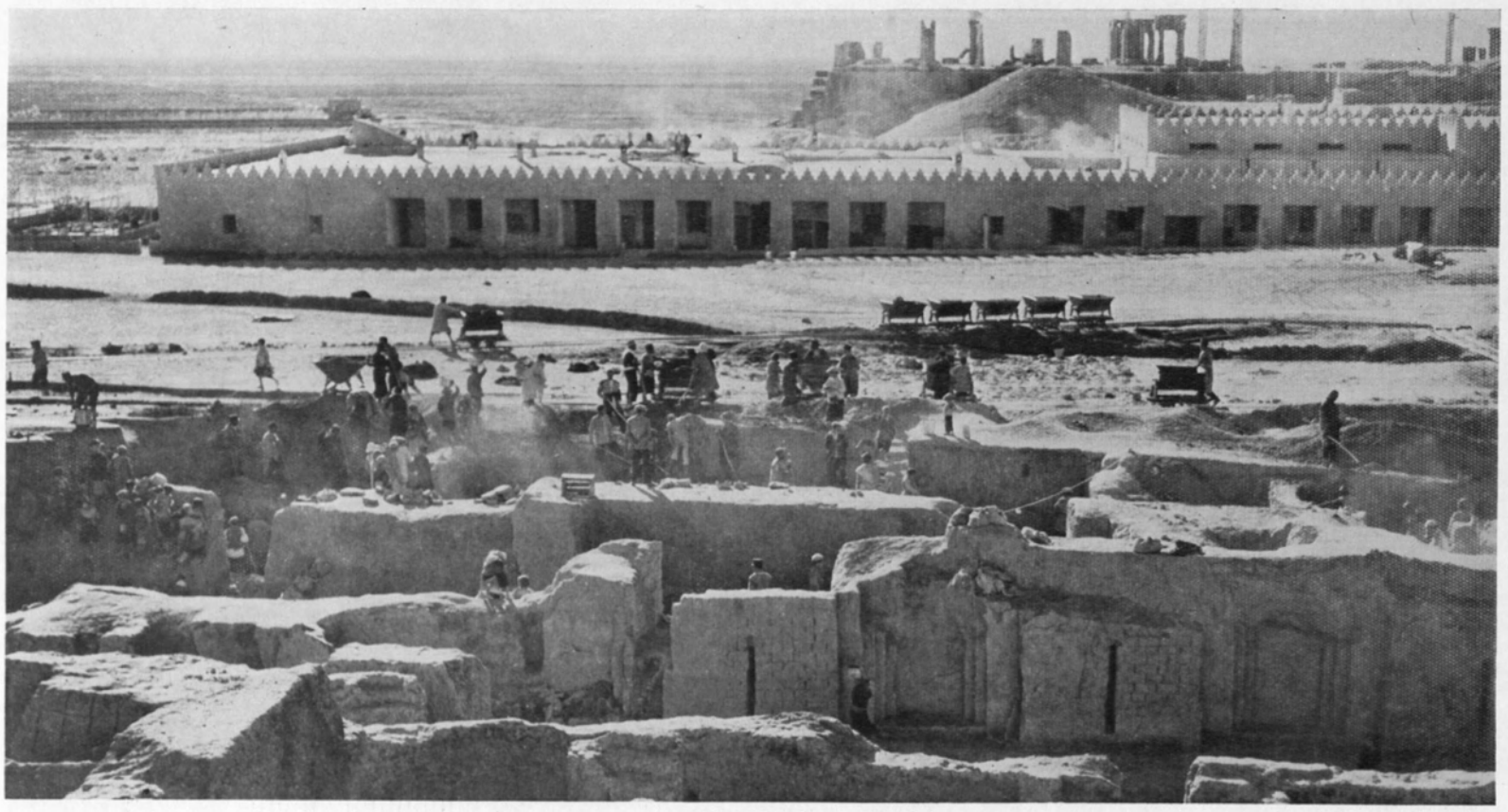
A



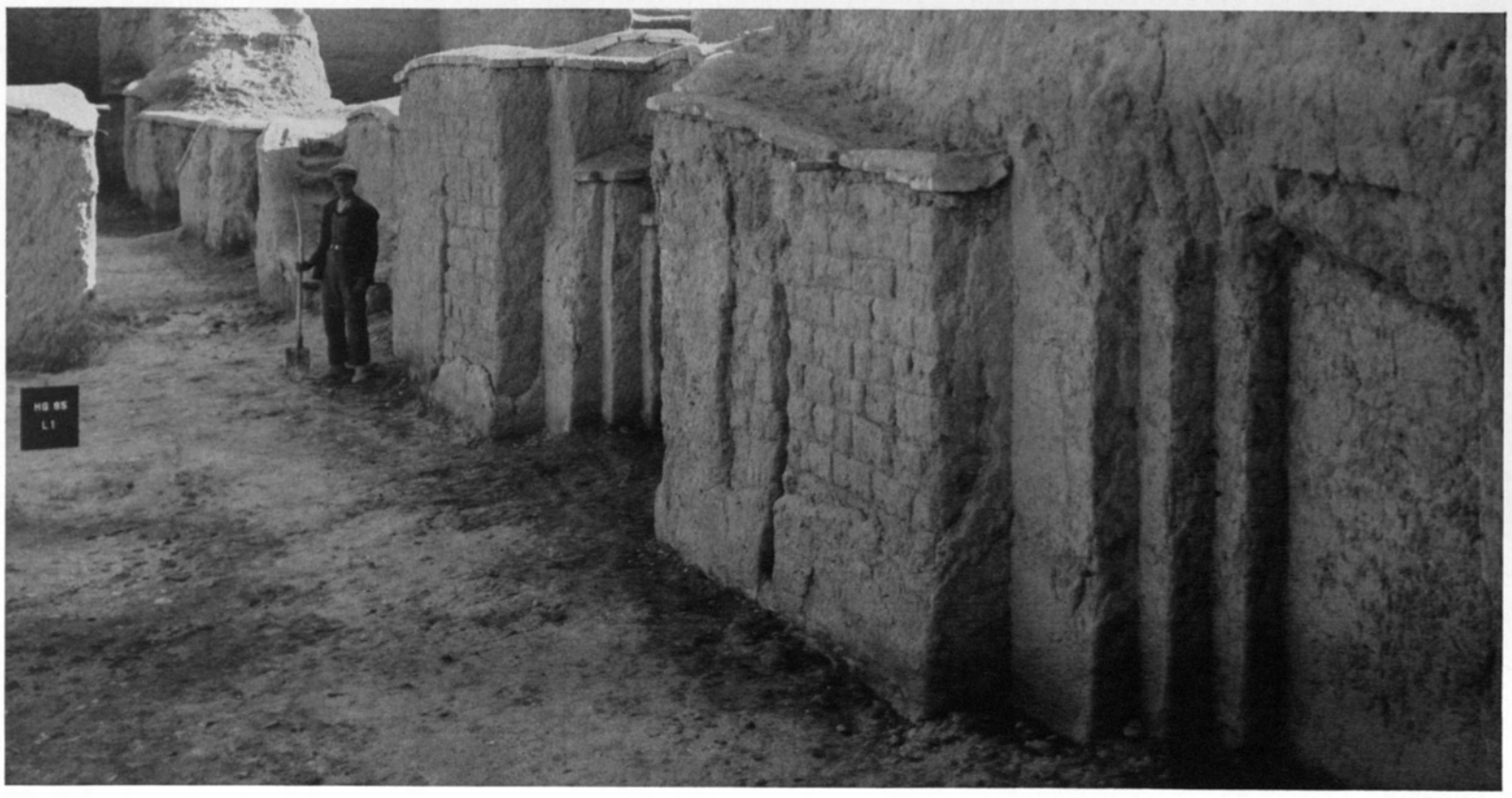
B



C



D



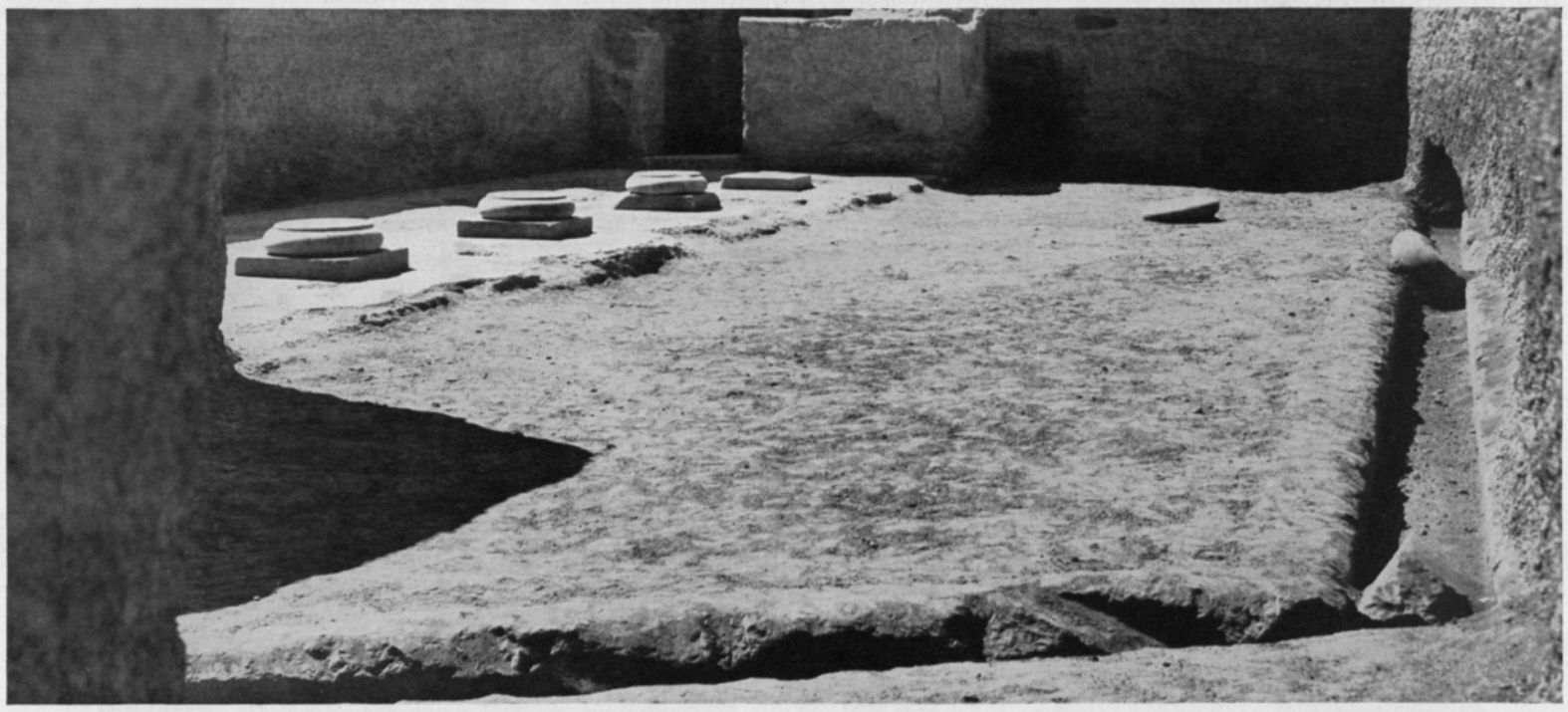
E

Fig. 74. Treasury. *A*. Alcoves of Hall 73, with Southern Inclosure at Right (*direction of view, ENE*). *B*. Hall 73 (*direction of view, SSW*). *C*. Eastern Inclosure (*direction of view, SSE*). *D*. Exterior Face of Eastern Inclosure, with Restored Harem in Background (*direction of view, WSW*). *E*. Close-up of Eastern Inclosure (*direction of view, SSW*)

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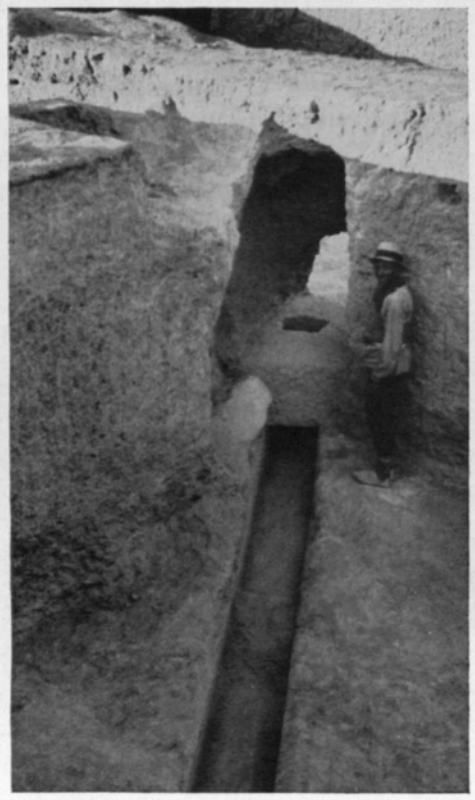
A



B



C



D

FIG. 75. TREASURY. *A*. SOUTHWESTERN CORNER OF FINAL BUILDING (*direction of view, ESE*). *B*. DRAINAGE CANAL IN COURTYARD 29 AND COLUMN BASES OF PORTICO 6 (*direction of view, SE*). *C*. PORTION OF COURTYARD 29 AND PORTICO 6 (*direction of view, NNW*). *D*. CAPSTONE OF DRAIN IN NORTHEAST CORNER OF COURTYARD 29 (*direction of view, NE*)

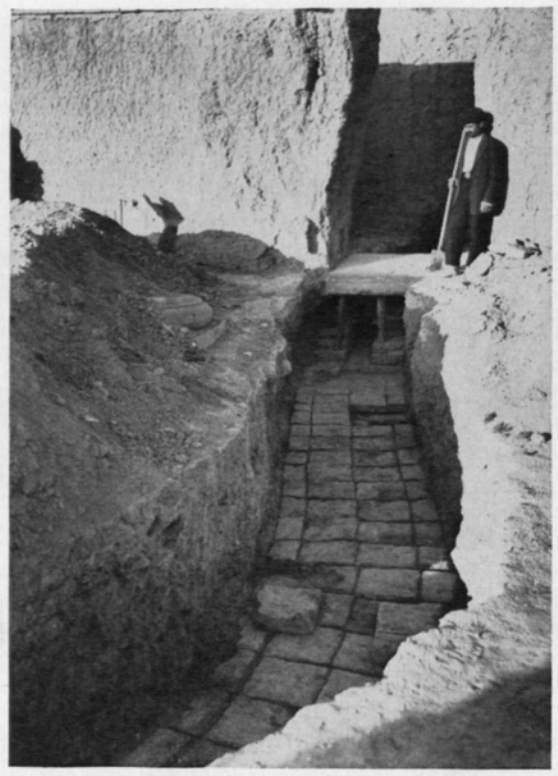
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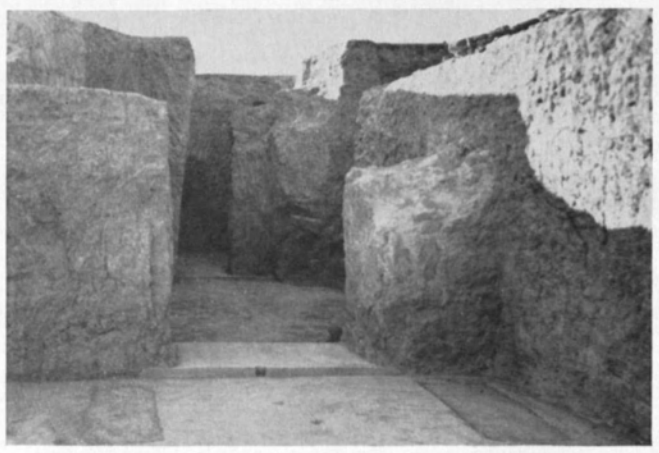
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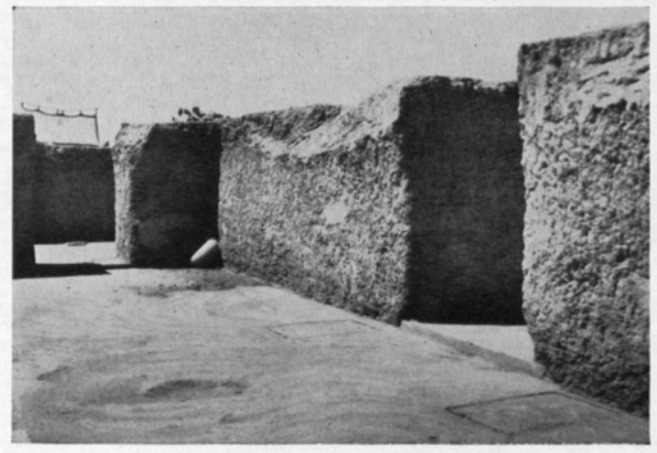
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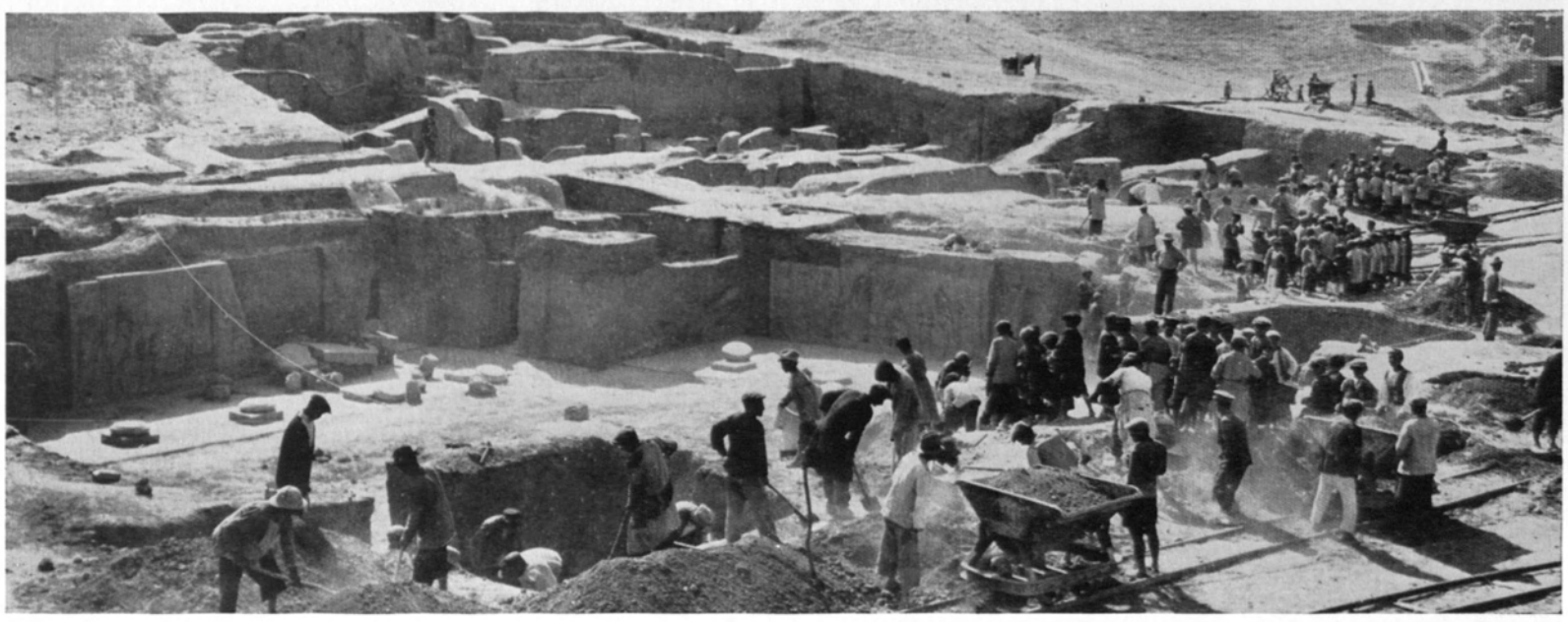
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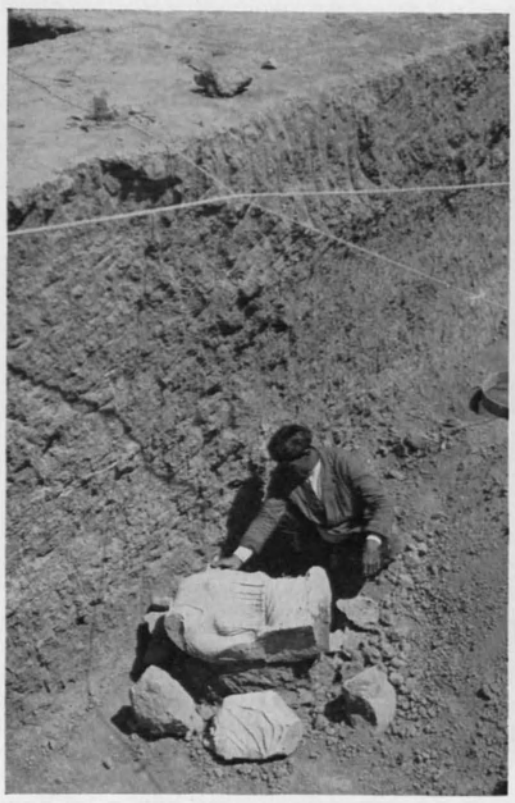
E



F

Fig. 76. Treasury. Area of Courtyard 17. *A*. Stone Sill and Socket of Northern Doorway of Room 12 (*direction of view, N*). *B*. Brick Drain beneath Stone Sill of Doorway between Room 12 and Portico 18 (*direction of view, WSW*). *C*. Same Drain beneath Courtyard 17 and Portico 18 (*direction of view, ENE*). *D*. Depressions for Statues Which Flanked Northern Doorway of Portico 18 (*direction of view, NNW*). *E*. Depressions for Statues Which Flanked Western Doorway of Portico 20 (*direction of view, S*). *F*. Distant View of Reliefs in Porticoes 18 and 21 (*direction, ESE*)

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A



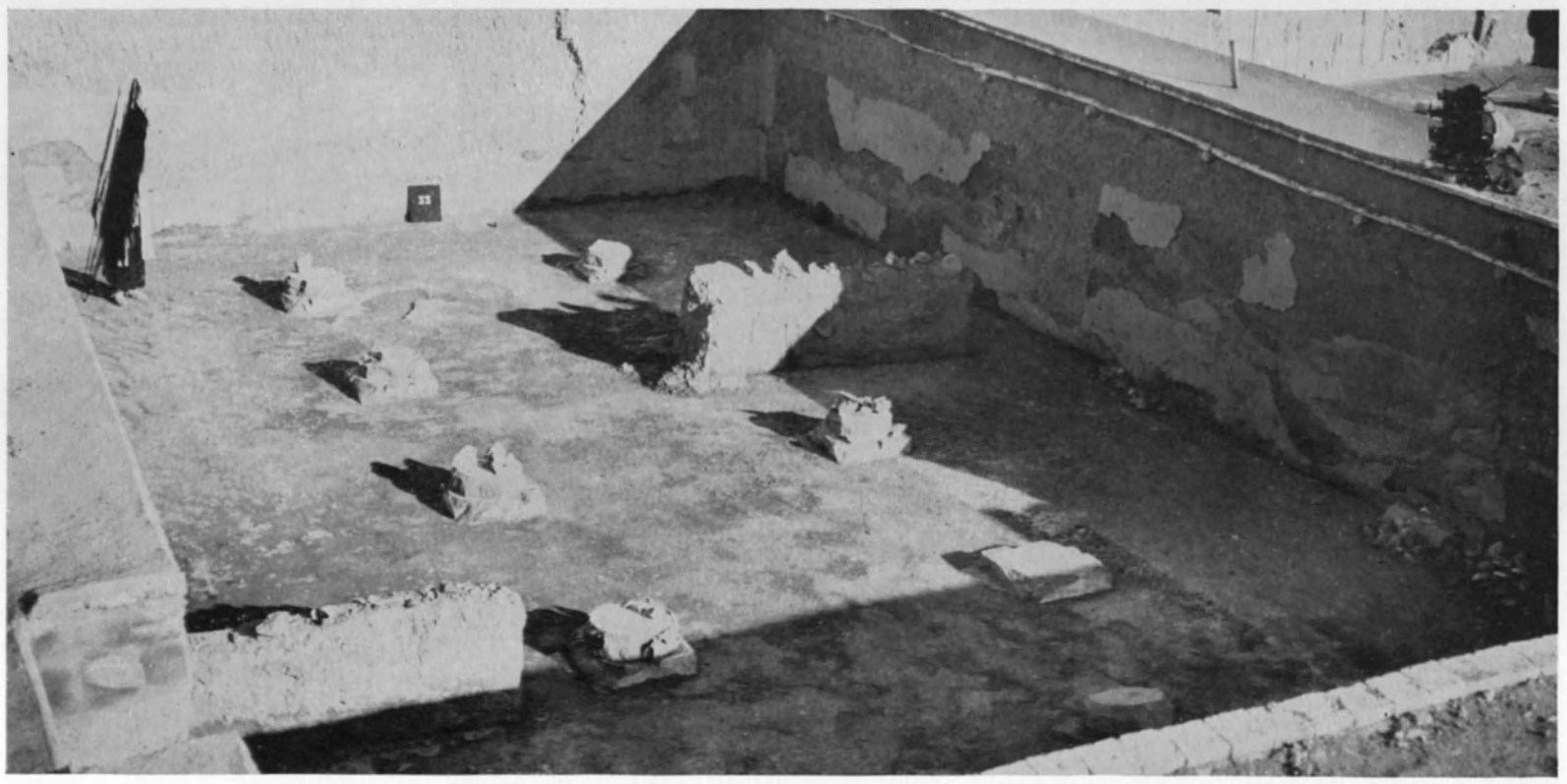
B



C



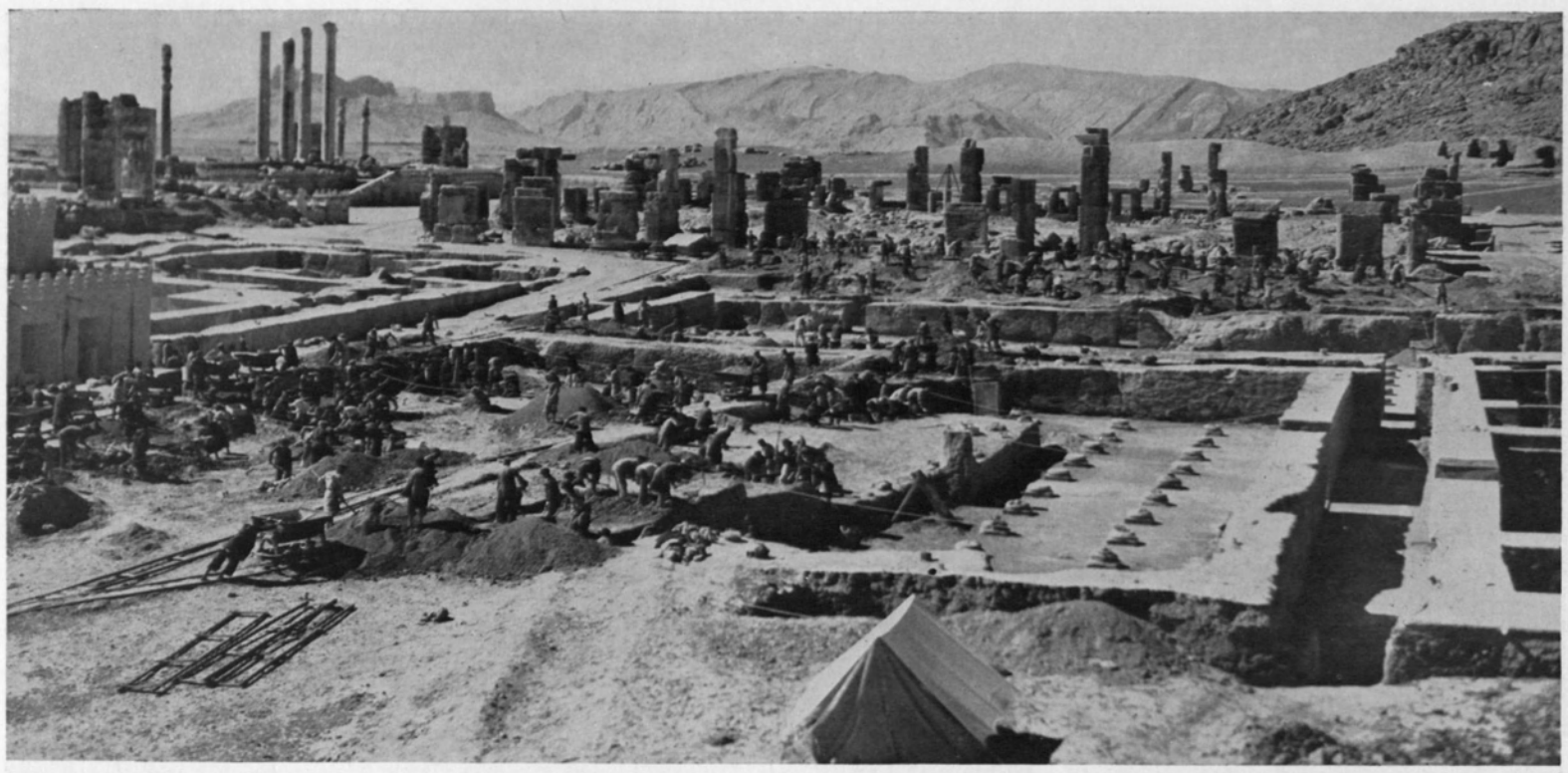
D



E

Fig. 77. Treasury. *A*. Torso of Greek Statue (PT4 1166) as Found in Corridor 31. *B*. Inscribed Stone Weight (PT4 736) as Found in Room 33. *C*. Excavating Room 33 (*direction of view, SW*). *D*. Cluster of Cuneiform Tablets in Room 33. *E*. Room 33 after Excavation. Note Scorched Patches of Wall Plaster (Figures of Workmen Erased by Censor; *direction of view, E*)

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A



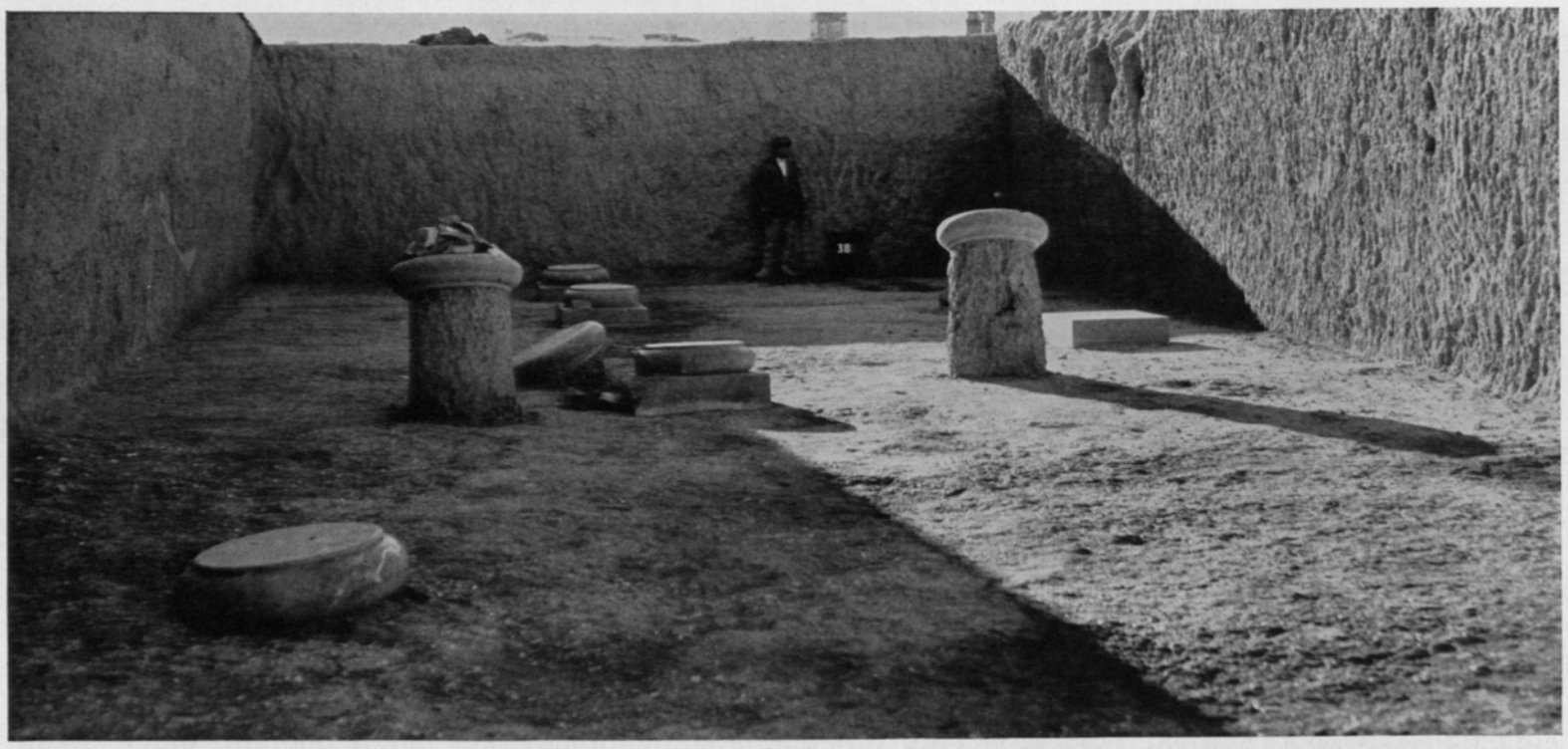
B



C

FIG. 78. TREASURY. *A*. EXCAVATING HALL 41 (*direction of view, NW*). *B*. HALL 41 (*direction of view, ENE*). *C*. HALLS 38 AND 41 AFTER EXCAVATION (*direction of view, SW*)

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A



B



C



D

FIG. 79. TREASURY. *A*. SOUTHEAST PORTION OF HALL 38, WITH SOME COLUMN BASES DISPLACED (*direction of view, WSW*). *B–C*. PARTLY EXCAVATED WESTERN HALF OF HALL 38, SHOWING REPAIRED FLOORS (*direction of views, NE and SW respectively*). *D*. EXCAVATING ROOMS NORTH OF HALL 38 (*direction of view, WSW*)

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A



C



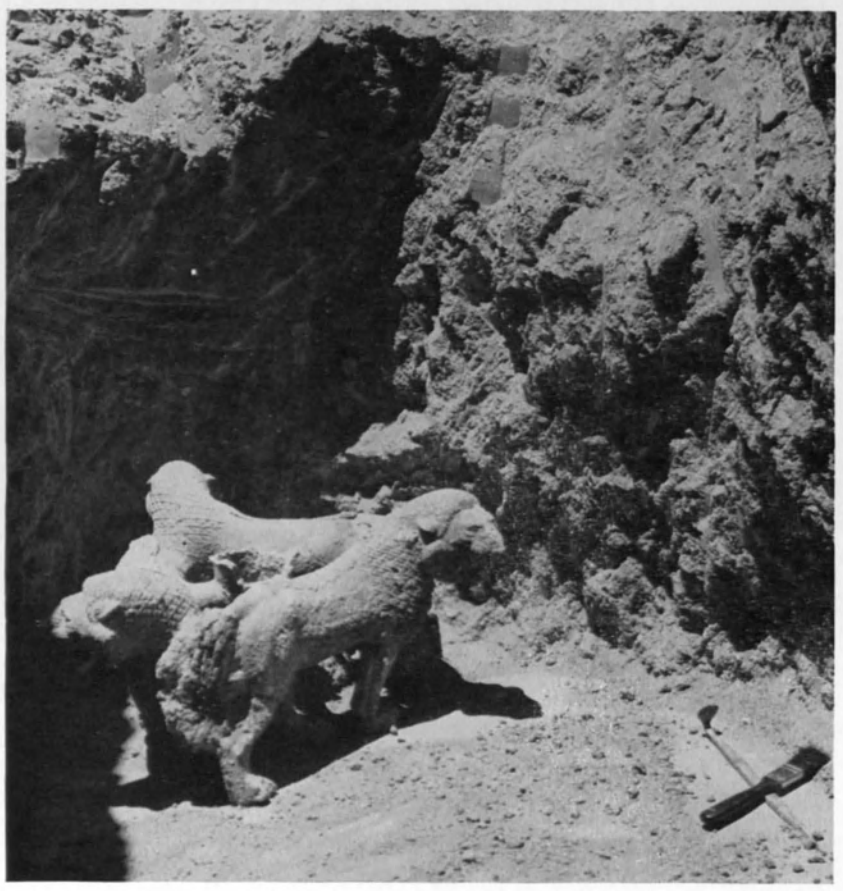
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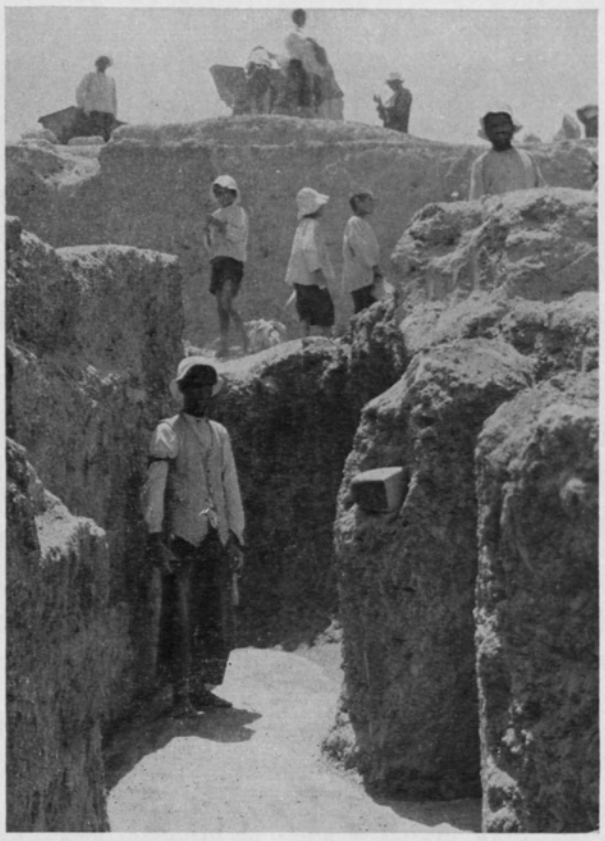
E



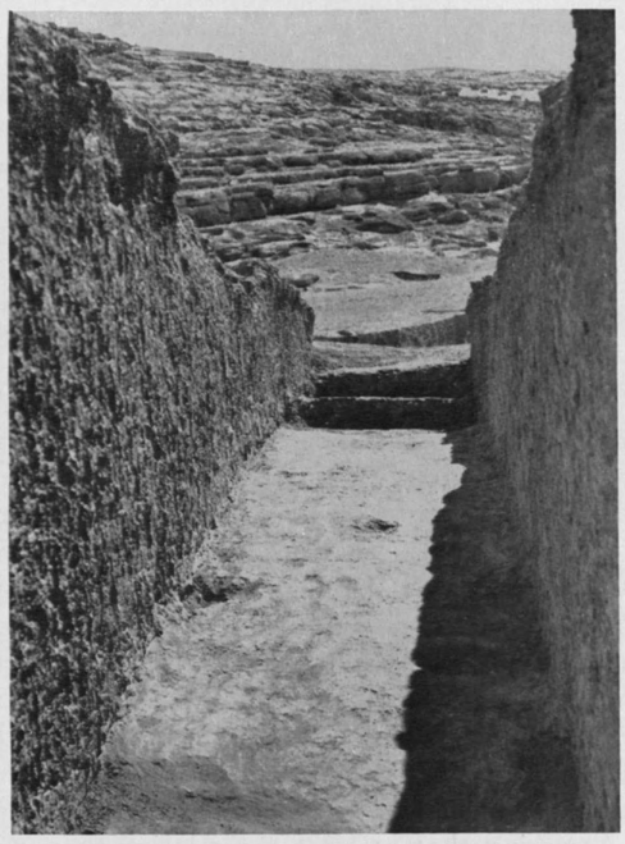
F

Fig. 80. Treasury. *A–B*. Fragments of Painted Plaster Shells near Column Bases of Hall 41. *C*. Work in Room 40. *D*. Charred Fabric and Fragments of Stone Vessel in Room 51. *E*. Inscribed Bronze Plaque (PT6 297) on Floor of Room 56. *F*. Lion Pedestal of Bronze (PT5 642) on Floor of Hall 38

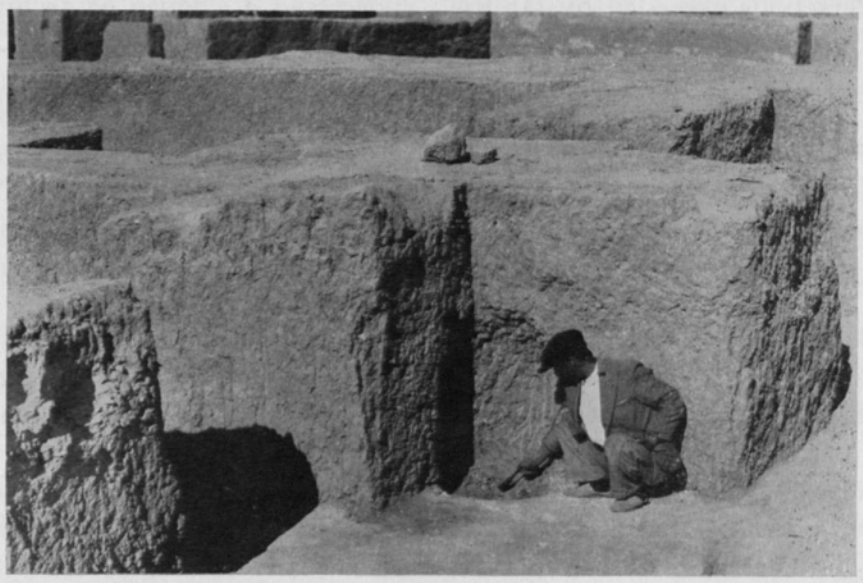
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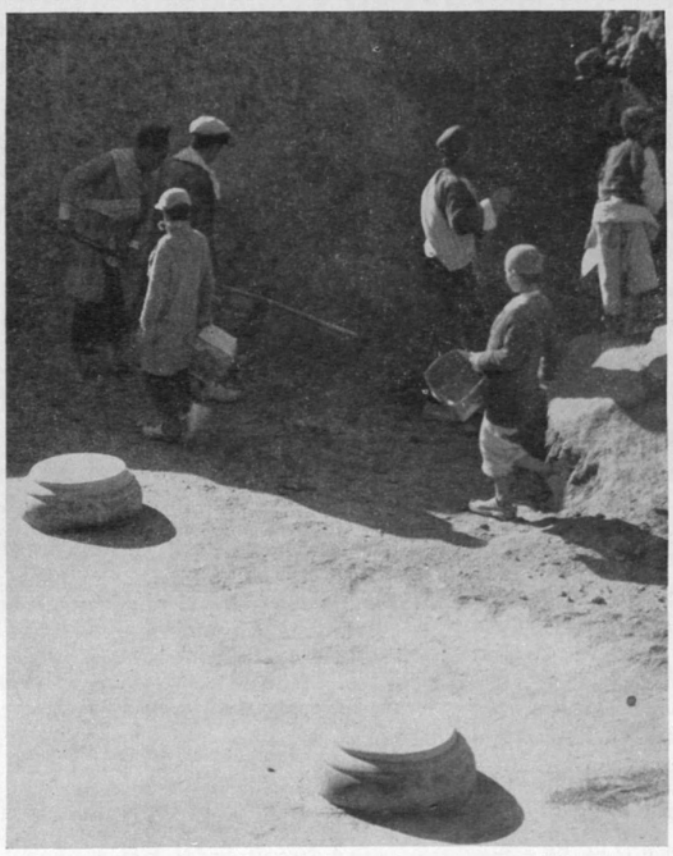
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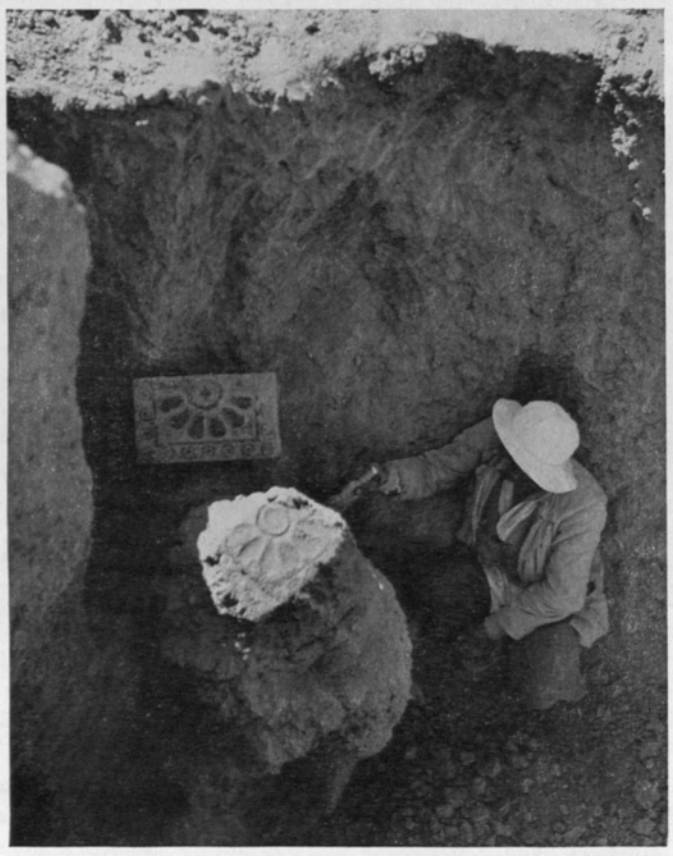
B



C



D



E

Fig. 81. Treasury. *A*. Inscribed Stone Weight (PT3 283) in Debris of Room 3. *B*. Ramp 25 (*direction of view, ENE*). *C*. Hoard of Inlay Pieces (PT6 703) in Northwest Corner of Room 63. *D*. Column Bases in Room 8. *E*. Rosette Stone Found in Debris of Room 1

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THE TREASURY

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO ACHAEMENIAN TREASURES

Diodorus and Quintus Curtius mention that Alexander's booty at Persepolis amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand talents, "reckoning the gold after the rate of the silver" (Diodorus).[1] As to the captured treasures of other Achaemenian capitals, those at Babylon are mentioned,[2] but their value is not stated. At Susa the spoil of the Macedonians consisted of about forty thousand talents in precious metals, nine thousand talents in darics,[3] and five thousand talents in purple fabrics.[4] At Pasargadae the booty amounted to six thousand talents,[5] and the treasury of Ecbatana apparently contained seven or eight thousand talents,[6] carried away by Darius III when he fled eastward.

Assuming that at least the relative proportions of the above-mentioned figures are approximately correct, we find that the treasures of Persepolis exceeded by far the booty of the conquerors in the other capitals of the Achaemenians. According to these figures Persepolis was not only the dynastic home of the Persian kings, it was also the principal storehouse for their treasures,[7] protected in the heartland of the empire by its remoteness and inaccessibility—the very features which, on the other hand, prompted the Persian kings to prefer Susa as the administrative center.

Concerning Persepolis, Strabo says: "Although they adorned the palace at Susa more than any other, they esteemed no less highly the palaces at Persepolis and Pasargadae; at any rate, the treasure and the riches and the tombs of the Persians were there, since they were on sites that were at the same time hereditary and more strongly fortified by nature. . . . Persepolis, next to Susa, was the most beautifully constructed city, and the largest, having a palace that was remarkable, particularly in respect to the high value of its treasures."[8]

Before describing the royal storehouse of Persepolis and the modest remnants of the immense treasures which it once must have contained, it will be interesting to compile the data, meager as they are, dealing with the contents of the principal Achaemenian treasuries.[9] Quintus Curtius (v. 1), in describing the surrender of Babylon to Alexander, mentions the governor of the castle and keeper of the king's treasure and states that Alexander viewed Darius' furniture and all his treasure; but as to the contents of the doubtlessly well filled treasury Curtius tells us only that Alexander distributed considerable sums to his soldiers "from the money handed over at Babylon."[10] Ezra 6:1–3, in connection with Darius I's search for Cyrus II's order to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, mentions the "house of the archives, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon." The document was found at "Achmetha, in the palace that is in the province of Media." This implies that Achmetha, which is tentatively identified with Ecbatana,[11] also possessed a "house of archives," in connection perhaps with a treasury building. Ezra 1:7–11 mentions vessels of gold and silver—five thousand and four hundred in all—taken by Nebuchadnezzar from Jerusalem to Babylon and stored there until Cyrus ordered "Mithredath the treasurer" to deliver them to "Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah." It seems more probable that Curtius' remarks as to the royal furniture and treasure, including four thousand talents in money and costly raiment, obtained by the Macedonians at Arbela refers to treasures from Darius III's field train rather than to booty from a royal storehouse, since "the wealth of the entire army was concentrated in that spot."[12]

At Susa each king "built for himself on the acropolis a separate habitation, treasure-houses, and storage places for what tributes they each exacted." Among the tributes mentioned are silver, dyes, drugs, hair, or wool. We are told that "most of the gold and silver is used in articles of equipment, but not much in money"; such articles were considered better adapted for presents and for storing, and the kings coined money only when it was needed.[13] Herodotus (iii. 96) tells us in what manner Darius (I) stored precious metals derived from tribute. Earthen vessels were filled with molten metal. After the metal cooled, the clay shell was discarded, and when money was needed pieces were cut off the ingots cast in this manner. Much of the wealth found by Alexander in the royal storehouses may have been kept in such form. Of greater interest to us are artistic treasures mentioned by Arrian[14] in reference to the surrender of Susa to Alexander. The booty included "all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, and among this bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians. . . ." Niese[15] con-

1. Diodorus Siculus xvii. 7; Quintus Curtius v. 6. 9. Strabo (xv. 3. 9) is more conservative and mentions reports that the treasures of Susis and Persis (combined apparently) amounted to 40,000 or 50,000 talents. He states, however, that according to other sources the total booty brought together at Ecbatana was valued at 180,000 talents.

2. Strabo xv. 3. 9; Diodorus Siculus xvii. 7.

3. Diodorus Siculus xvii. 7. As to the absence of darics at Persepolis, see our Vol. II, chapter on "Coins."

4. Plutarch *Alexander* 36. 1 mentions 40,000 talents of coined money and untold furniture and wealth besides, including 5,000 talents' weight of purple from Hermione (stored there for 190 years). Quintus Curtius (v. 2. 11–12) mentions 50,000 talents of silver, not coined but in ingots, as Alexander's booty at Susa.

5. Quintus Curtius v. 6. 10.

6. Benedictus Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea.* I. *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger und der Westhellenen bis zum Jahre 281 v. Chr.* ("Handbücher der alten Geschichte," II. Serie, 1. Abt. [Gotha, 1893]) p. 99.

7. In spite of the fact that Herodotus (v. 49) emphasizes the king's wealth in his storehouses at Susa only.

8. Strabo xv. 3. 3, 6.

9. See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* III (2d ed.; Stuttgart and Berlin, 1915) 90.

10. So also Diodorus Siculus xvii. 7.

11. William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, rev. and ed. by H. B. Hackett and Ezra Abbot, I (Boston, 1881) 642.

12. Quintus Curtius v. 1. 10.

13. Strabo xv. 3. 21 (after Polycleitus apparently).

14. *Anabasis* iii. 16. 7–8.

15. *Op. cit.* p. 95, n. 2.

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siders this a somewhat dubious story, but in the light of our discovery of a Greek (Ionian) marble statue in the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 177), it appears quite possible that famous statues were brought to the royal storehouses of the Persians.

Athenaeus[16] gives us a glimpse of some of the treasures of the kings. Among the gifts bestowed by Artaxerxes (II) he mentions a tent of extraordinary beauty and size,[17] a silver-footed bedstead, a silver throne, a gilded sunshade, gold saucers set with jewels, large saucers and mixing bowls of silver, and tables with ivory feet. The same author mentions, further, "smooth Persian carpets . . . having beautiful designs of figures," a golden jewel-studded vine extending over the bed of the Persian king, and plane trees of gold.[18] Claudius Aelianus[19] tells us of gifts of the king to various ambassadors of Greece and other countries. Each received a Babylonian talent in coined silver and two silver bowls each valued at one talent; bracelets, a sword, and a necklace, together valued at one thousand darics; and a Median coat. Parmenion (as quoted by Athenaeus), in summing up the booty taken from the Persians, lists gold cups (weight: 73 Babylonian talents, 52 minae) and cups inlaid with precious stones (weight: 56 Babylonian talents, 34 minae).[20]

At Persepolis the objects carried in the Apadana reliefs by the gift-bearing delegations of the empire—and even the shattered and scorched remnants of objects disdained by Alexander and uncovered during our excavations—give us more specific information with regard to the contents of the Treasury than the ancient historians who recorded its pillage.

Diodorus mentions only the quantity of gold and silver (120,000 talents) seized by Alexander "in the citadel." He states that Alexander let his soldiers plunder the city of Persepolis "except the king's palace." The latter term certainly refers to the entire group of palatial structures on the Persepolis Terrace, called the "citadel." Diodorus is more specific in describing the loot of the soldiers than the treasures taken by Alexander. He states that "for many ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth" and mentions an "abundance of rich and costly furniture and ornaments of all sorts . . . vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, others embroidered with gold."[21] Quintus Curtius, in addition, mentions vessels and statues of exquisite workmanship which were cut in pieces.[22]

Further clues as to the contents of the various treasuries of the empire may be obtained from the character of the gifts, revenues, and tributes and their sources compiled by Eduard Meyer.[23] In addition to uncoined precious metals, he lists the following categories of goods which plausibly could have been stored in the royal treasuries: frankincense, ivory, jewels, carpets, garments, tents, couches of costly workmanship, vessels of precious metals, weapons, spices, silk, and paper.

The excavators of Babylon and Susa have not succeeded in discovering royal storehouses of the Achaemenians. Robert Koldewey describes a Persian building of apadana type at Babylon (see p. 28). The excavators of Susa uncovered palatial structures of Darius I and his successors (see pp. 29 ff.), but none of the publications dealing with that site record remains of royal storehouses. Such buildings undoubtedly existed somewhere in the fortified area of the Acropolis Mound, which Dieulafoy hypothetically reconstructed.[24] The treasury of Ecbatana, together with the palaces and towns of the Achaemenians and their predecessors, is still buried underneath the modern town of Hamadan (see pp. 36–38).[25]

GENERAL NOTES ON THE TREASURY OF PERSEPOLIS

Thus, the Persepolis Treasury is the only royal storehouse of the Achaemenians so far uncovered. It deserves, therefore, a detailed description with special consideration of the remnants of its contents. It is instructive to enumerate all major finds and classes of objects from the same unit or suite of units. True, some objects may have strayed accidentally into the debris, and a few may have been lost by workers or officials, but most of them are remnants of whole groups of stores which were removed during the sacking of the Treasury.

The foundations of the building were completely buried below the debris of its own crumbled walls and below masses of dissolved mud bricks that had been washed down from the debris of the high defense wall which once protected the eastern edge of the Terrace. The existence of the Treasury was therefore entirely unknown prior to excavation, in contrast to all the other principal Persepolitan structures, the sites of which were indicated by remains of columns or other stone parts, or at least by pronounced mound formations such as those left by the fortification which lined parts of the Terrace edge.

The extensive building, 133.90 m. long and 77.60 m. broad in its final form, had almost one hundred partitions —spacious columned halls and suites of smaller rooms, courts with porticoes, passages, vestibules, and so forth. Streets separated it on all four sides from the neighboring structures—Xerxes' Harem to the west, Artaxerxes I's Throne Hall (planned by Xerxes) to the north, the quarters of the garrison at the foot of the eastern defense wall, and the southern section of the Terrace fortification.

Our Figures 63–65 show the plan of the royal Treasury as it was completed during Xerxes' reign and as it was found by Alexander, who pillaged it and destroyed it by fire (see Fig. 64). However, the final Treasury actually

16. *Deipnosophistae* ii. 48*d*–49*a*.

17. As to Xerxes' tent and couches and tables of gold and silver, see Herodotus (ix. 82), who, further, mentions (i. 188) silver jars in which water from the Choaspes (ready boiled for use) was transported wherever the Persian king (Cyrus II) traveled.

18. *Deipnosophistae* v. 197*b*, xii. 514*f* and 539*d*.

19. *Varia historia* i. 22 (*Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Uebersetzungen*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel, C. R. von Osiander, and G. Schwab, CLXXXII [Stuttgart, 1839]).

20. *Deipnosophistae* xi. 782*a*. The translator points out that the total weight of the gold cups was considerably over 4 tons if the Babylonian talent is meant.

21. Diodorus Siculus xvii. 7.

22. Quintus Curtius v. 6. 5.

23. *Op. cit.* pp. 86 ff.

24. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Pl. II.

25. Aerial views in Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, Pls. 91–92. See also Flandin and Coste, Pl. 24.

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represents three distinct building phases (Fig. 66 *A*)—part of the original Treasury as conceived by Darius' architects (Fig. 66 *B*), part of an addition approximately doubling the original storage space (Fig. 67), and a second addition roughly coinciding in time with the construction of Xerxes' Harem, which necessitated the razing of the western parts of the first two sections. We shall discuss the razed portions (pp. 198–200) after describing the Treasury as we found it.

Most of the references to architectural features are based on the excellent field descriptions and drawings of Richard C. Haines, who was the expedition architect during the last three years of its field work. Much information was also assembled by Haines' predecessors—John S. Bolles and Eliot F. Noyes, expedition architects in 1935 and 1936 respectively.

The royal Treasury was built of sun-dried bricks, a material which is very impermanent in this region because of the climate. To be sure, there is hardly any precipitation from spring until autumn, but there are torrential rains between December and March, and snow at times remains on the ground for several days. In its final form the building stood about a century and a half, roughly from Xerxes' reign to Alexander's conquest; but its earliest section, built by Darius, lasted about a hundred and eighty years (see p. 200). There is no doubt that this structure, in the same manner as the sun-dried brick parts of all the other Persepolis buildings, needed annual repairs to keep its walls from collapsing and to prevent leakage through the roof.[26]

Inside the building the gray limestone of the adjacent Kuh-i-Rahmat was used for drainage channels and cap-stones, for doorsills, column bases, and reliefs. Baked bricks also were employed for doorsills and a drain.

There is one indication of a second-story room, namely above Room 33 (see pp. 173 f.). Other attic chambers may have existed, but there are no clues (except possibly in Hall 73; see p. 195). As a whole the treasury was a one-story structure. Baffled, however, by the absence of windows or any other clues as to the system of lighting the interior of the building, we have to postulate a clerestory.[27] The narrow rooms which frame the building in its entire extent may have been somewhat lower than the rest of the structure. Openings in clerestory walls would have given some light—dim at best—to adjacent parts. If the builders of the first and second sections of the Treasury used this method, the east-west rows of narrow rooms now separating the three sections of the building also would have been lower than the adjacent rooms. Finally, if the roof above certain corridors (e.g. Nos. 31 and 69), rows of narrow units (e.g. No. 60 southward to No. 88), and the porticoes was at a lower level than that above the adjacent parts, all principal halls of the Treasury (Nos. 38, 41, 62, 73) and all medium-sized rooms could have received light through clerestory openings—in many cases from all four sides. While such a lighting arrangement seems plausible, we have no clue as to the manner of closing the assumed clerestory windows. There were no remnants of transparent material which could have been used for this purpose. Wooden shutters, to be opened during inspection of rooms, could have been employed. Rooms situated below lower parts of the roof might have been in complete darkness. We found no traces of windows, although in parts the walls were preserved to a height of 2–3 meters.

COMMON STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE TREASURY

Ornamentation of the Inclosure

The attractive treatment of the outer faces of the Treasury inclosure[28] may give a clue as to the appearance of the façades of other Persepolitan structures, the mud-brick parts of which have disintegrated. The Treasury is embellished with an arrangement of alternating piers and recesses (Figs. 69 *A* and 74 *D–E*). An arrow-shaped slot partly splits the center of each pier, while each recess is decorated with a three-stepped niche. This treatment of the exterior wall faces gave Haines the first clue for determining the successive building phases of the Treasury. The southern walls of Halls 41 and 38 show the same arrangement of alternating piers and recesses—a feature otherwise reserved in this structure for exterior wall faces. The tops of the niches were presumably stepped in the same fashion as their sides, as suggested by a few extant examples of niches at Khorsabad.[29]

For reasons unknown, the walls at the southwest corner of the final Treasury building were left plain. The nearest recess in the south wall is about 21 meters from the corner, and the west wall, preserved to a length of about 10 meters at this point, also has no elaboration. It is plausible to assume that this part of the inclosure was rebuilt without much care sometime after the completion of the final structure. The central portion of the outer face of the west wall was uncovered during the excavation of the Harem by Herzfeld's workers, who failed to recognize the treatment of the façade. Our plans reconstruct uniformly spaced niched recesses instead of showing the plain recesses of irregular sizes which appear on the earlier surveys.

The piers of all three building periods are uniformly spaced at distances of 5.50–5.55 m. from center to center except in the west wall. Here they are 5.58–5.62 m. on centers in the northern part and 5.70–5.75 m. in the southern portion. There are slight variations in the widths of the piers. In the east wall, for instance, they measure 2.80–2.90 m., and in the north part of the west wall 2.90–2.97 m. The corner piers of the final building and those of the two preceding phases (east of Room 37 and east of Passage 9) are somewhat larger and measure 3.05–3.10 m. in width. The arrow-shaped slots, 10–16 cm. wide and 1.30–1.50 m. high, cut the centers of the piers to a depth of 50–57 cm. The outer edges of their sloping lower ends

26. We failed even in trying to preserve the walls at their excavated height —several meters in spots—by capping them with baked bricks. They had to be cut to within half a meter above the ground and covered with curved caps of mixed lime, earth, and chopped straw (see Fig. 74 *A–C*). In spite of this precaution, the wall remnants can probably not be preserved without frequent repairs.

27. Cf. roof of Harem building (e.g. Pl. 118) as restored by Herzfeld and Krefter.

28. And the similar treatment of the inclosures of the Throne Hall and the Gate of Xerxes (Figs. 58 and 25). For the distinct treatment of the towers of the Apadana see p. 73 and Figs. 30 and 36*A*.

29. Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad*. II. *The Citadel and the Town* (*OIP* XL [1938]) p. 39 and Pl. 13 *C–D*.

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are roughly level with the bottoms of the neighboring niches (see below) or slightly above them.

The recesses are 35–37 cm. deep and usually narrower than the piers. The recesses in the east wall measure 2.60–2.75 m. in width; those in the northern part of the west wall are 2.62–2.65 m. wide. The two narrowest recesses, 2.50 and 2.55 m. wide respectively, are in the east wall and adjoin at the north the corner piers of the first two Treasury sections. In one part of the west wall, west of Room 61, piers and recesses are of about equal width.

The exact height of the recesses is not known. However, when the eastern façade of the Treasury, next to the quarters of the garrison, was first uncovered, Bolles, the expedition architect at the time, estimated, by measuring fallen sections of the upper wall courses, that the recesses were less than 5 meters high. The wall debris which had fallen into "Garrison Street" suggested, further, a total height of about 11 meters for the outer inclosure (see p. 206). This figure may be somewhat too high, considering Haines' estimates of the heights of Ramp 25 and Stairway 49, which led to the roof (see p. 187).

The three-stepped niches in the recesses range roughly between 50 and 55 cm. in depth. The width of the rear panels of the niches varies in proportion to the width of the recesses. The bottom of each niche forms a flat bench whose height above the adjoining street seems to have been originally about 50 cm. However, in many instances the street level, elevated by accumulation of refuse, reaches to within 15–35 cm. of the niche bottom.

Wall Construction

The drab-colored bricks used for the construction of the inclosure and all the other walls of the Treasury were made of mud mixed with chopped straw and dried in the sun. They are square and vary in breadth from 32 to 34 cm. and in height from 12 to 13 cm. The courses, including a layer of mud mortar with chopped straw, in many cases measure 15–17 cm. in height. As a rule the face bricks are irregularly staggered. Both faces of the inclosure, in the same manner as those of all other walls, are covered with a coat of mixed mud and straw. This wall plaster measures 2–5 cm. in thickness and in many places shows several layers. All walls were finally coated with a greenish-gray wash (see Fig. 68 *B*), which required frequent repaintings and thus grew in spots to a thickness of 1 cm. For a study of the wall covering—defined by Matson as a brown clay layer surfaced by a thin gray (our greenish-gray) clay coat —applied to the inclosure, see page 287. In some cases the mud plaster and colored wash are present below the finished floor (see below) and extend to the very bottom of the wall—an indication that those walls were finished before the floors were laid. In other cases, however, the finishing coats were applied above the floor only.

The Floors

The normal floors of the Treasury consist of three or four layers of material (see Fig. 70 *A–E*) laid on top of the filling of dirt and stones which was used to level the irregularities of the site. Soundings to a depth of half a meter below the floors did not reach the bottom of the fill at the test points.

The lowest floor layer, 5–10 cm. thick, consists of soil, ranging in color from cream to yellow. For an analysis of a sample of this substance—defined as calcite by Matson—from Room 33 and of a patch of flooring from Room 64, see pages 286–87. Our records do not indicate that such calcite foundations were used beneath the floors of later Persepolis buildings.

The second layer is the actual subfloor, 10–15 cm. thick. It is a concrete composed of small pebbles and stone chips mixed with dirt or stamped into dirt. The color of this layer is dark gray in the first two sections of the Treasury, that is, south of Hall 38. The concrete layer in Hall 38 and its subsidiary rooms and most of the floor patches in the entire building are of lighter color.

The third layer, made of plaster averaging 1 cm. in thickness, is in many places indistinguishable from the underlying one, part of which may have been puddled to obtain a smooth top.

The characteristic surface coat, finally, consists of a brown-red substance ranging in thickness from .5 to 2.5 mm. (for color see Fig. 68 *B*). For a study of the red surface coat—defined as ocher by Matson—from Hall 73, see page 287. On the Persepolis Terrace there is only one other building which was provided with brown-red floor surface, namely the Palace of Darius I (see p. 222). The same floor color has been found in partly excavated structures south of the Terrace (see p. 55), in the palace compound which was founded by Darius I at Susa (pp. 31–32), and in the Persian Building at Babylon (p. 28).

The Doors

The stone doors of the royal tombs above the Persepolis Terrace and at Naqsh-i-Rustam are our only clue as to the appearance of the wooden doors in the palatial structures of the Achaemenians. Noyes' reconstruction of a Treasury door (Fig. 68 *B*) is based on these tomb entrances and copies their pattern of horizontal grooves elaborating a central panel.[30] Sheets of bronze reliefs, combined perhaps with precious metals, may have ornamented the wooden doors. This is suggested by wing fragments of monsters—or of the winged disk symbol—found in many parts of the building[31] and elsewhere (see e.g. p. 72). The fact that in most instances wings only are preserved suggests that parts of the reliefs, such as the heads and bodies of monsters, were made of precious materials, worth looting, whereas the less desirable portions were broken off and discarded during the pillage. The doorknob (not indicated) may have resembled a bronze object shown in Volume II (PT5 814). There is no clue as to the method of locking.

No lintels are preserved in the Treasury. We do not know, therefore, how the doors were attached at the top. There must have been pivoting devices at the lintels (made undoubtedly of wood) corresponding to the door sockets which occur at many of the doorsills. The sockets consist of either a stone with a circular depression or a heavy iron piece with a circular depression (Fig. 70 *O–W*); the latter type was at times set into a base stone with a square hole. Two pairs of door sockets show that doors

30. Herzfeld and Krefter used the doors of the tombs as examples for the actual restoration of the doors of the Harem.

31. E.g. in Room 33 (p. 174), Hall 38 (p. 182), Courtyard 29 (p. 189), Room 78 (p. 190), Room 8 (p. 192), Room 5 (pp. 192 f.), Room 83 (pp. 193 f.), Hall 73 (p. 196).

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with two wings were used at the east entrance (see Room 13) to the Treasury and at the subsequently walled-up north entrance (see Room 36) of the second phase. Many door sockets have disappeared, but depressions in the floors beside the doorways indicate their locations. It is difficult to understand why so many of the pivoting devices are missing. Either they were valuable enough to be worth-while items of plunder or, if made of iron, they were dug up by natives after the destruction of the site. Many doorways, especially those of suites of rooms, had simply been left doorless, as indicated by the absence of sockets or floor depressions (e.g. in the apartments in the southeast corner of the Treasury). It is possible, of course, that doorless openings were screened with portieres or mats. It is tempting to consider numerous bronze tubes with flanges[32] as "curtain rings." Such objects were found in all three sections of the Treasury, mostly in rooms with doorless openings and once in a doorway (see p. 181). A rod could have been slipped through the tubes, and curtains could have been fastened to a wooden strip attached to the flanges, on several of which wood particles were noticed (see p. 197).

Well wrought, usually monolithic, sills made of the common gray limestone of the site were used in the four exits of the preserved portions of the successive Treasury buildings and in other areas of intense traffic, namely the two courtyards (17 and 29) with their adjoining porticoes and rooms. In almost all cases stone sills extend beneath the doorjambs, indicating that the heavy sills were laid before the adjacent walls were built. Brick sills (see below), on the other hand, usually cover just the floors of the doorways, except where shallow grooves were cut into the jambs apparently for firmer setting of the sill. With few exceptions the edge of the sill which faces the door socket (i.e., the door) is notched at either end (Fig. 70 *F–M*). Consequently, the long central portion of that edge juts out a few centimeters. The purpose of this arrangement presumably is related to the profile of the door. Haines pointed out that the central panels of the tomb doors project somewhat. The profiles of those stone doors resemble, therefore, the profiles of the notched edges of the Treasury sills (see Fig. 70 *N*).

As a rule baked-brick sills were placed in doorways which were cut through existing walls. At times these doorways connected passages which later became routes of major circulation. In other instances (e.g. between Rooms 81 and 89) the baked-brick sills simply indicate frequent use of the rooms joined by the doorways. Many doorways, whether open or provided with doors, have no special sill. Their brown-red floors are simply continuous with those of the adjacent rooms.

The most prominent part of the Treasury, namely Courtyard 17, whose porticoes were ornamented with reliefs and statues, excelled also in the embellishment of its entrances. The doorways leading out of this court (one possibly excepted; see pp. 172 f.) and those leading from it through Rooms 16, 15, and 36 to the northern entrance of the second Treasury show traces of painted decoration consisting of a band of sixteen-petaled rosettes in a color scheme of blue, white, and red. In many cases only small patches of the pattern are preserved. Noyes' reconstruction (Fig. 68 *B*) is based on the ornamentation of the southern doorway of Room 36. He succeeded in determining six phases of the application of the colors:

1. A solid band of blue was applied to the greenish-gray wall surface.
2. The outline of a narrower band was sketched on the blue base in a reddish or neutral tone.
3. A white coat with irregular edges was applied thickly over the narrow strip outlined in the second phase.
4. The irregularities of the white band were corrected and straightened by applying more blue on top of the white along the edges.
5. With a small brush the design of rosettes and bordering triangles was sketched freehand on the white band in a neutral tone.
6. Blue and red colors were applied to the design stage of the fifth phase.

It must be added that the height of the doorway reconstructed by Noyes is not certain. Also, the upper part of the painted design is hypothetical, though plausible. The bands flanking the doorway, however, appear to be definite.

A fragile plaster fragment with similar, though in parts problematical, design in the same color scheme lay inverted on and beside the southeast column base (*E*1 on Fig. 64) of Hall 38. This fragment may indicate that a mural frame once decorated the outside (north face) of the northern entrance to the second Treasury, located in the vicinity of the find-spot, though there is no further evidence to support this assumption. The painted decoration of the column shafts was completely different (see below).

The Columns

More than three hundred columns supported those sections of the roof which covered the extensive halls, the larger rooms, and the porticoes of the final Treasury. We found no recognizable traces of the column shafts, which must have been made of wood. If any escaped destruction by fire, either they were pilfered by the natives of this timberless area or they have decayed in the course of time. However, in the imposing main halls (38 and 41) of the Treasury we found—as a rule close to column bases—flat and curved fragments of usually scorched mud plaster with traces of painted designs (see Figs. 72 *J* and 80 *A–B*, also p. 174). Haines' measurements prove that the original diameters (56–60 cm.) of curved fragments found in Hall 41 correspond to the diameters of the columns as indicated by the diameters of the tops of the stone tori (see below). We have no doubt that the curved pieces are remains of plaster shells which inclosed the wooden cores of column shafts.[33] Haines determined that the curved plaster fragments vary from 8 to 10 cm. in thickness and show reed impressions on the inner face, whose curve parallels that of the painted exterior surface. He concluded that a central wooden post 35–40 cm. in diameter was wrapped horizontally with reeds or the like to give a firm hold to an outer shell of mud plaster.

At this point it is interesting to note a passage of Strabo (xvi. 1. 5) referring to Babylon: "On account of the scarcity of timber their buildings are finished with beams and pillars of palm-wood. They wind ropes of twisted reed round the pillars; and then they plaster them and paint them with colours. . . ."

The decoration of the Persepolis plaster fragments, painted in blue, white, and red, consists of an intricate pattern of interlocking lozenges elaborated with paired scrolls. Fragments found in Halls 41 and 38 show almost

32. E.g. PT6 459. Objects referred to by field number are described and illustrated in Vol. II.

33. For apparently similar treatment of columns at Pasargadae see p. 23.

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identical patterns, but the design units from Hall 41 are about three times as large as those from Hall 38. The white parts of the design from Hall 38 are actually light gray with a faint greenish tint. It is possible that this color was a lighter shade of the wash used on the walls of the Treasury. Haines' reconstruction (Fig. 72 *J*) is based on a column of Hall 41. He found that the design units varied from 8.8 to 9.4 cm. in width, where measurable, and were repeated twenty times on a column 57–58 cm. in diameter.

If capitals existed, they also were made of wood. None were found. The column bases, on the other hand, were made of stone. They consist either of a flat circular torus with one molding or two moldings or of such a torus combined with a square plinth (see Fig. 72 *B–K*). In most instances the artisans who sculptured these bases carved their masons' marks in the stone (Figs. 71–72 *A*). We believe that each of these symbols identified an individual worker. If true, the distribution of the symbols shows that certain masons worked at column bases of the Treasury during all three phases of its construction. Some symbols occur solely in the original section of the Treasury, and others in one of the additions only. Clusters of marks on some bases suggest that as many as four men contributed to their completion. A few marks resemble Greek letters, but this may be accidental. The symbols do not seem to give a clue as to the nationalities of their owners.[34]

There were slight variations in the diameters of the columns, as indicated by the diameters of the top surfaces of the tori. In Hall 38, for instance, the top of a torus indicates a column diameter of close to 57.5 cm., whereas in Hall 41 the diameters were found to range from 58.6 to 60.3 cm.

The exact height of the columns is unknown. Its determination depends on establishing the height of the roof above the ground and on the presence or absence of a clerestory. Haines determined that Ramp 25 and Stairway 49 reached the roof top somewhere between 7 and 11 meters above the floor (see pp. 187 and 186). At these points, however, the roof may have been lower than in the columned units of the building (see p. 158).

The Roof

The roof of the Harem as restored by Herzfeld and Krefter (see e.g. Pl. 118) may serve as an example for the Treasury roof, since the debris of the royal storehouse gave no clue as to its roof construction. The roof was presumably flat, perhaps slightly inclined for purposes of drainage (see below). If a clerestory existed parts of the roof were of course elevated, as in the restored Harem. Columns and walls supported the main roof beams, which in turn carried smaller poles or planks, brush, perhaps woven mats, and a hard tramped top layer of mud—to judge by modern constructions of similar kind in this area, which, parenthetically, require annual repairs and surfacing before the beginning of the rainy season. A burned, squared roof beam, measuring 18 × 24 cm. in cross section, was found in Room 40 (see p. 185). The top of the roof may have varied between 8 and 11 meters above the ground. The outer inclosure (see p. 159) presumably projected above the roof and probably was embellished with stepped crenelations, such as those used in the restored Harem and modeled after the crenelations of the monumental stairways.

34. In addition to native artisans and workmen, the Treasury tablets mention Egyptians (a woodworker; stoneworkers, who carved inscriptions; "up-carriers"), Syrians ("up-carriers" and workmen[?]), Carian goldworkers, and Ionian "up-carriers" (see *OIP* LXV 14 f.).

The Drains

We shall refer below to the important problem of drainage during the rainy season, in our description of a portion of the subterranean tunnel system uncovered by us below the quarters of the garrison (p. 210). As to the Treasury, only the original building (Fig. 66 *B*) had a satisfactory, or at least planned, system of drainage. Although we found no traces of rainspouts, we assume that they existed for the purpose of draining rain water into the neighboring streets. Drip stones indicate this manner of roof drainage in Court 17 (see p. 162).

Courtyard 29 shows a system of canals (e.g. Fig. 75 *B–D*) which were once connected with roof drains. A canal connected this drainage system with a similar arrangement in the subsequently razed western part of the first Treasury (see p. 199). The roof drains were situated in the two corners of the western portico (Room 70 and Passage 75) of Courtyard 29, in the northwestern corner of the court, and in the south wall of its southern portico (Room 78). Their positions are indicated by large perforated capstones placed over the ends of the canals under the walls (e.g. Fig. 75 *D*), but no traces are left of the roof drains themselves. Perhaps because of the effect of seepage, all walls are poorly preserved at these spots. There is one clue suggesting that the drains were lined with wood. Scorched patches and charcoal particles were found on the mud-brick fragments above the southwest capstone of the western portico (in Passage 75 of the final Treasury). The capstones are oblong rectangular slabs placed along the axes of the canals which they served. Both capstones of the western portico originally projected from beneath the walls and were cut in such a manner that notches were flush with the corners of the portico. The dimensions (in meters) of the capstones are as follows:

Location	Length	Width	Height	Perforation
Northwest corner of western portico (Room 70)	1.70	.92	.50	.32 × .35
Southwest corner of western portico (Passage 75)	1.70	.92	.52	.34 × .34
Northeast corner of Court 29	1.60	1.00	.52	irregular, *ca.* .30 × .30
South wall of southern portico (Room 78)	2.04	1.40	.50	.30 × .30

Rain water which flowed into the roof drains and at times certainly flooded the open courtyard (29) was gathered in the system of canals, which apparently had only one drainage exit, namely a vertical floor drain of unknown depth in Room 82. At times this arrangement must have been inadequate. The canals were built of monolithic sections fitted tightly without any mortar. It is plausible to assume that rows of stone blocks were first laid and fitted and then channeled *in situ*. The dimensions of the channels, chiseled to a pebbly surface, are given on Figure 69 *B–E*. The canals in the courtyard (29) were entirely open (Fig. 69 *D*). This explains why the upper parts of the sides are chipped in most places. In the rooms west of the courtyard the floors extend over the canals with no apparent means of support (e.g. Fig. 69 *C*). One may assume

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that beneath the floors the canals were covered with wood, which has decomposed in the course of time, leaving bridges of hardened floor layers.

The section of canal which extends south of Courtyard 29 as far as the terminal drain in Room 82 was covered with large baked bricks (32.5 × 51.5 × 9 cm.) before the floors were laid (Fig. 69 *E*). The vertical floor drain in Room 82 is covered with a stone slab 34 cm. square. At the east end of Room 81 the height of the canal is lessened by a stone plug hanging into the channel to within 17.5 cm. of its bottom (Fig. 69 *B*). A central groove in the channel bottom increased the slope toward the terminal floor drain.

Wherever walls cross the drainage canals they are carried by large blocks of stone. Most of these slabs are pierced for vertical drainage, that is, they are the capstones described above. The others are solid and simply support the walls. Solid stones are found between Rooms 81 and 82 (2.25 × 1.00 × .50 m.) and between Room 70 and Corridor 69 (1.40 × 1.10 × .50 m.). However, no stones support the secondary walls built along the originally open fronts of Rooms 70 and 78 where they cross the canals. Beneath the stone carrying in cantilever fashion the north jamb of the doorway between Room 70 and Corridor 69 the canal is blocked by another stone. The drainage system must have been cut off at this point, perhaps when the western portion of the original Treasury was razed.

When surveying the drainage system, Haines found that the original slope, if any, must have been negligible. Further, sections of the canals have apparently settled, for at present the canal bottom rises 14.5 cm. from the west end of Corridor 69 to Room 70, whereas formerly the canal may have sloped in the opposite direction. The central canal of Courtyard 29 rises 10 cm. from west to east instead of sloping down toward the east in the direction of the exit drain. It is difficult to believe that one portion of the courtyard drainage had been directed toward the drain holes (with outlets unknown to us) in the subsequently razed western section (see Fig. 66 *B*) and another portion toward the floor drain in Room 82.

Figure 63 shows the course of a drainage canal winding beneath Room 12, Portico 18, and Courtyard 17. It was made entirely of baked bricks, but only the part below the east sill of Portico 18 is completely preserved (Fig. 76 *B–C*). Brick walls of six courses rise from a brick floor two courses thick and form a channel one brick wide. A bitumen layer about 3 cm. thick covers the channel bottom. The bricks of the floor and the walls measure 32.5 × 32.5 × 7–8 cm. Below the east sill of Portico 18 the channel is roofed by a larger brick (51.5 × 47+ × 7 cm.) carrying above its center an additional brick of normal dimensions. In the remainder of the canal, as far as excavated, only the bottom bricks are preserved. In spite of the fact that we did not discover in the floor a drain hole leading to this canal, we must assume that it drained Courtyard 17. The latter was just as exposed to flooding by rains as Courtyard 29 with its rather elaborate system of canals; and, furthermore, roof drainage was actually directed into Courtyard 17, as indicated by drip stones located in its northeast corner (see p. 171). Originally the canal of Courtyard 17 probably drained toward "Garrison Street" on the east, but at present the channel bottom descends about 5 cm. in the opposite direction from its eastern excavated end beneath Room 12 to the westernmost bricks uncovered in Courtyard 17. The canal continues at both ends beyond the excavated test trench.

An open canal ran parallel to and about 2.60 m. north of the northern inclosure of the second Treasury—subsequently the south wall of Hall 38. The canal may have extended along the entire front of the second Treasury, draining the open court which was subsequently occupied by Hall 38, its subsidiary rooms, and the northern part of Xerxes' Harem. Canal sections were found from Room 40 at the east to Room *H* in the northeast part of the Harem (Fig. 103). The walls of the canal, diverging upward, are made of unhewn boulders (e.g. 22 × 27 × 14 and 23 × 26 × 17 cm.) which rest on a floor of mixed stones and dirt. The channel measures 45 cm. in width at the bottom and 65 cm. at the top. In depth it varies from 55 to 65 cm. It was subsequently filled up, and floors were laid over it (see e.g. p. 185).

THE TREASURY RELIEFS

Location and Technical Data

Two orthostat reliefs[35] are the most impressive features embellishing the area of Courtyard 17, which was of focal importance during the second and third phases of the Treasury. The reliefs are set into the rear walls of the eastern and southern porticoes (18 and 21; see Figs. 63 and 68 *A*) of the courtyard. Except for the fact that opposite sides of persons and objects are shown in the two reliefs, the same scene is depicted in both (Pls. 119–23 and Fig. 76 *E*).

The sculptor used the native gray limestone which was employed in all Persepolis buildings. The surfaces of the reliefs are smooth, almost polished. We do not know whether they were painted. The evidence suggests that they were not, for it is difficult to believe that all traces of pigments could have disappeared in spite of the fact that the preserved lower parts of the sculptures were protected by mud-brick debris soon after the destruction of the building. We found no traces of color except at one spot, which had most probably been stained by accident (see p. 163).

The extant portion of the eastern dado, starting 3.80 m. from the north wall of Portico 18, is a monolith, to judge by its lower edge; but most of its southern part was shattered during the destruction of the Treasury or shortly afterward. Some of the fragments fell on top of debris, as shown by their position 25–50 cm. above the floor.

The dimensions of the two reliefs were presumably identical. The face of the southern relief, starting 67.5 cm. from the east wall of Portico 21, measures 6.225 m. in length. In its present state it consists of three sections (2.045, 1.655, and 2.525 m. long), once closely fitted but now partially separated as a result of earth pressure. The total height is unknown, since the top part is missing. The

35. See *OIC* No. 21, p. 21, for references to possible orthostats at Pasargadae (see also p. 23 above).

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maximal preserved height is 2.54 m. The present tops of both reliefs are finished—an indication that their upper parts consisted of separately fitted sections. However, the top of the left (eastern) part (2.0 m. high) of the southern relief has a rough fracture along a horizontal line. This part of the relief was chiseled off by stone-pilferers of later times, perhaps the same persons who chiseled a groove across the top of the central portion. The southern relief has a small repaired area near the right end of the left slab, behind the back of the fifth person (the crown prince; see below). Here the stone is patched. An iron bolt used to fasten the inserted section fractured the top of the patch.

The reliefs were not flush with the faces of the adjoining mud-brick walls. The northern side of the eastern relief has a finished strip 4.5 cm. deep showing to what extent the dado projected. The southern relief protruded about 14 cm., as indicated by the distance of the mud plaster on the adjoining walls from the face of the relief. The finished parts of the sides of the southern relief are 15 and 22 cm. deep at the west and east ends respectively. The east end has a finished offset at the corner, receding 4 cm. and then projecting eastward 2–3 cm. From this point the finished part of the side continues for a distance of 18 cm. Beyond the finished portions of the sides the stone was left rough, since the abutting mud-brick walls covered it.

The southern relief measures 26–27 cm. in thickness at the top, but it may taper upward from the portico floor, on which it stands. Parts of the eastern relief were 40 cm. thick, as shown by measured fragments.

Description of the Scene

We describe the better preserved southern relief (Pl. 121); but variations and additional details appearing in the eastern relief (Pl. 123) are pointed out. The reliefs picture an audience. The king seated on his throne receives a dignitary, who stands respectfully beyond two incense burners. Behind the throne stands the crown prince, preceding two dignitaries of the royal suite. Pairs of attendants stand outside the canopy—indicated by two poles—at either end of the impressive scene, which is bordered by a frame ornamented with rosettes.

True to oriental art tradition the royal persons are shown at an exaggerated scale. The figure of the crown prince measures 2.22 m. from the top of his tiara to the floor of the dais (8.5 cm. high), which further raises royalty above the level of the other persons. In facial features and dress the king and the crown prince are identical. As a matter of fact, the physiognomy of all persons in the relief is stereotyped, showing that the sculptor made no attempt at portraiture. All persons are shown in profile, with gently curved nose, large eye beneath pronounced eyebrow, and well modeled, though expressionless, mouth. In all cases but one (towel-bearer; see p. 165) the tip of a mustache curls around the corner of the mouth. Royalty is distinguished by a long beard, squared at the tip and groomed in alternating bands of waves and curls. The lobe of the ear is visible below curls of the hair, which above the forehead is combed up in waves, ending in curls along the lower rim of the tall, almost cylindrical tiara or cidaris. The absolute likeness of the cidaris of the king and that of the crown prince (Darius I and Xerxes, his chosen successor; see p. 167) may be the most significant feature in the identical dress of the royal persons, to judge by an event in Achaemenian history later than that immortalized in our reliefs. Plutarch records that Artaxerxes (II) proclaimed Darius (who was subsequently executed) his successor to the throne and "gave him permission to wear the upright 'kitanis' (cidaris)."[36] A statement by Arrian[37] also has bearing on our subject. He mentions that Baryaxes, a Mede, was executed by Alexander because "he had worn his cap in the upright fashion and given himself out to be King of Persians and Medes." Whatever "upright" may mean, the royal cidaris must have had a distinct form. In our relief it differs from the headdress of the Persian attendants (see p. 166) by its considerably greater height and by its apparently closed top. In other Persepolis reliefs the royal headdress flares slightly toward the top and a ridge sometimes encircles the upper edge (e.g. Pl. 105).

Injuries on the king's face undoubtedly reflect the wrath of Alexander's soldiers, to judge by the fact that most of the other figures remained unscathed. The king's eye was gouged on both reliefs. Blows were directed against his nose and mouth, and his scepter-like staff with globular head is pitted by fractures.

The king's garment,[38] the wide-sleeved candys flowing in folds from the shoulders to the ankles, is identical with those of the crown prince and the Persian attendants. A broad belt or sash is marked on the back. A ridge at the right wrist, suggesting a sleeve of an undergarment, may simply be an error of the sculptor. The candys ends near the top of the plain strapless shoes. Lateral depressions, marked by shadows in our photograph (Pl. 121), suggest that the shoes of the royal persons and the other figures have heels; but this impression seems to be false, to judge by other reliefs, where the shoes rest flatly on the ground.

The right hand of the king holds a long staff with globular pommel, in reality attached to the staff by means of a tubular socket. If the king were standing, the staff would reach almost to the level of his eyes. In other Persepolis reliefs which show the king seated on his throne, he always holds such a staff or scepter—the symbol of royal power—whose globular head, at least, was in reality made of gold. Esther 5:2 refers to the king's golden scepter, which he held out to Esther, who touched its top. We found traces of red-brown matter on the middle part of the king's scepter staff. If this discoloration is the remainder of paint, it would suggest that the original staff was made of wood. However, we are inclined to disregard the discoloration; it may have been caused by a piece of iron perhaps lying in the debris at this spot.

King and crown prince each hold a lotus symbol (see p. 84, n. 108) in the left hand. It is a neatly carved blossom with two separate buds. Three stalks are visible below the hand. The buds are apparently the main features which distinguish the royal lotus symbol from the blossoms without buds held by the dignitaries in the reliefs of the Apadana and the Council Hall.[39] In the eastern relief the lotus symbol of the king closely resembles those shown in the

36. *Artaxerxes* 26. 2.

37. *Anabasis* vi. 29. 3.

38. For descriptions of royal dress (and bibliography) see George Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (2d ed.; New York, 1881) III 202 ff.

39. Cf. e.g. Pls. 51–52 and 70–74.

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southern relief but the crown prince's symbol has a slightly different design.

The king is seated on a tall, rather plain, armless throne with straight back. A cushion lies on the boxlike seat. Carved strips and moldings elaborate the back, the legs, and the rungs. The center section of each of the composite legs is modeled in the shape of a lion's paw. There is a curious fluted ridge above the paw. It is meant to be a scroll, as indicated by spiral carving at its ends. A small semirosette ornaments the rear side of the back leg of the throne at the top of the paw, where the ridge adjoins. The corresponding spot on the front leg was prepared for such a semirosette, but the sculptor did not carve the ornament. The original throne and the footstool (see below) were presumably covered with sheets of gold, and parts—such as the legs—may have been made entirely of precious metal.[40] The footrest, whose legs are modeled in the form of bulls' legs, supports the king's feet. There are fluted ridges like those above the lion paws on the throne. A semirosette is carved at the outer end of each ridge. The modeling of the legs of the lions and bulls in the staircase reliefs (see e.g. Pl. 20) does not suggest an explanation for this elaboration. The thrones and footstools pictured on the doorways of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall seem to be identical—as far as preserved—with the throne and footrest of the Treasury reliefs. The legs of the throne dais in the tomb reliefs[41] are identical except for omission of the lowest molding. The tomb reliefs, further, show the ornamental strip or rung decorated with paired scrolls, which remind one of rams' horns.

It is no accident that the faces of the seated king and the standing crown prince are on exactly the same level. The tall throne raises the king to such an extent that even when seated he is not surpassed in height by any other person, but his son and successor is permitted to be pictured at his own exalted level.

The portrayal of the crown prince is identical with that of the king in all but two decisive features. The crown prince stands behind—in reality probably beside—the throne on which the king is seated; and his right hand does not hold the ruler's scepter but is raised and extended in the same gesture as that assumed by the king as he worships the divine symbol before the fire altar in the tomb reliefs.[42] There are slight differences in treatment between the garment of the seated king and those of the standing persons. The latter show the tucked candys with upcurved lower edge, and one end of the belt or sash is visible in front.

Two identical censers stand in front of the king on the floor. In reality they stood at either side of the throne,[43] directly in front of the dais, as indicated by the location of the incense burner which is nearer the king. The treatment of these objects strongly suggests that the originals were made of metal, presumably silver or gold. A corrugated base in the shape of a slender truncated cone with flaring bottom, an almost cylindrical upper part, and a ring-shaped rim carries a deeply fluted semiglobe. Above it a short corrugated cylinder—perhaps the continuation of the base—supports a seven-stepped conoid receptacle. Outlets for perfumed smoke, presumably of frankincense, are marked by arrow-shaped slots piercing the five upper steps. The incense burner was fed through its truncated apex, which was closed by an anvil-shaped stopper. The latter was attached by a chain with S-shaped links to a duck's head protruding near the top of the base. Alexander's soldiers, who injured the king's head and scepter, directed some blows against the tops of these incense burners also, because they stood before the Persian ruler's throne.

In front of the king, inside the canopied area but beyond the censers—which may mark the limit of approach to the throne—stands a dignitary. His right hand is raised to his mouth in a gesture of reverence or respectful speech. Respect is also expressed by the bowing of his upper body. His face and hairdress are stereotyped like those of the other persons in the scene. However, in contrast to the long and square-tipped beard of royalty, his beard is short and pointed, as are those of the other persons below royal rank. His respectful behavior before the Persian king also roused the ire of those who damaged the ruler's image. On both reliefs his right hand is damaged, and on the eastern relief most of his face is battered. He is a Mede, as shown by his dress: large domed hat (in reality of felt) with tassel attached by means of a ring (a knob in other instances), long coat with tightly fitting sleeves, and long stiff trousers[44] tapering toward the ankles. The trousers may have been tucked into low shoes, but no line of juncture is marked. The shoes appear to be firmly attached by means of a strap, one loop (possibly covering the upper edge of the shoe) encircling the ankle and another the instep. The strap was tied or buckled in front, its two ends lying on the instep. The shoes of the Mede in the eastern relief show the main loops, the knot or buckle, and one strap end.

Two additional features distinguish this Mede—and a second Median dignitary (see below)—from the Persians (including royalty): ear ornaments and weapon. In both reliefs the Mede received in audience wears an ear ornament consisting of a ring tangent to a second, smaller ring, from which an elongated pendant of problematical shape is suspended. Only one of the Persian figures, the attendant farthest to the right in the eastern relief, wears an earring, which is without additional pendants. On the sculptures of the Council Hall and the Apadana, Persians and Medes alike are shown with earrings. The king too, when in formal attire, apparently wore ornaments at his ears, as suggested, for instance, in the audience scene on the northern doorways of the Throne Hall. There, a hole in the king's ear lobe and two(?) holes beside it (see p. 133 and Pl. 99) seem to indicate the presence of an ornament, perhaps "earrings of stones set in gold" such as were found in Cyrus' tomb.[45]

The sculptured scenes on the other buildings mentioned explain why in the Treasury reliefs it appears as though the Medes only are armed. In the Treasury all persons are shown in profile, and since the Median sword was worn on the right side it is visible whenever the right side of an armed Mede is pictured. The Persian dagger, however, was worn in front, stuck between the belt and the candys, and therefore is shown in the reliefs of the Council Hall and the Apadana on those persons who are represented in front view. The sculptor never indicated the dagger of Persians

40. See George Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 207.

41. See Vol. III.

42. *Ibid.*

43. So also *IF*, p. 143.

44. Actually of leather? Including—stocking-fashion—a cover for the feet? Cf. trousers carried by tribute-bearers (Pls. 27, 35, 37, 42).

45. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 6.

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pictured in profile. The southern relief of the Treasury shows the left side of the Mede receiving audience. Here the belt only is marked, tightly drawn, as indicated by the folds (omitted in eastern relief) of the coat. A belt end is visible beside his left hand, and the scabbard strap encircling his right leg is faintly marked below the coat. For the Mede's weapon we have to turn to the eastern relief (Pl. 123), which shows his right side. The better preserved and incomparably more beautiful weapon of the second Mede, the carrier of the royal battle-ax and bow, shown in the southern relief, is described below. The sword of the Mede under consideration, undoubtedly an important person, has a strangely plain and unfinished appearance. The angular grip with transverse, oblong pommel protrudes from the plain scabbard, marked only with a rectangular panel. The scabbard tip, which may have been trefoil (see below), is missing. A knob preserved below the scabbard is a tassel of its lower strap, which is visible on the right thigh (cf. sword of second Mede; p. 166). The sword grip points forward, in contrast to all other Median swords represented in Persepolis reliefs. The scabbard chape, somewhat bird-shaped, was attached by a metal device to a sagging loop of the belt which was fastened by a (lost) button or buckle (cf. Pl. 120).

Each of the persons depicted in the Treasury reliefs holds some object or symbol indicating his rank, office, or function. The Mede in audience is represented with a plain staff, which he holds with his left hand in such a manner that the top is inclined toward the king. This position of the staff is paralleled in the audience reliefs of the Throne Hall (see Pls. 98–99), whereas the staffs of the ushers in the Apadana reliefs are held at a very slight incline or even vertically. The staff is the symbol of authority, and in the Persepolis reliefs it seems to be carried by persons who are on duty on certain occasions: dignitaries reporting to the king, as in the audience reliefs of the Treasury and the Throne Hall; ushers directing tribute-bearing delegations; officials posted at stairways to superintend processions of ascending dignitaries (as on the main stairway of the Council Hall; see e.g. Pl 72 *D*), soldiers, and servants.[46]

The two officials shown behind the crown prince but below the dais reserved for royalty may actually have stood at the king's left side, while the crown prince may have stood at the right side of the seated ruler. It is clear, however, that the first dignitary, the towel-bearer, had precedence over the second dignitary, the bearer of the royal weapons (for a possible explanation see p. 133). The former's gown is the usual Persian candys. His low shoes are identical with the footgear worn by Persians, except for royalty (but including the royal hero), on all Persepolis reliefs. On top of a tongue which projects above the shoe lie two flaps, buttoned on the instep by means of three knobs. The ornamental straps with pointed ends were apparently sewn to the shoe at either side. The towel-bearer's headdress is distinct from the hats worn by the other persons. It is a bashlyk, or muffler cap, wound around the head in such a manner that the eyes, nose, and mouth only are exposed. The tip of the bashlyk falls over the back of the head, and one broad squared end covers the upper part of the back. Only the eastern relief shows the lines of the upcombed hair waves ending—in both reliefs—in curls above the forehead. In neither relief does the face show a trace of mustache or beard. A comparison with the other figures proves that in addition to the mustache some curls of the beard would be visible above the muffler at the corner of the mouth if the dignitary had been bearded. We assume, therefore, that he was a eunuch. He holds in his right hand the attribute of his office, a neatly folded towel, the upper part of which is looped, to be easily grasped by the person for whom it is intended, namely the king. The left hand of the official lies extended on his right wrist, a gesture repeated by the only other person of the king's suite whose second hand is not otherwise occupied, namely the bearer of the incense pail (p. 167).

Behind the towel-bearer stands a Median dignitary carrying the king's weapons. He wears his own beautifully ornamented sword but otherwise is identical in physical features and dress with the Mede who is received in audience, except that his ear ornament is a simple open ring with overlapping pointed ends and his hat tassel is attached to a shapeless knob. A rosette-shaped button or buckle on the belt enables us to restore this feature of the other Mede's belt, where it is mutilated.

The grip of the weapon-bearer's sword (Pl. 120) points backward as do the swords of all other Medes in the Persepolis reliefs, except the Mede in audience (see above). The rounded oblong pommel of the hilt has a ridge parallel to its edge. The grip is roughened by square and triangular facets at either side of two lengthwise ridges. The elaborately ornamented scabbard in reality was made presumably of precious metal. It was attached to the belt by means of a metal device consisting of a disk joined to the chape by a square-topped rivet or the like and a rod which extended through a cylinder and pierced the belt. A garland of five palmettes decorates the roughly bird-shaped chape, which is bordered above by parallel ridges continuing the border design of the scabbard top and on one side and below by a floral meander identical with the border design of the scabbard sides.

The shield-shaped scabbard top is embellished with two identical antithetic monsters rampant regardant. A straight horn slants forward from the hawklike head. The body, with imbricate pattern on neck and chest, seems to be that of a lion, and the forelegs end in lion paws. The raised paw touches the border of parallel ridges; the other touches a palmette. The hind legs end in talons and stand on the imaginary ground line from which the palmette rises. Individual feathers are marked on the wings upcurved in typical Achaemenian fashion. The tripartite tail roughly parallels the curve of the wings.[47]

The main design on the scabbard shaft is a file of nine rampant regardant male ibexes—actually ten on the original weapon—identical but for decrease in size toward the tip. One curved horn, one ear, facial features, beard, short curved tail, and genitals are marked. The forelegs touch the back of the neck and the croup of the animal in front. Those of the foremost ibex touch the lower edge of the scabbard top. The tenth and hindmost ibex was hidden beneath a strap but for its forelegs, shown in the stereotyped manner. The hind legs appear to be in walking position, left leg forward. The hoofs stand on one of the two lengthwise ridges which separate the ibex panel from the floral meander border.

The scabbard tip, trefoil as on all preserved Median

46. As to staff and scepter, see Ferdinand Justi, "Der Chiliarch des Dareios" (*ZDMG* L [1896] 659–64).

47. Cf. the almost identical monster shown as the hero's antagonist in doorway reliefs of the Throne Hall (Pl. 114).

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swords of the Persepolis reliefs, has an intricate design which is not comprehensible in all details. In the preliminary report[48] we assumed that the pattern symbolizes the lion-and-bull combat shown in the stairway reliefs (cf. e.g. Pl. 20). We now doubt whether this interpretation is correct. We considered the distinctly carved animal head as that of a bull. On another Median sword (Pl. 65 *B*) an almost identical animal head, the upper part of which is not cut off by the braided scabbard strap, seems to be that of a canine, while on a third sword (Pl. 65 *A*) a bear(?) head appears on a somewhat differently patterned scabbard tip. On the sword under consideration a heart-shaped figure filled with a nine-petaled blossom covers the aural region of the bovine or canine head and forms one lobe of the trefoil. The two other lobes are formed by groups of roughly concentric arcs which vaguely suggest the rump and the head of an inverted animal, perhaps a lion. A distinct tail with curled end extends from the animal's "rump" toward the chin of the bovine or canine head. Such a tail is marked also on the similar but even more conventionalized pattern of the other Mede's sword mentioned above. Parallel tassels, suggesting tufts of fur, cover the sections between the lobes of the trefoil, that is, the "back" of the lion(?) and the "neck" of the bovine or canine. Carvings at the "belly" and "head" of the lion(?) are obscure.

In order to prevent dangling of the scabbard and also to permit swift drawing of the sword with one hand, a strap tied the scabbard to the right thigh. An interlaced section of the strap encircled the scabbard between shaft and tip; one end, weighted by an attached oblong guard (of stone or metal) with lengthwise grooves, was slipped through a loop formed by the other end (cf. Pl. 65 *B*).

The weapon-bearer holds the king's battle-ax in his right hand. The grip end of the presumably wooden handle was roughened by incised parallel chevrons. The other end was inserted into the socketed axhead, made perhaps of precious metal. The weapon is double-headed. One end is modeled in the form of a bird's head from whose wide-open beak an elliptical blade protrudes. The opposite head consists of a bifurcate claw projecting from the discoid end of an expanding cylinder.[49]

The royal bow itself is not visible, but the weapon-bearer carries on his left shoulder the oblong bow case (made actually of leather) which terminates at the top in a bird's head resembling that of a parrot (cf. Pl. 123). He holds the case by a strap, into the looped end of which was inserted a metal guard in the form of two deer legs joined at an angle.[50] The guard kept the strap from slipping out of the hand of the bearer. If the bow case were the Mede's own, it would be carried at his side, in the same manner as the bow cases attached to the belts of dignitaries and guards shown in the reliefs of the Council Hall and the Apadana (cf. e.g. Pls. 64 *A* and 51–52). Those reliefs explain the curved line running diagonally across the bow case in the Treasury relief. It is the lower edge of the upper section of the case, which fitted over the lower part. This shows the manner of opening the receptacle. A strap loop extending from the bottom of the bow case must be a device for attaching the case at the side, in addition to the strap held here by the Mede's hand but usually fastened to the belt.

Neither the king's weapon-carrier nor any other person, Mede or Persian, pictured with a bow case is provided with a quiver. It is probable, therefore, that the case (like the Scythian *gorytus*) contained a supply of arrows in addition to the bow. A bulge on the king's bow case parallel to the back of his weapon-carrier in the eastern relief (Pl. 123) seems to support this assumption, but no bulge is visible on the bow cases shown in other Persepolis reliefs.

Behind the carrier of the royal weapons and beyond the pole of the baldachin—that is, outside the canopied space—stand two Persian attendants, who appear to be identical. The nearer one overlaps the second, whose front projects. Each grasps with both hands a pole whose globular end rests on his left foot. Their heads in all details except for hats and ear ornaments are identical with the heads of the two Medes. The nearer attendant wears a simple twisted wire earring in the eastern relief, but has no ear ornament in the southern version. Both attendants wear a low cylindrical headdress, the original of which would seem to have been made of felt. It has the appearance of a broad fillet rather than of a hat, for it is open on top, leaving the crown of the head exposed. The latter is marked by the pattern which indicates hair waves at the back of the head and above the forehead of all persons in the scene and the wavy parts of the beard of the king and the crown prince. The eastern relief shows that the poles held by the two attendants terminate in a rectangular process extending from a post of the canopy. In the audience scene on the northern doorways of the Throne Hall, where there is only one attendant, the pole held by him ends without point at a similar projection. In the Throne Hall a second, fainter and broader rectangle below the pronounced process (Pls. 98–99) projects into the canopied area behind the top of the bow case, the canopy post, and the pole supported by the attendant. We are at a loss to explain these projections. They appear to be parts of the canopy in both groups of reliefs, although they may actually picture a standard-like object, or—as suggested by the Treasury reliefs—two such objects carried by the attendants who stood presumably beside the rear posts of the canopy.

Another pair of Persians stands outside the canopied area, behind the Mede received in audience, at the opposite end of the scene. They stood presumably beside the front posts of the canopy, facing the king. One of these Persians also holds with both hands a pole with globular end, but it is longer, extending above the rectangular device supported by the two poles at the other end (see Pl. 123). There is a clue suggesting that this single pole is the shaft of a lance. Among sculptured fragments gathered during Herzfeld's excavation we noticed one (find-spot unknown to us) which shows the right frontal side of a canopy top such as that marked in our eastern Treasury relief (see below), and beside the lion frieze ornamenting the canopy is a clearly carved lance head. Whether this fragment belonged to one of the two Treasury reliefs or to a similar sculpture which has disappeared, the fact remains that it is part of a relief which pictured a lance-bearing guard in a position identical with that of the attendant under consideration. To be sure, the latter's pole is unusually long for a lance. In proportion to the long lances of the guard

48. *OIC* No. 21, p. 29.

49. For an actual bronze axhead of this type see *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 30 (PT4 1094, inverted by mistake), and Vol. II, chapter on "Martial Equipment."

50. See PT5 102 for an actual object of this type.

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reliefs of the Throne Hall (Pls. 94–95) the lower end of the lance head in the Treasury reliefs should be flush with the bottom of the second tassel above the adjacent canopy pole. In the eastern relief, however, the shaft of the assumed lance clearly extends beyond this point to the upper preserved edge of the relief.

The second attendant of the pair under consideration carries with his left hand (right hand in eastern relief) a pail, corrugated in the same manner as the bases of the incense burners. This suggests that the pail too was actually made of metal, presumably gold or silver. The tall handle was hooked to two loops at the rim. There is no doubt that this receptacle contained the incense (frankincense?) used in the censers. One hand of the pail-carrier lies extended on the wrist of the other arm, paralleling the posture of the unoccupied hand of the towel-bearer. The knob above the superposed wrist is the knot of the belt, as clearly marked on sculptures which show front views of Persian dignitaries (cf. e.g. Pl. 51).

The principal part of the baldachin is missing in both Treasury reliefs. Sturdy posts, one behind the carrier of the royal weapons, the other behind the Mede in audience, are the canopy supports. Those of the southern relief are angular, in the original probably hexagonal in cross section, whereas the rounded posts of the eastern relief indicate cylindrical supports. The original, of course, had four posts connected on top by crossbars to keep the heavy canopy from sagging. The eastern relief preserves parts of the tasseled network which fringed the lower edge of the royal canopy, as indicated by the throne scenes of the Council Hall (Pls. 77–78) and the Throne Hall. The audience reliefs (Pls. 98–99) on the northern doorways of the latter building enable us to reconstruct the baldachin of the Treasury reliefs with a fair degree of certainty. The two groups of sculptures are very similar in character, and both have blank panels at either side of the canopy, in contrast to the throne scene of the Council Hall. The baldachin of the Treasury reliefs, however, is almost twice as wide as that of the Throne Hall reliefs. The latter is ornamented with two horizontal panels filled with confronting files of four animals walking toward central winged disk symbols. The upper register shows angry bulls, horns thrust forward and tails with club-shaped tips looping upward. The lions in the lower panel also are pictured in a ferocious attitude. They seem to snarl, jaws partly opened and tails with arrow-shaped tips curled upward. Bands with twelve-petaled rosettes border and separate the animal panels. The fringe with tasseled network curves downward at the ends, that is, corners, toward the supporting posts. Short rosette bands parallel these curves, and the upper band of the rosette frame which incloses the entire scene forms the upper border of the baldachin.

In describing the conquest of Persepolis, Plutarch[51] mentions the golden canopy under which Alexander was seated on the throne of Darius (III). This suggests that the ornamentation consisted of gold embroidery and bracteates of gold perhaps on purple cloth, which was valued by the Persian kings.[52] We found a bundle of gold thread in the debris of the Treasury (see p. 179). Athenaeus,[53] quoting Heracleides of Cumae, states that "the throne on which he (the Persian king) sat in transacting business was of gold, and round it stood four short poles of gold studded with jewels, and on them was stretched an embroidered cloth of purple."

A frame ornamented with twelve-petaled rosettes borders the preserved portions of the Treasury reliefs. There is little doubt that the frame originally inclosed the entire scene, as indicated by the border of the audience reliefs of the Throne Hall. The rosette border was left unfinished in both Treasury reliefs. In the southern relief the left end of the bottom and the right side only are ornamented, and in the eastern relief a strip at the left end of the bottom was left blank. These gaps are somewhat puzzling, in spite of the fact that all Persepolis reliefs show on close examination some incomplete details. We considered the possibility that thin strips of metal, perhaps gold, had been applied to the borders. If metal was pressed and beaten over this border pattern, the rosettes would have been embossed in the overlay. The right side of the frame of the southern relief could have served as a mold for a metal strip to be applied to the blank opposite side. The same process could have been repeated at the bottom. There is, however, no clue to suggest fastenings to hold such metal bands in place. Hourglass-shaped depressions in the lower border of the eastern relief held clamps (missing) which fastened stone patches to faulty parts of the relief, a process frequently employed on Persepolis sculptures.

Interpretation and Dating

In the preliminary report we attempted to identify the persons depicted in the Treasury reliefs.[54] The subsequently completed excavation of this building neither altered certain identifications nor added any information which helped to identify persons of problematical rank or office. The building history of the Treasury and its relation to the construction of Xerxes' Harem confirm our identification of the king with Darius I and the second person of royal rank—the crown prince—with Xerxes, chosen by Darius as his successor in preference to three older sons who were born before Darius ascended the throne.[55] The Treasury reliefs decorate courtyard porticoes added during the second building phase. Sometime after the completion of the second phase, the western portion of the Treasury was razed to make room for Xerxes' Harem, while a third section (Hall 38 and adjacent rooms) was added at the north to the remaining portion of the building. Xerxes' superimposed Harem is dated by a foundation document discovered by Herzfeld in the southwestern corner of its main wing (see p. 255). It is proven, therefore, beyond doubt that at least the first two phases of the Treasury were built prior to Xerxes' reign, that is, by Darius I, the founder of Persepolis.

We do not believe that the Treasury reliefs were set up by some later ruler, in spite of certain historical parallels with regard to king and successor.[56] The courtyard complex was the focal, most embellished, area of the Treasury. Only here and in the row of rooms leading to the subsequently blocked northern entrance to the second Treasury

51. *Alexander* 37. 4.

52. See *ibid.* 36.

53. *Deipnosophistae* xii. 514*c*.

54. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 20 ff.

55. Herodotus vii. 2–3.

56. As pointed out in a review of *OIC* No. 21 by F. J. Tritsch (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXII [1942] 105 f.), who refers to Darius II chosen as crown prince by Artaxerxes I and to Artaxerxes II chosen by Darius II.

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do we find painted decoration on the doorways (see Fig. 68 *A*). Statues originally flanked two portico doorways of this complex. Thus, our orthostatic reliefs ornamenting walls of two porticoes are well in keeping with the distinguished character of this spot. It is logical, therefore, to attribute all its embellishments, including the reliefs, to the king who constructed the building as a place to store his treasures.

Nevertheless, we have to weigh the possibility—against our belief—that these reliefs had been intended for another building. Let us assume that some major features of the reliefs had not been completed at the time of Darius' death. After that event Xerxes would not have installed sculptures which show him as crown prince in a building devoted to functions of state—such as the Apadana or the Council Hall—but he would not have destroyed them. The focal courtyard area of the Treasury would have been an appropriate place for setting up such reliefs. Here they could have been finished as far as major features were concerned. In addition to the Treasury the following buildings existed in various stages of completion at the time of Darius' death: his residential palace, the Council Hall, and the Apadana. The character of the scene eliminates the residential palace as a place for which the reliefs could have been intended. The major part of the Council Hall was complete, to judge by the king–crown prince reliefs on its eastern doorjambs—reliefs which would not have been placed there after Darius' death. The character of our Treasury reliefs conforms with the purpose of the Council Hall, and the idea is tempting to attribute these reliefs to the only public building at Persepolis which contains sculptures duplicating in all probability the two royal persons in the roles of king and crown prince (see p. 116). On the other hand, it is difficult to find appropriate spaces in this building for the placing of the two long reliefs.

There remains the great Apadana. It must be admitted that the impressive throne scene depicted in the Treasury reliefs would have been well suited for decoration of the lofty southern and eastern porticoes. The reliefs, however, are too long (southern: 6.225 m.) to fit even the spacious jambs of the Apadana doorways (5.48 m. deep). They could here have been used only in the same manner as they were in the Treasury, namely as orthostats set into walls. If we had found the two reliefs in the Apadana in the two porticoes mentioned, we would not hesitate to see in their scene the report of the *hazarapat* initiating the ceremony to be enacted by the assembly of foreign delegations, dignitaries, and guards pictured on the monumental stairways which lead to these porticoes. The seemingly informal attire of the king in our Treasury reliefs does not necessarily exclude the scene from the representations of formal functions. Holes and slots for attachment of objects of formal adornment could have been cut at the very end of the sculpturing process. It would be more significant that the assumed *hazarapat* is pictured without a torque, such as is worn by all Persian and Median ushers who direct the foreign delegations in the Apadana reliefs.[57] Furthermore, one would expect the king to be represented with a larger suite of high dignitaries in reliefs which have bearing on a grand function of state.

In any event, while we cannot entirely disregard the possibility that our Treasury reliefs had originally been intended for use in some other building, the fact remains that they were installed in the focal area of the Treasury. We believe that they were intended for the embellishment of the courtyard porticoes to immortalize an important function of court routine which took place at this spot.

The relations of the Treasury reliefs to the sculptures on the eastern doorway of the Council Hall were pointed out in the preliminary report.[58] In the Council Hall king and crown prince only are represented. Both are in formal attire, but otherwise they are almost identical with the royal persons in the Treasury reliefs. We consider the Council Hall one of the earliest completed structures of the site, and we have no doubt that the royal persons depicted are Darius I and Xerxes (see pp. 107, 116).

The combination of Darius and Xerxes is documented in several instances by inscriptions. Herzfeld[59] pointed out that in the Palace of Darius the name of Darius ("the great king") appears on one doorjamb, while the name of Xerxes ("the son of King Darius") is inscribed on the opposite, otherwise identical jamb. At the time of these inscriptions Xerxes was apparently still crown prince (see p. 224). However, he had definitely ascended his father's throne[60] when he inscribed the antae flanking the portico of the same palace, stating that his father built it and invoking divine protection for "what (was) done by me and what (was) done by my father Darius the king" (see pp. 223 f.). The same invocation is used in the inscription on Xerxes' monumental gateway (see p. 65). Two more texts have bearing on our subject. On a column base at Susa, Xerxes states that "this *hadish* Darius the king made who (was) my father" (see p. 34), and the inscription of Van tells us that Xerxes inscribed a spot which had been leveled by command of his father (see p. 39).

There are no inscriptions of other Achaemenid kings and their successors which indicate such close association in architectural activities, nor do any inscriptions of the later Achaemenids express the filial esteem evidenced by Xerxes for the acts of his father. These considerations also favor the identification of the king and the crown prince shown in the reliefs of the Persepolis Treasury and the Council Hall with Darius I and Xerxes.

We repeat our opinion expressed in the preliminary report. We do not believe that a second person of royal rank would have been pictured together with Darius before the latter officially chose Xerxes as his successor, and obviously Xerxes would not have been represented as crown prince after he had ascended the throne.

All reasons given above support the dating of the Treasury reliefs as suggested in the preliminary report.[61] According to Herodotus (vii. 1–3) Darius chose Xerxes as his successor after the battle of Marathon (491 or 490 B.C.[62])

57. However, the counterpart of the assumed *hazarapat* in the audience reliefs of the Throne Hall also is pictured without a torque, although there is no doubt as to the formal character of the scene there shown (see p. 133).

58. *OIC* No. 21, p. 32.

59. *SAOC* No. 5, p. 8.

60. After Darius' death (see p. 255 below), not abdication as originally assumed by Herzfeld (see *SAOC* No. 5, pp. 6 ff.); see our Vol. II for translations of foundation documents of Xerxes.

61. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 32 f.

62. See *The Cambridge Ancient History* IV (1926) 245.

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while he was gathering an army to punish Athens and Egypt. The latter revolted apparently in 487. Herodotus (vii. 4) may even limit the date of the Treasury and Council Hall reliefs to within less than two years (487–86), for he states: "Having declared Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this, and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparation." Darius I died in November 486.[63]

Next to royalty the Median dignitary received in audience is the most conspicuous figure of our reliefs. His appearance before the king is the main subject of the scene, which must therefore represent an important, perhaps frequently repeated, event in the routine of the royal court. Justi identifies the dignitary received in audience in the very similar reliefs of the Throne Hall with the *hazarapat* (chiliarch)—the commander of the ten thousand "Immortals."[64] J. Marquart[65] explains that the *hazarapat* directly supervised the relations of all persons with the court and that he apparently gave daily reports to the king.

A clue for an alternative though less plausible identification of the dignitary concerned in the Treasury reliefs is given by the location of the sculptures. He could be one of the various "treasurers of Parsa," to whom were addressed the requisitions in Elamite cuneiform which we found near by in Room 33 (see Fig. 63) and vicinity. Baradkama[66] appears to have been treasurer[67] during the time to which we attribute these reliefs, namely the last years of Darius I.

In the preliminary report[68] we attempted to identify the towel-bearer, namely, the high official who is pictured behind the crown prince and who had precedence over the bearer of the royal weapons. We compared him with similar figures in other Persepolis reliefs who carry either a cosmetic bottle or a fly-whisk in addition to a towel, which is the only attribute of the figure in the Treasury reliefs. We considered the official called the "eye of the king," to whom the ruler intrusted supervision of the empire and its officialdom,[69] and tentatively suggested identification with the cupbearer. The office of the latter, according to Marquart,[70] like that of the *hazarapat*, was particularly important since the safety of the king was intrusted to both these officials. Marquart mentions that the office of cupbearer was held by eunuchs, at least in late Achaemenian times. Our towel-bearer too seems to be a eunuch (see p. 165). It has been suggested[71] that he might be a high priest of the empire. (The identification as a haoma priest of a person mentioned in Treasury tablet No. 11 has now been found to be erroneous.[72]) We cannot consider the attribute of the dignitary—a towel—a characteristic article of a priest's equipment. On one seal[73] impressed on certain Treasury labels the paraphernalia of a priest consist of a bundle of twigs (probably barsom) and a long staff. The towel carried by our dignitary is, in our opinion, a symbol of personal service, such as that performed by the royal cupbearer or, even more plausibly, the lord chamberlain. Perhaps our towel-bearer represents the faithful eunuch Bagapates, who according to Ctesias[74] guarded the tomb of the dead king (Darius I) for seven years.

On this tomb three dignitaries are pictured on three superposed panels to the left of the throne and behind the king.[75] The two upper persons are identified by inscriptions. The uppermost dignitary, in Persian dress, is "Gobryas (the Patishorian?), lance-bearer of Darius the king." Below him is a dignitary in Median dress, whose inscription states that "Aspathines the battle-ax bearer holds the bow case of Darius the king."[76] In all principal features this Aspathines and the bearer of the royal weapons in the Treasury reliefs are identical. We do not hesitate, therefore, to identify the noble in the Treasury reliefs of the last year or years of the king with the Aspathines on Darius' tomb.

Although undoubtedly persons of high rank, since they are shown in the presence of majesty, the four attendants standing outside the canopied area did not hold such exalted positions as those pictured below the royal baldachin. This observation speaks against identification of the lance(?)-bearing guard, behind the Mede in audience, with Gobryas (see above), one of Darius' original partisans and army leaders,[77] whose position on Darius' tomb above Aspathines suggests precedence over even the bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow. On the tomb, furthermore, he is armed with his own bow and quiver, in addition to holding the royal lance.

The feeding of the incense burners may or may not have been considered a priestly function. Apart from the pail and the assumed lance, there is no feature distinguishing the two attendants carrying these objects. On the other hand, the pail-carrier in the Throne Hall reliefs (Pls. 98–99) wears a bashlyk which is identical with the headdress of the towel-bearer (who in addition holds a fly-whisk above the king's head) but contrasts with the ribbed tiara of the attendant at the opposite end of the scene. Therefore, in the Throne Hall reliefs the distinctive features in the dress of the attendants may be significant. In the Treasury reliefs, however, the stereotyped attire and position of the lance(?)-bearer, the pail-carrier, and the two attendants holding a problematical device at the opposite end fail to suggest more than the immediate functions of these four Persians at the ceremony depicted.

63. *SAOC* No. 24, p. 14.

64. "Der Chiliarch des Dareios" (*ZDMG* L 659–64). Cf. esp. the valuable article by Junge, "Hazarapatiš" (*Klio* XXXIII = n.F. XV [Leipzig, 1940] 13–38), dealing extensively with the Treasury reliefs. Junge's interpretation of the reliefs as a "royal gift of honor" (pp. 27 ff.) by Darius I to the *hazarapat*—whom Junge tentatively identifies with Artasyras (p. 27, n. 1)—is, however, not convincing.

65. "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran," *Philologus* LV = n.F. IX (Göttingen, 1896) 228. On the chiliarch see also Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens* (Berlin, 1879) p. 43, and Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* III (2. Aufl.) 35, 43, and *passim*.

66. A name which may be either Median or Persian according to Cameron (oral information).

67. For a list of treasurers see *OIP* LXV 9 and 33; for Baradkama's seal see our Vol. II, impressions of seal No. 4.

68. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 26 f.

69. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 43.

70. *Op. cit.* p. 229.

71. By Tritsch, *loc. cit.*

72. Cf. Oral information by G. G. Cameron. *OIP* LXV 5 f.

73. See Vol. II, impressions of seal No. 20.

74. Ctesias *Persica* 50.

75. See Vol. III.

76. Kent reads "Aspathines the bow-bearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the king" (*JNES* IV [1945] 233) vs. Herzfeld "Aspačina, der Axtträger, des Königs Dareios usw." (*IF*, p. 16) and Weissbach "Aspaǩana, der Streitkolbenträger, hält des Königs Darius Bogenfutteral" (*KA*, p. 97). The latter translations appear more plausible to us (see also our p. 134, n. 49) than the version of Kent, who states (*loc. cit.*) that there is no acceptable etymology for the OP terms which he translates as "battle-ax" and "bow."

77. Behistun inscription, OP § 13 and *passim;* see King and Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn*, p. 76 and *passim*.

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THE UNITS OF THE TREASURY

Features common to the building as a whole are described on pages 157–62. We shall now deal with the units of the extensive building (Pl. 118): the great halls, the smaller rooms, the passages and vestibules, the courtyards with their porticoes, the stairway and ramp which once led to the roof. In addition to architectural details not mentioned previously, we shall consider the contents of the Treasury, attempting to determine the purposes of the various units (see Fig. 63 for numerical index of units).

The Central Section

EASTERN ENTRANCE AND SUITE OF PASSAGE ROOMS (13, 12, 10)

We begin our examination at the eastern entrance, which connects the central portion of the building with "Garrison Street." It was used presumably by Treasury officials, servants, and guards. The king may never have entered here, for on the opposite side of the street undoubtedly continued the quarters of soldiers (and perhaps of artisans) which we uncovered a short distance to the south, and this strip of the royal site may not have been very pleasant. Here the soldiers' quarters were crowded against the fortification towering above them at the east, and their sewers drained into the street separating their rather flimsy houses from the high east wall of the Treasury (see pp. 207–10).

About 2.70 m. north of the entrance a test trench revealed part of a wall (70 cm. thick) which abuts the Treasury inclosure and apparently blocked the street at this point (Fig. 64). The purpose and the time of construction of this wall are unknown at present.

From the street level, which had risen during the occupation of the site,[78] a stone sill of two steps (each *ca.* 10 cm. high) descends to the floor of the entrance room (13). The upper step is worn, showing the effect of frequent use. This fact explains why in other parts of the Treasury stone sills were placed in doorways which connected areas of major circulation.[79] In the doorway concerned two socket stones (see Fig. 63) show that a door of two wings swung against the upper step. Recesses in the jambs received the wings when the door was open. The fact that the depressions in the socket stones are squared proves that the actual pivoting devices—presumably of iron (cf. Fig. 70 *V*)—had been fitted into them. The effects of a violent fire are visible on all surfaces of both doorjambs—an indication that the door was made of wood—and on the walls in the northern half of Room 13.

Rooms 13, 12, and 10 form a suite of passages connecting the eastern entrance with Courtyard 17 and with the southern section of the Treasury. The entrance room (13), in contrast to other passage rooms in the Treasury, could be completely closed off by doors. Undoubtedly it was a guardroom, where perhaps incoming and outgoing stores were inspected. Its brown-red floor is worn and pitted. An extensive gap in the floor near the eastern entrance was probably caused by the settling of the fill over a collapsed section of a subterranean drainage canal. Rooms 13 and 14 were originally connected by an opening without sill or door. Subsequently a sill of baked bricks (33.5 × 33.5 × 7.5 cm.) was laid on top of the brown-red floor, and a door was fastened to the north side, as indicated by a socket stone. Finally the doorway was walled up with mud bricks, and the north and south faces of the blocking were coated with plaster and the usual greenish-gray wash. There is little doubt that this doorway was blocked at the time the eastern doorway of Room 16 was constructed. This change in turn coincided with the blocking of the northern entrance to the second Treasury (see Room 36) and with the routing of traffic to Vestibule 50 (see p. 184).

The most interesting objects found in the debris which filled Room 13 are three Alexandrian silver coins.[80] They were in the northeast corner of the room, 1.40 m. above the floor and buried beneath a meter and a half of debris which had been washed down from the rubble-filled mud-brick wall of the eastern fortification. The coins must have been lost after the destruction of the site, for one was minted about 325 and two were struck about 312 B.C. The other finds from this room are not communicative. They include two plain fragments of votive(?) cylinders,[81] four onyx eye stones,[82] and a turquoise bead.[83] In the street, about 2 meters north of the Treasury entrance, we found a small bronze statuette of the Egyptian god Harsaphes.[84] Near the entrance—in Room 13 and in the street—occurred fragments of royal tableware and pieces of green chert mortars, which indicate that at least some of these objects were carried out of the Treasury, although many were discarded and dashed to pieces inside the building (see e.g. p. 179). Two broken column bases lay upside down beside the southern doorway of Room 13.

The doorways connecting Room 12 with Room 13 at the north and Portico 18 at the west have smooth notched (see p. 160 and Fig. 70 *F–M*) stone sills. A stone socket with a squared aperture (west doorway: 11 × 11 × 3 cm.) is at the near left corner of each sill as viewed from Room 12 (e.g. Fig. 76 *A*). We mentioned above that such a socket required an additional device for the pivoting of the door. To the south, Room 12 opens into a succession of passage rooms (10, 9, 24, 26, 27) connected by doorways without sills and doors.[85] We have no explanation for the recessed corners of the southern doorway of Room 12. The western and southern walls show the effect of fire. In spite of the location of this passage room, through which many objects must have been carried or dragged when the Treasury was rifled, its debris contained only a pestle handle of green chert.[86]

Room 10, as mentioned above, is one of a succession of passages. When we first excavated it we were puzzled by stepped recesses at its southern doorway. Subsequently, after the south wall of Hall 41 had been uncovered (see p. 178), it became clear that this doorway had been cut

78. At one point, at least, the accumulation of refuse had raised the street level *ca.* 20 cm.

79. Stone sills, furthermore, emphasized the importance of certain divisions of the building.

80. PT4 44*a–c*.

81. E.g. PT4 59.

82. See Vol. II, chapter on "Personal Ornaments."

83. PT4 57.

84. PT4 104.

85. For a similar row of passages see pp. 184–85.

86. Cf. e.g. PT5 671.

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through one of the niched recesses ornamenting the northern inclosure of the original Treasury. The brown-red floor of Room 10 stops with a jagged edge (shown on Fig. 63) at the northern end of this doorway, which was cut to route service circulation around the complex of Courtyard 17. In Room 10 too an inverted stone torus was found. This column base and those found in Room 13 were on top of dirt layers about 10 centimeters above the floors. This means that some debris had accumulated before the stones were carried to these rooms, or that they had been used in an elevated position which permitted debris to drift underneath. There are no traces of fire on the walls of Room 10, and it was sterile as to finds, with the exception of a corroded and unidentifiable silver coin.

COURTYARD 17 AND ITS PORTICOES (18–21)

The western doorway of Room 12 gives access to the most notable part of the Treasury—an open rectangular courtyard inclosed by four porticoes, whose roofs were each supported by four columns. The shafts have disappeared, but the stone bases—circular tori, with one molding, resting on square-topped plinths—though shattered in part, still indicate the positions of the columns. We do not know whether the shafts were inclosed in ornamental shells, such as were uncovered in Hall 41 (see pp. 160 f.). There were no remnants of painted plaster in the courtyard area. We did discover traces of painted strips on all but one[87] of the doorways leading into the porticoes. Remains of painting occur only on the sides of the doorways which face the porticoes. Figure 68 *B* shows a reconstruction of the rosette design in white, blue, and red as found in Room 36 (see p. 160). The monumental reliefs which ornament the east wall of Portico 18 and the south wall of Portico 21 (Pls. 119–23) are discussed on pages 162–69. They picture a high official (the *hazarapat?*) received in audience by the enthroned king (Darius I). We have pointed out that the presence of the crown prince (Xerxes) provides evidence for attributing the reliefs to the last years of Darius (probably 487–86 B.C.; see p. 169). To judge by traces of paint discovered on other sculptures (e.g. in the Council Hall; see p. 116), the Treasury reliefs too may have been planned in color, but no remains of pigments were found.

The ornamentation of the courtyard complex included two pairs of statues, which flanked the northern doorway of Portico 18 and the western doorway of Portico 20. The sculptures have disappeared, but oblong rectangular depressions uncovered at either side of each doorway (Fig. 76 *D–E*) indicate the sites of statuary—such as leopards (or similar felines[88]) or mastiffs (cf. Fig. 46 *A–B*) couchant or sejant on rectangular pedestals. Two distinct animals may have been represented. The depressions in Portico 18 are longer (*ca.* 1.40 × .50 and 1.50 × .65 m.) and could have accommodated statues of larger animals such as ibexes or even bulls.[89] It must be considered, however, that the edges of the depressions (2–3 cm. deep in Portico 18) were injured when the statues were removed. The red-finished floor plaster was laid in Portico 18 after the statues had been placed, as indicated by the absence of color in the depressions. The shallower and shorter depressions (95 × 65 × .5 cm.) of Portico 20, however, show the same brown-red color as the adjacent floor.

The conflagration which destroyed the Treasury left its traces on the greenish-gray surfaces of the portico walls (see Fig. 64). All walls of Portico 19 were scorched. Black and red patches occur on the western and southern walls of Portico 20, whereas only the eastern wall of Portico 21 and the northeast corner of Portico 18 show similar discoloration caused by fire.

The floor of the open courtyard (17), which is on the average about 5 cm. below the floors of the inclosing porticoes, was covered with coarse white plaster whose irregular deteriorated surface is preserved in some patches. When uncovered, most of the court surface consisted of fairly hard-packed dirt. A layer of stones of various sizes (up to 10 cm. in length) forms the subfloor. The portico edges, reinforced with small stones, slope rather steeply, in places almost vertically, to the courtyard floor. At many spots the edges are badly broken or worn by use. It is difficult to understand why they had not been lined with stone, considering the fact that frequently used doorsills were made of that material. The portico floors have the usual brown-red surface and are worn by frequent use. The floor surface of Portico 19 only is in fairly good condition, because it was less exposed to circulation. In the southern part of Portico 18 the floor had collapsed because of the settling of the fill above the drainage canal (see p. 162).

In the northeast corner of the courtyard a row of drip stones abutted the east wall of Portico 19 and paralleled the portico edge. The latter is 3 cm. above the tops of the two squared stones which are still *in situ*. These are joined by grayish-white plaster or mortar (5 mm. thick), and a coat of this material on the west face of the western stone indicates that at least one more stone was here located. The purpose of these stones is indicated by their water-worn tops. Undoubtedly a rainspout was situated above them. The stones are grayish white, contrasting with the usual gray limestone used for column bases and other stone parts of Persepolis buildings. Fragments of white stones—scattered about in the courtyard—presumably belonged to the drip-stone arrangement. The canal which must have drained the courtyard is described on page 162.

Pieces of three discoid stone tori, with one molding, also lay in the courtyard. One was too small to show the original size. The other two (one near the edge of Portico 19, the second in the southern half of the courtyard) were almost identical. They supported columns with diameters of not more than 41–42 cm. A white stone torus found leaning against the wall in the southwest corner of Portico 20 also supported a small column (41 cm. in diameter), whereas the portico columns had diameters of about 57 cm. We are at a loss to determine the original locations of such exceptionally slender columns.

The bases of the portico columns, consisting of a circular torus on a square plinth, are very similar to those of the porticoes of Courtyard 29 (see e.g. p. 189 and Fig. 72 *E*). In the porticoes of Courtyard 17 at least five tori are completely missing and must have been removed after the collapse of the building. The easternmost torus of

87. The poorly preserved doorway to Room 11. There is little doubt that it was decorated in the same manner.

88. See Vol. II, chapter on "Sculpture and Applied Ornamentation."

89. See *ibid.*

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Portico 21 (see Pl. 119) lay inverted above a corner of its plinth on debris dirt 33 cm. high. All plinths were found in their original positions, but some had been fractured. There are variations in the heights of the smooth plinth tops (73 cm. square) above the floors: In Portico 18, 15–16 cm.; in Portico 19, 2–7 cm.; in Portico 20, 7–12 cm.; and in Portico 21, 11–13 cm.

We have pointed out that most parts of the Treasury were at best dimly lighted by clerestory openings and that some suites of rooms may have been in almost complete darkness. There were only two spots in the entire building which could have received sufficient sunlight for administrative purposes, namely Courtyards 17 and 29 with their porticoes. The earlier court (29) lost its importance and principal function when the Treasury was expanded northward. Three of its four porticoes were walled up to be used as storerooms, while the complex of Courtyard 17 became the center of administrative activities. We can well visualize the busy scenes which once animated this courtyard and its embellished porticoes. Here the treasurer (OP *ganzabara*), mentioned in tablet texts,[90] and his assistants received incoming stores, which had to be verified, labeled, and sealed.[91] We may assume that scribes listed these objects[92] before porters, supervised by attendants or guards, carried them to their specified storage places. Hundreds of requisitions and memoranda concerning payments to artisans, officials, laborers, etc., written in Elamite cuneiform on clay tablets,[93] were stored in an adjacent room (33). Such requisitions—as far as they referred to payment in silver[94]—had to be filled in the court area, where the requested amounts could be weighed[95] while the transactions were presumably recorded by scribes. There were certainly many treasures which were to remain in the building once they had been stored, but other categories of objects, such as utensils of the royal household, articles of religious use, and military equipment, may have passed frequently through this area.[96]

Such activities in the royal storehouse can be readily imagined. However, we cannot point out the spot where the audience took place which is pictured in the two Treasury reliefs. The king's throne may have stood in one of the porticoes, facing the courtyard, or it may have been placed in the open court and protected against the rays of the sun by the canopy—provided, of course, that the reliefs were originally intended for this area (cf. p. 168). Again, there is a possibility that the audience scene symbolizes rather than illustrates visits of the king and the crown prince. It would be easier to assume with Junge[97] that there never had been an audience at this spot, if only for one reason: A visit of the king obviously paralyzed the administrative activities of the Treasury, which were focused in the area concerned.

90. See *OIP* LXV 33.

91. See Vol. II, chapter on "Seals and Seal Impressions."

92. Such inventories must have been kept on perishable material. None were found in the excavations.

93. See *OIP* LXV 14 f.

94. See *ibid.* p. 9.

95. See Vol. II, chapter on "Weights."

96. See *ibid.* chapters on "Royal Tableware," "Ritual Objects of Green Chert," and "Martial Equipment."

97. *Klio* XXXIII 27.

The remains of the Treasury stores which we uncovered in the courtyard and its porticoes furnish no additional clues as to the purpose of this area. During the rifling of the building many or most of the stored treasures and articles of equipment must have been carried or dragged through the courtyard to the two exits of the Treasury or to the roof (up Ramp 25; see p. 186) and thence to the northern exit. Much martial equipment was rejected by the conquerors and left in or near the original storage places;[98] but some equipment of this kind must have been removed, as indicated by numerous arrowheads, bridle ornaments, strap buckles, and armor scales scattered about in the courtyard complex. Great numbers of shattered vessels of royal tableware were left in the two main halls (38 and 41), the main depositories for such objects (see p. 179), but a number of stone vessel fragments, as well as parts of green chert objects (see p. 182), were found in the courtyard area and near the two exits.[99] A small fragment of an Egyptian inscription,[100] part of a blue composition statuette, occurred in Portico 19, but a minute human foot which belongs to this object lay in Portico 18, where also a palmette of the same material was found.[101] As to the rest of the finds scattered over the area, there were eye stones (7 out of 12 in Portico 19 alone), beads, parts of votive(?) cylinders of composition and of lapis lazuli, some simple game pieces (cones) of bone, a lapis lazuli fragment pierced by a thin bronze tube, pieces of bronze objects (some perhaps parts of furniture, such as a fragment from Portico 18[102]), one of the "curtain rings" of bronze (in Portico 19; see p. 160), bits of gold, an iron nail with gold-plated head (in Portico 20), a small dark gray limestone fragment which suggests a tooth of a feline (in Portico 19), and a chalk(?) tooth of a statue (in Portico 20).[103] An Elamite cuneiform tablet found in the southern part of Portico 20 and a clay label from Portico 19 were once stored in Room 33 presumably. The find-spot of a late Islamic coin, finally, discovered beside the relief in Portico 21—at the beard of the king between .75 and 1.00 m. below the debris surface—illustrates penetration of a recent object into an early deposit.

TWO CORNER ROOMS (11 AND 22) OF THE COURTYARD COMPLEX

There are four small rooms symmetrically arranged in the corners of the courtyard complex. The two northern rooms (16 and 23) will be considered below. Each of the southern rooms (11 and 22) has only one entrance, opening into the eastern and western porticoes respectively. One would assume, therefore, that the purpose of these rooms was intimately related to activities in the courtyard area.

The doorway of Room 11 had no door, as indicated by the absence of a door socket and the fact that the brown-red floor of the room is continuous with that of Portico 18. This is the only doorway of the courtyard area which was not provided with a stone sill. It may be assumed that this doorway was decorated with a rosette frame in the same manner as all the other openings in this prominent

98. See find-spot plan of martial equipment in Vol. II.

99. See find-spot plans of royal tableware and ritual objects of green chert *ibid.*

100. PT4 62.

101. PT4 34 and PT4 51.

102. PT4 7.

103. PT4 144.

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portion of the building (see p. 160 and Fig. 68), but here the poorly preserved jambs show no remains of paint. The room must have contained a considerable amount of inflammable material, to judge by the effect of violent fire marked on all walls, including the doorjambs, and on the floor, which was covered by a thick layer of burned debris. Particles of charred fabric were here found together with ten clay labels, most of which bear impressions of the interesting seal No. 20.[104] An eleventh label had fallen through the doorway into Portico 18. The presence of sealed clay labels and fabric near the center for recording and packing is to be expected. The labels with impressions of officials' seals had been attached either to records of perishable nature or to stored wares of unknown character. Other finds suggest that Room 11 had been used also for the storage of personal ornaments and the like. There are objects of gold: rings, plain and ribbed,[105] a small tube, a shapeless nugget, and a fluted band.[106] Onyx ornaments include globular and oblong beads[107] and an eye stone. There are also a fragment of a sculptured bronze bracelet[108] and annular beads of red and green composition.

The doorway of Room 22 shows traces of the rosette pattern. It is conjectural whether the stone sill protecting the floor had mainly an ornamental purpose, or whether it was needed because of heavy traffic. A cross-shaped iron socket (cf. Fig. 70 *P–Q*), whose top is 38 cm. below the top of the sill, indicates that the door opened into the room. The southern wall of the adjacent Portico 20 is discolored by fire, but the walls of Room 22 show no effect of the conflagration. This suggests that no inflammable material was here stored and consequently that the purpose of this room differed somewhat from that of the badly scorched Room 11. Nevertheless, there was one clay label in the debris of Room 22. It bears the frequent impression of seal No. 5,[109] specimens of which occurred in Room 11 also. There are additional resemblances as to the kinds of objects found in the two rooms. Room 22 also contained a few gold objects: three buttons,[110] a ribbed trapezoid,[111] and a sixteen-petaled rosette.[112] There were also three onyx eye stones, one of the bronze "curtain rings" (see p. 160), fragments of corrugated bronze bands, a fragmentary—probably discarded—cylinder seal of baked clay,[113] a bronze arrowhead, and a sherd of a stone plate. The gold objects and two of the eye stones as well as a stamp seal[114] occurred in the floor depression for the door socket. While admitting the possibility that these objects had dropped into the depression by accident, we cannot disregard the alternative that they had been deposited there intentionally. In the latter case they must be assigned to the reign of Darius I.

Contrary to expectations, Rooms 11 and 22 did not contain such articles as would mark them as service chambers for the court area—a use suggested by their location. There were no scribal tools, such as styli or lumps of clay.[115] Weight stones were missing, though they occurred in other rooms (3 and 33) of the Treasury. Pulley(?) wheels (cf. Room 40) and other utensils for lifting and packing were absent.

104. E.g. PT3 384 and PT3 363.

105. PT3 358.

106. PT3 375.

107. PT3 381–82.

108. PT3 410.

109. See Vol. II, section on "Seal Impressions."

110. Cf. PT5 793.

111. PT4 206.

112. PT4 514.

113. PT4 191.

114. PT4 519.

115. Noninscribed clay tablets were found in the garrison quarters; see p. 209.

SUITE OF STOREROOMS FOR ARCHIVES AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT (23, 33, 34)

During the final phase of the Treasury (Figs. 63–65) this suite of rooms could be entered solely from the northern portico (19) of the courtyard complex. The entrance, provided with a stone sill and decorated on its east face with a frame of rosettes (see p. 160), leads into Room 23, one of the four corner chambers of the courtyard area. This room served as a vestibule to the important archive Room 33 but may have been used also for storage of combustible material. Its walls show the effect of a violent fire (see Fig. 64). Parenthetically, it is curious that the jambs of its eastern doorway and the east jamb of its northern doorway are not scorched, whereas the west jamb of the latter is blackened. The brown-red floor had been rutted and pitted by intense traffic. A floor depression at the eastern doorway indicates the location of a socket in which the door pivoted into the room.

All finds from Vestibule 23 appear to be stray objects which had fallen into this room when Room 33 collapsed or which had been lost when stores from the latter were carried to the courtyard. Some cuneiform tablets had drifted with debris from Room 33 into the doorway connecting the two rooms, and one tablet occurred halfway between this doorway and the exit to Portico 19. Other finds, all presumably unrelated to the room, include two arrowheads of bronze, a stone vessel fragment, a sherd of a green chert plate inscribed with Aramaic characters (see p. 182), a small bronze disk, and some beads, including a faceted glass specimen.[116]

From Vestibule 23 we step over the stone sill of its northern doorway into the large Room 33 (10.25 × 18.65 m.). Here also a floor depression shows the site of a socket in which the door pivoted into the room. Opposite this entrance, a doorway without a sill connects Room 33 with a subsidiary chamber (34). It was doorless, as indicated by the absence of a socket or a socket depression. The brown-red floor is continuous between the two rooms. However, on examining a curved plaster line at the south end of this doorway, Haines found that its floor had been completely finished before the floor of Room 33 was laid (see Fig. 70 *E*). A walled-up doorway in the center of its west wall originally connected Room 33 with the long Corridor 31. This doorway was presumably blocked when Hall 38 was added and connected with the central section of the Treasury by an opening cut through the north wall of Room 39.

The fire which destroyed the Treasury raged with particular fury in Room 33. The mud-brick walls—covered with cracked patches of scorched plaster discolored red and black—were baked to a considerable depth (see Fig. 77 *C*, *E*). Thick layers of burned debris—containing charcoal particles and even bits of charred fabric and twisted string (horsehair?)—covered the floor, which also showed the effect of the fire. There are, however, two wall fragments within the room, which were not affected by the fire although they stand on the fire-blackened floor (Fig. 77 *E*). We conclude therefore—considering also the find-

116. PT4 223*a*.

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levels of tablets (see below)—that these walls were parts of a second-story storage chamber (see p. 158), which fell to the floor with the collapse of the structure. Room 33 could not have been partitioned and reinhabited after the destruction of the building.

Two east-west rows of five columns each supported the roof. Their stone bases—square plinths and circular tori—are discolored and badly spalled by fire. There are indications that the shafts were inclosed in painted plaster shells. Curved mud fragments with daubs of paint were found in the debris, particularly near column bases *A*4 and *B*4 (for column numbers see Fig. 64), .30–1.0 m. above the floor. On one piece traces of paint suggest a design of intermittent light brown and dark blue triangles. In another case daubs of brown, blue, and red seem to mark circles, spirals, and lines. The fragments do not permit reconstruction of the pattern, which apparently differed from that of the column decoration in Hall 41, reconstructed by Haines (see p. 161).

The great treasure halls (38 and 41) only can be compared in wealth of material to Room 33. In this room were stored the archives of the local administration. We uncovered here (see Fig. 77 *C–D*) six hundred and fifty-six cuneiform tablets and fragments of such[117] ranging in date from the twentieth year of Darius I's reign to the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes I.[118] The majority were inscribed during the reign of Xerxes. Most of the tablets were massed in the center of the room. Others were scattered in the debris from the level of the floor to a height of 2 meters above it. We do not have to emphasize that to us the tablet texts and the impressions of the authors' seals are of greatest importance. However, it is difficult to understand why records concerned with local matters—such as requisitions and memoranda concerning payments, with which most of the tablets deal—were kept in the archive room of the Treasury for about one hundred and thirty years (i.e., until the destruction of the site) after the last tablet was written. In the description of the Throne Hall we hinted (see pp. 129 f.) at a possible explanation for the equally puzzling fact that the Treasury archives contained no cuneiform record dating after the fifth year of Artaxerxes I's reign, the year in which more than eleven hundred workmen labored on a Persepolis structure.[119]

Significantly, the only room of the Treasury used for the storage of cuneiform tablets contained also the greatest number of clay labels (at least 69 specimens) bearing the impressions of officials' seals. Our find-spot plans (to be published in Vol. II) show a correspondence in the distribution of clusters of tablets and clusters of labels which cannot be accidental. Certain labels had been attached either to strings of tablets or to other objects—perhaps records of perishable nature—stored in the immediate vicinity of the tablets. Other labels had probably been affixed to stored goods, as suggested by their shapes and by impressions and charred remains of crossing cords.[120]

117. See Vol. II, chapter on "Seals and Seal Impressions."

118. The only tablet of Darius' 20th regnal year is a unique, apparently imported, record written (in Babylonian) on Dec. 30, 502 B.C. (*OIP* LXV, No. 85, pp. 200–203). The series of actual Treasury tablets (written in Elamite) starts with a tablet of Darius' 30th year (found in Room 48; *ibid.* No. 1*a*, p. 85). The earliest tablet of this series found in Room 33 was written in 489 B.C. (*ibid.* No. 1, pp. 83 f.). The most recent tablet (found in the neighboring Room 34) was written in 459 B.C. (*ibid.* No. 79, pp. 194–96).

119. See *OIP* LXV, No. 79, pp. 194–96.

In addition to cuneiform records and labels, the archive room contained considerable quantities of weapons which probably were stored here. About five hundred arrowheads,[121] mostly of bronze but some of iron, were here found, many in neatly stacked clusters (cf. n. 139). Other categories of martial equipment include a few spearheads, strap buckles(?) of bronze,[122] and some armor scales of iron,[123] two of which are plated with gold.

Weight stones found in Room 33 have bearing on activities which took place in the courtyard. An inscribed 60-karsha weight of Darius (I) was near the northern wall (Fig. 77 *B*), and a small duck-shaped specimen lay on the floor in the center of the room.[124]

There was a variety of additional, mostly unrelated, objects. A blue composition fragment,[125] found near the debris surface about 3 meters above the floor, bears an inscription of the Egyptian king Nekau (609–*ca.* 593 B.C.). There were twelve beads and eye stones inscribed with the names of other pre-Achaemenid kings: Sargon, Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadnezzar;[126] but in addition we uncovered not less than fifty-seven uninscribed eye stones[127] and a number of bronze brooches which were settings for such eye stones.[128] The room contained great quantities of beads,[129] including spacers and an inlaid gold specimen,[130] some plain rings of bronze and silver, and a fragment of a clay mold the cast of which shows the bovine(?) head of a bracelet end.[131] There are sculptured and inscribed votive cylinders and parts of at least six plain cylinders.[132] One of the fragments of twelve stone vessels bears part of the stereotyped inscription of Xerxes found on many vessels of this kind.[133]

Furniture also may have been stored in Room 33, to judge by numerous bronze sheets and bands, some decorated with concentric circles or twelve-petaled rosettes[134] and perforated for attachment. A wing fragment with scale pattern[135] may be part of a bronze relief—perhaps once fastened to wood—picturing a genie or a griffin (see p. 159). There are also a strip of gilded bone molding and an iron object with traces of gold leaf.[136]

Various tools and utensils too were kept in Room 33. We found a stone polisher, a whetstone fragment, a lead hook, toggle pins of bone, bone lids(?),[137] and bronze objects such as a bar fragment, a handle, nails, tacks, and one needle. There was also a problematical piece of sulphur-like substance set in a lump of bitumen. Another object of unknown use is a smooth stone cylinder, 70 cm. long and slightly tapering toward both ends, which measure 22.5

120. For Cameron's description of tablets and labels see *OIP* LXV 24 ff.

121. See Vol. II, chapter on "Martial Equipment."

122. PT4 337 and PT4 888.

123. PT4 376, PT4 450, PT4 282.

124. PT4 736 and PT4 869.

125. *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 37 (PT4 539).

126. See Vol. II, section on "Votive Objects from Mesopotamia."

127. E.g. PT4 886, PT4 955, PT4 903, PT4 906.

128. E.g. PT4 473, PT4 912, PT4 592.

129. E.g. PT4 456, PT4 926, PT4 559–60, PT4 813, PT4 794.

130. PT4 544*a*.

131. PT4 585.

132. See Vol. II, section on "Votive Objects from Mesopotamia."

133. Cf. e.g. PT5 302.

134. Cf. e.g. PT7 15.

135. PT4 796.

136. PT4 963.

137. E.g. PT4 719.

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and 23 cm. in diameter. The cylinder (visible on Fig. 77 *E*) lay on the floor against the southern wall.

Room 34 was a subsidiary chamber of Room 33, connected with it by a doorless opening (see p. 173). The doorway between Rooms 34 and 35 was blocked presumably even before the northern section was added to the Treasury (see p. 176). All walls of Rooms 34, including both jambs of the doorway to Room 33, are as badly discolored by fire as those of the archive room.

In Room 34, which was primarily a storeroom for weapons, the fire was fed by great numbers of arrow shafts, partly preserved in carbonized lumps.[138] There were clusters of neatly stacked arrowheads[139] and about a thousand scattered specimens of bronze and iron at a ratio of 6 to 1 in favor of bronze. In studying the find-conditions of cuneiform tablets and labels we concluded that both categories of objects had been thrown into the debris of Room 34, and beyond, when Room 33 collapsed (cf. also pp. 183 and 186).[140] In any event, the number of tablets and labels found in Room 34 is insignificant compared with the quantity discovered in the archive room. Fragments of five stone vessels occurred in Room 34. Four of them preserve parts of the usual Xerxes inscription. To judge by the distribution of stone vessels in Rooms 34 and 33 and in Portico 19, we have to assume that some of the royal tableware was kept in Rooms 33 and 34,[141] although it appears absurd to store administrative records, martial equipment, and tableware in the same rooms, not to mention the other categories of objects listed above. There are no further informative finds from Room 34. The debris contained bits of charred fabric, a cylindrical lapis lazuli fragment pierced lengthwise by a bronze rod, fragments of bronze and bone, three toggle pins of bone,[142] two almost identical limestone pestles,[143] two buttons of bronze and one similar object of bone,[144] a single cylindrical onyx bead (in contrast to great numbers of beads found in Room 33) threaded on bronze wire, and finally a curved fragment of bone with rust-stained perforation and vague traces of a carved design.

SUITE OF ROOMS 16, 15, 36, 35

Prior to the addition of the northern section of the Treasury, Rooms 16, 15, and 36 formed a flight of passages leading from the courtyard area to the northern entrance of the building (see Room 36). The prominence of these passage rooms—undoubtedly the route of the king's entry—is indicated by the fact that their doorways were decorated with painted rosette frames (see Fig. 68 and p. 160). When the old northern entrance was walled up and traffic routed to the final northern entrance (see Vestibule 50), Room 16 remained a passage in the new system of circulation, whereas Rooms 15 and 36 became storerooms.

The southern doorway of Room 16 was flanked at the south end (i.e., in Portico 18) by statuary (see p. 171), and traces of rosette decoration were found on its southern face. The door, however, opened into Room 16, as indicated by a floor depression at the northeast corner of the stone sill. A similar but smoothly finished depression marks the pivot point of the door which closed the eastern opening of Room 16. This doorway was cut after the addition of the northern section of the Treasury to connect the courtyard complex with the final northern exit. A sill of baked bricks (32 × 32 × 6.5 cm.) protected the floor of the doorway, but only a few bricks are preserved. The southern face of the northern doorway also has traces of rosette decoration. When this opening ceased to serve traffic between the exit (see Room 36) and the courtyard, half its width was blocked off by means of mud bricks. The stone socket, however, was left *in situ* at the original northeast corner of the doorway, indicating that the door swung into Room 15. An east-west plaster line (see Fig. 63) in the center of the opening marks a drop of 3 cm. in the floor from Room 16 to Room 15.

Room 16 is one of the four corner chambers of the courtyard complex. There are no indications that it was used for storage. The walls show no signs of burning. As a matter of fact, the entire suite of rooms under consideration was left almost unscathed by the fire which scorched adjacent parts of the building (see Fig. 64). The debris of Room 16 contained only a few objects, none of which presumably had any connection with their find-spots. A flake of an inscribed weight stone of the type used in Darius' reign[145] lay on the floor. Half a meter higher we found an almost cubical fragment of a foundation document of stone inscribed in Elamite.[146] There were, further, a thick-walled stone saucer,[147] a fragment of a plain votive(?) cylinder of greenish-blue composition[148] and an eye stone of onyx.

The northern doorway of Room 15 was doorless. Distinct traces of painted rosettes occur on the northern and southern sides—apparently the only instance of a doorway thus embellished on both faces. The northern rosette border is well enough preserved to permit reconstruction of the design (Fig. 68 *B*). However, we found no evidence that either exit of this room had been protected by a sill of bricks or stone. To judge by the worn appearance of the floor within the room, doorways without sills would have needed frequent repairs at the time when the room was used as a passage. It is possible, therefore, that there had been sills which were removed when the route of traffic was shifted.

There is no doubt that Room 15 and Rooms 35–36 were used as storerooms after the traffic shift. However, their contents had been thoroughly rifled, to judge by the scarcity of objects found in their debris (see p. 176). Their stores did not consist of inflammable material, for there are no traces of burning except one scorched patch on the west wall of Room 15 (see Fig. 64). This spot must have been discolored by burning debris which fell from the adjacent badly scorched Room 33.

Room 15, like Room 16, contained a fragment of an inscribed weight stone, possibly of Darius type (see n. 145). Two cuneiform tablets found 1.75 m. above the floor in the center of the room must have been thrown to this

138. See Vol. II, chapter on "Martial Equipment."

139. One such cluster (PT4 994) found in the west end of the room, 1.30 m. above the floor, is illustrated in *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 28.

140. See Vol. II, chapter on "Seals and Seal Impressions," for find-spot plans and further suggestions in regard to the dispersal of such records across Hall 38 as far as the northern exit.

141. The principal storage places for royal tableware were Halls 38 and 41.

142. E.g. PT4 1043*a*.

143. E.g. PT4 991. 144. PT4 1044.

145. Cf. PT4 736 and PT3 283.

146. PT4 17. 147. PT4 18.

148. See Vol. II, section on "Votive Objects from Mesopotamia."

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spot when Room 33 collapsed. As to the few other finds, there were a small fragment of a stone relief (possibly part of a beard), the handle of a bronze vessel,[149] a barrel-shaped lapis lazuli object (4.3 cm. long, 3.2 cm. in diameter), an eye stone, two fragments of stone vessels, and against the east wall a fragment of a limestone torus.

During the second architectural phase of the Treasury (see Fig. 67), that is, before Hall 38 was added, Room 36 was a vestibule entered from the outside through the subsequently blocked northern doorway of the building. This doorway closely resembled the eastern entrance to the Treasury (see p. 170). In both instances the openings replaced niches in recesses of the outer inclosure. The stone sills of both doorways have two steps, and the jambs are recessed in both cases. However, the door wings of the eastern entrance only swung into the recesses. Two socket stones—one at each of the southern corners of the sill—indicate that in the northern entrance the door opened into the vestibule. Only the northern part of this doorway was blocked, by a mud-brick wall built on the upper step of the sill, which is elevated 7 cm. above the lower step. The remainder of the doorway thus formed an alcove which could be closed off by the door (if it was not removed) of the former entrance. The doorway between Rooms 36 and 37 likewise was walled up when the system of circulation was changed. Prior to this event, service traffic moved from Room 36 through Rooms 37, 14, 13, etc., detouring the courtyard area. Furthermore, Rooms 36 and 35 presumably formed one unit originally (see Fig. 67). This assumption is based on the fact that the dividing wall was obviously erected after the north and south walls had been completely finished and covered with greenish-gray plaster. Actually, a thicker wall may have preceded the unusually thin dividing wall, as suggested by a joint in the floor plaster 26 cm. west of the latter. The brown-red surface of the floor is noticeably brighter on the strip between this joint and the wall. There is no indication that the doorway connecting Rooms 36 and 35 had a door. Two rows of baked bricks (33 × 33 × 7 cm.) form the sill. A gap (13 cm. wide) between the two rows is filled with hard white mortar, which is also used in the brick joints and smeared on top of the sill. The northwest and southwest corners of the jambs were at first recessed. Subsequently the recesses were filled with mud-brick matter. A few traces of blue paint were noticed on the surface of the filled-in southwest corner, but we do not believe that they are remains of a rosette frame.

The objects found in Room 36 suggest that the suite was used in part or entirely for the storage of objects of precious metals and may well explain the relative sterility of these rooms. With the exception of three finds, all the objects from Room 36 are small ornaments of gold or silver. Two earrings, one of gold,[150] the other of silver, lay on the floor near the southeast corner. Three gold buttons, a squashed piece of gold foil decorated with a stamped rosette, and a fragment of a small silver wing were found on the floor near the center of the room. One golden earring[151] occurred about 1.35 m. above the floor. A single crushed and splintered cuneiform tablet must have fallen from Room 33, and two stamp seals of common stone[152] may have been lost by workmen or artisans.

149. PT4 496.
150. PT4 1065*b*.
151. PT4 987.
152. PT4 1087 and PT4 1032.

The blocked doorway between Rooms 35 and 34 indicates several changes in circulation. Originally there was a solid wall, whose lowermost mud-brick course with its greenish-gray surface coat was left standing when the doorway was cut. A thin layer of flooring and plaster with the usual red-washed surface were then added, and apparently at the same time the entire floor of Room 35 was renovated.[153] A bronze javelin head[154] was found near the floor of Room 35. Three other objects—a ring[155] and a pin[156] of bronze and an eye stone of onyx—give no clues as to the character of the original contents. However, a small electrum coin[157] discovered on the floor in the eastern half of the room may corroborate the clues suggested by the gold and silver objects from Room 36 (see above). It is possible that coins had been stored in these rooms in addition to other objects of precious metals.

CORRIDOR 31 AND ROOMS 32, 39, 54

With the exception of two passage rooms (14 and 37) to be considered in connection with the northern section of the Treasury, we have completed our examination of the eastern part of the central section, which included the focus of administrative activities (Courtyard 17 and its porticoes), the archives (Room 33), storerooms, and passage rooms. Corridor 31, almost 40 meters long, separates this complex from the western part of the central section, composed of an impressive hall (41) and subsidiary rooms.

This long corridor was the only lane of traffic between the center of administrative activities and storage areas to the west and north. Obviously, the floor had considerable use. Cracks and worn places in its thin light red surface coat show repaired patches of darker red. Traffic was heaviest between the doorways to Portico 20 and Hall 41. This portion had been entirely refloored from a point 1.15 m. north of the entrance to Hall 41 to a point 60 cm. south of the doorway to the portico. The concrete layer (see p. 159) is thicker in this patched area than elsewhere in the passage. Corridor 31 has four doorways. The two just mentioned are provided with stone sills. A socket stone at the west end of the doorway to Portico 20 indicates that its door swung into the passage. The east side, facing the courtyard, was ornamented with a painted rosette frame (see p. 171). The doorway to Hall 41 is described on page 178. The floors of the southern and northern doorways, opening into Rooms 32 and 39 respectively, are protected by baked-brick sills. The southern sill consists of two courses of whole (32.5 × 32.5 × 6 cm.) and half bricks. A floor depression at the south end marks the location of a socket stone and shows that the door opened into Room 32 (see below). A similar depression north of the northern doorway indicates that here the door swung into Room 39. This doorway had originally been without a sill, as evidenced by the continuous red floor surface beneath the bricks. The latter were laid when traffic was routed through Corridor 31 to the newly added Hall 38. In addition to bricks of a common size (33 × 33 × 7.5 cm.) large

153. Prior to the above-mentioned repairs to the east strip of this room.
154. PT4 1030.
155. PT4 1006.
156. PT4 1033.
157. PT4 1098; minted at Cyzicus, Mysia, before 600 B.C. according to Sydney P. Noe.

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units (33 × 51 × 8.5 cm.) were employed for this sill, and fragments of half bricks line the northern edge.

Corridor 31 was hardly affected by the fire which destroyed the Treasury (see Fig. 64). Any goods which may have been stored along its walls were not of combustible nature. Two stains were caused by burning wood which fell into the passage from the neighboring badly scorched Hall 41 and Room 23, and a patch at the northwest corner of the doorway to Portico 20 was discolored by the fire which consumed the wooden door—apparently open and leaning against the passage wall.

Most of the objects found in Corridor 31 presumably had been lost or discarded here or had fallen into the debris from neighboring rooms during the destruction of the building. A number of cuneiform tablets and a clay label occurred in the northern half of the corridor. Some arrowheads[158] were scattered in the southern portion, and a few armor scales were between the doorways to Hall 41 and Portico 20. Fragments of royal tableware[159] were clustered near the doorway to Hall 41. That the vessels had actually been kept in the hall is indicated by the location of the fragments and by the fact that one of the lion handles of a bowl of Ashurbanipal was among them, whereas the other parts of the vessel occurred in the hall (see p. 179). Close to this group of stone sherds, in the northwest corner of Plot HG 61 (for plot designations see Fig. 64), was the torso of a Greek marble statue,[160] which had been stored in Hall 38, as indicated by the find-spot of a hand fragment (see p. 182). The torso lay 30 cm. above the floor (Fig. 77 *A*). This means probably that it had been left on a pile of other discarded material. The debris of Corridor 31 contained, further, the following objects: a thumb fragment from a Persepolitan limestone relief, a chalk(?) knob decorated with a carved twelve-petaled rosette,[161] a fragment of a sixteen-petaled bronze rosette, a pestle and a plate fragment[162] of green chert, a baked-clay bowl with light red and red-brown surface,[163] three eye stones, a few beads,[164] a completely abraded gold coin, and some problematical bronze fragments.

Originally, that is, during the first phase of the building (Fig. 66 *B*), Room 32 was divided into two rooms, each of which was connected with Room 64 by a doorway. Subsequently, when the second (central) section of the Treasury was added, both doorways were blocked, the dividing wall was removed, and a new doorway was cut through the erstwhile outer inclosure in order to connect Room 32 with Corridor 31. The base course of the original dividing wall (Fig. 70 *A*)—its faces still covered with greenish-gray plaster—was found by Haines when he was testing a repair patch in the center of the floor, which shows the usual brown-red surface coat. These changes severed Room 32 completely from the southern section of the Treasury and made it a part of the central section, since it could only be entered through Corridor 31. The socket stone (missing) at the doorway leading into the corridor (see above) presumably had a square hole to accommodate an iron socket found in the debris of the room (Fig. 70 *V*). The hole of the metal socket is unusually small (diameter, 2.6 cm.).

The location of Room 32 leaves no doubt that it was employed as a storeroom. The brick sill suggests frequent use and therefore the storing of frequently needed goods, but the contents had been rifled so thoroughly that no clues remained. A small and poorly cast bronze rosette found near the east wall may be an ornament or a button lost by a workman or a soldier. There were apparently no inflammable stores, for the walls show no traces of fire—except for a small discolored patch caused undoubtedly by burning debris from Room 64—whereas the neighboring parts of the latter room and Hall 41 are badly scorched.

Originally, before the northern section of the Treasury was built, Room 39 had only one doorway, connecting it with Corridor 31 (Fig. 67). Subsequently an entrance to Hall 38 was cut through its northern wall, which previously had been part of the outer inclosure of the building. At the same time, or slightly later, a doorway was opened through its east wall to connect it with Room 54. The entrance to Hall 38 was left doorless and, inconsistently, without a sill. In consequence the floor of the doorway suffered much damage and had to be repaired, as shown by its dark brown-red color and a patch of the same shade of red south of the doorway. The color of these repairs contrasts with the lighter red floor of Room 39. The doorway leading to Room 54 also was left without a special sill. Lines on Figure 63 at either end of the doorway demarcate a patch of red-surfaced plaster flooring laid here after the opening had been cut through the wall. The sublayer of yellow soil (see p. 159) of the floors of the two rooms stops at these lines.

All walls of Room 39 show the effect of a violent fire (see Fig. 64), and its debris contained a large amount of charred matter. Most charcoal particles are probably remnants of arrow shafts (cf. p. 175), for about a thousand arrowheads —mostly of bronze, some of iron—found in this room mark it as a storeroom for weapons. There was also one bronze guard for a bow-case strap.[165] Specimens of royal tableware and green chert plates here found[166] had presumably been stored in Hall 38. The one cuneiform tablet may have fallen into the debris when the near-by archive room (33) was destroyed. Hardware and utensils included a "curtain ring" and a hollow truncated cone[167] of bronze and two toggle pins of bone. There were a few objects of personal adornment: four beads,[168] a plain open bronze ring, a fragmentary fibula, a twisted gold wire, and a small piece of gold sheet (1.7 cm. long) showing the paw of a feline in *repoussé*.

During the second phase of the Treasury, Room 54 was one of the subsidiary storerooms of Hall 41. Subsequently, after the addition of Hall 38, its southern doorway was walled up and it was connected with Room 39 (see above). There is no indication that the original doorway had a door, and the red floor surface preserved below the blocking shows that there had been no special sill. The later, eastern doorway had a door which swung into Room 54, as indicated by a socket stone with circular depression (Fig. 70 *O*) preserved at the southwest corner. The location of the stone proves that the door opened counterclockwise, in contrast to most Treasury doors. The rough-

158. E.g. PT4 207.

159. E.g. PT4 416, PT4 368 (handle of bowl of Ashurbanipal), PT4 306.

160. PT4 1166.

161. PT5 11.

162. PT5 277.

163. At doorway to Room 32, 80 cm. above floor; cf. PT6 701 for shape.

164. E.g. PT5 2.

165. Cf. e.g. PT5 102.

166. E.g. PT5 10.

167. PT5 233.

168. E.g. PT5 138.

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ness of the pivot depression shows, however, that this door was not in frequent use, although the red floor surface of the room is somewhat pitted, presumably because of wear while the room was connected with Hall 41.

Its slightly scorched walls indicate that Room 54 contained some inflammable material, but we have no clues whatsoever as to the type of goods which had here been stored. The debris was sterile as to finds, with the exception of a solitary fragment of a stone vessel bearing part of the stereotyped Xerxes inscription.

HALL 41

Passing through the western doorway of Corridor 31 we enter the first of two enormous rooms (Halls 41 and 38; see Fig. 78), which were undoubtedly the depositories for many of the king's most valued and most beautiful treasures—objects of native workmanship as well as loot and tribute from foreign lands. Even among the remnants of their contents, disdained by the Macedonians, we discovered a number of the most attractive objects uncovered at Persepolis (see below).

In its final form the roof of Hall 41 was supported by ninety-nine columns arranged in nine north-south rows. They stood on bases—circular tori and square plinths (Fig. 72 *I*)—made of the common gray limestone. The masons' marks carved in the bases are sketched on Figure 71 *G* (see pp. 161 and 181). Many fragments of the painted plaster which once inclosed the wooden cores of the shafts (see p. 160 and Figs. 72 *J*, 80 *A–B*) occurred in the debris. The white, blue, and red lozenge designs of the columns must have brightened the hall, which at best may have received some light through clerestory openings (see p. 158). For close inspection of the stored treasures, torches or the like must have been used.[169] Before the western part of the second Treasury was razed, Hall 41 had been even more spacious than it was in its final form. Originally there were one hundred and twenty-one columns arranged in eleven rows (see Fig. 67). Haines found proof for the two western rows in regularly spaced holes beneath the western walls of the hall and Rooms 55–57 and in patches in the floors. The final west wall of Hall 41, furthermore, was built directly on the original finished floor.

The route of most intense traffic is marked by a patched strip of floor extending across the hall between the doorways to Corridor 31 and Room 56 (see Fig. 63). The patch is distinguished by a darker shade of the brown-red surface coat.

The southern wall of Hall 41 is a portion of the northern inclosure of the first Treasury (see Figs. 66 *B* and 67). Here the piers and niched recesses of the former exterior wall were left, but the slots of the piers (see p. 158) were filled and plastered over. A mud-brick bench (brick size, 33 × 33 × 10 cm.) averaging 67 cm. in height and 90 cm. in width was built along the southern wall and the southern half of the eastern wall after the red-surfaced floor of Hall 41 had been laid and presumably after the doorway to Room 58 had been cut. The floor is continuous underneath the bench, and the ends of the latter at the doorway to Room 58 were laid with whole and half bricks. Had the opening been cut through an existing bench, its bricks would have been damaged. Along the southern wall the recessed spaces behind the bench were filled with bricks to the height of the niche floors, which are about 35 cm. above the floor of the hall. The top of the brick filling and all exposed surfaces of the bench were covered with a thin layer of mud and surfaced with greenish-gray plaster. The end of the bench near the doorway to Corridor 31 was subsequently lowered to a height of only 16 cm., while its width was increased by 15 cm. The resulting low platform and the end of the higher bench also were surfaced with greenish-gray plaster. There is little doubt that the bench was constructed for the storage of goods rather than for seating, and the niches in the southern wall were particularly appropriate and protected spots for depositing especially valuable objects (cf. p. 195).

Hall 41 has four entrances, one in each wall. Only the most frequently used doorway, leading from Corridor 31, is provided with a stone sill. The socket stone is situated at the northwest corner, as usual beside the notched edge of the sill (see p. 160 and Fig. 70 *G*). The top of the stone is 16 cm. below the floor level, but its rough square hole indicates that the actual pivoting device, presumably made of iron (cf. Fig. 70 *V*), had been inserted in this socket base. The southern doorway was cut through a niche of the original outer inclosure to establish a direct connection with the southwestern portion of the building. Patch lines occur at both ends of the doorway floor, which slopes down 12 cm. toward Room 58. The position of the socket stone (Fig. 70 *S*) shows that the door swung into the latter room. The repair patch which extends across Hall 41 (see above) stops at the west end of the western doorway, where a depression in the floor marks the former location of a socket stone and indicates that the door swung into Room 56. During the second phase of the Treasury, when Hall 41 extended farther to the west, a doorway connected the hall with a long north-south passage (116) at the west paralleling Corridor 31 at the east. At the north a doorless opening connects Hall 41 with Room 53. Examination of a patch line at the southern end of the doorway, whose floor is continuous with that of Room 53, showed that the floor of the hall was probably laid after the other floor was finished. A walled-up doorway proves that Room 54, susequently linked with Room 39, was once a subsidiary chamber of the great hall.

The remnants of Hall 41 show the effect of the violent conflagration which destroyed the Treasury. Burned patches of plaster hang from the blackened walls, and most of the column bases were shattered or at least spalled by the heat of the fire (see Fig. 78 *B*). Only the walls in the southwest corner were left unscorched (see Fig. 64). Eight of the ninety-nine column bases were found intact, or almost so. It cannot be an accident that seven of these form a continuous though angular line—*D*1 (torus complete, plinth corners broken), *D*2, *E*2, *F*2, *G*2, *G*3, and *G*4 (for locations see Figs. 64 and 71 *G*). Obviously these bases were preserved because they were clear of inflammable material—except for the wooden column shafts—which apparently filled a great portion of the hall. Had more bases been preserved intact, we might have been able to determine some pattern of storage. The eighth complete column base is *I*8, which was surrounded by chipped and broken bases.

In many columned units of the Treasury a certain number of stone bases were found to be missing. In Hall 41 all

169. Not a single receptacle indicating use as a lamp has been found at Persepolis.

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plinths were accounted for, but eight tori had disappeared —*A*8, *B*7, *B*8, *C*9, *E*8, *E*9, *G*9, and *J*8, all from the three western rows of columns. These formed an irregular row and evidently were dug up by stone-pilferers who had use for only the round members of the bases and hence disregarded the square plinths, which would have been well suited for building material. Poor preservation of the bases in this hall undoubtedly discouraged further search.[170]

When trying to determine the purposes of the rooms of the royal Treasury and the system of storage of its contents, we rarely succeeded in plotting a certain room as a storeroom for a definite class of objects. The contents of Room 33 (see p. 174) indicate that a medley of objects was sometimes stored in a single room. Even stores of weapons were scattered in various parts of the Treasury instead of being deposited in one compact area reserved for an armory.[171] We concluded, therefore, that the management of the Treasury must have been very complicated and the system of storage very haphazard.

The mixture of objects found in the great treasure halls (41 and 38) can be explained partly by the fact that the contents of their subsidiary rooms were dragged into the halls during the sack of the building. Besides that, if we are correct in assuming that the king's most valued treasures were kept in these vast depositories, the variety of remains is not surprising. Even so, our finds can give no more than a faint impression of the original wealth.

Hall 41 must have contained a large amount of inflammable material. The debris furnished no clues indicating whether these objects were furniture, fabrics, shelves, boxes, or the like. As to remains of noninflammable objects, Halls 41 and 38 were the principal storage places for the royal tableware[172]—vessels of stone, composition, glass, and undoubtedly precious metals, though not a single vessel of silver or gold escaped the pillage of the building. Paradoxically, a great many of the beautiful vessels were saved for our studies by the vandalism of the despoilers, who shattered most of those which they left behind. Many were thrown into the northeast corner of Hall 41, others into Corridor 31 near the doorway. The majority of the vessels which bear an inscription (perhaps always quadrilingual) of Xerxes[173] had been deposited in Hall 41, but there were also great numbers of plain though well wrought vessels[174] in addition to attractive sculptured specimens.[175] Some fragments of glass vessels[176] indicate that the stored tableware included beautiful objects of this material.

Among the most interesting finds from the debris of Hall 41 are objects of foreign, pre-Achaemenid origin, that is, spoils of conquest. There is a granite(?) bowl from Assyria, inscribed with the name of Ashurbanipal. Its fragments[177] were scattered from the northeast corner of the hall to columns *A*4 and *F*4 and to the cluster of vessels in Corridor 31 (see p. 177). On the floor in the center of the hall lay an eye-stone fragment inscribed with the name of Nebuchadnezzar.[178] The names of the Egyptian kings Nekau and Psamtik (I or II?) appear on an alabaster bowl and a stone lid respectively.[179] A graceful bottle of composition in shades of blue[180] also may be attributable to Egypt. Hittite Syria is represented by a fragment of a hematite bowl with the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription.[181] Finally, fragments of bronze sheets with *repoussé* patterns of Greek origin[182] lay near and in the doorway to Corridor 31.

Rejected or carelessly lost by the looters were fragments of sculptured objects found in the debris and many attractive inlays from utensils, boxes, and the like. There are carved pieces of bone or ivory in floral, human, and animal patterns,[183] some showing traces of an overlay of gold foil and remains of a green inlaid substance. Glass, too, may have been employed for inlays,[184] and fragments of miniature monsters are represented by wings of blue composition[185] and bronze. Objects of gold[186]—rods, wire (gold-plated silver), and bands—some ornamented with *repoussé* rosettes, presumably were parts of utensils, furniture, and the like. On the floor north of the doorway to Room 56 lay a small bronze statuette of an equestrian or a charioteer,[187] which had once been attached to a horse or a chariot of iron.

The much smaller Room 33 contained more remains of jewelry than Hall 41; but in this hall, too, numerous objects of personal adornment must have been stored. There are various gold ornaments[188] such as buttons, beads, an annular pendant, part of a rosette,[189] and linked ringlets.[190] A bundle of spirally twisted gold thread with small fire-blackened beads is probably the remnant of a gold-embroidered fabric.[190a] A small gold lion[191] had been attached to some piece of apparel. Composite beads are represented by a segmented gold globe with inlays of frit and lapis lazuli.[192] Other ornaments include beads of various materials and forms;[193] ten bronze rosettes, some perforated for attachment; nine eye stones (including the inscribed fragment [PT6 250] mentioned above)[194] and a bronze brooch which had been an eye-stone setting;[195] a twisted wire ring and two clasps of bronze;[196] and a little silver bell. Only one plain votive(?) cylinder (of blue composition) was found in Hall 41.

It is difficult to believe that stores of weapons were kept in the great "museum halls" of the Treasury, but the evidence speaks for it in the case of Hall 41 at least. Several hundred bronze arrowheads[197] and some iron specimens occurred in the northeast part of the hall, together with the bronze strap guard[198] of a bow case and a strap buckle(?) of the same material.[199] A bridle ornament also was found in the northeast corner of the hall, and a second specimen,[200] made of carnelian, lay on the floor near the doorway to Room 56. Almost two hundred additional arrow-

170. Cf., however, Halls 38 and 62.
171. See find-spot plan of martial equipment in Vol. II.
172. See find-spot plan of royal tableware *ibid.*
173. E.g. PT5 155, PT5 302–3, PT6 483, PT6 189, PT5 307.
174. See Vol. II, chapter on "Royal Tableware."
175. E.g. PT6 278, PT6 528, PT6 31, PT6 207.
176. E.g. PT6 76, PT5 643*a–b*, PT5 390.
177. PT4 368, PT5 156, PT5 244.
178. PT6 250.
179. PT5 103, PT6 183 and 245.
180. PT5 622.
181. PT6 246.
182. Cf. PT4 1095.
183. E.g. PT5 624 and PT5 329.
184. PT6 72.
185. PT5 341 and PT6 160.
186. E.g. PT6 47, PT6 82, PT5 686.
187. PT6 206.
188. E.g. PT6 257, PT6 254.
189. PT5 142.
190. PT5 281.
190a. PT6 365.
191. PT6 704.
192. PT6 117.
193. E.g. PT6 69 and PT5 282.
194. E.g. PT6 33.
195. Cf. PT4 473.
196. PT5 258 and e.g. PT5 342.
197. E.g. PT6 73*a*.
198. PT5 102.
199. Cf. PT4 337.
200. PT6 248.

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heads of bronze, some with remains of their wooden shafts, were scattered over the rest of the hall.[201] The almost complete absence of weapons in the subsidiary rooms, from which the equipment might have been dragged into the hall, proves that it had actually been stored here.

As to the remaining finds from Hall 41, there was a fragmentary bronze vessel[202] in the northeast corner. An assortment of metal objects includes a number of fluted bands and "curtain rings" (see p. 160) of bronze, needles of bronze and iron,[203] an iron saw,[204] a curved lead fragment, and some utensils of problematical use.[205] Three silver coins[206] appeared in the debris of the western and southeastern portions of the hall. One is a Paphlagonian coin of Sinope, struck in the fourth century B.C.; two are ancient imitations of that type. It is doubtful whether the four clay tablets with Elamite cuneiform inscriptions and the seven seal-impressed clay labels which were found in Hall 41 had actually been deposited here. It is more plausible to assume that they were once stored in Room 57 or 56, where clusters of a few tablets and numerous labels occurred.[207]

SUBSIDIARY SUITES OF HALL 41 (ROOMS 56, 55, 57 AND 53, 52)

The western doorway of Hall 41 is the only entrance to the western subsidiary rooms (56, 55, 57), and it is the only doorway of the suite which had a door. A floor depression in Room 56 indicates the location of the pivot and proves that the door swung into the room. This doorway had frequent use, as shown by the patched strip of floor in Hall 41 (see p. 178), but there was no special sill. The floors of all doorways of Room 56 are continuous with the red-surfaced floors of the adjacent rooms. The walled-up doorway shown on the plan of the final Treasury between Rooms 55 and 52 may have existed during the second phase of the building—prior to the construction of Room 55—linking Room 52 with Hall 41 (cf. Fig. 63 with Fig. 67). Again, it is equally plausible to assume that this doorway was cut and blocked during the final phase of the building (see p. 181). There is no floor surface beneath the mud-brick filling of the doorway and no indication that there had been a door.

We mentioned above that Hall 41 originally extended westward and included the area finally subdivided into the three rooms under consideration. The spots once occupied by the westernmost row of columns in Hall 41 were partly covered by that portion of the western inclosure of the final Treasury which coincides with the west walls of Rooms 55–57. The eastern parts of the holes left by the removal of the column bases show patched spots in the floors of the rooms. The walls of all three rooms are scorched, but the conflagration was less violent here than in Hall 41. Except for pronounced crevices running in a north-south direction, the floors were in good condition when uncovered. There is no doubt that these rooms were subsidiary storerooms of the hall.

As to the character of their contents, we know, first of all, that they did not consist of military equipment. A single iron spearhead lay on the floor of Room 56, but arrowheads were completely absent, though several hundred specimens occurred in Hall 41. We know, furthermore, that the suite was not used for the storage of royal tableware. Room 56, on the other hand, is one of the few units of the Treasury which contained considerable numbers of clay labels with the impressions of officials' seals. These labels presumably had been attached to valuable stores (or records; see p. 174) whose nature we do not know. An inscribed bronze plaque[208] with a looped wire for suspension lay on the floor of Room 56 near the southeast corner (Fig. 80 *E*). The object was apparently a trophy of war, but its original purpose remains rather obscure, for only parts of its "neo-Elamite" inscription are decipherable. The crevices in the floor plaster of all three rooms contained many minute gold beads, which presumably had been sewed to garments or the like stored in the rooms. A gold button and a beaded gold circlet,[209] both from Room 56, also belong to the category of garment ornaments. The debris of Room 56 contained, furthermore, three onyx eye stones, a faceted stone bead, a corrugated bronze strip, a slightly curved bronze disk (diameter, 6.8 cm.) which had been pierced by three iron nails, a curved spouted bronze object,[210] and one of the green chert pestles, which were rare in the area under consideration but very numerous in Hall 38 (see p. 182).

The very sterility of Room 55 as to remnants of its former contents may give a clue as to their nature. The situation here resembles that of Rooms 36 and 35. In Room 55 too small gold objects occurred. In addition to the minute gold beads mentioned above, they include two pieces of bands and two delicate fragments of inlays (or garment ornaments?), namely a palmette and a bird-shaped figure.[211] These finds, combined with the fact that the room had been so thoroughly looted, suggest that especially valuable objects had here been stored. Two seal-impressed clay labels found not far from the doorway to Room 56 and in the doorway itself may originally have been attached to objects kept in Room 55 or, more plausibly, they may have been thrown out of Room 56 during the pillage.

In contrast to the other units of this suite, the debris of Room 57 contained no clues suggesting the storage of objects of precious metals; but a quantity of beads of carnelian,[212] turquoise, composition, agate, and glass and an onyx eye stone occurred in the northern part of the room, in addition to a feather-shaped inlay of composition,[213] perhaps part of a statuette. There were, further, two faceted globes[214] of composition which also were units of inlay work, two cores of natural shells, and some bronze pieces of problematical purpose. Finally, remnants of four clay tablets with Elamite inscriptions lay on the floor in the southern part of the room. The fragments are not well enough preserved to show whether the tablets differed in text or seal from those uncovered in the archive room (33) and in other units of the Treasury.

In describing Room 54 we mentioned that it was originally one of the northern subsidiary rooms of Hall 41. On

201. E.g. PT6 578*a–b*.
202. PT5 646.
203. PT6 13.
204. PT5 254.
205. PT5 309 and PT6 272.
206. PT5 328, PT6 185, PT6 224.
207. See find-spot plans of tablets and labels in Vol. II.
208. PT6 297.
209. PT6 313.
210. PT6 310.
211. PT6 287–88.
212. E.g. PT6 332*e*.
213. PT6 324.
214. E.g. PT6 330.

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our plan of the final Treasury (Fig. 63) only two rooms (53 and 52) of this northern row are connected with the hall. The doorway between Hall 41 and Room 53 is referred to above. There is no indication that it had a door, and the same is true with regard to the opening between Rooms 53 and 52. Except for some pronounced crevices, the red floor surface of Room 53 is well preserved. The walls of this room show no traces of burning, whereas those of Room 52 were baked by the conflagration to a depth of 1–1.5 cm. This situation, paralleled in several other instances, suggests that inflammable contents even more than roofing material and wooden columns fed the fire which scorched extensive sections of walls and even fractured stone column bases in certain units of the building.

As to the contents of Room 53, the clues are meager. A minute gold bead and a small perforated gold "triangle"[215] had once been attached to garments or the like. Near the east end of the room we found a fragmentary eye stone of turquoise, dedicated most probably by Sargon of Assyria.[216] One fragment of a granite tray,[217] pierced by a gold pin or rivet, is not sufficient evidence to prove that here had been stored some of the royal tableware which the pillagers shattered and left in the adjacent Hall 41. One of the bronze "curtain rings" (see p. 160) was in the western doorway, and a second, almost identical, specimen lay on the floor near by. Two small bronze rings also provided with flanges and found inside the same doorway likewise could have been used to suspend fabrics.

Originally Room 52 was as long as Room 53, but it was reduced to its present size when the western portions of the first two Treasury sections were razed (see Figs. 63 and 67). At the time when the doorway between Rooms 52 and 55 was blocked (see p. 180), a new opening was cut through the wall between Rooms 52 and 53. Crevices at each end of this doorway mark the lines of the former wall faces and the limits of the floor patch laid after the wall was cut.

The objects found in the debris of Room 52 give no clue whatsoever as to the nature of the inflammable material—perhaps furniture and fabrics—which fed the fire. In this secluded room some of the most delicate and fragile vessels of the royal tableware may have been stored, as suggested by fragments of a beaker and a bowl of glass.[218] Vessels of stone too may have been present, as suggested by one alabaster plate.

The Northern Section

HALL 38

This great treasure hall, together with its subsidiary rooms, was added when the western portion of the building was razed to make room for Xerxes' Harem (see Fig. 67). As a matter of fact, it is logical to assume that Hall 38 and the other rooms of the northern section (see Fig. 79 *D*) were built before the western rooms were razed, in order to provide storage space for the contents of the units to be destroyed.

The roof of Hall 38 was supported by a hundred columns, arranged in five east-west rows of twenty columns each. Plaster fragments with traces of red, white, and blue paint were found at many spots, especially at column bases *A*15, *C*2, and *C*11 (for locations see Fig. 64). Hence the columns of Halls 41 and 38 were very similarly constructed and decorated (see p. 178). The wooden core of each column shaft was incased in a mud and plaster shell covered with a painted lozenge pattern. In both halls the columns stood on stone bases consisting of a circular torus with one molding and a square plinth (Fig. 72 *I–K*). Many of the masons' marks noticed on the bases of Hall 41 are found in Hall 38 also. Other symbols appear only in one of the two halls. Some of those which occur in both halls are found as well in the earliest section of the Treasury (see Figs. 71–72 *A*). This fact has chronological significance, since we believe that these marks were the personal symbols of individual craftsmen rather than hereditary family symbols. If we are correct in assuming that Hall 38 was added before the western portion of the Treasury was razed, the column bases of the razed portion could not have been reused in Hall 38 and therefore the three phases of the building must have been completed during the life spans of some of the masons. This conclusion is corroborated by other evidence (see p. 200). In Hall 41 stone-pilferers of later times removed a few tori but disregarded the plinths (see pp. 178 f.). Certain parts of Hall 38 show the opposite picture. Here entire rows of plinths have disappeared, but many tori—displaced during the removal of the square members—remain, some in small groups and some inverted (Fig. 79 *A*). Our plan (Fig. 63), however, shows completely blank spots too, from which both plinths and tori had been removed.

The southern wall of Hall 38 is a portion of the exterior inclosure of the second Treasury (cf. Fig. 67). After the addition of the hall, the slots and niched recesses (see p. 158) were filled to form an unbroken surface, which was then covered with the common greenish-gray plaster. In order to achieve a uniform surface, the builders spread this coat over the extant faces of the piers, which therefore show two distinct layers of plaster.

As suggested above (p. 160), a piece of painted plaster found on and beside column base *E*1 may have belonged to the frame of the near-by blocked northern entrance to the second Treasury, which gave access to passages whose doorways were embellished with a similar design; but there is no further evidence for such decoration at this spot. It is also doubtful whether bits of blue pigment on the central part of the east wall and small patches of blue and red near the blocked northern doorway in the same wall were actually *in situ*.

Only one doorway links Hall 38 and its seven subsidiary rooms with the rest of the Treasury and with its exits. This doorway, described on page 177, leads to Room 39. The northern entrance to the second Treasury (see p. 176) was blocked after Hall 38 was added and after the new opening was cut through the north wall of Room 39. The builders of Hall 38 had originally planned to make the eastern and western parts of the new section symmetrical, and they left two openings in the east wall corresponding to the two doorways in the west wall. However, the eastern doorways were blocked even before the new section was completed (see p. 185), probably because it was decided to channel traffic from the earlier sections of the Treasury to a new northern exit (see Vestibule 50). A long passage room (40) at the east replaced the two rooms which had

215. PT6 232.
216. PT6 233.
217. PT6 234.
218. PT6 280 and PT6 283.

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been planned to balance the western Rooms 42 and 43. None of the doorways leading into the subsidiary rooms of Hall 38 are protected by sills of stone or bricks. The entrances to Rooms 42 and 48 were doorless. The doorways leading to Rooms 43, 45, 46, and 47 had doors which swung into these subsidiary rooms. The pivoting devices will be described in connection with the rooms concerned.

Haines made a thorough examination of the floor of Hall 38 and determined five stages of repairing or reflooring, which are marked on Figure 72 *A*. A distinctly outlined area (see Figs. 78 *C* and 79 *B–C*) on which the red[219] surface is preserved is marked "A Fl." The "B" floor, actually later than "A," since it overlaps the latter in the southern central portion, was apparently made with less care and shows only patches of red surface over finished flooring. The "C" floor shows no traces of red coating on the remnants of its finished surface. This floor consists of a layer of small pebbles and lime mortar mixed with bits of red plaster—presumably chipped off the earlier "D" floor—and apparently muddled to a smooth finished surface. Remains of the "D" floor, in various stages of disintegration, cover mainly the northeastern part of the hall. In the areas marked "E Fl." only the subfloor is preserved. There is proof, however, that originally the entire floor of Hall 38 was covered with the usual red surface coat—a thin red line along the sides of many plinths, 10–15 cm. below their tops, where the surface coat touched the column bases. The poor preservation of the floor in the eastern portion of the hall is due largely to the diggings of stone-pilferers who concentrated on this area. On the other hand, even the best preserved "A" floor is a secondary floor which was laid after the original floor had been damaged by frequent use. This is shown by a strip of "A" floor extending to the point of most intense traffic, namely the southern doorway.

In contrast to Hall 41, Hall 38 shows no effect of the conflagration which destroyed other parts of the Treasury, except for a few scorched patches on the walls caused by burning debris from neighboring rooms (54, 34, 40, and 50; see Fig. 64). We found no proof that the fire extended to the woodwork of the roof of Hall 38. The debris contained only a very small amount of charcoal and ashes, due apparently to small local fires.

With the exception of unknown inflammable stores which fed the destructive fire in Hall 41, the remains of the contents of the two great halls show great similarity.

We mentioned above that Halls 41 and 38 were the principal depositories for royal tableware of stone, composition, and glass (see p. 179). In Hall 38 the despoilers of the Treasury shattered great numbers of vessels by throwing them against the southern wall, but many damaged vessels were found in other parts of the hall. The types of vessels from Hall 38 are roughly the same as those uncovered in Hall 41. Plain, but often beautifully wrought, receptacles prevail.[220] However, a few remnants of elaborately sculptured vessels occurred,[221] and some patterned fragments of glass[222] prove that attractive vessels of this material were stored here as in Hall 41.

In Hall 41 we uncovered objects bearing the names of Nekau and Psamtik. The name of a third Egyptian pharaoh, Amasis, appears on four alabaster fragments[223] found in the debris of Hall 38, where, furthermore, two effigies of the Egyptian god Bes occurred.[224] As to other objects of foreign origin, the beautiful Greek marble statue which we uncovered in Corridor 31 (see p. 177) was originally stored in Hall 38, to judge by a hand fragment of this statue found in Plot HG 11 (for plot nos. see Fig. 64). Bronze bands with embossed Greek patterns[225]—resembling certain fragments found in Hall 41—occurred near the southeast corner of Hall 38 and (a fragment with vague design) in Plot HF 38. There is, finally, a fragmentary votive(?) plaque of lapis lazuli with remnants of a presumably Neo-Babylonian text.[226]

There is one important difference in the contents of the two great halls. In Hall 38 we uncovered large numbers of green chert objects,[227] many of which bear Aramaic inscriptions in ink. There are mortars, pestles, plates, and some trays. Nearly all these objects were shattered in the same manner as the royal tableware and scattered over approximately the same area. The debris of Hall 41 and of all other parts of the Treasury contained only a few specimens of this nature. One is tempted to conclude, therefore, that these objects were made and used only after Hall 38 was added to the building, that is, probably after the death of Darius I. Again, one might assume—erroneously, as we shall see—that these objects had been transferred to Hall 38 from the razed parts of the Treasury. We found evidence for the ritual use of the mortars and pestles in the haoma ceremony,[228] and there is no reason to doubt that the other objects, made of the same stone, found at the same spots, and bearing apparently the same kinds of inscriptions, were used in the same ritual. The inscriptions have not yet been completely deciphered. We know, however, that they contain the names of certain treasurers[229] which do not appear in the tablet texts of the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes. This fact suggests that the green chert objects from Hall 38 are later even than the time of Xerxes. They probably belong to the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II (see p. 42).

As to remnants of sculptured objects—in addition to those of foreign origin mentioned above—Hall 38 was more fertile than Hall 41. An impressive bronze pedestal composed of three lions (Fig. 80 *F*)[230] stood on the floor near the north wall, about 4 meters east of the doorway to Room 46. A fragment of a lion's paw of bronze found about 6 meters south of the pedestal proves that at least one more object of similar nature had here been stored. The hero's combat is illustrated by a sculptured fragment showing a hand grasping a lion's head with inlaid eyes.[231] A fragment of blue composition resembles parts of lion statuettes found elsewhere on the Persepolis Terrace.[232] There are pieces of sculptured bronze sheets, including wings of monsters or the winged symbol (cf. p. 159). Inlay work, or the like, is represented by some gold objects

219. Always standing for shades of brown-red.

220. See Vol. II, chapter on "Royal Tableware."

221. PT5 726, PT4 1071 and PT5 735, PT5 186, PT5 687.

222. PT5 786, PT5 772, PT5 247, PT5 106.

223. PT5 739, PT5 817, PT5 52, PT4 1070.

224. PT4 1062 and PT5 299.

225. E.g. PT4 1095.

226. PT5 264.

227. See Vol. II, section on "Ritual Objects of Green Chert."

228. See *ibid.* impressions of seal No. 20 and *OIP* LXV 6.

229. As determined by Raymond A. Bowman and George G. Cameron.

230. PT5 642. 231. PT5 293. 232. Cf. PT5 829.

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—a delicate floral garland,[233] a small strip with cross-hatched lines, a scale-shaped unit,[234] and an ornamental tack.[235] A hand somewhat more than life-sized and identical with the hands of some of the lance-bearing guards of the stairway reliefs is not sufficient evidence to prove the existence of similar reliefs in Hall 38. There is, further, a small fragment of a baked-clay brick,[236] whose preserved surface is molded in the shape of curled and wavy hair. This seems to be the only preserved example of a figurative brick relief at Persepolis, although many remnants of such reliefs have been found at Susa.[237]

With regard to articles of personal adornment, Halls 41 and 38 were both less prolific than the much smaller Room 33. In the debris of Hall 38 three gold buttons[238] were found, also a bronze button[239] and a minute solid cylinder of gold. There were, further, six eye stones, some small bronze rosettes, a silver circlet, two bronze pins,[240] two pinheads,[241] and a number of beads[242] and pendants, including a small serpentine pendant modeled in the shape of a hawk.[243]

Considerable quantities of weapons and pieces of other martial equipment occurred in Halls 41 and 38. In the description of Hall 41 we mentioned that the evidence there speaks for the storage of such equipment (pp. 179 f.). Hall 38, on the other hand, opens into several subsidiary rooms (43 with 44, 47, 48) which were marked by their contents as storerooms for military equipment. We do not know, therefore, whether parts of this hall too were used for the storage of such objects, or whether they were carried here and then discarded. Several hundred arrowheads of bronze and some of iron were scattered about in various parts of the hall.[244] A few hundred armor scales of iron[245] were found distributed in the same manner; but there were only five scales of bronze,[246] which occurred in the southwest corner of Plot HG 11, and a single gold-plated iron scale[247] was found in Plot HG 31. Four horse bits of bronze,[248] four bridle ornaments,[249] a sword grip of iron, and three objects suggesting scabbard tips[250] also were found.

Miscellaneous finds from Hall 38 include seven crude, mostly lopsided, mortars of creamy white or grayish-white limestone.[251] These coarse objects appear particularly out of place in a hall of royal treasures. However, they too may have been employed for ritual purposes, as were the beautifully wrought green chert objects and presumably certain mortars and pestles of bronze. There are other common objects which have no bearing on the purpose of the great hall—for example various fragments of bronze hardware, including one of the "curtain rings" (see p. 160) and a hook attached to a chain link,[252] two rim fragments of bronze vessels, a lead weight(?),[253] a stone whorl,[254] a fragment of a bone receptacle(?),[255] a toggle pin of bone, a conoid object of limestone, a fragment of a diorite door socket or mortar, and even a simple little jar of baked clay identical in form with a vessel found in the northern entrance of the Treasury (see p. 186).

We do not believe that any of the cuneiform tablets and labels here found had originally been deposited in the hall proper. Specimens scattered in a continuous strip in the eastern part of the hall could have been thrown into the find-area on the collapse of Room 33 or on the collapse of the roof of Hall 38, where they might have been discarded during the pillage. No tablets occurred in other parts of the hall, and the labels found apart from the strip are closely related in form and also in the seal impressions which they bear to those uncovered in the subsidiary Rooms 45 and 47.

Only four coins, all of silver, were found in Hall 38. A stater[256] of Salamis on Cyprus (560–525 B.C.) and a tetradrachm[257] of Athens (middle 4th century B.C.) were within a radius of 5 meters from the doorway to Room 46. The third coin,[258] probably a Persic drachm (Bithynia, Calchedon, 5th[?] and 4th century B.C.) was in the vicinity of column base *B*8, that is, south of the doorway to Room 47, and a Croesus coin (561–546 B.C.)[259] lay near column base *C*19 in the western end of the hall.

SUBSIDIARY ROOMS (42–48) OF HALL 38

There is no indication that the doorway connecting Hall 38 and Room 42 had a door. We have no doubt that this room had been filled with stored goods, but there is no clue whatsoever as to their nature. We found not a single object in its debris. A small discolored patch on the wall in the southwest corner was caused by burning matter which fell here from Room 52 (see Fig. 64).

A doorless opening connected Rooms 43 and 44, but the doorway leading from Hall 38 to Room 43 had a door which pivoted on a stone socket (Fig. 70 *R*) and swung into the latter room. The red floor is broken in Room 43 by a hole roughly 1.50 m. square and about a meter deep. It may have been caused by a broken-down section of a subterranean drainage canal. The floor and the north and east walls of the small corner Room 44 are poorly preserved. The absence of scorched areas in Rooms 42–44 suggests that no stores of combustible nature were kept in this suite. Consequently we assume that the weapons—found in sufficient quantities in Rooms 43–44 to mark these units as storerooms for military equipment—were deposited here without their wooden shafts (cf. p. 175). About a hundred arrowheads of bronze and iron occurred in Room 43. Fifty-seven specimens of bronze and eleven of iron were found in Room 44. Room 43, furthermore, contained a javelin head of bronze[260] and several hundred armor scales of iron.[261] In Room 44 only a few iron armor scales were found. As to objects of nonmartial character, in Room 43 we found a cylinder seal of baked clay,[262] an iron angle brace,[263] a fragment of a bronze brooch,[264] a

233. PT5 298.
234. PT5 273.
235. PT5 348.
236. PT5 428.
237. See Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 274 ff.; patch of fur on haunch of winged bull (see *ibid.* Fig. 195) has closest resemblance to Persepolis object.
238. E.g. PT5 793.
239. PT5 107.
240. E.g. PT5 804.
241. Eg. PT4 582.
242. Eg. PT5 652, PT5 649, PT5 783, PT5 702.
243. PT5 651.
244. Eg. PT5 691 and PT5 317.
245. E.g. PT5 509*a–c*.
246. E.g. PT5 149*a*.
247. PT4 1012.
248. E.g. PT5 819.
249. E.g. PT5 336.
250. E.g. PT5 274.
251. E.g. PT5 911.
252. PT5 214.
253. PT5 452.
254. PT4 1063.
255. PT5 219.
256. PT5 278.
257. PT5 798.
258. PT5 192.
259. PT5 769.
260. Cf. PT4 1030.
261. E.g. PT5 842*a–c*.
262. PT5 743.
263. PT5 779.
264. Cf. PT4 473.

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ring-shaped bronze wire, a bronze nail with silver-capped head,[265] and a rectangular fragment of red and green composition. One stone vessel and two green chert mortars (see p. 182) may indicate that such objects were stored here. Room 44 contained a fragment of a lapis lazuli cylinder, an eye stone, and an ear pendant of lead.[266]

A hole in the floor at the northeast corner of the doorway to Room 45 proves that here had been located a socket stone on which a door swung into this room. A narrow, slightly slanting scorched strip, caused by the burning door, is visible on the wall directly above the floor depression. Scorched patches are also visible on the north wall of the room (see Fig. 64). We found no remains of military equipment. There were six seal-impressed clay labels[267] but no tablets. Fragments of at least seven green chert mortars prove that the room was used for the storage of such objects (see p. 182). There were, further, a curved tapering bronze rod (4.3 cm. long) with knobbed top and a rather large gold band[268] of problematical purpose.

In Room 46 a small socket stone (Fig. 70 *T*) was found in a position corresponding to the floor depression in Room 45. The roughness of the socket hole, however, suggests infrequent use. All walls show traces of scorching, but the fire was here less violent than in certain other portions of the Treasury. There are no clues concerning the contents of this room. Two arrowheads of bronze may have strayed here with debris of the neighboring Room 47. The only other object is a piece of bronze casing.[269]

The poorly preserved floor of Room 47 suggests that it was used frequently. If so, the door to Hall 38 stood open most of the time, for the pivoting depression in the socket stone (Fig. 70 *U*), situated at the northeast corner of the doorway, shows very little use. Here as in Room 46 the walls are moderately scorched. The debris of Room 47 while void of tablets contained many seal-impressed clay labels,[270] which were once attached to stores or records of problematical nature. One hundred and twenty bronze arrowheads[271] and two bridle ornaments prove that this room was used for the storage of martial equipment. There were, further, five beads,[272] a bronze bolt(?),[273] a small perforated bronze triangle, and an iron rod fragment with traces of spirally applied gold foil.

The doorway connecting Hall 38 with Room 48 was doorless. The floor of this narrow room, situated beneath the (destroyed) upper flight of a stairway (49), does not have the usual red-surfaced plaster layer. The walls do not show the effect of fire, although the neighboring Rooms 47 and 50 are scorched.[274] Parts of Room 48 were certainly used for the storage of martial equipment. There were one hundred and sixty-seven arrowheads of bronze and five of iron, eleven armor scales of iron and four of bronze, and three bridle ornaments.[275] On the other hand, Elamite tablet fragments and chips, found between about 60 cm. and 1.55 m. above the floor, appear to be discards rather than stored records or, more plausible, they fell into the room with the collapsing upper flight of the stairs (see p. 186, n. 320). One of the fragments[276] bears the earliest date recorded on the Elamite Treasury tablets (year 30 of Darius I; cf. p. 174, n. 118).

The remaining finds include a Lydian silver stater,[277] a piece of a bronze basin,[278] an ornamented fragment of bronze sheeting,[279] a small convex disk of iron, a few beads,[280] and a conoid game piece of bone.

265. Cf. PT4 227.
266. PT6 36.
267. PT6 12, PT6 40, PT6 42–43, PT6 65, PT6 116.
268. PT6 37.
269. PT6 67.
270. See find-spot plans of tablets and labels in Vol. II, chapter on "Seals and Seal Impressions."
271. E.g. PT6 152.
272. E.g. PT6 138 and PT6 4.
273. PT6 153.
274. For certain parallel features noticed in Passage 9 see p. 187.
275. E.g. PT6 57.

SUITE OF PASSAGE ROOMS (14, 37, 40, 51), VESTIBULE 50, AND NORTHERN ENTRANCE

We have expressed doubt that the king ever entered the Treasury from "Garrison Street" (see p. 170). The ornamented doorways of Rooms 36, 15, and 16 (see p. 175) clearly indicate the route of royal entry into the embellished center of Treasury activities, namely the area of Courtyard 17. However, with the addition of the northern section, the system of circulation was changed. Rooms 36 and 15 were turned into storerooms, and traffic was routed circuitously—through the passage rooms now to be described—to Vestibule 50 and the new northern entrance. It is possible, therefore, that after the blocking of the distinguished entryway the rulers—Xerxes and his successors—never entered the Treasury. In accordance with our interpretation of the purpose of the Throne Hall (see p. 129) the audience pictured in the reliefs of the courtyard porticoes took place subsequently in the Throne Hall, whose northern doorways bear reliefs of the same character.

The eastern doorway of Room 16 was cut to connect the courtyard complex with the suite of passages under consideration. The blocked southern doorway of Room 14 is described on page 170. Consistent with the purpose of this room and the other units of its suite, none of the openings connecting them were provided with doors. However, one is puzzled by the absence of sills of stone, or at least baked bricks, in this area of doubtlessly heavy traffic. A fissure in the floor plaster at the northern doorway of Room 14 separates the lighter red floor of this room from the darker red and obviously refloored area to the north. A violent fire left its mark on the eastern and western walls of Room 14 and on the jambs of its northern doorway. The debris filling the room contained distinct layers of ashes and charcoal, particularly at a height of about 50 cm. above the floor, and many charcoal particles speckled the eastern wall face. There are indications that some of the rooms of this suite were used for storage of goods as well as for traffic, but Room 14 was almost sterile as to finds. Its debris contained only a shapeless bronze fragment, a bridle ornament, two eye stones of onyx, and a fragment of a clay label.

During the second phase of the Treasury, Room 37 occupied the northeast corner of the building. Presumably after the addition of the northern section of the Treasury it was enlarged by decreasing the thickness of the walls to the east and north. A doorway was then cut through the northern wall. Originally an opening connected Rooms 37

276. *OIP* LXV, No. 1*a*, p. 85.
277. PT6 55.
278. PT6 11.
279. PT6 19.
280. E.g. PT6 29 and PT6 10.

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and 36. It was blocked before Room 37 was refloored (see above), for the floor does not continue beneath the blocking. The finished red-coated floor of Rooms 37 and 40 is continuous. Room 37, which is barely scorched, contained a number of heterogeneous objects. Almost all green chert mortars and pestles found in the Treasury were shattered, intentionally without doubt, during the sacking of the building. In Room 37, however, both a mortar and a pestle[281] were found in perfect condition in the doorway to Room 40 and about a meter above the floor. An effigy seal in the form of a couchant bovine[282] lay in the same doorway, and a bronze pestle[283] occurred 60 cm. above the floor at the opening to Room 14. Military equipment was represented by an iron lance head and a strap guard of bronze.[284] The remaining finds include a riveted bronze loop, an iron spike, and an unbaked clay whorl.[285]

Two doorways between Hall 38 and Room 40 were blocked even before their floors had been finished (see p. 181). Doorless openings connect Room 40 (see Fig. 80 *C*) with Rooms 37 and 51. The originally open drain described on page 162 caused a depression in the southern portion of the floor of Room 40. The walls of the room show the effect of a violent fire. Parts of its burning roof fell into Hall 38, where they scorched a section of the eastern wall (see Fig. 64). Beside the opposite face of the same wall, inside Room 40 and 90 cm. above the floor, we found a charred fragment of a roof beam with squared end, measuring 18 × 24 cm. in cross section. Another scorched beam fragment with squared end measures 14 × 18 cm. in section. The debris contained a large quantity of ashes and charcoal particles.

Room 40 was definitely a storeroom, in addition to serving as a link in the chain of passages with which we are dealing. Our finds indicate that it was a combined toolroom and armory. Tools and utensils include three halberd-shaped iron plowshares(?),[286] seven bronze pulley wheels(?) attached to iron rods,[287] segmented pieces of iron suggesting connected links of a chain, the wedge-shaped end (38 cm. long) of an iron crowbar, a beveled bronze ring, and a bone handle. A bronze pestle[288] found in the center of the room might have been used for either utilitarian or ritual (cf. p. 182) purposes. Among the remnants of martial equipment once stored in Room 40 were five bridle bits of bronze[289] and some iron weapons—a dagger blade, a dagger, and a lance head.[290] Arrowheads were never kept in this room, as shown by their complete absence, contrasting with the great number of points found in the adjoining Room 51 and in Vestibule 50. Arrow shafts and bows of course may have been stored in Room 40 and may have fed the fire which scorched the entire room. In addition to tools and military equipment there were some remnants of other categories of stores, which may have been kept here—charred pieces of fabric, a lid[291] and a crucible[292] of bronze. The remaining objects apparently were lost during the pillage of the Treasury, when the contents of other sections of the building were carried to the northern exit. Such finds include a Lydian silver coin,[293] a fragment of gold inlay(?) with lozenge pattern,[294] a small gold cap,[295] the gazelle-shaped handle[296] of a clay vessel or the like, and a few buttons and beads.[297]

The two doorways of Room 51, the northeastern corner room of the Treasury, had neither doors nor sills. The red-surfaced floor is continuous with that of the adjacent rooms. The walls are as heavily burned as those of Room 40. A pile of charred fabric (Fig. 80 *D*) near the southeast corner may explain in part the violence of the fire. The debris, in general, contained a great deal of charcoal.

To judge by their remnants, the contents of Rooms 51 and 40 were similar. In both rooms we found charred fabrics, tools, utensils, and military equipment. Bridle bits were absent in Room 51, but there were one hundred and fifty-five arrowheads of bronze and eight of iron, in addition to the bronze hilt of a sword.[298] There were also a pulley wheel(?) of bronze pierced by the remains of an iron pin, a polisher to which pink matter adhered,[299] one of the "curtain rings" (see p. 160), and a small bronze disk of problematical use. Other finds include some specimens of royal tableware,[300] presumably dropped during the pillage of the building; a plain gold ring; a fragmentary bronze mirror;[301] some beads;[302] a small bronze bell; a serpentine(?) pinhead ornamented with a twelve-petaled rosette;[302a] and pieces of bronze objects which had been attached to furniture or the like, namely two perforated bands,[303] a fragment of a twelve-petaled rosette (diameter, 6.5 cm.), and a crushed disk. A fragmentary clay label also was found in the debris.

Vestibule 50 served likewise as a guardroom in the same manner as the eastern entrance room (13). Its northern doorway opens into the street which separates the Treasury from the escarpment of the Throne Hall. The surface of the street was about 52 cm. above the floor of the room, as indicated by the top level of the stone sill (Fig. 70 *X*). The latter consists of the usual well smoothed limestone slab, with an additional two-stepped stone slab which leads up to the street. The street, ill-defined at this point, must have been flush with the top tread, since the stone face turned toward the outside was left unfinished. A socket stone at the southwestern corner of the doorway marks the pivoting point of the door. The floor, red-coated as usual, slopes smoothly to the stone, the top of which is 12 cm. below the floor level (Fig. 70 *W*). Traces of rusted iron in the socket hole suggest that the pivot was reinforced with an iron cap.[304] The debris east of the entrance contained a few bits of plaster with blue paint; but on the doorjambs there are no traces of color which would prove the existence of decoration such as that noticed in the central section of the Treasury (see p. 175). Some patches of the walls of Vestibule 50 were not affected by the fire which consumed its inflammable contents. A scorched area on

281. PT5 7–8.
282. PT5 1.
283. Cf. PT6 123.
284. Cf. PT5 225 and PT5 102.
285. PT4 1069.
286. PT5 223.
287. E.g. PT5 479.
288. Cf. PT6 123.
289. E.g. PT5 45.
290. PT5 70, PT5 291, PT5 225.
291. PT5 94.
292. PT5 471.
293. PT5 319.
294. PT5 267.
295. PT5 389.
296. PT5 414.
297. E.g. PT5 377 and PT5 128.
298. PT6 137.
299. PT6 213.
300. E.g. PT6 211 and PT6 202.
301. PT6 136.
302. E.g. PT6 204.
302a. PT6 214.
303. E.g. PT6 217.
304. Cf. Felix von Luschan† and Walter Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. V. *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, "Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen" XV [Berlin, 1943]) p. 34.

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the north wall of Hall 38 opposite a burned patch in the vestibule was undoubtedly caused by burning parts of the roof which fell into the hall from the latter (see Fig. 64).

Vestibule 50 contained great numbers of arrowheads, namely four hundred and twenty-eight specimens of bronze and forty-seven of iron. There were, further, eight armor scales of iron, one iron lance head,[305] and one bridle bit of bronze. Obviously, part of the vestibule was used for the storage of projectiles, whose shafts may have fed the fire which left its traces on the walls. Remnants of tools and pieces of hardware also were found—an iron chisel;[306] two bronze ring bolts or handles(?);[307] pieces of bronze bars (one 52 cm. long), including a fragment ornamented with scrolls;[308] and fragments of two concave disks, one of iron, the other of bronze, both measuring about 18 cm. in diameter. A mortar and a pestle of bronze[309] might have been used for either ritual or practical purposes (cf. p. 182). Weights seem appropriate in an entrance room. One bronze rectangle suggesting a weight[310] occurred in the doorway to Room 51. A duck weight[311] of bronze was found at the puzzling height of 2.70 m. above the floor near the southwest corner of the vestibule. In spite of the fact that the entrance to Stairway 49 had been blocked (see below) we must assume that this weight lay on the upper part of the stairs and fell on debris partly filling Vestibule 50. A small jar[312] of baked clay which shows the effect of the conflagration lay 25 cm. above the southern end of the entrance sill. Most of the remaining objects apparently were lost here when contents of the Treasury were carried through this northern vestibule of the building. Such objects include a cloisonné rosette of gold,[313] a bronze nail with gold head,[314] a small quantity of personal ornaments such as two onyx eye stones, a pearl bead (the only pearl found in the Treasury), a small bronze bell, a pinhead of bone,[315] and some beads[316] of lapis lazuli, turquoise, glass, and calcareous stone. Two fragments of cuneiform tablets lay on the floor near the southern wall, and chips of tablets occurred near the base of Stairway 49 (see n. 320). One clay label was on the floor in the southwest corner. A second label was found in debris, about 1.50 m. above the center of the room.

STAIRWAY 49

Possibly for reasons of security and perhaps following a short time of use, this stairway leading from Vestibule 50 to the Treasury roof was blocked by a wall 55 cm. in thickness. The lowest step, protruding into Vestibule 50, was cut away (see Fig. 73 *B*). The east face of the blocking wall was plastered, whereas the west side, facing the now useless stairway, was left unplastered. It seems, however, that the despoilers of the Treasury found this convenient means of access to the northern entrance. They breached the southern part of the blocking wall and—after carrying their loot from the interior of the building up Ramp 25 and across the roof—used Stairway 49 as a passage to Vestibule 50 and its street exit. They enabled us to follow their tracks by dropping some of their plunder at two bottlenecks, namely on Ramp 25 (see p. 187) and on the stairway.

The stairway is made of mud bricks (32–33 × 32–33 × *ca.* 12 cm.) covered with mud plaster and surfaced with the common greenish-gray coat used on the walls. Variations in depth and height of the steps (see Fig. 73 *B*) are due in part to deterioration and in part to slight mutilation suffered during the excavation. The stairway is preserved to a height of 2.25 m., corresponding to fifteen original steps. Haines' very plausible reconstruction turns the stairway in such a manner that its upper flight ascends above the narrow Room 48—which lacks the usual brown-red floor surface—and reaches the roof top at a height of 7.67 m. above the floor of Vestibule 50. This gives us a rather accurate clue as to the height of the building at this point. The outer inclosure, we may assume, was higher and crowned by a parapet. The neighboring wall of Hall 38, too, may have risen above the top of the stairs, provided there was a clerestory.

The opening cut through the blocking wall of the stairway cannot have been very wide. Otherwise flames consuming the cumbustible contents of Vestibule 50 and scorching its walls—including the east face of the battered remains of the blocking wall—would have swept up the staircase, which would have acted as a flue, but neither the steps nor the walls of the stairway show any traces of burning.

The telltale remnants of plunder referred to above are objects of gold. Six twelve-petaled gold rosettes[317] and fragments of a band with *repoussé* pattern[318] occurred on top of the remains of the wall bordering the staircase on the north. A small rod and a leaf-shaped ornament of gold were in the debris above the stairs, together with a miniature inlay beard[319] of lapis lazuli. Two clusters of tablet fragments were found in the same debris, and, since a tablet occurred with the remnants of valuable loot dropped at the other bottleneck also (see p. 187), it appears plausible to assume that tablets too—perhaps accidentally associated with more desirable spoils—were carried to these points.[320] The dirt fill of the staircase contained a number of bronze objects, such as a vessel handle, a club-shaped rod fragment (23.9 cm. long), and two perforated bands, one of which is almost identical with one of the specimens found in Room 51 (see n. 303). A small quantity of arrowheads—twenty-six of bronze and two of iron—were scattered about in the debris, and a single strap buckle of bronze lay near the topmost preserved step.

THE SOUTHERN SECTION

The following pages deal with the remnants of the original Darius Treasury (see Fig. 66), whose western part—together with the western portion of the subsequently added central section of the building (see Fig. 67)—had been razed in order to make room for the Harem of Xerxes.

305. Identical with PT5 225.

306. PT6 172.

307. E.g. PT6 129.

308. PT6 167; found 1.75 m. above the southern edge of the northern doorsill.

309. PT6 195 and PT6 123.

310. PT6 128.

311. PT6 30.

312. PT6 472.

313. PT6 177.

314. PT6 53.

315. PT6 198.

316. E.g. PT6 193 and PT6 98.

317. PT6 717.

318. PT6 718.

319. PT6 108.

320. The tablet fragments found in the debris of Room 48 (situated beneath the upper flight of Stairway 49) and those from Vestibule 50 probably owe their find-location to the same circumstances.

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ROOM 24, PASSAGE 9, AND RAMP 25

Room 24 had originally the same purpose as the later entrance rooms (13, 36, and 50) described above. The only northern entrance to the original building led into this vestibule from an open area which presumably was leveled to form a spacious courtyard and was subsequently occupied by the two additions to the structure. The doorway cut through a niche of the outer wall face in the same manner as the exterior doorways of the central and northern sections. A stone sill of gray limestone protected, as usual, this point of obviously intense traffic. The sill slab broke, perhaps, because it was faulty when cut. In any event, it was repaired with a patch fastened by a clamp of lead. Painted rosette bands still traceable on the northern face of the doorway were presumably applied after the addition of the central section of the Treasury (see p. 171). An iron socket (cf. Fig. 70 *P–Q*) beside the southwest corner of the sill indicates that the door opened—clockwise, as in most instances—into Room 24. Considering the exposed location of the vestibule, we can well understand that its floor, red-surfaced as usual, was worn and pitted by use. The flooring breaks off with a jagged line at the entrance to Passage 9 and stops at the base of Ramp 25. Scorched patches in Room 24 on the west wall and in both northern corners of the southern doorway indicate that inflammable material was here piled up, discarded presumably by those who used Ramp 25 when they were looting the Treasury. The few objects which we found in the detritus of Room 24 were probably lost at the same time. There were a fourth-century silver coin of Paphlagonia,[321] an onyx eye stone, and a silver-capped nail of bronze.[322]

Originally the long, dark, and narrow Passage 9 was perhaps a tool chamber or the like. It was connected at first with Room 24 only and roofed by the upper flight of Ramp 25. When the Treasury expanded northward a doorway was cut through the easternmost niche of the former exterior wall, and the "tool chamber" became a link between the chains of passages composed of Rooms 13, 12, 10 and 24, 26, 27, 28. Service circulation was routed through this flight of passage rooms connecting the eastern entrance of the Treasury with the southern section of the building, and Courtyard 17 and its porticoes were thus avoided. The floor of Passage 9 was never covered with the red-surfaced plaster layer used in all other roofed units of the building except Room 48, which was situated below a stairway (see p. 184). The floor of Room 10 ends with a jagged edge on the line of the original exterior wall face. The walls of Passage 9 show no traces of burning. The single object here found, a piece of gold wire (5 cm. long, 1 mm. in diameter), may have fallen into the passage with the remnants of the ramp, on which other objects of gold and coins were dropped by the looters of the building (see below).

Once Stairway 49 had been blocked (see p. 186), Ramp 25 was, as far as we know, the only means of access to the roof, except possibly for ladders. Its remains consist of tightly packed mud bricks of the usual dimensions (roughly 33 cm. square). Noyes determined that at least in the upper section three complete bricks with an approximate half brick at each end formed a course of the ramp, which measures 1.30 m. in width. The ramp (Fig. 81 *B*) starts from Room 24 with one step 32 cm. high and ascends smoothly eastward, rising 1.60 m. over a distance of 7.25 m. Then follow two widely spaced steps before the present top is reached. In Haines' suggested reconstructions (Fig. 73 *A*) the ramp continues smoothly, according to one version, or, alternatively, in widely-spaced steps to a landing; then an upper flight turns westward, rising in steps of problematical depth to the roof. The upper flight, presumably supported by wooden joists, must have been carried over Passage 9. His version with closely-spaced steps (uppermost in Fig. 73 *A*), Haines suggests, would most likely have been built entirely of wood. Passage 9 and Room 10 did not contain inflammable material, and the thick original outside wall separated the intensely scorched Room 11 (see Fig. 64) from the ramp. This explains why we found no traces of scorching on the walls of Passage 9, into which the upper flight must have fallen.

The three versions of the reconstruction reach the roof at the following heights above the floor of Room 24: 7.81 (el. 16.50), 10.06 (el. 18.75), and 10.56 m. (el. 19.25 m. above our datum). The lowest of these (7.81 m.) corresponds very closely to the height implied by Haines' reconstruction of Stairway 49 (7.67 m.; see Fig. 73 *B*). Parenthetically, Haines points out that the stone antae of the Harem portico are 7.80 m. high. If the Treasury roof was terraced in clerestory fashion, we should assume that the top exit of the ramp opened onto a lower terrace of the roof. In this case Haines' two other estimates (10.06 and 10.56 m.) would appear too high. They are theoretically possible, however, if the exterior wall of the Treasury was about 11 meters high and reached to about 20 meters above our datum, as estimated by Bolles (see p. 159).

In describing Stairway 49 we mentioned valuable plunder dropped at two bottlenecks by looters carrying their spoils over Ramp 25, across the roof to Stairway 49, and thence to the northern exit. The objects which we found at the ramp are very similar to those lost at the stairway. At the point where Ramp 25 breaks off, about 2 meters above the floor of Room 24 and about .95 m. below the debris surface, an assortment of gold scraps occurred—a little twelve-petaled rosette, pieces of sheeting (one with a row of perforations), bent wire with rectangular cross section, a little globe, a hook,[323] two beads,[324] and a ringlet (diameter, 1 cm.; thickness, 2 mm.). In addition to these objects of gold there were three spheroid beads of composition with red core and green surface. Appropriately, some coins too were mixed with this forgotten plunder—an abraded electrum coin of Miletus, a silver Croesus coin, and two silver coins of Ephesus and Miletus, dating possibly from the end of the seventh century to 390 B.C.[325] A fifth coin, made of copper or bronze, was too effaced to be classified. Finally, a single clay tablet inscribed in Elamite but unfortunately without a seal impression, occurred with this group of objects also (cf. p. 186). As it has no intrinsic value, it may be assumed that it was combined accidentally with worth-while articles of loot.

SUITE OF PASSAGES 26–28

In the original Treasury (Fig. 66 *B*) Rooms 24, 26, and 27 formed an important chain of passages connecting the focus of administrative activities, namely Courtyard 29

321. PT4 268. 322. PT4 227.

323. PT4 287. 324. E.g. PT4 286.

325. PT4 285, PT4 309, PT4 290, and PT4 310 respectively.

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and its porticoes, with the only exterior entrance to the eastern part of the building. Traffic here was still intense after the Treasury was expanded northward, for this flight of passages became part of the system of service circulation between the eastern entrance and the southern section of the building. The northern doorway of Room 24, leading to the final administrative center, namely the complex of Courtyard 17, continued to be used for the transfer of stores to and from the southern section.

The red-surfaced floor of Passage 26 is continuous with the floors of the adjoining rooms (24 and 27), which were connected by doorless openings. There are no traces of burning on the walls or on the floor, and the almost complete lack of objects shows that this room was used solely as a passage. A fragment of a column base was found 35 cm. above the floor near the southeast corner. The odd, apparently bell-shaped, profile of this base distinguishes it from the bases used in the Treasury. A hole 8.5 cm. square was cut off-center in its top. Otherwise, the debris filling Passage 26 contained only a fragmentary plate of bluish-green composition,[326] a bone button, and a piece of an ornamented cylinder of bone.[327]

A stone sill protects the floor of the doorway leading from Passage 27 into the complex of Courtyard 29. A gap in the floor at the southeast corner of the sill indicates the site of the door socket. We found no satisfactory explanation for the disappearance of pivoting devices. If the door and socket here had been removed to facilitate traffic the hole in the floor undoubtedly would have been filled. We must conclude, therefore, that the pivoting device was removed during the pillage of the building or afterward. As one might expect, the finds from Passage 27—which shows no effect of fire—are insignificant. There were two bone utensils, namely a blunt point and a toggle pin; a piece of bronze wire bent in the shape of a cotter pin; and, finally, a fragmentary bronze rosette with traces of gold foil.

Originally Passage 28 was part of the northern portico of Courtyard 29 (see Fig. 66 *B*), the rest of which was subsequently converted into a room (67). The passage is entirely open toward the courtyard, its floor plaster ending in a ragged line at the original portico edge. Traces of burning on the walls at points below a height of 50 cm. suggest that some inflammable material, perhaps rubbish, was thrown in during the evacuation. The debris was completely sterile as to finds.

COURTYARD 29, PORTICO 6, AND ROOMS 67, 70, 78

In the original Treasury (Fig. 66 *B*) Courtyard 29 and its porticoes served as the center of administrative activities, which function was subsequently taken over by the complex of Courtyard 17 (see p. 172). The plans of the two complexes were almost alike. In each case four columned porticoes inclosed an open court, resulting in a cruciform arrangement, which is more regular in the later version. Although lacking embellishments such as the reliefs, statuary, and painted doorframes of the Courtyard 17 complex, the earlier courtyard has more impressive dimensions. Here too the doorways opening into the court and its porticoes were provided with monolithic sills—signs of intense traffic and of the importance of the area. The doors, which here as in the later complex swung against the distal edges of the sills, may have been decorated with patterned sheets or figures in bronze and precious metals (see p. 189); but we found no clues suggesting that the columns of the porticoes were painted in a fashion similar to those of the great halls (see p. 160). In Courtyard 29 the rather elaborate system of open canals (see pp. 161–62) composed of well wrought monolithic sections surpassed by far the drainage facilities of the later Courtyard 17. Courtyard 29 (24.20 m. square) was completely open to the sky. Its floor, therefore, was not surfaced with the usual red-coated plaster layer. It consists simply of some concrete with yellowish sublayer like that used in the roofed units of the Treasury as a foundation for the plaster flooring (see p. 159). In the center and in the western part of the court most of the flooring has deteriorated. It is best preserved along the northern edge and in the southwestern corner. The wall faces bordering the courtyard show no signs of the conflagration which destroyed the inflammable contents of some of the adjoining rooms. A piece of charred matting found near the center of the court, in the northwest corner of Plot IG 13, may have been blown from the burning western portico. At the same spot occurred two irregular, largely decomposed clumps of matter, perhaps leather, which had not been burned.

In the course of the centuries following the destruction of the Treasury, the detritus above the floor of Courtyard 29 rose to a height of almost 2 meters in the west and almost 3 meters in the east. Immediately after the burning of the Treasury some edges of the court were covered with the debris of tumbled walls, columns, and roofs. Except for the litter of evacuation the central part of the roofless area must have been void of detritus. Subsequently the remnants of walls crumbled and violent winter rains swept masses of decomposed mud bricks and rubble from the deteriorating eastern fortification downhill, that is, westward, into the depression left by the court. This process completely filled the courtyard and leveled it with adjacent debris. Needless to say, Courtyard 17 was exposed to the same conditions.

The last phase of the activities in the two courtyards, namely the gathering and sorting of the spoils by the Macedonians, is illustrated in Courtyard 29 by quite a variety of small objects, apparently lost or discarded during this operation and indicative of the nature of at least some of the plunder. Many objects of personal adornment were here scattered. There were about a hundred beads, pendants, and spacers of semiprecious stones and other materials;[328] six eye stones[329] and a bronze brooch once used as a setting for such an eye stone;[330] two buttons of gold; two lead rings and a finger ring[331] of bronze; ear pendants of bronze and lead;[332] a piece of thin silver wire; and pinheads of glass and turquoise.[333] A gold coin of Croesus[334] was found exactly in the northeast corner of Plot IG 13, that is, near Portico 6, 80 cm. above the floor. A totally effaced silver coin lay near the northeast corner of the court. Inlays and other sculptured objects are represented by several finds—a miniature lion face of turquoise;[335] carved ivory(?) and bone pieces,[336]

326. PT4 358. 327. PT4 359.

328. E.g. PT4 493, PT6 393, PT6 407*g*, PT6 603.
329. E.g. PT6 402, PT6 417, PT6 389.
330. Cf. PT4 473. 332. PT6 630 and PT6 628.
331. PT 6 683. 333. PT6 684 and PT6 419.
334. PT4 475. 335. PT6 412. 336. PT4 462, PT6 586, PT6 399.

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some inlaid originally with minute lions of gold; a twelve-petaled gold rosette;[337] a silver nail,[338] once perhaps used to fasten an inlay or ornamental sheet; a scale of red and green composition;[339] a curved wrought piece of red coral; a fragment of lapis lazuli which may have been part of a ring-shaped pot-stand once valued enough to be mended with lead wire; and another lapis lazuli object, ornamented with carved scrolls.[340] A ram's head of baked clay[341] is part of a figurine or a vessel handle, and a cream and gray mottled piece of calcareous stone (10 cm. long) reminds one of the claw of a heron or similar bird. Two stamp seals of limestone from the eastern part of the courtyard are similar in form and design.[342] It was significant to find a sketch slab of common gray Persepolis limestone engraved with the naturalistic design of a Greek figure (see p. 196).[343] There were four fragments of ornamental bronze sheets, three of which were parts of winged monsters[344] such as griffins or man-bulls. The fourth[345] appears to represent a variant of the winged disk symbol. Perhaps these objects had ornamented doors in combination with sheets of precious metals (see p. 159). The looters would have torn off any such decoration and discarded it after removal of the more desirable parts. The detritus of Courtyard 29 contained, further, some common pieces of hardware and utensils—one of the bronze "curtain rings" (see p. 160), one iron and one bronze clamp, a bronze punch, a handle(?) fragment of the same material, and a toggle pin of bone. As to remains of martial equipment, a tanged bronze arrowhead[346] of rare, perhaps foreign, type lay near the southwest corner of Portico 6. About twenty bronze arrowheads of common types and four horn-shaped bridle ornaments were scattered in the courtyard debris. Finally, two of the only three (abraded and illegible) fragments of cuneiform tablets found in the southern section of the Treasury occurred in this court.

After Courtyard 29 had lost its importance as the center of Treasury activities, the porticoes to the north, west, and south were converted into rooms. Only the eastern portico (6) retained its character as a columned porch open toward the court (Fig. 75 *B*). The shafts of the four columns have disappeared. They stood on stone bases composed of a round torus with one molding superimposed, as usual without mortar, on a square plinth (Fig. 72 *E*). Three of these bases are intact. The torus of the southernmost, however, lay inverted in the courtyard at a distance of 4 meters from the plinth. Noyes' architectural notes make no reference to masons' marks on the bases. The red-coated floor of Portico 6 is badly rutted and worn. At the court edge it forms a step 10 cm. high, which is reinforced with small stones. A similar step was constructed at the court edge of each of the other three porticoes. A scorched strip on the southern part of the east wall may have been caused by burning matter from Room 5 or Vestibule 30 (see Fig. 64). Very few objects were found in this portico. A small bronze rod with curved point and a perforation near its squared head may have been used as an awl. A silver coin of Croesus[347] lay at the doorless opening to Vestibule 7. In the southern part of the porch, not far from the stone sill of the doorway to Vestibule 30, we found a hemispherical gold button and an iron fragment (9 cm. long) coated with gold foil, which in shape resembles the leg of a kneeling person. There was also a chip of a limestone sculpture showing part of an eyebrow and some hair curls. It cannot serve as proof for the existence of sculptures such as the reliefs in two porticoes of Courtyard 17.

The northern portico of Courtyard 29 was balanced by an identical porch on the south. The stone bases of the four columns are almost identical with those of Portico 6 (cf. Fig. 72 *E*). The torus of the easternmost base was found inverted 1.30 m. to the west of the plinth. According to Haines the bases bear the masons' symbols sketched on Figure 71 *D*. Two thin walls abutting the northern and western walls of the portico converted it into a room (67), presumably used for storage, and a passage (28), which is described above. These secondary walls were built directly on the red-surfaced floor. A doorless opening in the southern wall connected the room with the courtyard. The excavation revealed that a large section (9.80 m. long and 1.10 m. high) of this flimsy wall had fallen northward into the room. This may have happened when the column shafts were removed, presumably by native pilferers. They were not destroyed by fire, for the extant remnants of the southern wall show no effect of burning. On the other hand, the northern and western walls of the room are scorched. Room 67 was almost completely sterile, leaving us without any clue as to its former contents. There were only two objects of bronze, a triangle with three perforations (perhaps part of a vessel handle) and a looped staple-like piece of wire with pointed ends.

The western portico of Courtyard 29 likewise was converted by thin secondary walls built directly on the red-surfaced floor into a room (70) and a passage (75). Three doorways with stone sills opened into the portico from vestibules at the south and north and a corridor at the west. In contrast to the other, shorter porches of the courtyard this portico had six columns. The bases, which definitely lack masons' marks, are almost identical with those of Portico 6 (see Fig. 72 *E*).

The secondary Room 70 includes the major part of the original portico and all its columns. The northern and western exits are described in connection with Room 65 and Corridor 69, to which they lead. A central opening in the east wall connects the room with Courtyard 29. The simple sill, whose top is 20 cm. above the floor, consists of unbaked bricks, once apparently lined on the west by one row of baked bricks, to judge by one preserved unit measuring 32 × 32 × 8 cm. A capstone in the northwest corner and two branches of the canal system running beneath the red-surfaced floor are described above (pp. 161–62). Room 70 must have contained a considerable amount of inflammable material, as shown by the traces of fire, especially pronounced on its eastern and southern walls. The tori of columns *B* and *C* (see Fig. 64) were spalled by the heat, and the plinth and torus of column *D* were chipped. There were also shapeless fragments of charred textile matter. Several dozens of stone beads of the same character as those scattered in Courtyard 29 (see p. 188) occurred in the debris, mostly in the southern section of the room, where, further, a roughly oval lead disk (8.7 × 8.1 × 1.2 cm.) and a small conical fragment of blue

337. PT6 388.
338. PT6 391.
339. PT6 712.
340. PT6 383.
341. PT6 598.
342. PT4 414 and PT4 321.
343. Identified as Heracles; PT6 595.
344. Cf. PT5 459.
345. PT6 413.
346. PT4 381.
347. PT3 411.

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composition were found. A small sculptured limestone fragment representing the rump of a couchant animal[348] occurred near the northern end.

The southern portico of Courtyard 29 was converted into a room (78) by one secondary wall built on the red-surfaced floor along the court edge. This wall is poorly preserved, but it seems certain that the doorway was near its eastern end. Here, 1.20 m. from the east wall of the room, a wall fragment four courses high shows a good coat of plaster, suggesting a jamb, although the usual greenish-gray surface coat is absent. The doorway straddles one of the drainage canals at the point where it disappears beneath the floor. One may assume that the otherwise open canal was covered in some manner in front of the doorway to facilitate traffic. The column bases are almost identical with those of Portico 6 (see Fig. 72 *E*). Two of the four bases are complete, but the tori of the two central columns are absent. We wonder whether in this case the two columns and their tori were intentionally removed after the secondary wall was constructed. Haines' sketch (Fig. 71 *C*) shows the masons' marks which appear on the tori of columns 1 and 4 and on the plinth of column 3. The plinth of column 2 is blank. The walls of the room were not affected by fire, although bits of charred fabric occurred in the southeastern corner. A fragment of a decorated bronze sheet representing part of a winged creature or of a winged disk symbol (cf. p. 189) may have ornamented the doorway leading to Vestibule 79. Again, as in Room 67, the finds give little evidence as to the nature of the contents. Two small solid gold nuggets of oval shape were found 50 cm. south of column 3. Fragments of half a bowl of baked clay[349] lay on the floor at the northern doorway. The debris contained, further, a biconoid bead of green composition, a curved rod of the same material in red and light green, a fragment of a serpentine plaque with traces of a loop design on the edge, three bronze arrowheads of the common socketed type, and a three-flanged, stemmed arrowhead of iron.[350]

VESTIBULE 66 AND ROOM 64

The architect who planned the second section of the Treasury copied quite closely the plan of the original building in respect to the arrangement of the rooms north of the courtyard complex (cf. Fig. 67 with Fig. 66 *B*). We have described the three passage rooms (27, 26, 24) connecting Courtyard 29 with the northern exit of the original building. These correspond to the suite of passage rooms (16, 15, 36) which led from Courtyard 17 to the northern exit of the second Treasury. Vestibule 23, the archive Room 33, and subsidiary Rooms 34–35 of the second section correspond to Vestibule 66, Room 64, and subsidiary Rooms 32*a*–*b*[351] of the first section.

The doorway leading from Courtyard 29 into Vestibule 66 has a stone sill whose top is 16 cm. above the level of the court and 6 cm. above the adjacent part of the floor of the vestibule. A hole in the floor at the northeast corner of the sill indicates the site of a socket stone. The edge of the sill which faces the hole (i.e., the door) is notched (Fig. 70 *J*; see p. 160). The edge turned toward the court is straight. Neither this doorway nor the doorless opening leading into Room 64 show traces of the fire which left its marks on the walls. The vestibule contained no objects whatsoever.

Two doorways in the north wall of Room 64 originally led into two subsidiary rooms, which were subsequently combined into one room (32; see p. 177). The removal of the wall separating the two rooms, the cutting of the doorway connecting Room 32 with Corridor 31, and the blocking of the doorways to Room 64 all happened presumably at the same time. The blocking walls were built directly on the red-surfaced floors, which are continuous between Rooms 64 and 32. Five columns supported the roof of Room 64. Their stone bases consist of a round torus with one molding (Fig. 72 *F*). Masons' marks are cut in their upper surfaces (Fig. 71 *B*). The bases were set before the floor was finished. In the course of time four of them have settled in the subfloor to such an extent that one third of each base is below floor level. The westernmost base has settled so deeply that little more than the top molding is visible. None of the bases were spalled by the conflagration which left its effect on the northern and southern walls and in the eastern corners (see Fig. 64).

If Room 64 was employed for archival purposes, as was its later counterpart, Room 33, it must have been thoroughly evacuated either by Treasury officials or by the conquerors, for not a single tablet was here found. The only object which might possibly have been associated with records is a fragment of a clay label bearing the remnants of a seal impression.[352] It lay on the floor in the southeast corner. There were indications that the room was used for the storage of jewelry and other valuables as well as military equipment. About two dozen beads and pendants of semiprecious stones and other materials suggest the original storage place of at least part of the jewelry found scattered in the courtyard (see p. 188). There was also a thin curved strip of gold. A gold ring[353] had been lost in the doorway to Vestibule 66, and two small pieces of gold foil with traces of *repoussé* patterns were in the center of the room. A fragment of a silver bracelet was found near the southern wall. A finely modeled frit inlay representing the head of the Egyptian god Bes[354] lay on the westernmost column base, and a small stone pendant in the form of an Egyptian sacred eye[355] was found on the floor in the southwestern corner. A bronze buckle cast in the form of a twenty-petaled rosette[356] was found on the same column base as the Bes head. As to military equipment, a horse bit of bronze was near the floor at the northwest corner of the doorway to Vestibule 66. Eleven arrowheads of bronze were in the northeastern debris of the room. A javelin head of bronze[357] cannot be attributed with certainty to Room 64 because it occurred in the debris on top of the northern wall. Finally, a fragmentary bronze cylinder (length, 14.6 cm.; diameter, 2 cm.) of problematical use lay near the northeast corner of the room. An off-center hole extends for some distance into one end of the object; the opposite end is solid.

VESTIBULE 77 AND ROOMS 81, 89, 90

In the original Treasury (Fig. 64 *B*) the rooms north of the court and those south of it are very similar in arrange-

348. PT6 379. 349. PT6 608. 350. Cf. PT3 370.

351. Later one room (32), which was linked with the second section of the Treasury (see p. 177).

352. Not published; apparently resembling impressions of seal No. 31 (see Vol. II, section on "Seal Impressions").

353. PT6 356. 354. PT6 359.

355. Cf. PT6 443. 356. Cf. PT3 34. 357. PT6 353.

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ment, with slight variations in size and system of circulation. The porticoes, as we mentioned above, and the vestibules to the east and west of them are symmetrical.

A doorway with a smoothed limestone sill connects Vestibule 77 with the courtyard. The top of the sill is about 20 cm. above the courtyard but only a few centimeters above the floor of the vestibule. A hole in the floor at the southwest corner of the doorway indicates the location of the pivoting device for the door. As usual the edge of the sill which faces the hole (i.e., the door) is notched (Fig. 70 *K;* see p. 160).

Vestibule 77 and all the other rooms of the suite under consideration show the effect of the fire which destroyed the inflammable parts of their contents—rejects, needless to say, and litter of the pillage. The objects found in Vestibule 77 may have been stored in Room 81 rather than in this small antechamber of the suite. A miniature lion of gold[358] had been lost or cached in the northeast corner of the room, where it was found on the floor. Near by was a small handle of a glass vessel, ornamented with a minute pellet of gold.[359] A bronze arrowhead of unusual type, provided with four barbs,[360] was found in the doorway leading to the courtyard.

A doorless opening connects Vestibule 77 with the main unit of its suite, namely Room 81. The drain running below the floor at its eastern end is described on page 162. The narrowness (3.70 m.) of the room eliminated the necessity for columns. Along the entire center of the room the red-coated floor was pitted and worn by use—a fact which suggests that the stores were kept along the walls at either side of a central passage. The western portion of the room may have been reserved for the storage of utilitarian objects. Near the southern wall lay a section of a tripod(?) grinding bowl of basalt[361] and a rectangular polisher or grinder (13.2 × 8.7 × 5 cm.) of smooth gray limestone with traces of red pigment on one narrow side. The debris of the room contained also a piece of an alabaster vessel, whose fragmentary cuneiform inscription suggests that its capacity was 1 *qa* 3 *akalu* (cf. p. 194).[362] A bent piece of thick lead wire (length, *ca* 15 cm.; diameter, 8 mm.) was near the center of the northern wall. We found no clues as to the nature of the other, principal, contents of the room, except jewelry. A small hoard of eight beads and spacers[363] of onyx, amethyst, carnelian, and other materials and a Neo-Babylonian stamp seal[364] lay on the floor near the center of the southern wall. Two onyx eye stones [365] were found near the north wall, roughly at the northwest corner of Plot IG 33. We have suggested above that the objects found in Vestibule 77, including a little gold lion, may have been taken from Room 81. The glass handle found there is our only, flimsy clue that glass vessels were stored somewhere in this suite of rooms. Finally, an iron strap buckle(?) with traces of gold foil[366] occurred in Room 81 near the doorway to Room 89.

This doorway probably was once a simple opening without special sill, and perhaps without a door, for beneath the sill of baked bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 7 cm.) is red-surfaced floor continuous with that of the adjacent rooms. When uncovered, the sill consisted of two rows of bricks. We do not know whether it once extended over the entire doorway floor. Its southern edge (Fig. 70 *M*) is notched (see p. 160), and a hole in the floor at the southwest corner of the doorway indicates the location of the missing door socket. There are five circular depressions in the floor of Room 89 (see Fig. 63). Three are directly at the southern wall, and two are 1.08 and .95 m. distant. Their diameters range from 8 to 17 cm. and their depths from 1 to 7 cm. There is no doubt that these depressions were caused by posts supporting a heavy weight. It is not known, however, whether they were erected to support a sagging roof, or whether they supported shelving or the like. Similar depressions were noticed in Room 87 (p. 196) and (larger ones) in the razed portion of the Treasury (see Fig. 67 and e.g. p. 199). A bronze "curtain ring," a fragmentary bronze disk (diameter, 6 cm.) with traces of a curvilinear pattern, and two onyx beads are the only finds from Room 89.

A doorless opening connects Rooms 89 and 90. For some reason the surface (bedrock?) beneath Room 90 had not been leveled. The floor rises 26 cm. from the eastern portion of Room 89 to the east end of Room 90. We found no clues as to the nature of the contents of the latter room. There was a piece of an iron clamp, and in the western half of the room occurred three of the bronze "curtain rings" (see p. 160).

VESTIBULE 79 AND ROOMS 82, 91

It is unlikely that the traffic between the southern portico of Courtyard 29 and these three small rooms was very intense. The stone sill of the connecting doorway was therefore ornamental rather than utilitarian. The top of the sill is 6 cm. above the floor of the vestibule and 15.5 cm. above that of the portico. Its eastern edge is notched (Fig. 70 *L*), but the floor at both eastern corners of the doorway is destroyed, so that there is no evidence of the socket device. We are uncertain, therefore, as to the pivoting point of the door. We assume, however, that it opened counterclockwise in order not to obstruct traffic (cf. Vestibule 76). Vestibule 79 was not affected by fire, and the only object found in its debris is a prehistoric potsherd (from near-by Tall-i-Bakun). The red-coated floor continues through the doorless openings which connected the three rooms under consideration. In Room 82, directly in front of the doorway to Room 91, the canal system of the courtyard had its outlet in a vertical floor drain (see pp. 161–62). Room 82, showing no effect of fire, contained only one object—a curved fragment of fluted gold sheet (4.4 × .6 cm.) folded over and filled with matter resembling bitumen. It may have ornamented the rim of a scabbard or the like. The southern wall of Room 91—part of the exterior wall of the Treasury—is preserved only to the level of the finished floor. Traces of scorching were noticed on the other walls of the room, but there were no objects to give clues as to its use.

APARTMENTS EAST OF COURTYARD 29 (VESTIBULE 7 AND ROOMS 8, 1, 2 AND 5, 3, 4; VESTIBULE 30 AND ROOMS 83, 71, 84, 92, 93)

Except for a small strip taken up by Ramp 25 and the underlying Passage 9, the eastern portion of the original Treasury was occupied by three separate apartments—

358. PT6 694. 359. PT6 695. 360. PT6 445. 361. PT6 452.

362. PT7 366. (1 *qa* = 10 *akalu* = 920.4 [±1] ml. [minimum]; see Vol. II, chapter on "Measures of Capacity.")

363. E.g. PT6 454*a*. 365. E.g. PT6 455.

364. PT6 453. 366. PT6 450.

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subsequently interconnected by doorless openings (cf. Fig. 66 *B* with Fig. 63)—which were linked with the eastern portico (6) of the courtyard by two vestibules (7 and 30). Each apartment consists of a columned room and two or four smaller subsidiary rooms. In the entire group the only clues suggesting the existence of doors were found at the vestibule doorways, which were protected and embellished by stone sills. There can be no doubt that all the other openings were doorless, or at best provided with curtains.

The northern and central apartments adjoin Vestibule 7, entered from Portico 6 through a doorless opening whose floor is continuous with the red-surfaced floors of the units which it links. However, the northern and eastern doorways of the vestibule, leading to the main rooms (8 and 5) of the two apartments, have stone sills. In each case the door swung into the main room, as indicated by a hole in the floor where the missing door socket had been. The walls of the vestibule show no effect of fire. There was no space for storage in this small passage room, and the Croesus coin found at the southern doorway (see p. 189) must have been lost when the adjoining rooms were looted.

Six columns in two rows supported the roof of the principal room (8) of the northern apartment. As usual the shafts have disappeared, but the well preserved stone bases were not disturbed during the destruction of the building. They were set before the red surface coat was applied to the floor. They consist of a round member only, topped by a double molding (Figs. 72 *C* and 81 *D*), an unusual feature which is repeated in Hall 62 only (see p. 198).

As to the contents of Room 8, there was apparently not much inflammable material, for we noticed no traces of scorching on the walls. However, one fire-blackened clay label lay on the floor between and south of the two northern column bases. The seal pattern twice impressed on this label[367] does not occur elsewhere. It is possible, that the label—and the problematical object to which it was attached—had been in this room since the time of the original Treasury, that is, the reign of Darius I. Other objects include the bezel of a signet ring of bronze;[368] some ornaments of gold, namely a ribbed bead,[369] a rosette fragment, and a minute cylindrical bead; an eye stone of onyx; and a few beads of stone and composition. Ornamental bronze sheets were also represented. Four fragments of winged beings or symbols occurred in the eastern part of the room. They may have decorated the southern door (cf. p. 159), in spite of the distance between find-spot and doorway. There was also a piece of a silver band (7 × 2.1 cm.) pierced by four nail holes. Somehow, a fragment of a limestone relief, showing part of the head of a Persian guard with fluted tiara, had strayed into the debris of this room. As to military equipment, there was only an iron arrowhead of unusual form—stemmed, with three flanges.[370] A silver coin[371] found on the floor may actually have been lost by one of the looters of the Treasury. Sydney P. Noe assigns it tentatively to Sysines, son of Datames, and to the decade (*ca.* 340–330 B.C.) prior to the conquest of Persepolis. Fragments of stone vessels found in debris from Plot HG 94 may be attributed to either Room 8 or Room 5.

367. PT4 255.

368. PT4 269.

369. PT4 319.

370. PT3 370.

371. PT4 257.

The red-coated floor of subsidiary Room 1 of the northern apartment is continuous with the floors of the main room (8) and the second subsidiary room (2). As mentioned above, doorless openings connect the units of each of the apartments. A small amount of matter had burned near the center of the eastern wall of Room 1. There is no clue as to its former contents, except, perhaps, for a single onyx eye stone found near the floor. One of the curious rosette slabs (cf. p. 262) of gray limestone was found at a considerable distance above the floor near the doorway to Room 2. It shows little more than half of the twelve-petaled central rosette, but it had been used in this form—presumably for some secondary purpose—as indicated by the smooth edge of the incomplete end. Our photograph of its find-spot (Fig. 81 *E*) shows the rosette stone beside the impression of its design left in the soil.

A fissure in the floor at both ends of the doorway between Rooms 2 and 3 gave Bolles the first clue suggesting that this opening did not exist in the original plan. On closer examination Haines later found underneath the doorway floor (Fig. 70 *B*) the base courses of a cut-off wall, with remains of the usual greenish-gray plaster on both faces. This proves that in the original Treasury the northern apartment was completely isolated from the central suite. It is disappointing that the vestiges of their former contents do not sufficiently explain the reason for the subsequent interconnecting of the three apartments (see p. 194).

Room 2, whose western wall was scorched by fire, contained only two objects—plain spindle whorls of baked clay and stone.[372] We do not regard these utensils of domestic character as clues for determining the purpose of the room.

The central apartment (Rooms 5, 3, 4) originally was accessible only from the complex of Courtyard 29, through the eastern doorway of Vestibule 7 (described above). Room 5 is the principal unit of this apartment. Its roof was carried by a north-south row of five columns, whose shafts have disappeared. The stone bases consist of a torus with one molding (Fig. 72 *B*). Some had sunk deeply into the floor, and the central base was found about a meter southwest of its original position. The floor of Room 5 was badly rutted and worn by use. During the destruction of the building, stores or evacuation litter piled up in the southern half of the room fed the fire which scorched the walls. The doorless opening into subsidiary Room 3 is also discolored by fire.

The rejected or lost scraps of the booty which we found in Room 5 form an odd assortment. Weapons and other military accouterments include an iron dagger hilt(?) with remnants of gold foil,[373] a bridle ornament of limestone, and a strap buckle of bronze. Jewelry is represented by some small gold objects—part of a rosette or the like, once filled cloisonné fashion with other matter, three buttons, and a rectangle with ridged top. There were beads of various materials, a fragment of a finger ring of bronze,[374] and an onyx eye stone. As to sculptured objects, a small carved or molded fragment of blue composition was found near the doorway to Vestibule 7. Its pattern shows a segment of a circle or ellipsis with radiating petals.[375] A fragment of an ornamental bronze sheet, representing a

372. PT3 237 and PT3 253.

373. PT4 50.

374. PT4 38.

375. Similar to petals of PT4 51.

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part of a winged bull or the like, was in the eastern portion of the room. Even so, it may have decorated the western door (cf. p. 159). A tubular fragment of blue composition was probably part of a votive cylinder. At least some pieces of royal tableware must have been kept in the central apartment. A fragment of a black and white agate plate or bowl lay in the center of Room 5, and one sherd each of a lapis lazuli platter and a dark green stone bowl were uncovered near the southwest corner and at the western doorway respectively. Five more fragments of stone vessels occurred in debris from Plot HG 94 and may be attributed either to Room 5 or to Room 8. There were, finally, some pieces of bronze, including a vessel handle and a tack with gold-plated head, the latter well suited for the fastening of ornamental metal sheets.

In Room 3 the jambs of the western doorway are discolored, and one patch on the eastern wall shows the effect of fire. It is possible that layers of charred wood, starting about a meter above the floor, have relation to the same conflagration. If so, parts of the walls must have buckled and crumbled before the burning roof collapsed. As explained above, the doorway to Room 2 is secondary. Very similar alterations (cf. Fig. 70 *B*) were made in the wall which originally separated Rooms 3 and 4 (see Fig. 66 *B*). In the first Treasury, Room 3 was connected solely with Room 5.

In Room 3 we uncovered one significant object, a diorite weight of 120 karsha with a trilingual inscription of Darius (I).[376] It occurred near the doorway to Room 2 at the puzzling height of 1 meter above the floor (Fig. 81 *A*), roughly coinciding with the bottom of the charcoal layers referred to above. It must therefore have been kept at an elevated spot—in a wall niche, on a shelf, or on the roof. It is reasonable to assume that it had been kept within this room, which is a short distance only from Portico 6, the most logical place for its use. Its occurrence gives greater significance to the central apartment than is suggested by the other objects here found. It is well to remember that another Darius weight stone uncovered in the Treasury occurred in the important archive Room 33 (see p. 174), which is near Courtyard 17.[377] Except for two beads,[378] Room 3 contained no other objects.

The doorless opening in the western wall of Room 4 was originally its only means of access, since the doorway to Room 84, like that to Room 3, is secondary (cf. Fig. 70 *B*). Room 4 shows no traces of scorching, and it was entirely sterile as to traces of its former stores.

The southern of the two vestibules symmetrically flanking Portico 6 leads to the southern apartment only. Therefore its principal doorway, provided with a stone sill and originally a door, faces the portico, whereas a plain doorless opening leads from the portico to the northern vestibule (7), whose principal doorways, marked by stone sills, open into the main rooms of the northern and central apartments. A socket stone at the southwest corner of the doorway to Vestibule 30 indicates that the door swung into this room. A violent fire scorched the walls of the entire room, including the jambs of the portico doorway and of the doorless opening into Room 83; but there were no remnants of objects to give a clue as to the nature of the material destroyed by the flames.

Two doorways without sills and doors connect the main room (83) of the southern apartment with pairs of subsidiary rooms on the east (71 and 84) and south (92–93). The red-surfaced floor of Room 83, pitted and worn especially in the center, is continuous with the floors of the adjacent units. The roof of the almost square room was carried by four columns standing on stone tori with one molding (Fig. 72 *D*). The bases are preserved in their original locations, but the two northern tori are chipped, perhaps spalled by fire. They resemble closely the bases of Room 64; but they were carved by different artisans, as indicated by masons' marks cut in the flat top surfaces (cf. Fig. 71 *A* with Fig. 71 *B*). We were puzzled by bits of plaster with traces of red and blue paint found east of the opening into Vestibule 30. There are no traces of color on the faces of the doorway, such as were found in the Courtyard 17 complex (see Fig. 68 *B*), and no remnants of colored plaster occurred near the column bases. However, since parts of painted plaster decoration apparently were preserved under favorable circumstances only, the few small fragments from Room 83 may be remnants of a mural, perhaps a frieze, or of a detached object of unknown nature. Again, they may be vestiges of decoration of the column shafts, or of the near-by doorway, or, least plausibly, of the ceiling. There had been a large amount of combustible material in Room 83, for all walls show the effect of fire. A fragment of charred wood about 10 cm. in diameter, perhaps part of a lintel, lay near the southwest corner, that is, close to the entrance to Room 92.

The range of objects uncovered in Room 83 is even more varied than that in the main room (5) of the central apartment. Both rooms contained remnants of military equipment, jewelry, and small sculptures. In addition to these categories, there were in Room 83 some coins, two weights(?), a fragment of a vessel with mark of capacity, some nondomestic receptacles, and a seal cylinder. On the other hand, remains of royal tableware were here absent.

The remnants of martial equipment are not numerous enough to mark Room 83 or any of its subsidiary chambers as storerooms for weapons. However, a limited quantity of such objects must have been kept in this apartment. There were three horn-shaped bridle ornaments of calcareous stone, two of which lay in the northern portion of the room. The socket of an iron spearhead was found at the northeast corner of the southern doorway, and three bronze arrowheads and one of iron were scattered in the debris. Remains of jewelry include nine minute gold buttons, found mainly in the center of the room; a lozenge-shaped gold bead; and, in the eastern doorway, an elaborate globular bead of gold with inlaid sectors of turquoise and lapis lazuli.[379] There were, further, some beads of turquoise, amethyst, lapis lazuli,[380] and glass; two onyx eye stones; a bronze pin;[381] and fragments of bone pins.[382] Sculpture is represented by fragments of bronze sheets. Here again, as in many other instances, the wings only of problematical creatures or objects are preserved (see p. 159). A fragment of a heavy bronze band to which one wing is attached[383] lay near the southern wall. Another

376. PT3 283; see Vol. II and *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 43.

377. Two fragments of inscribed weight stones, apparently of the same type, occurred in Rooms 15 and 16 (see p. 175), which are equally close to Court 17.

378. E.g. PT3 287.

379. PT6 651.

380. PT6 657.

381. PT6 457.

382. PT6 658 and PT6 652.

383. PT6 664.

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wing was in the northwest corner of the room. A small piece of bronze shaped like the leg and hoof of an animal was in the east doorway. Bone or ivory objects carved in the shape of leaves[384] occurred in the southwest corner of the room, together with a pierced piece of a corrugated bronze band. There is little doubt that the decorated sheets and bands of bronze had been fastened to wooden objects such as doors, boxes, or pieces of furniture by means of ornamental nails represented by a bronze nail capped with gold[385] and perhaps by an iron nail with large hemispherical head.[386] On the other hand, rows of such oversized nails could have formed ornamental borders on doors or the like. A well carved cylinder seal[387] occurred a meter above the floor in the northwest part of the room. Two of the three silver coins cannot be definitely classified. One may be a Croesus stater, the other an Athenian tetradrachm. The third coin,[388] found in the southwest corner of the room, is a half-stater of the time of Croesus (561–546 B.C.). An alabaster sherd,[389] one of the only two definable fragments of vessels from the Treasury with indication of capacity, lay at the east wall. Its cuneiform legend mentions 9 *akalu*, that is, apparently 4 *akalu* less than the capacity of the specimen from Room 81 (see p. 191). Two lead disks,[390] found in the eastern doorway and in the center of the room respectively, were probably used as weights. Pieces of two cylindrical receptacles of problematical use occurred in the southwest part of the room—a yellowish-tan frit(?) cup (height, 2.5 cm.; diameter, 3.5 cm.) and a heavy crushed bronze cup (crucible[?]; height, 8 cm.; diameter, 5.5 cm.). Some metal objects conclude the list of finds from Room 83—a bronze disk with one shank, a bronze buckle,[391] a tack[392] and a punch(?) of bronze, and an iron spike (9 cm. long) with oblong head.

Winter floods sweeping down from the slope to the east destroyed the southeast corner of the Treasury inclosure except for the lowermost courses, so that the remnant of the east wall of Room 71 drops in height from 2.10 m. at the northern doorway to within 5 cm. of the floor in the center. The room shows no signs of scorching, but charcoal was found in the debris. With the possible exception of six iron armor scales from the southern part of the room, objects here found apparently were washed in with the detritus from the east and have no relation to the building or the room. A prehistoric flint flake no doubt had been accidentally imbedded in building material, and two thin corroded silver disks may be Sasanian coins which strayed here from a surface layer.

The fire-blackened walls of Room 84 indicate that there had been combustible material of some sort, but we have no clues as to the specific contents and use of the room. It is not impossible that a small fragment of a lead bar fluted diagonally and covered with gold foil[393] was part of some piece of furniture. A gold-capped bronze nail found in the northern doorway could have been employed in many decorative ways (see above).

The southern doorway of the main room (83) is the only connection with the second pair of subsidiary rooms (92–93) of the southern apartment. Only a few base courses of their southern walls, that is, the Treasury inclosure, are preserved. The remaining walls show the effect of fire. As to the contents of the two rooms, there were only simple pieces of hardware. Within a radius of 2 meters from the northern doorway of Room 92 occurred fragments of a spike (14 cm. long) and a clamp of iron and one of the "curtain rings" of bronze. A looped bronze wire resembling a vessel handle lay on the floor of the doorway connecting the two rooms. Finally, for the sake of curiosity, we may mention an Islamic silver coin found in rubble—1.50 m. above the floor of Room 93—which had filled the core of the fortification wall to the east before it was washed downhill by floods.

As to the use of the three apartments east of the courtyard complex, we do not believe that any of the rooms served domiciliary purposes, for instance as living quarters of the treasurer, in spite of the possibility that all traces of erstwhile residential use could have been removed during a later phase of the building. We assume that the three separate apartments had been used for the storage of distinct groups of goods or treasures. The secondary doorways cut through dividing walls to interconnect the three suites indicate a change in the character of this complex. The desire to facilitate circulation must have been due to an increase in traffic, which in turn was probably caused by a change in the contents of the apartments. We do not know the nature of the stores which were kept in this group of suites during the initial phase of the Treasury. However, there is good reason to believe that the numerous inscribed tablets of the time of Darius I (see pp. 40–41) found in the northeastern part of the fortification had once been stored in the Treasury, that is, according to their date, in the original, southern section of the building. A certain number of these tablets may well have been kept in a portion at least of the complex under consideration (see also Room 64; p. 190) before they were discarded when the area of Courtyard 17 became the administrative center of the building. There are only a few finds suggesting a reason for increased activities and circulation in the apartments under consideration, namely the weights found in Rooms 3 and 83 and, possibly, the vessel fragment with indication of capacity also uncovered in Room 83. Again, these objects may have been in use in this part of the building from its earliest phase.

ROOMS 65, 75, 76, 80, 88

In the original Treasury (Fig. 66 *B*) Room 65 was a vestibule linking Hall 62 with Courtyard 29, the center of administrative activities at the time. The western doorway of this room was blocked with a mud-brick wall, probably after the addition of the northern section of the building, that is, during its third and final phase, and Hall 62 was closed to traffic from the eastern portion of the southern section. At the same time doorways were cut through the north and south walls of Room 58, linking Hall 62 with Hall 41 (see p. 197), and the vestibule was turned into a storage chamber. The doorway connecting Room 70 with the erstwhile vestibule is provided with a stone sill, whose top is 8 cm. above the adjacent floors. Notches in its northern edge (Fig. 70 *F*) and a hole in the floor at the northeast corner of the doorway indicate that the door swung into Room 65. The blocking wall referred to above fills only

384. E.g. PT6 662.
385. PT6 638.
386. PT6 648.
387. PT6 673.
388. PT6 610.
389. PT7 367.
390. PT6 649 and PT6 640.
391. PT6 666.
392. PT4 492.
393. PT6 613.

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half the western doorway, leaving a niche 75 cm. in depth. There are no traces of scorching on the walls of the room, and its debris contained only one object—a fragment of a plain bronze bracelet.[394]

When the western portico of Courtyard 29 was converted into a room (70), a narrow strip was left to form a passage (75), open toward the court but undoubtedly covered by the original portico roof. The traffic funneled from Courtyard 29 through this passage to the rooms south of it and to Hall 73 damaged the floor. The eastern half had to be refloored, including the courtyard edge, which was therefore found to be in good condition at this point (Fig. 70 *D*). There were no objects in this passage. The southern wall shows marks of fire, which can be traced through the adjoining vestibule (76) to Hall 73 (see Fig. 64).

Originally Vestibule 76 was not connected with Room 80 but was solely an antechamber of Hall 73 (see Fig. 66 *B*). A doorless opening gave access to the hall, whereas the doorway to the western portico of Courtyard 29 had a door which swung against the notched edge of the stone sill (Fig. 70 *I;* see p. 160). A hole in the floor at the southeast corner of the doorway marks the site of the pivoting device, missing as in most other instances. The top of the sill is 6 cm. above the adjoining floors. The floor of the doorless opening to Room 80 shows the lower courses of the original mud-brick wall. In this case, instead of being surfaced with the usual brown-red finish, the floor was coated with the greenish-gray plaster[395] otherwise used for walls only. It is doubtful whether any stores were kept in this vestibule, but its walls are scorched, presumably because of the burning of material brought here from Hall 73 or from the rooms to the south. The debris contained an Egyptian sacred eye pendant[396] and a few fragments of decorated bronze sheets, one of which has the shape of an animal leg. We have suggested that such ornamental sheets may have been applied to doors (see p. 159); appropriately, the pieces under consideration occurred in the northern doorway of the vestibule.

In order to make Rooms 80 and 88 more directly accessible from Courtyard 29, the secondary doorway was opened between Vestibule 76 and Room 80, whereas the doorway originally connecting the latter with Room 74 was walled up. There is no indication that any of the doorways of Rooms 80 and 88 had doors. The walls of Room 80 show no effect of fire, whereas those of Room 88 are slightly scorched. Except for jewelry, there are no clues as to the former contents. Thirty-three beads of onyx, amethyst, and carnelian and an onyx eye stone occurred in the doorway between the two rooms, and six additional beads were in the northeast corner of Room 80. A black bitumen(?) cylinder,[397] probably a bead, was found imbedded in the west wall of Room 88.

HALL 73

We believe that this hall could be entered only through Vestibule 76, which linked it with Courtyard 29. During the initial phase of the building (Fig. 66 *B*) Hall 73 was connected on the west with an almost identical hall (98) which was razed when Xerxes' Harem was constructed. Originally Hall 73 extended farther to the west, and its roof was carried by twenty-four columns. During the alteration, the westernmost row of four columns was removed, and the western portion of the hall was made into a separate room (72). The partition wall, that is, the final western wall of the hall, covered the holes left in the floor after the removal of the column bases. To be sure, only a small remnant of this wall is preserved; but the outline of the broken floor gives sufficient evidence for the locations of the missing bases.

The final plan of the hall (see Fig. 63) shows twenty columns. These stood on gray limestone bases, composed of a torus and a plinth (Figs. 72 *G* and 74 *B*), which closely resemble those of Halls 38 and 41. Masons' marks appear on the upper surfaces of most of these stones (Fig. 71 *E*[398]). Stone-pilferers of later times removed eight tori and one plinth. The situation in Hall 62 (see below) proves that only the poor preservation of the bases of Hall 73 kept the pilferers from taking the rest. All the remaining stones, except for one complete plinth, had been broken or chipped by fire. There is a possibility that the column shafts were decorated in the same fashion as those of the later halls (see p. 160), for a few pieces of painted plaster were found in the center of the southern portion of the hall. However, neither the original shape nor the design could be determined.

The pattern of refloored strips in the hall (see Fig. 63) marks the lanes of major circulation and indicates that objects had been stored or exhibited between the columns of the east-west rows and along the eastern and northern walls. The refloored area extends with irregular southern outline from the northern doorway of Vestibule 76 through its western opening, then forms a lane between the easternmost columns of Hall 73 and its east wall, and forks westward in four bays north of row *D*. The western ends of the repaired strips are unknown because of the poor preservation of the floor in that area. The patching, varying in thickness from .5 to 3 cm., was laid directly on the original floor.

Two wall fragments uncovered in the northeast corner of the hall reminded us of the two pieces of walls found in Room 33 (see pp. 173 f.). Those in the hall were one brick thick (32 × 32 × 11 cm.) and without the usual grayish-green plaster facing. Both fragments stood on the finished floor, and one abutted the eastern wall. They belonged to the upper parts of the adjacent walls, or perhaps to a small "attic room" such as we postulated in the case of Room 33.

No other units of the final Treasury show any partitions such as the alcoves (2 m. wide and 3.10 m. deep) occupying the southern part of Hall 73 (see Fig. 74 *A–B*) and originally duplicated in the razed hall (98) west of it (see Fig. 66 *B*). However, the five niches of the original outer inclosure left unfilled in the southern wall of Hall 41 (p. 178) may well have served the same purpose as the five alcoves (*a–e*) in Hall 73—perhaps the storage and display of treasures of particular value and beauty.

The discolored, even partially baked, wall surfaces and the spalled column bases of Hall 73 give the same picture of destruction by a violent conflagration as that shown by Hall 41 and other parts of the building. Here again, except

394. PT6 373.

395. See p. 260 for floor surfacing of the same color in the west wing of the Harem.

396. PT6 443. 397. PT7 369.

398. Where the tori are preserved *in situ* Haines copied the masons' marks of the tori only. Where the tori are missing, the marks shown on the sketch appear on the plinths.

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for the wooden parts of the columns and the roof, we do not know the specific nature of the objects which were consumed by the flames.

The later halls, 41 and 38, were incomparably richer in remnants of their former wealth than Halls 73 and 62 (see below), which, together with the subsequently razed halls to the west, had once displayed the treasures of Darius the Great. To be sure, most of the contents of the razed units (see Fig. 67) must have been transferred to the newly constructed Hall 38 and its subsidiary rooms. However, this latest section of the building is considerably smaller than the razed parts (see Fig. 66 *A*). Hence per area the new section had to accommodate a greater quantity of stores, which were augmented, furthermore, by objects of the reigns of Xerxes—royal tableware for instance—and his successors (cf. p. 200). One should assume that some of the contents of the neighboring halls to be destroyed were transferred to Halls 73 and 62. The fact remains, however, that the latter contained few remnants of their stores. In part this must be due to the shallowness of the protective layer of detritus, which in Hall 73 sloped from a height above the floor of 1.55 m. on the east to only 25–70 cm. in the obliterated western portion. The depth of soil above Hall 62 was 1.30 m. on the east and 40–65 cm. on the west, whereas Hall 41 was protected by an accumulation of detritus averaging east to west 2.50–1.80 m. in depth. Hall 38 was still more deeply buried beneath a deposit of crumbled walls and other decayed matter.

The shallowness of the soil layer above the southwestern portion of the building facilitated the work of stone-pilferers who, of course, combined their activities with treasure hunting. This accounts in part at least for the relative sterility of Halls 73 and 62. Only in remnants of jewelry does Hall 73 compare favorably with otherwise more fertile units of the Treasury. Not less than two hundred and eighty-three beads and spacers,[399] mostly wrought of semiprecious stones, occurred in the vicinity of column *B*2 (for location see Fig. 64) between the floor and a level 20 cm. above it. About fifty more were found scattered in the eastern portion of the hall. An elaborate gold pendant[400] lay near column *A*5. The five alcoves, which presumably sheltered especially valued treasures, yielded only one object—a gold-coated bronze button found in *a*. Two buttons of gold[401] and two onyx eye stones occurred in the detritus of the hall. A thin perforated strip of gold (6.1 × .9 × .02 cm.), ornamented with a row of faint concentric circles, was found between columns *A*2 and *B*2. Such bands and other delicate fragments or ornamental units—rosettes for instance—may be remnants of decoration of boxes, furniture, and the like. One of the frequent wing-shaped bronze fragments also occurred in Hall 73.

The original storage place of a sketch slab with the Greek graffito of Heracles, found in Courtyard 29 (see p. 189), is suggested by fragments of four dark gray limestone slabs of similar nature from Hall 73. Some of these fragments show simple geometric patterns. Pieces of three slabs were near the surface—about 1.50 m. above the floor—between columns *C*2 and *D*1. They had probably been dug up during the trenchings of stone-pilferers. Parts of the fourth specimen lay on the base of column *D*1, whose torus and plinth both had been spalled by fire.

399. E.g. PT6 436, PT6 696, PT6 677*Ga–b*.

A small clay label bearing a unique stamp seal impression with a Greek pattern[402] occurred between columns *C*1 and *C*2. This object can therefore be attributed with a greater degree of probability to the reign of Darius than to the time of later rulers. The same conclusion must be drawn in respect to many other objects found in the southern section of the building. Another example of glyptic, a stamp seal,[403] was found west of the doorway to Room 74.

The almost complete absence of weapons shows that Hall 73 and its subsidiary rooms were not used for the storage of military equipment. One iron dagger blade (25.8 × 4.3 × .9 cm.) lay on the floor close to the find-spot of the stamp seal. There were, finally, some tools and pieces of hardware, including an iron spade,[404] two bronze "curtain rings," an S-shaped lead hook, and two pieces of bronze bands joined by a bronze rivet.

SUBSIDIARY SUITES OF HALL 73
(ROOMS 74, 87 AND 72, 85, 86)

Room 74 was a passage or vestibule linking Hall 73 with Rooms 87 and 80 before its doorway to the latter room was blocked. This alteration permitted storage of goods in the eastern and western recesses of the room, leaving a central passage from the hall to Room 87. Neither the northern opening—which is as wide (2.00 m.) as the alcoves to the west—nor the southern ever had a door. The doorways to Rooms 80 and 87 show a feature otherwise encountered in openings cut through existing walls only. Beneath the red-finished floor there are mud bricks suggesting the lower courses of walls. Since there were no other openings leading to the two rooms (the doorway between Rooms 80 and 76 is later), these bricks must have been laid before it was decided where the doorways should be located. No objects occurred in Room 74, which shows some traces of fire.

Depressions in the floor of Room 87 resemble those in Room 89 (p. 191) and resulted undoubtedly from the same cause, that is, posts supporting a weakened roof or shelves carrying heavy objects. Two holes, about 15 cm. in diameter and 12 cm. deep, are 1.08 m. from the southern wall. A third depression, directly at the southern wall and in line with one of the others, measures 10 cm. in diameter and 5 mm. in depth. There is no break in the floor where one would expect a fourth depression. The walls of Room 87 show traces of burning, but the only object here found is a fragmentary side bar of a horse bit of bronze.

Only the southern portion of Room 72 is preserved (see Fig. 63). Hardly noticeable remnants of jambs (5 cm. high) mark a doorway to Hall 73. An opening without indications of a door connects Room 72 with the two other rooms (85–86) of this subsidiary suite of the hall. We have reconstructed Room 72 as one long unit which has no connection with Room 68 at the north (see Fig. 65). Examining the floor of the preserved portion, Haines determined the wall lines[405] of a small room or vestibule which originally balanced Room 74 (see Figs. 66 *B* and 70 *C*). He also found that the southern doorway of this vestibule and its western wall had been about 75 cm. farther east than the southern doorway in the final plan of Room 72 and its

400. PT6 435.

401. E.g. PT6 708.

402. PT6 441.

403. PT6 439.

404. Cf. PT3 343.

405. Traces of walls a few centimeters high, in spots retaining the original plaster.

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western wall, that is, the final exterior wall of the building. Except for a fragment of an iron horse bit and an abraded clay label, no object occurred in the shallow debris layer covering Room 72. The effect of fire was noticed in its southwestern corner.

Room 85, in the southwestern corner of the final building, was originally part of Room 86. The partition wall, cut by a doorway, was built on the red floor surface at the time when the original west wall of Room 86 was replaced by the exterior wall of the final Treasury 75 cm. to the west (see Room 72). The red floor surface in the eastern portion of Room 85 was almost completely worn off by use. There were no objects to furnish clues as to the contents of this room, and the low remnants of its walls (see Fig. 75 *A*) show no effect of fire.

The walls of Room 86 too reveal no signs of discoloration by heat; but its debris contained a large amount of black ashes. Not less than seven of the bronze "curtain rings"[406] occurred within a small area at the center of the northern wall, between the floor and 10 cm. above it. Traces of wood on the flanges and in one case inside the tube show that they had been attached to a wooden object and apparently strung on a rod of wood (see p. 160). On the floor near by lay a fragment of a simple bowl of baked clay.[407] A signet ring of bronze with faint traces of a design was in the southwest corner. Finally, two clamps, one of bronze[408] and one of iron, were found in the eastern portion of the room.

CORRIDOR 69 AND ROOM 68

In our reconstruction of the final plan (Fig. 65) this long corridor, connecting Room 70 and the small Room 68 without giving access to the neighboring halls (73 and 62), does not make much sense. However, a glance at Figure 66 *B* will show that this corridor originally was one of a row of passageways which extended through the entire subsequently razed western portion of the first Treasury and connected the complex of Courtyard 29 with the (postulated) western entrance to the building (see p. 199).

The doorway leading from the corridor to Room 70 is provided with a stone sill, whose top is 6 cm. above the adjacent floors. The door opened clockwise into the corridor, as indicated by the position of an iron socket (Fig. 70 *Q*), one of the few specimens preserved. It consists of a cruciform base, from which flares the upper square-topped part with central pivoting hole. Its top is 18 cm. below the level of the floor, whose finished red surface slopes down to the level of the socket. The resulting circular floor depression was repaired by a second red-surfaced layer of concrete. That edge of the stone sill which faces the socket is notched in the usual manner (Fig. 70 *H;* see p. 160). There is a slight possibility that the doorway had some painted decoration, for a small fragment of plaster with traces of blue paint was found 4 meters to the west.

The walls at the west end of the corridor have disintegrated, but enough flooring remains so that the northern and southern walls can be traced beyond their present ends. The gap between the present west end of the northern wall and the reconstructed southwest corner of Hall 62 is not wide enough for a doorway, and we found no clue suggesting a doorway to Hall 73. There is no doubt as to the reconstructed west wall and its doorway to Room 68 (Fig. 65). Two large stones lie at the points of abutment of this wall, that is, at the northwest and southwest corners of the corridor. Both stones are 3 cm. below the floor level. Their tops are smoothed, but 10 cm. below its top the northern stone (2.45 m. long and .90 m. wide) has an unsmoothed projection which extends beyond the line of the northern wall. The southern stone measures about 1.75 m. in length and 1.00 m. in width. The course of a drainage canal (see pp. 161–62) running parallel to the north wall and about 40 cm. south of it is marked by a noticeable depression in the floor where the latter bridges the drain.

There is no doubt that Corridor 69 was used as a storeroom after the western portion of the Treasury had been razed. A central passage had to be left open, of course, to give access to Room 68. Apparently there was not much combustible material. At any event, the well preserved lower courses of the walls in the eastern part of the corridor show no effect of fire. Only a few objects were here found. A gold pendant[409] and a strip of gold cloisonné with fritlike inlay[410] from the western part of the corridor are perhaps remnants of jewelry once kept in the secluded Room 68. A bronze arrowhead of infrequent type[411] was found near by. The central and eastern parts of the corridor, although protected by a deeper layer of detritus, were sterile except for one small unit of inlay work—a biconvex disk of red composition (5 × 3 mm.)—which occurred in the northeast corner.

Two bits of floor, in the northwestern and southeastern corners, gave the clues for the dimensions of Room 68, which is reconstructed in Figure 65. A fragmentary wall on the north indicates that there was no access to Room 61. We do not believe that Room 68 was connected with Room 72, and we could not discover any clue—such as a hole left after removal of a stone sill or of a door socket—suggesting the existence of a western entrance to the Treasury, which one might have expected at this point. There were no objects in the area of Room 68.

HALL 62

In the first phase of the Treasury this hall extended farther to the west, its western wall being aligned with the corresponding wall of Hall 73 to the south (Fig. 66 *B*). Hall 62 was connected at the west with an identical hall (95), exactly as Hall 73 was balanced by a hall (98) of the same dimensions. Originally thirty-six columns in rows of six carried the roof of Hall 62.

Presumably during the third and final phase of the building (Fig. 63) Hall 62 was closed to traffic in the southern section of the Treasury by the blocking of the doorway to Room 65 (p. 194) and turned into an annex of Hall 41 with the opening of a passage through Room 58.

During the razing of the western portions of the first and second sections of the Treasury the western wall of Hall 62 and all the other walls aligned with it also were removed, to make room for the final Treasury inclosure laid out 75–80 cm. farther west than the destroyed walls. The westernmost row of six columns in Hall 62 was eliminated, and the western strip of the hall was made into a separate room (61) whose east wall stands on the holes left after the removal of the column bases.

406. E.g. PT6 459.

407. PT6 701.

408. PT6 461.

409. PT6 376.

410. PT6 432.

411. PT6 377.

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In its final form Hall 62 had thirty columns. Their shafts may have been incased in painted plaster shells, as suggested by one curved fragment of plaster found near the hole left by the base of column *A*3. Its decoration, however, is obliterated. Stone-pilferers were exceptionally thorough in this area. Only two bases remain—*C*1 and *D*1, which have masons' marks carved in their top surfaces (Fig. 71 *F*). Both bases had settled deeply. The top of *C*1 is about 30 cm. below floor level, that of *D*1 a few centimeters above. The latter specimen is a gray limestone torus with two moldings (Fig. 72 *H*), resembling the bases of Room 8. The floor, with its red surface coat, is in good condition except for the holes left by the column bases. There are three doorways, none of which gives any clue as to the former existence of a door. Only the eastern doorway, connecting the hall with Room 63, was part of the original plan (Fig. 66 *B*). The northern doorway was cut later to link Halls 62 and 41. The western doorway, finally, connects Hall 62 with Room 61, which did not exist prior to the third and last phase of the building. The original doorway to Room 65 was blocked (see p. 194), as was that to Room 59. Traffic to the latter room was routed through Rooms 63 and 60.

We have referred to the shallowness of the layer of detritus above the two extant treasure halls of the original building (see p. 196). Hall 62 was not affected by fire. Its column bases were therefore well preserved and encouraged stone-pilferers to intensive trenchings, during which the entire debris soil in this area must have been turned. Obviously many objects rejected or lost during the looting of the Treasury disappeared during such digging. The find-spots of some of the remaining objects indicate, or at least suggest, that they had been stored in subsidiary rooms. All remnants of gold occurred in the northeast corner of the hall. Two hollow gold beads, one spheroid, the other biconvex, lay in the doorway to Room 63. A decorated gold strip, a gold rosette inlaid with turquoise, and a spool-shaped bead of red composition were found near the same spot.[412] In the doorway to Room 61 there was a turquoise disk (3 × .5 cm.) with beveled edge. A bronze socket[413] for a problematical device lay on the floor at the southeast corner of the same opening, and near by occurred a signet ring of bronze with indistinct sealing pattern.[414] Scattered objects include three eye stones of onyx,[415] bronze "curtain rings," two curved pieces of blue composition, and a stray fragment from the chest of a stone bull capital.

SUBSIDIARY SUITES OF HALL 62 (ROOMS 58, 61 AND 63, 60, 59)

When Hall 62 was altered, the west wall and the southern doorway of Room 58 (see Fig. 66 *B*) were moved 80 cm. to the west (see Fig. 63). Openings 1.00 m. wide were cut through the northern and southern walls of this room to form a passageway between Halls 62 and 41, the only means of access to Hall 62 after the blocking of the doorway to Room 65. The northern doorway of Room 58 was provided with a door, as indicated by a small socket stone found *in situ* (Fig. 70 *S*). The smoothness of its pivoting hole suggests frequent use. Patch lines in the plaster floors of the various doorways are marked on Figure 63. The walls of Room 58 show no traces of scorching. A fragment of a gray limestone horn lay in the northeast corner, and a folded lead band was found in the debris.

In the northern part of Room 61 a fissure in the floor plaster indicates the course of the original west wall of Hall 62. The patch line turns eastward into the doorway to the hall and disappears beneath its southern jamb. The entire southern half of Room 61 had evidently been refloored. Its east wall, as mentioned above, stands on the depressions left after the removal of the western row of columns in Hall 62. Room 61 contained combustible objects, as shown by its scorched walls (see Fig. 64), but there is no clue as to their nature. The room was sterile as to finds.

Originally Room 59 was connected solely with Hall 62, but subsequently the doorway linking the two units was blocked and circulation to Room 59 was routed through Rooms 63 and 60 by means of a newly-cut opening in its east wall. We can suggest one reason only for this change, namely to make Room 59 more secluded and to use it for storage of objects which were not in frequent demand. On the other hand, none of the doorways in this suite give any indication of having had a door. The blocking wall in the southern doorway of Room 59 is only 75 cm. thick. Thus, the remaining portion of the opening forms a niche 1.10 m. in depth. The secondary doorway in the east wall was cut carelessly, expanding from 72 to 90 cm. in width. Patch lines separate the floor of the doorway from the floors of the adjacent rooms. There are no indications of fire in any of the three rooms of the suite.

A gold bead,[416] the only object from Room 59, occurred in the niche of the blocked doorway. This bead is perhaps a remnant of great quantities of objects of precious metals kept in the secluded room. It is possible too that gold objects found in and near the doorway which connects Room 63 with Hall 62 had been stored in Room 59. Room 60 was sterile; but Room 63 contained a veritable treasure hoard[417] consisting of several hundred units of inlay work in semiprecious stones. The find-circumstances as reported by Haines are puzzling. He discovered the hoard while cleaning the northwest corner of the room (Fig. 81 *C*). The objects, piled up without order, must have been hidden in a hole which had been dug into the corner, thus damaging the greenish-gray plaster of the walls. The buried hoard and loose dirt filling the rest of the hole had then been covered with a patch of the usual red-surfaced flooring. It appears, therefore, that the inlaid object or objects had been pilfered not by the Macedonians but by a native mason—presumably during the alterations in connection with the change in circulation. The thief had removed the most desirable parts, made presumably of gold, and buried the "non-negotiable" portions of his loot.

THE RAZED UNITS

Changes in plan and circulation caused in the extant parts of the early sections of the Treasury by the destruction of their western portions have been considered above. We now deal with the traces of the razed units uncovered west of the final western inclosure during the excavation of the Harem by Herzfeld's staff. There are no descriptive records of this excavation in our hands. Herzfeld published

412. PT6 341, PT6 430, and PT6 363 respectively.

413. PT6 346.

414. PT6 364.

415. E.g. PT6 347.

416. PT6 340.

417. PT6 703.

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a summary of his observations concerning the building level[418] underlying Xerxes' Harem with a schematized plan.[419] Our surveys (Figs. 66 *B*–67) were prepared by Haines, who established beyond doubt the continuity of the first two sections of the Treasury with the remnants of the building uncovered beneath the foundations of Xerxes' Harem. Haines re-examined Krefter's field plan of the structural remains beneath the Harem foundations, modified it in a number of details, and linked it[420] with the plan of the early, southern and central, sections of the final Treasury. Altogether there are ninety-three units in the final building. The passages, halls, and rooms numbered 94–115 on our plans (Figs. 66 *B*–67) are the razed units of the original Treasury; the units numbered 116–29 are those of the first addition to the royal storehouse.

THE ORIGINAL TREASURY

The original structure had an attractive, quite symmetrical, plan oriented on an east-west axis, whereas the main axis of the final building is north-south.[421] Since the demolished parts of the Treasury were laid level with the ground, the appearance of the outer face of their inclosure is unknown, but there is hardly a doubt that it was embellished with niches and arrow-shaped slots in the same manner as that of the preserved portions.

The existence of a western entrance is proved almost beyond doubt by the appearance of the floor in the northern part of the western border of Vestibule 109. Haines found that the otherwise straight floor border is here broken between points located .70 and 2.70 m. south of the northwestern corner of the room. At the southern end of the fracture he noticed that the floor slants steeply downward to a level at least 13 cm. below its normal level. In our opinion there is only one explanation for this depression. It contained the pivoting device for a door which opened clockwise (as usual) into the vestibule (109). The destruction of the floor north of the depression, then, was evidently caused by removal of the sill, which, since it protected an exterior doorway, was made of stone.

Traffic was directed from the western vestibule (109) to the focal area of Courtyard 29 through a suite of passages (108, 94, 69) which separate two roughly symmetrical, northern and southern, groups of storerooms and halls. Stone drains extending through Corridors 69 and 94 and branching north and south to Halls 95 and 98 are parts of the well planned drainage system described above (pp. 161–62).

Symmetrically located doorways with stone sills connect the westernmost passage (108) with storerooms occupying the western zone of the building. Three of these (105, 103, 110) are almost square four-columned rooms which resemble the superimposed, smaller main rooms of the Harem suites (see Fig. 67). Room 105, north of the passage, has two subsidiary rooms (106–7). Circular holes in the floor of Room 105 indicate the form of its column bases—presumably the same kind of discoid tori that were found in the preserved parts of the building. As far as we know, no column bases were found *in situ* in the razed portions of the Treasury. Thus the voids left by their removal are our only clues as to their forms. Room 103, linked with Room 105 by a doorway with a sill of baked bricks, had square column bases, consisting presumably of square plinths with discoid tori. The subsidiary unit of this room is Room 104, which appears to have been linked with a subsidiary room (97) of Hall 95. Our only clue for postulating a doorway between Rooms 104 and 97 is a saddle in the outline of a patch of flooring extending over parts of both rooms; but the doorway linking Room 103 with Hall 95 has been definitely determined.[422] Room 110, south of Passage 108, is connected with a subsidiary room (111) and with Room 112. It had circular column bases. The plan of the southwestern area is somewhat problematical, but there is reason for postulating a two-columned room (112) and three subsidiary units (113–15). The columns of Room 112 had circular bases. As far as we know, all floors of the razed portions of the Treasury were surfaced with the brown-red coat typical of the rest of the building but absent in the superimposed Harem.

Two spacious halls (95 and 98) are located north and south of Corridor 94, but neither apparently could be entered from the latter. The roof of Hall 95 was supported by thirty-six columns arranged in six rows. Holes in the floor indicate that the bases consisted of square plinths, which presumably were combined with circular tori. A number of circles (30–40 cm. in diameter) marked on Krefter's field plan in Halls 95 and 98 and Corridor 94 may represent holes left in the floor after removal of posts of unknown purpose (cf. pp. 191 and 196). The easternmost parts of Hall 95 and Room 96 were traced by Haines beneath the surface of the street separating Xerxes' Harem from the final Treasury and beneath the western inclosure of the latter. The outline of a long strip of flooring (see Fig. 66 *B*) defines the former location of the eastern row of columns in Hall 95, the face lines of certain walls, and the doorway to Hall 62. The northern branch of the drainage canal started in the west wall of Hall 95 where a capstone, pierced by a square hole, marks the location of a roof drain. Rooms 96 and 97 are subsidiary storerooms of Hall 95.

Hall 98 had only twenty-four columns, arranged in four east-west rows and supported by the same kind of bases, apparently, as those in Hall 95. Outlines of the remnants of the flooring indicate that the southern wall of Hall 98 was lined with alcoves (*a–e*) in the same fashion as that of the neighboring Hall 73. The southern branch of the drainage canal started at a roof drain, whose location is marked by a perforated capstone.[423] There are no traces of the eastern portion of Hall 98, but our reconstruction, including the entrance to Hall 73, is plausible. Subsidiary Room 100 and Vestibule 99, linking it with the hall, were reconstructed on the basis of Rooms 74 and 87. A partly preserved floor outline defines Room 101 and suggests the existence of subsidiary Room 102, paralleling Rooms 72 and 86.

418. Which he erroneously identified as the harem of Darius; see *IAE*, p. 236.

419. *Ibid.* Fig. 336.

420. After adding some remnants of the original plan preserved beneath the street which separated the Harem from the final Treasury.

421. Here as elsewhere we use the principal directions which the orientation of the building approximates.

422. Those parts of the structure determined beyond doubt according to Krefter's plan and Haines' spot tests are marked, as usual, by solid lines on our plans. Doubtful (though plausible) parts of the building are indicated by broken lines.

423. The capstones once covered by the west walls of Halls 95 and 98 were subsequently left exposed in the central north-south corridor of the Harem.

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THE FIRST ADDITION

There is no clue suggesting a western entrance to the added portion of the Treasury during its second phase (Fig. 67). It would seem awkward, however, if the western halls and rooms could have been reached only from the northern and eastern entrances of the building, by crossing the entire courtyard area and all of Hall 41. We do have proof that a doorway (most probably provided with a stone sill) gave access through the west wall of Hall 41 to Corridor 116 and the western halls. When tracing the original western floor line of Hall 41, Haines found a broken section of flooring, damaged most probably by removal of a sill, and an iron door socket *in situ* (see Figs. 67 and 70 *P*). The long, narrow corridor (116), about 2 meters wide, isolates Hall 41 on the west and parallels the broader corridor (31) which flanks the hall on the east. On the north Corridor 116 leads to Room 52, which was shortened during the final alterations. The western floor border of the corridor was found to be in excellent condition except for a broken curved section in its center, indicating the former existence of a doorway. This doorway gave access to an east-west passage partitioned into two sections (117–18). Again, the doorway between these sections is marked solely by a line of fractured flooring. Two symmetrically planned halls (119 and 127) are located north and south of the passage, with which both no doubt were connected by doorways; but the location of the southern entrance only could be definitely determined. Both halls had twenty-four columns, which stood on bases with square plinths and presumably discoid tori. Here again our plan (Fig. 67) shows numerous circular depressions of the kind noticed in the southern portion of the building (see p. 199). The northern hall (119) has four subsidiary storerooms (120–23), whereas only two small rooms (128–29) are linked with the southern hall (127). Passage 118 terminates on the west in an apartment of three rooms (124–26).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BUILDING PERIODS

On preceding pages we have pointed out repeatedly that the royal storehouse, pillaged and destroyed by Alexander in 330 B.C., was built in three successive stages and that the erection of the third section was necessitated by the razing of the western portions of the first and second sections. Basing our conclusion on the date of the earliest of the fortification tablets, we have assigned the completion of the original Treasury to approximately years eleven to fourteen (511–507 B.C.) of Darius I's reign (see pp. 40 f.). Eventually the founder's storehouse proved to be too small to shelter his treasures and provisions. Thus, it was enlarged to almost twice its original size by the addition of a new, greatly embellished, administrative compound focused once again on a courtyard (17); an immense hall (41) of one hundred and twenty-one columns; two smaller halls (119 and 127); and numerous subsidiary storerooms. The date of the latest fortification tablet, namely the twenty-eighth year (494/93 B.C.) of Darius' reign, provides in our opinion the *terminus post quem* for the cessation of administrative activities in the original Treasury (see p. 41). The date of the earliest of the Treasury tablets, namely the thirtieth year (492/91 B.C.) of Darius (see p. 41), gives us the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the first addition. The third building phase, that is, the addition of the northernmost section, was closely connected with the erection of Xerxes' Harem. In order to make room for the latter structure, the western parts of the first two sections of the Treasury had to be razed. Thus, the third section—consisting of a great hall (38) of a hundred columns, subsidiary storerooms, passages, a stairway to the roof, and a new northern exit—must have been added first in order to shelter the contents of the storerooms to be destroyed. We have therefore attributed the construction of this second addition and the completion of the building in its final form to the early years of the reign of Xerxes, between 486 and 480 B.C. (see p. 42). The new western inclosure of the shortened earlier sections was aligned with the western border of the newly constructed northern section and built directly on the floors of the altered rooms. The streets separating the Treasury from the fortification on the south and the garrison quarters on the east were now supplemented by a western street[424] between the Treasury and the Harem of Xerxes.

At the north, finally, beyond the road completing the isolation of the royal storehouse, rose an eminence of bedrock which Xerxes chose as the foundation for a palatial structure, the Throne Hall, completed by his son Artaxerxes I. This stately building with its imposing hall of a hundred stone columns represents, in our opinion, the last logical step in the sequence of storehouses, ever expanding northward, each found inadequate after a short period of use. Thus, we believe that the Throne Hall was erected for the specific purpose of serving as the "palace museum" of Persepolis (see pp. 42 and 129–30).

424. Subsequently blocked by secondary rooms at the north end (see pp. 263–64). Whether "Garrison Street" too was subsequently blocked will not be known until some future excavator determines the extent of a transverse wall partly uncovered near the eastern exit of the Treasury (see Fig. 64).

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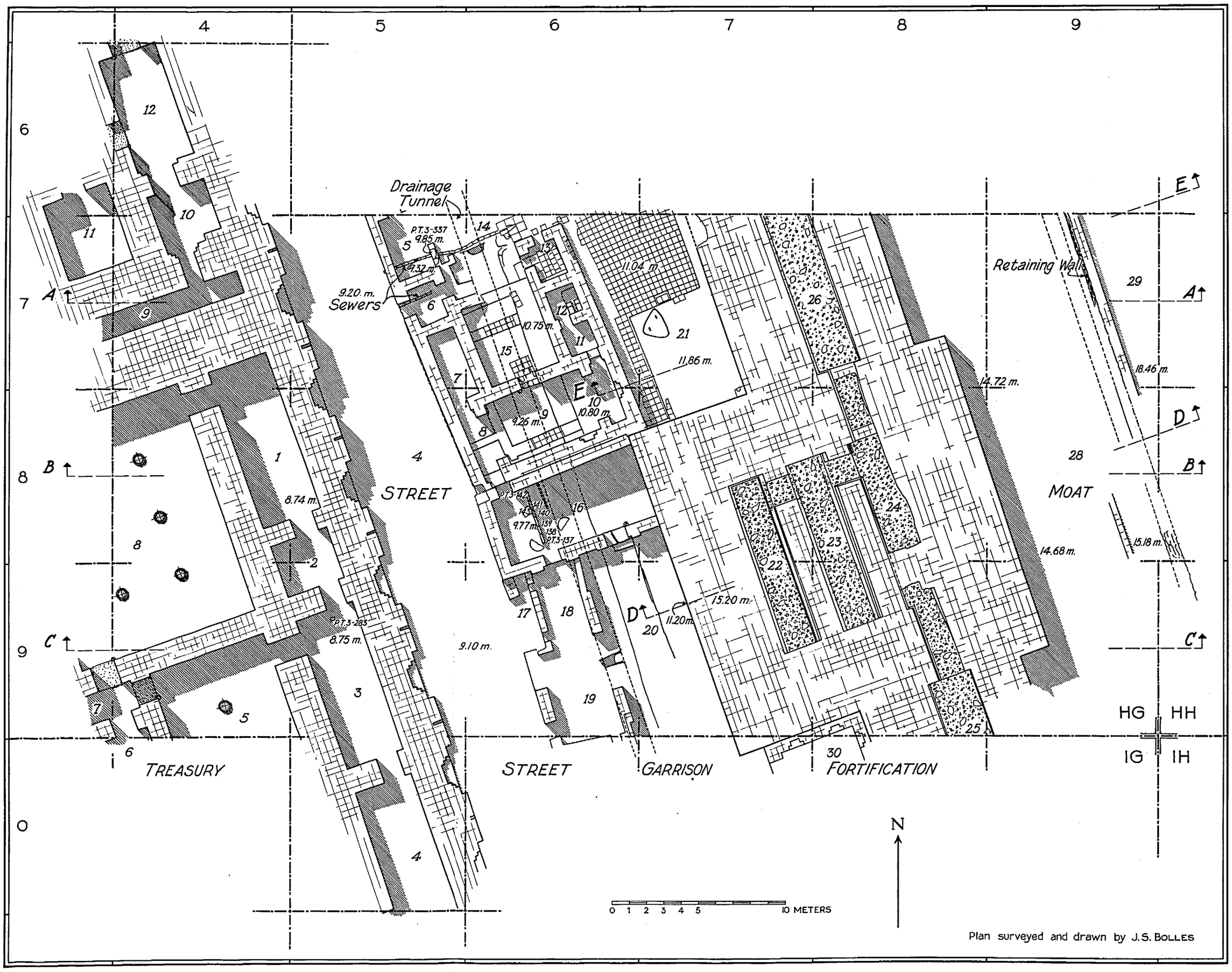


Fig. 82. Plan of Excavated Portion of Eastern Fortification and Garrison Quarters, with Neighboring Part of Treasury. Scale, 1:200

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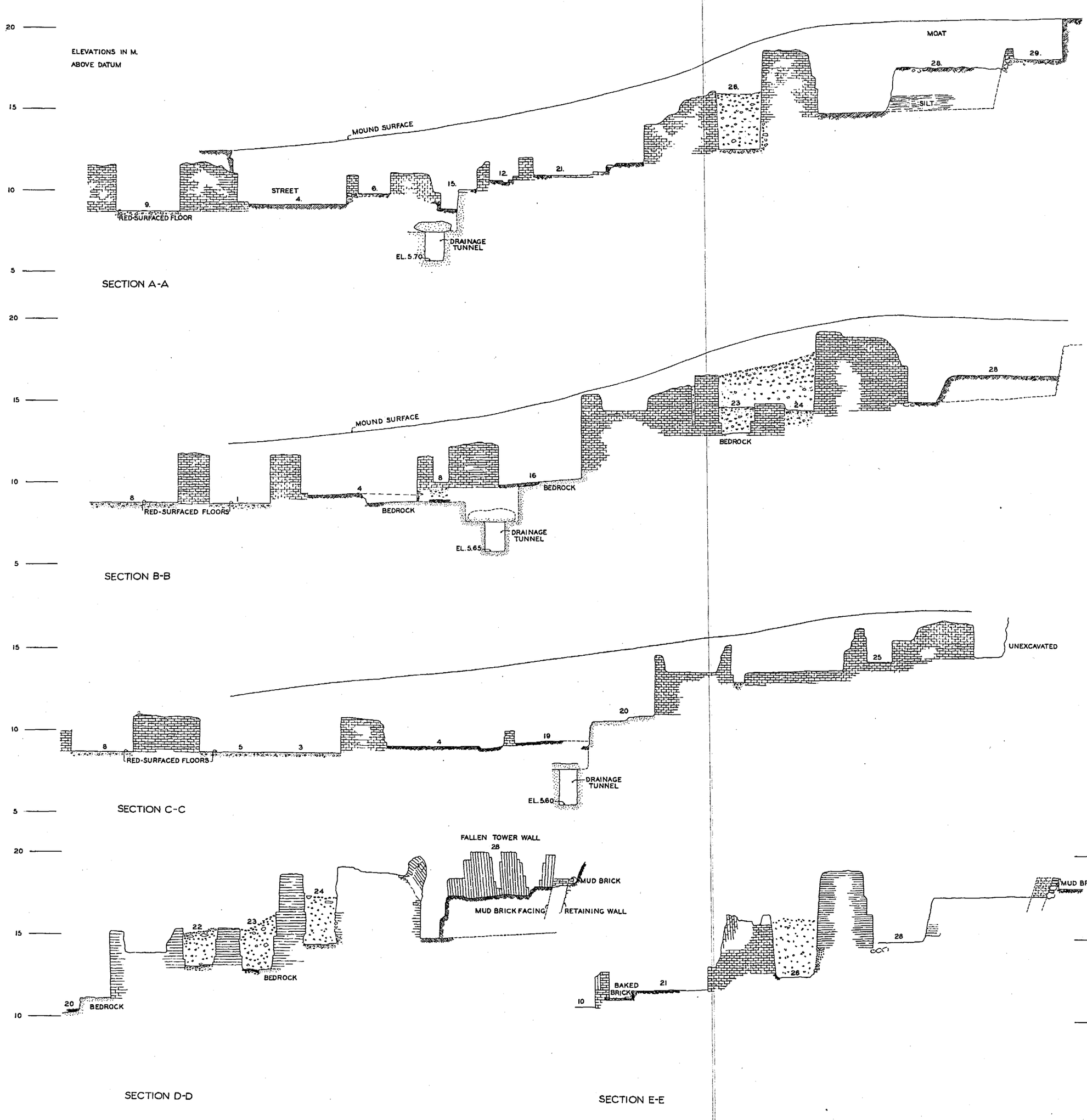


FIG. 83. CROSS SECTIONS THROUGH STRUCTURES SHOWN ON FIG. 82. SCALE, 1:200

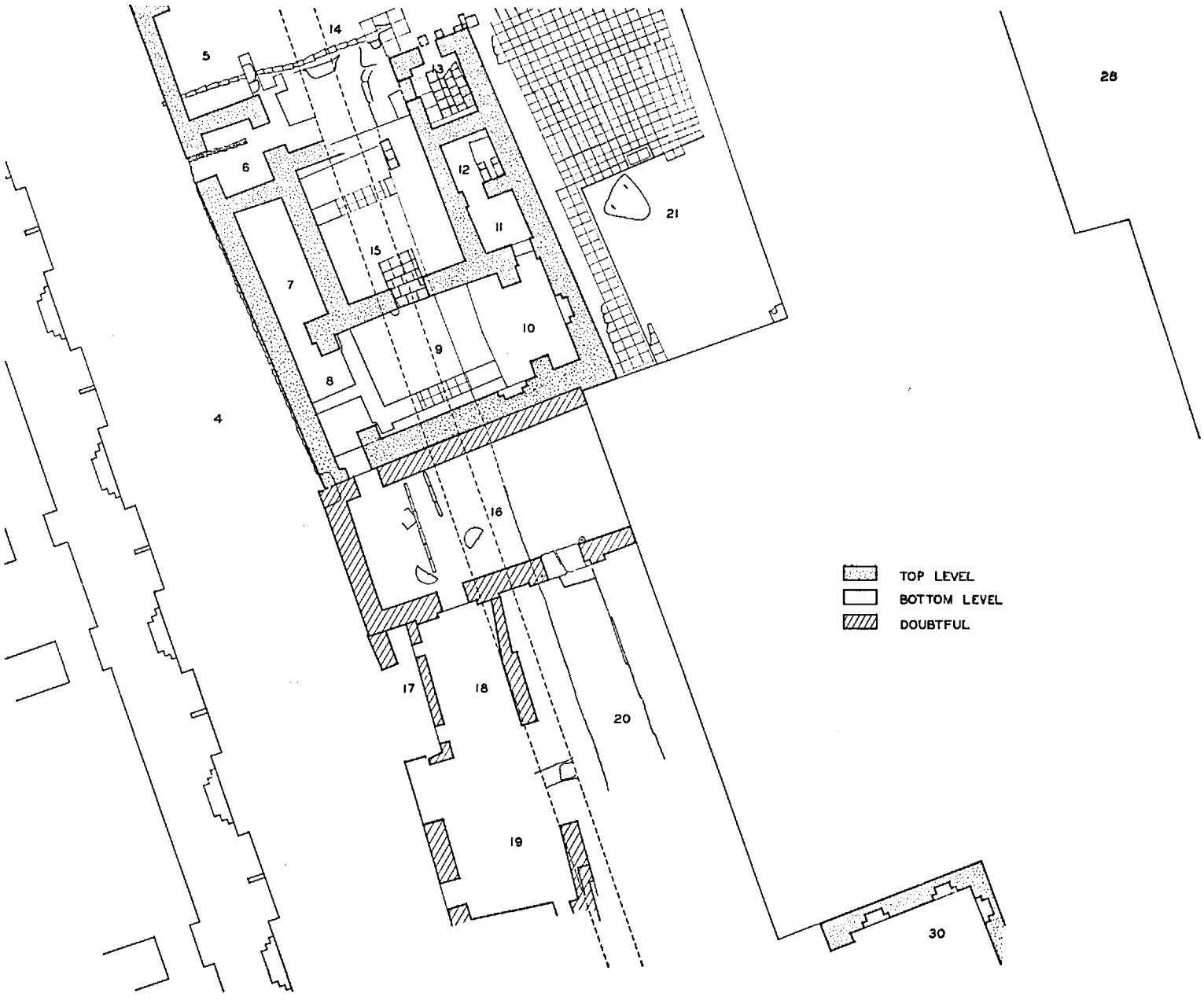


FIG. 84. PLAN OF GARRISON QUARTERS, SHOWING SUPERPOSITIONS (CF. FIG. 82). SCALE, 1:200

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A



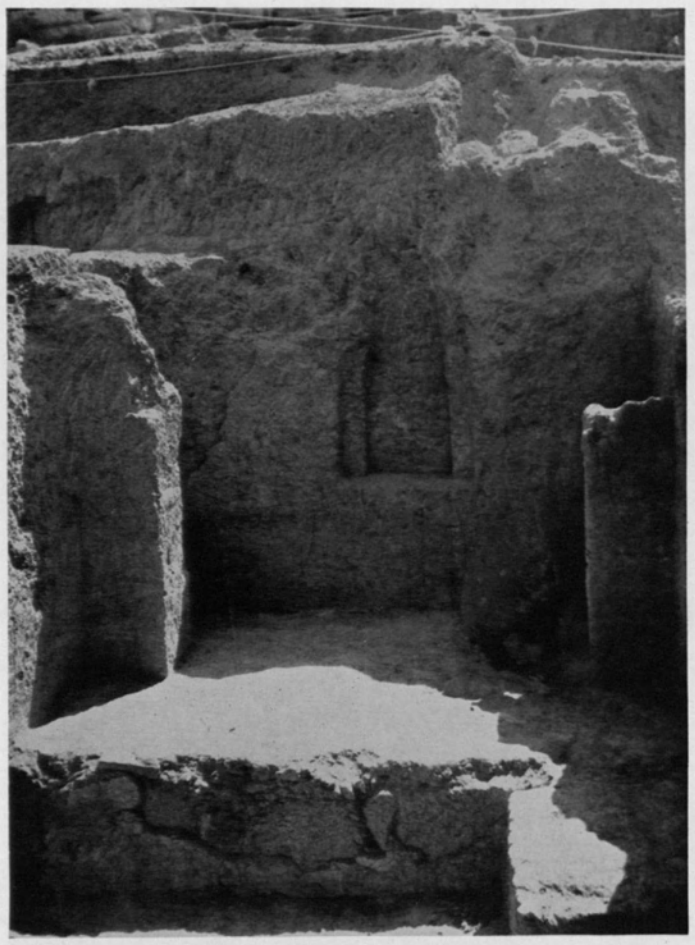
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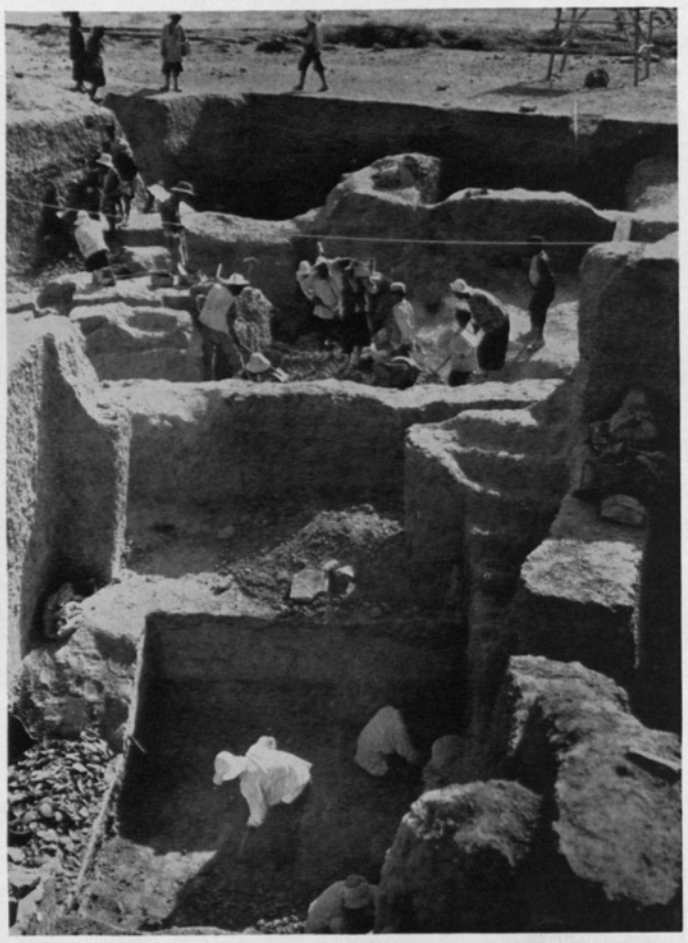
C

Fig. 85. Excavations in Eastern Fortification Complex. *A*. General View (*direction, NE*). *B*. Foundations of Moslem Structure near Surface of Plot HG 85 (*direction of view, NE*). *C*. Advanced Stage of Work (*direction of view, ENE*)

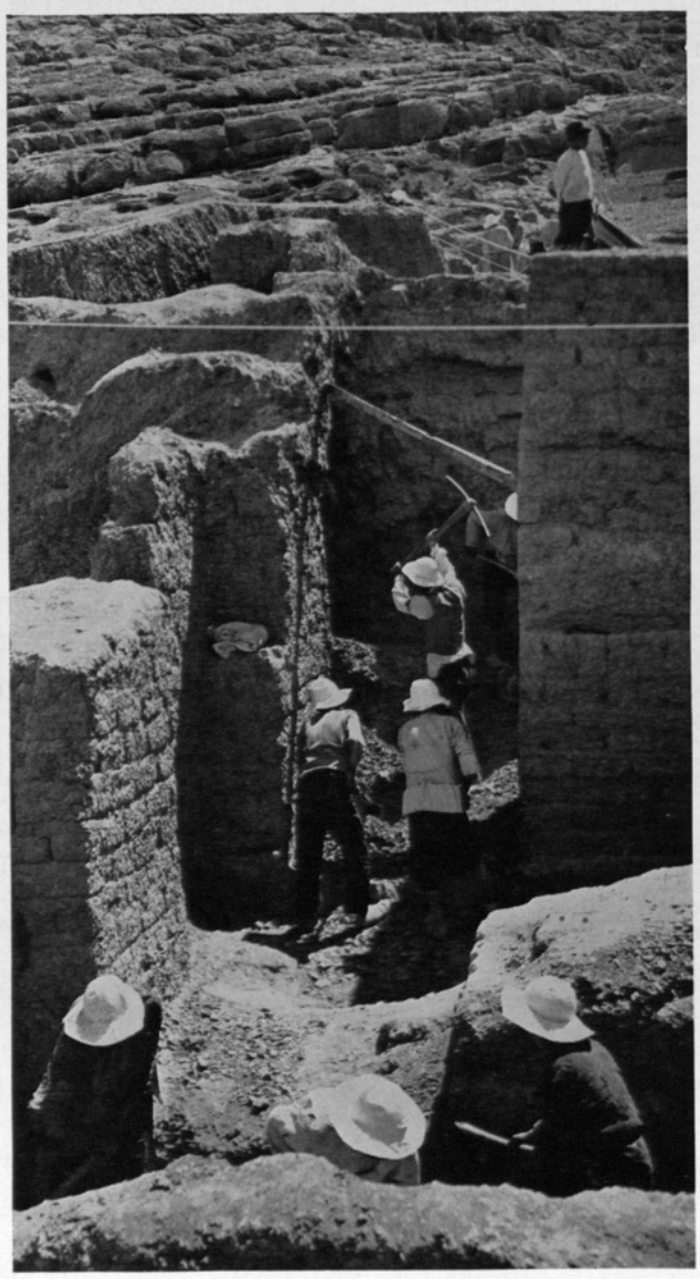
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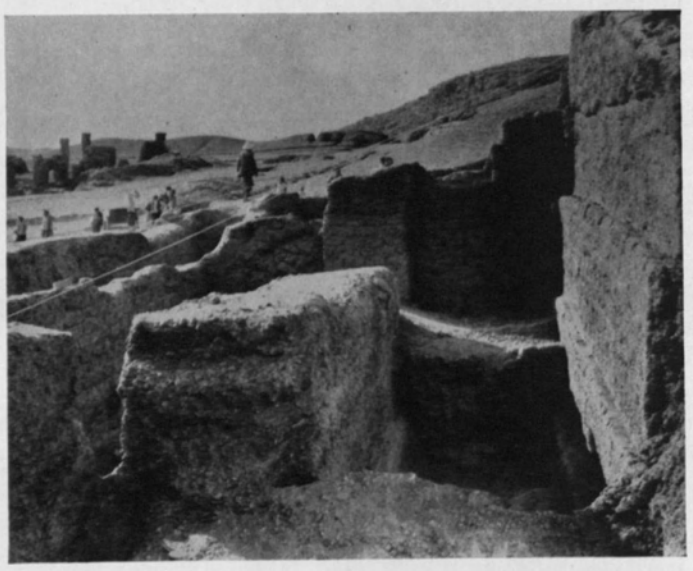
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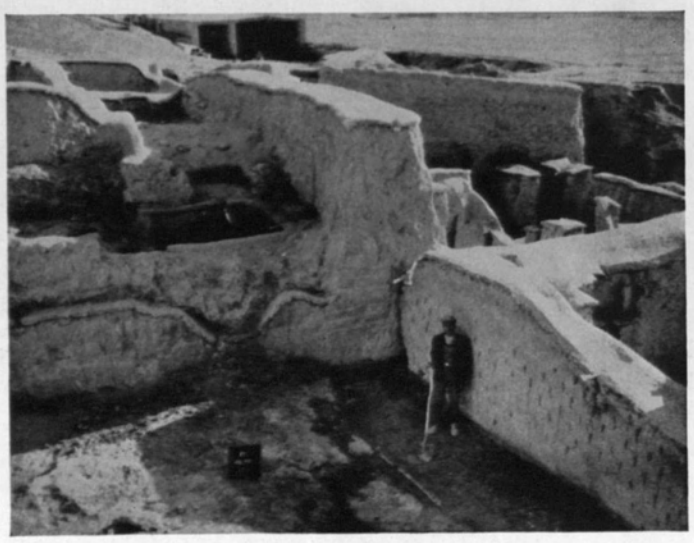
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D



E

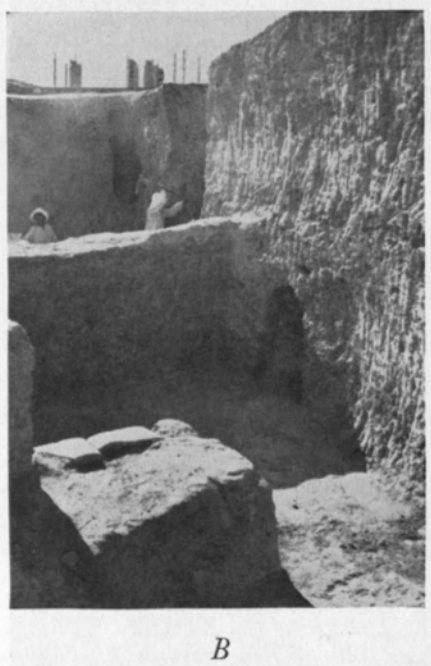
Fig. 86. Eastern Fortification Complex. *A*. Room 9 (bottom level) of Garrison Quarters and Alcove 10, with Niche (Workman Erased by Censor; *direction of view, ENE*). *B*. Room 9 (bottom level; *direction of view, SW*). *C*. Work in Rubble-filled Tower Sections 22–24 (*direction of view, ENE*). *D*. Terraced East Wall (*at right*) of Tower Section 23 (*direction of view, NNW*). *E*. Yard 21, with Workman near Find-Spot of Uninscribed Clay Tablets (*direction of view, S*)

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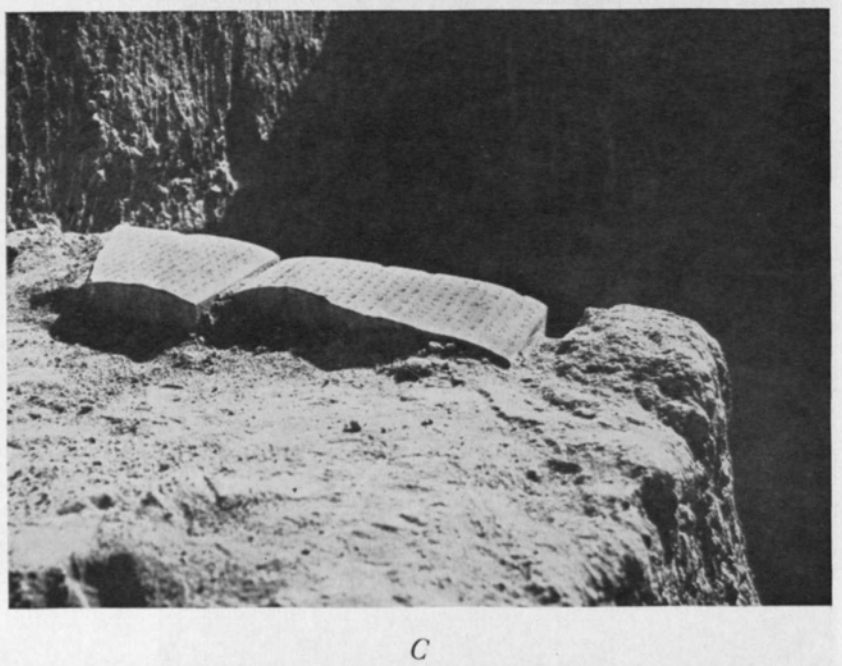


A

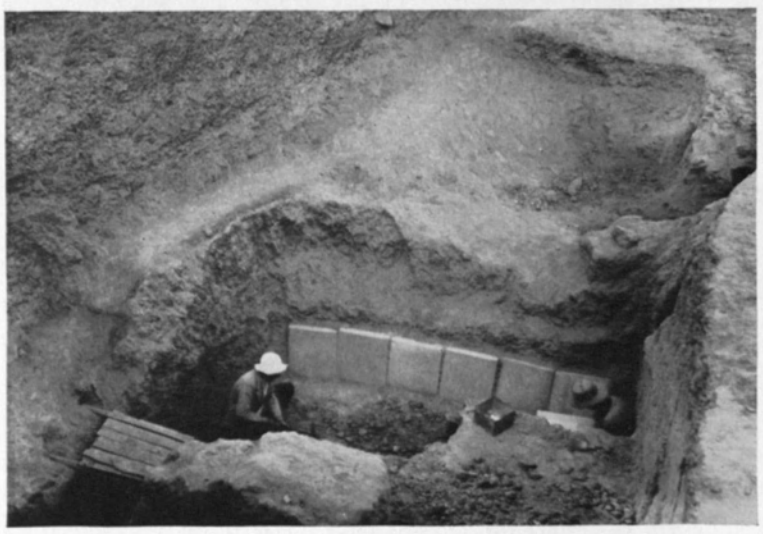




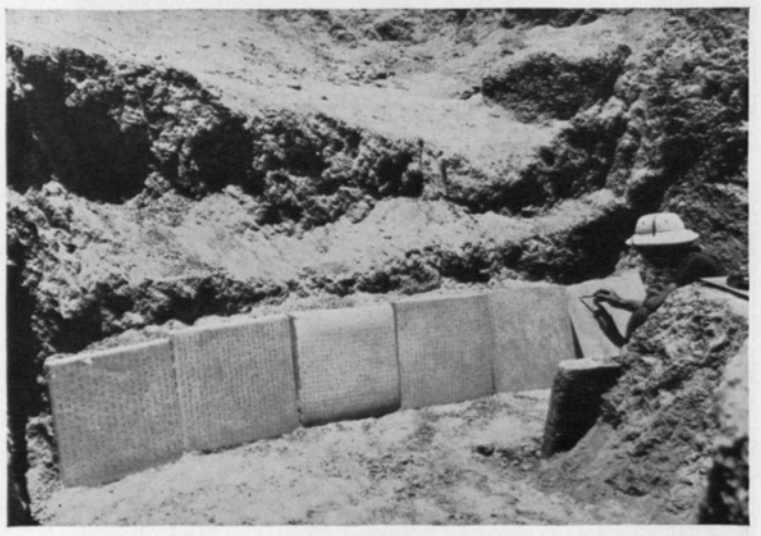
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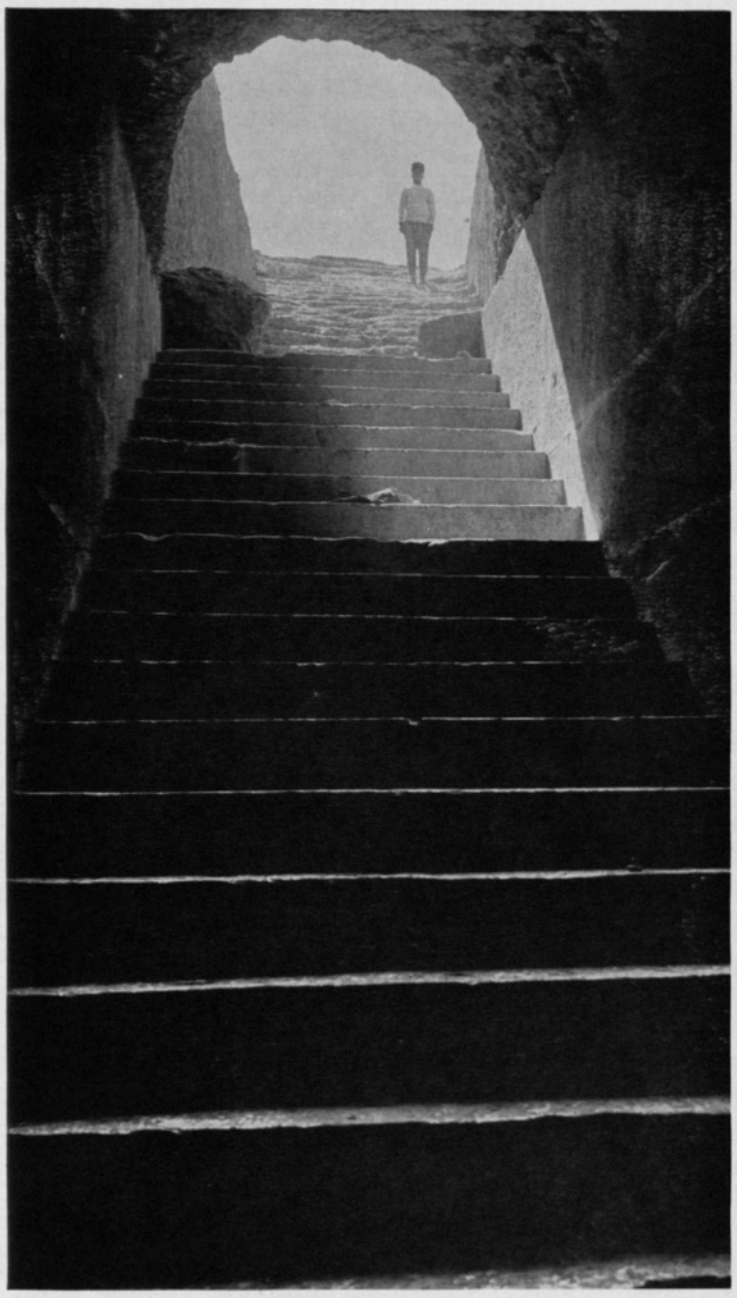


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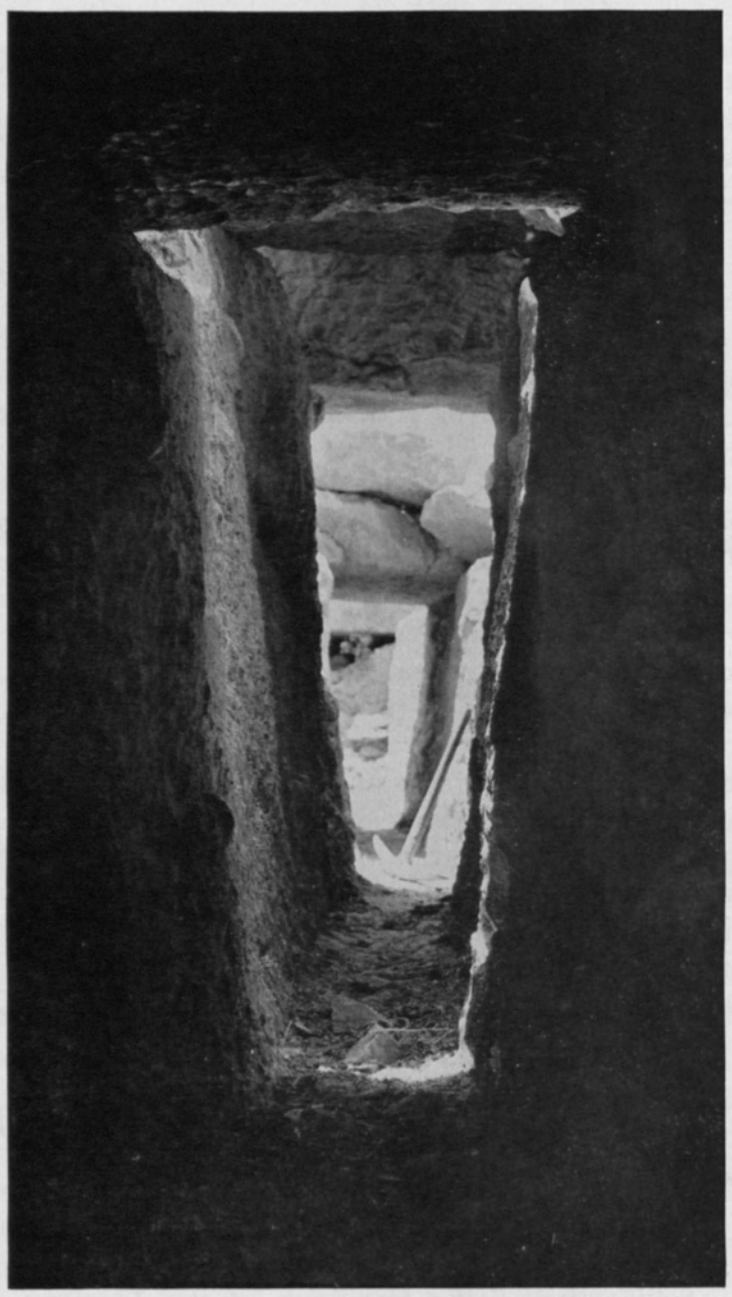


E

FIG. 87. GARRISON QUARTERS. *A*. SQUEEZES OF MEANINGLESS INSCRIPTIONS ON BEDROCK IN YARD 21. SCALE, 1:2. *B–C*. FIND-SPOT OF FOUNDATION RECORD WITH ELAMITE INSCRIPTION IN "ROOM" 5. *D–E*. FIND-SPOT OF SEVEN FOUNDATION SLABS IN ROOM 16 (*direction of views, SW and W respectively*)



A



B

FIG. 88. *A*. STONE STAIRS TO TUNNEL SYSTEM EAST OF THRONE HALL. *B*. SECTION OF A ROCK TUNNEL. PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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THE EASTERN FORTIFICATION AND GARRISON QUARTERS

GENERAL NOTES

A row of seven well defined hillocks strung along the eastern edge of the Terrace at the foot of Kuh-i-Rahmat suggested remnants of a defense wall. Our subsequent excavation (see Fig. 85 *A*, *C*) of one of the hillocks proved that it was formed by the debris of an almost square mud-brick tower, whose northern and southern sides were about 19 meters long, whereas its somewhat irregular western and eastern sides measured 19.50 and 18.85 m. respectively (Fig. 82). The adjoining curtain walls were found to be 10 meters thick. There is hardly a doubt that these measurements closely approximate the dimensions of the other towers and connecting curtains of the eastern fortification[1] and also of that portion of the defense system which ascends and includes the rock hill to the east (see p. 62). The locations of the seven hillocks show that at least the major portion of the eastern fortification had the same orientation as the other Persepolis buildings. The almost completely obliterated northern part of this defense wall may well have continued in the same direction. If so, it was erected on top of the scarped rock wall which borders the Terrace on the northeast and it must have abutted the easternmost bastion of the northern face of the Terrace (see Fig. 21).

Although our excavations in the area under consideration were limited in scope, they revealed an interesting cross section of architectural remains—including the essential features of the fortification, which may well be characteristic of an extensive portion of the eastern defense zone. The massive structural remains plotted at the west in Figure 82 mark the discovery of the palatial building which we subsequently identified as the Treasury of Persepolis. A street separates its eastern façade from the far less substantial quarters of the garrison (see Fig. 74 *D*), which extend along the foot of the strong fortification. The east face of the defense wall rises from a moat which is protected on the east by a retaining wall with a core of unhewn boulders.

"GARRISON STREET"

The street, 5.50 to 6 meters wide, was filled with debris of the adjoining Treasury wall and with mud-brick detritus and rubble that had been washed downhill from the fortification. Some fragments of the Treasury inclosure which were found in a measurable condition enabled Bolles[2] to determine that this wall had a height of about 11 meters (see p. 159). The soldiers' quarters on the other side of the street may have been about 5 meters high.

The surface of the street was marked by hard-tramped dirt corresponding to the find-level of a number of objects. However, since the time of its initial use the street surface had risen about half a meter. The original level corresponded roughly to that of the neighboring Treasury rooms (el. *ca.* 8.70 m.), and the bottoms of the niches decorating the east face of the Treasury inclosure were originally about 60 cm. above the street, as compared with the ultimate distance of about 10 cm. Considering the fact that drains of the soldiers' quarters emptied into the street (see p. 208), we could well assume that its rise was due largely to its use for disposal of rubbish from the barracks.

Some of the objects found in the detritus of the street may have been lost or discarded during the looting of the Treasury, whose only eastern entrance is close to the excavated area (see Fig. 21). Near this entrance, in a trench tracing the façade of the Treasury, occurred a fragmentary bronze statuette of Harsaphes,[3] a palmette fragment of blue composition, part of a votive cylinder of lapis lazuli, and a fragment of a horn-shaped bridle ornament of carnelian. These objects and some pieces of a human sculpture in stone[4] had originally been located in the Treasury. Most of the other finds had apparently been used in the soldiers' quarters. There were objects of personal adornment—beads of various stones and metals, including gold;[5] a gold rosette;[6] a minute gold button and one of bronze; part of a bracelet, pins,[7] a brooch,[8] and a rosette[9] of bronze; an eye stone; and a coral bead attached to bronze wire.[10] Forty-six beads of carnelian, agate, and amethyst were cached in a niche of the Treasury inclosure (near northeast corner of Plot IG 05; see Fig. 82). Martial equipment was represented by a number of arrowheads of bronze[11] and iron, an iron javelin head, a quantity of iron armor scales, two strap buckles of bronze, two bronze horse bits, the iron hilt of a sword,[12] and three bridle ornaments of limestone.[13] Tools, utensils, and miscellaneous hardware include knife blades and a spike of iron, an iron

1. As to the southern fortification, the distance from the edge of the Terrace to the inner (north) face of the curtain wall traced south of the Treasury is *ca.* 11 m. (see Fig. 21).

2. The expedition's architect during the excavation of this complex.

3. PT4 104. Objects referred to by field number are described and illustrated in Vol. II.

4. PT3 306.

5. E.g. PT3 280, PT4 21*e*, PT4 229, PT4 239.

6. PT4 238.

7. PT3 303 and PT3 256.

8. PT4 149.

9. PT4 150.

10. PT4 139.

11. E.g. PT4 209 and PT3 332.

12. PT3 161.

13. E.g. PT4 193.

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clamp,[14] and badly corroded chain links of the same material with traces of gold foil. There were, further, a lead needle;[15] a whetstone fragment; a punch,[16] a chain,[17] and two "curtain rings" (see p. 160) of bronze; a toggle pin and some slender conoid objects—perhaps game pieces—of bone; and some whorls of baked clay. As to vessels, one squashed cup of bronze[18] occurred, in addition to a number of sherds and a small bowl[19] of baked clay.

THE QUARTERS OF THE GARRISON

The location of the structural remains to be described and their contents mark them as quarters of Persepolis guards, but there are indications that artisans too may have lived here. Presumably soldiers were quartered also along the defense wall which incloses the hill at the east. The quarters of the guards are less regular, less substantial, and smaller in all dimensions than the royal structures, but their orientation is roughly the same.

Because of their weak construction little may be left of the original barracks, built approximately at the same time as the adjacent fortress wall, that is, presumably during the reign of Darius I (see p. 40). The excavated remains show two distinct building levels and traces of walls whose stratigraphic position is uncertain. (see Fig. 84). A rather well defined house was superimposed on earlier foundations, which were entirely covered by the floors and walls of the later structure.

The zone occupied by the quarters of the garrison coincides with the foot of the mountain. Terraces of bedrock, visible at various spots (see Fig. 83), were roughly leveled and scarped before the fortress wall was built. Presumably at thè same time—definitely before the soldiers' quarters were built—a tunnel was cut in the bedrock (see p. 210). The tunnel, extending beneath the barracks, and the rock terraces follow the general scheme of orientation more accurately than the superimposed walls of the garrison quarters.

The Top Level

The well balanced plan of the house (in Plots HG 75, 76, 85, and 86; see Fig. 84) suggests quarters of officers rather than of common soldiers. However, if the "Immortals"—recruited from the nobility of the country—were here garrisoned, one would expect somewhat more pretentious structures than the usual barracks of soldiers. The building material consists of the common square sun-dried mud bricks (32–33 × 32–33 × 6–13 cm.). The walls have a thin plaster coat surfaced with a tone of gray.

The units of the house are grouped around a central room (15). The latter has no connection with the smaller rooms on the east and west, but a doorway with a sill of baked bricks links it with Room 9 on the south. Another opening undoubtedly existed in the mostly destroyed northern wall and gave access to a recessed area flanked by Rooms 6 and 13. It is possible that this alcove was a portico whose roof was carried by simple wooden posts of which no traces are left. Beyond the alcove was a courtyard (14; see p. 208). A comparison of the plan of this building with those of the Palace of Darius and the palatial center of the Harem suggests that this house in the soldiers' quarters was a modest miniature of those residential palaces (see Fig. 21).

Although the location and the relative size of Room 15 indicate that it was one of the two principal units of the house, it was rather barren as to finds. Fragments of a large vessel, used perhaps for the storage of water, were in the northwest corner. Near by lay some corroded iron blades. Parts of a second, narrow-mouthed pottery vessel were on the floor near the south wall, and a few arrowheads of bronze and iron occurred in the debris filling the room.

The only socket stone found in the building is located south of the doorsill between Rooms 15 and 9, and it indicates that a door opened clockwise into Room 9. This room with its two flanking alcoves (8 and 10) occupies the entire southern portion of the house. The size and the contents of this suite and the elaboration of its walls—remnants of two-stepped niches (see Fig. 86 *A*) preserved in its eastern part—suggest that the activities of the occupants were centered here rather than in Room 15. An ill-defined doorway leads from Alcove 8 to the somewhat earlier Room 16 (see p. 209), and further openings connect Alcoves 8 and 10 with the subsidiary Rooms 7, on the west, and 11–12, on the east.

The debris of Room 9 and its alcoves contained a horn-shaped bridle ornament of limestone, fifty-two arrowheads of iron and fourteen of bronze. We are puzzled by the ratio of the two kinds of points, for in the storerooms of the Treasury and at some other localities in the fortification zone the bronze points far outnumbered the iron specimens. Tools included a knife blade of iron[20] and two polishing stones. There were, further, iron spike(?) fragments with traces of gold foil and pieces of plain sheeting of bronze and others with a star pattern in *repoussé*.[21] A broken saucer of white translucent stone[22] lay on the floor between Room 9 and Alcove 10. Were the spout of this vessel blackened by soot, we should be inclined to consider it a lamp, although it would be the only one found at Persepolis. Ornaments were represented by a small number of beads,[23] a bronze earring, and a large bronze buckle.[24] There was also one of the conoid bone objects which we consider game pieces.

The objects found in the lateral rooms to the west and east of Room 15 emphasize again the combined military and domestic character of the building. Room 7 contained pieces of iron scale armor and a few arrowheads in addition to a polishing stone, a game piece (see above), and the rim of a bronze vessel. A small bottle with traces of greenish-blue glaze[25] and a tall bottle[26] for wine or water lay in the northeast corner. A small jar[27] was near the doorway to Alcove 8. In Room 11 we found a horse bit of bronze[28] in addition to a few arrowheads and an iron javelin point.[29]

14. PT3 329.
15. PT3 185.
16. PT3 284.
17. PT3 163.
18. PT3 390.
19. PT3 231.
20. PT3 150.
21. Cf. PT5 60.
22. PT3 79.
23. E.g. PT3 35 and PT3 80.
24. PT3 34.
25. PT3 309.
26. Cf. PT3 147.
27. PT3 232.
28. PT3 174.
29. *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 28 (PT3 159).

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There were, further, blades of iron knives, an iron saw fragment, and a carved piece of bone.[30] A rather large storage vessel lay broken near the northeast corner, and beneath it was a wide-mouthed spouted jar.[31] Room 12 contains the only latrine found to date in any of the Persepolis buildings. It consists of two low parallel mud-brick walls, with two steps, abutting the southern wall of the room. A broken pitcher[32] lay near by.

The two small rooms (6 and 13) flanking the assumed portico correspond to the guardrooms in the palaces and may have had the same purpose. Both rooms were sterile as to finds except for a plain, roughly square fragment of a flat bronze sheet found on the floor of Room 13. Three preserved edges of the sheet have closely spaced nail holes. Its width is 22.5 cm., its thickness 2 mm.; its length and its purpose are unknown.

The "portico" was originally connected with both "guardrooms" by doorways. The opening leading to Room 13 was subsequently walled up, and the only means of access to the latter was then its northern doorway, opening into the courtyard (14). Room 13 has a pavement of baked bricks of the usual dimensions (32 × 32 × 6–7 cm.). Large bricks (50 × 50 × 8 cm.) found in the western portion of the room belong to an earlier level, for some of them extend beneath the western wall.

The building was entered from "Garrison Street" through the western doorway of Room 6. Curiously enough, a tile drain extending beneath the floor of the room and beneath the sill emptied into the street at this very spot. The drain consists of six tapering pipes inserted into one another in such a manner that the smaller end in each case points toward the exit, to prevent leakage. The units have a length of 35–41 cm., and the diameters of their orifices measure 12 and 17 cm. respectively. The base of the wall extending southward from the entrance and bordering Room 7 and Alcove 8 is protected by a low boulder foundation.

Only part of Courtyard 14 was excavated. We are not certain whether the western portion (5) of this area was separated by a wall and whether it was roofed. Bolles suggested that two fragments of a foundation slab inscribed in Elamite[33] may have been used as sill stones of a doorway which has disappeared (Fig. 87 *B–C*). A wall interrupted by such a doorway would have separated 5 and 14. The slab fragments actually lay on what appeared to be the remains of an earlier wall which had been razed to the level of the courtyard floor, presumably when the building was constructed. It is possible, of course, that we have here simply an earlier mud-brick bench topped by the fragments of the foundation stone. Some baked bricks at the east and a tile drain extending beneath the courtyard belong to the bottom level (see below). A doorway in the northern wall of "Room" 5 leads into unexcavated territory. Apparently the courtyard was connected on the east with an extensive partly paved yard (21), to be considered below under "Doubtful Remains."

Only a few objects occurred in the courtyard area. We found one bronze arrowhead[34] in addition to some hardware fragments of bronze and iron, a toggle pin of bone, two horn fragments of stone bull capitals or the like. Three meters above the floor (i.e., about a meter below the mound surface) occurred a fragmentary stairway relief which shows part of a servant carrying supplies. The nearest stairway adorned with such reliefs is about 170 meters away. This fact and the find-level indicate that the object was carried here after the destruction of the site.

At this point it seems appropriate to give a summary description of those objects found in the debris of the entire garrison zone which could not be attributed to specific units of the structures. Undoubtedly most of these objects had been used by the occupants of the top level. These finds serve, therefore, to complement the information derived from the contents of the house. Among these objects too (cf. p. 207) we noticed a preponderance of iron arrowheads (70) over bronze (60). All the armor scales are of iron, but in certain sections—to be mentioned below—occurred a few specimens of bronze. There were, further, a quantity of beads of the usual forms and materials, two simple earrings of bronze, one of the bronze brooches apparently always used as settings for eye stones, and a small gold button. Fragments of hardware and tools include a spade[35] and spikes of iron. Spinning whorls also occurred—two crude specimens of baked clay and a semiglobe of chalky stone. Pottery is represented by numerous fragments of common forms, including a pitcher with trefoil orifice, some slender narrow-mouthed vessels, and a small jar.[36]

A portion of a room (30) was uncovered at the southern border of the excavations. Its two excavated walls, built directly against the fortification, have two-stepped niches like those in the southeastern part of the house (see p. 207). To judge by the relatively good preservation of these walls, we assume that they also belong to the top level of the garrison quarters.

The Bottom Level

There is no doubt about the sequence of structural remains in that area where walls of the bottom level project from beneath the house of the top level (see Fig. 84). These consist of the same material as the later walls, namely sun-dried mud bricks coated with thin gray-surfaced plaster. Two sills of baked bricks of the usual dimensions were found beneath the floors of Rooms 9 and 15, and a tile drain like that of Room 6 (see above)—and also emptying into the street—was traced beneath Courtyard 14 and "Room" 5. The drain starts at a rectangular arrangement of baked bricks of the same large size (50 × 50 × 8 cm.) as those of the early pavement in Room 13 (see above).

As to objects found in the earlier refuse: a bronze basin[37] lay on top of one of the drain pipes beneath the floor level of Courtyard 14; a quantity of obviously discarded fragments of plain stone vessels of royal tableware and potsherds occurred below the floor of Room 9 (see Fig. 86 *A–B*), together with a number of iron arrowheads and a few of bronze, two armor scales of bronze, some beads, an earring of bronze, and a bronze strip decorated with three twelve-petaled rosettes.

Doubtful Remains

Yard 21 appears to have been an open court, bordered on the east and on the south by the towering walls of the

30. PT3 175. 31. PT3 260–61. 32. PT3 193.

33. PT3 337; see p. 209 for further foundation slabs.

34. Cf. infrequent type illustrated in Vol. II by PT6 73*a*.

35. PT3 320. 36. PT3 171. 37. PT3 333.

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fortification and on the west by the east wall of the house of the top level. The northern limit is not known. The yard consists of two platforms. The lower one is almost entirely paved with yellowish-buff baked bricks, about 32 cm. square and 6–7 cm. thick. The southernmost bricks, abutting the tower, extend beneath the eastern wall of Alcove 10, suggesting that this wall—and presumably the whole building of the top level—is later than the pavement. Nevertheless, the yard was still used during the occupation of the late building, for brick steps lead from the northern doorway of Room 13 to the paving. The level of the yard is higher than that of the rooms of the building because the yard is situated farther uphill.

The upper platform, 45–85 cm. above the lower one, consists of patches of bedrock and of dirt and rubble. Some baked bricks lining parts of this area indicate that portions of it also had been paved. It continues northward along the fortification in the form of a bench of the lower pavement, from which a brick step ascends to the higher level. The plot marker visible in Figure 86 *E* designates the upper platform as "Level 1" in Plot HG 77, but we do not know whether there is any chronological difference between the two terraces. Our plans (Figs. 82 and 84) show near the northwest corner of the upper platform a roughly triangular area with two dots. This area is an outcrop of bedrock in which a mason, or an apprentice, chiseled two groups of partially decipherable cuneiform characters (Fig. 87 *A*[38]) and a number of single wedges. These "practice scribblings" could have been cut at any time from the founding of the site to its end.

The majority of the finds from Yard 21 belong presumably to the time of the top garrison level. There were eight arrowheads of iron and twelve of bronze,[39] two cylindrical socket fragments of iron lance heads, iron blades of a dagger and a knife,[40] fragments of bronze sheets, a few beads, a drop-shaped stone pendant,[41] a cylindrical limestone pestle,[42] and one of the puzzling blue composition objects resembling beards.[43] Finally, a number of uninscribed clay tablets, molded in the same shape as the Treasury tablets with Elamite inscriptions, occurred in the southwest corner of Yard 21 somewhat above the paved floor of the lower platform (see Fig. 86 *E*).

Room 16, though older than the building of the top level, which it adjoins, continued to be used during the later phase. This is indicated by two doorways which form one opening between Alcove 8 and Room 16. The eastern border of the room is formed by the western face of the tower, which is here covered with a layer of plaster 6–8 cm. thick. The exceptional thickness is due undoubtedly to the application of many successive plaster coats. The tower face in this area bears greenish-gray wash like that noticed on almost all walls of the Treasury. The southern wall of Room 16 is broken by two doorways, each flanked on the southern face by two projections. The lower portions of the jambs, the sill, and even the door socket of the eastern doorway are cut out of the living rock. The floor in the eastern part of the room is a roughly leveled ledge of bedrock, and the foundation of the tower consists of an escarpment of living rock 90 cm. high (see Fig. 83, section *B–B*). A thin coat of clay and plaster covers the rock floor. The rock jambs and the escarpment are coated with gray plaster, as are the adjacent mud-brick portions of the walls.

The debris of the insignificant Room 16, mixed with masses of mud bricks and rubble which had fallen from the adjacent tower, covered a group of important historical documents—seven foundation slabs of stone bearing Old Persian and Babylonian inscriptions of Xerxes, including the "Daiva" text.[44] Since first describing this discovery[45] we have not succeeded in finding a satisfactory explanation for the puzzling find-location of these records, which had been intended for corners of Xerxes' structures.[46] Six of the slabs stood in an almost vertical position and were aligned in a rather straight row (see Figs. 87 *D–E* and 82). The seventh lay behind and below others. At a distance of about a meter a row of three upright baked bricks (50 cm. square), almost equaling the slabs in size, stood parallel to the northern units of the row of slabs. The bricks and the slabs rested on a mud floor, which may belong to the early occupation of the room. The tops of the slabs coincided roughly with the upper floor level of the neighboring Room 9. This fact induced Bolles to suggest that a channel was left between the stone records and the bricks while the rest of the floor rose in the course of continuous occupation. However, we did not succeed in tracing a definite floor layer corresponding to the level of the tops of the slabs. So our original assumption may be correct: that the discarded royal records, as well as the bricks, had simply been used to face a bench or benches of mud. An eighth slab, found in two pieces on an early wall remnant or bench between "Room" 5 and Courtyard 14 (see p. 208), belongs to the group of foundation records from Room 16, for its inscription is the Elamite version of the Old Persian and Babylonian "Daiva" texts appearing on three stones from Room 16. The inscriptions on the foundation stones allow us to attribute them to the reign of Xerxes, but it is quite certain that they were not used in such disrespectful manner prior to that monarch's death.

As to the other finds from Room 16, we are not able to distinguish earlier and later objects. Most of them belong, presumably, to the time of the building of the top level. There were the usual remnants of martial equipment—eight relatively large iron points of arrows or javelins,[47] nine smaller arrowheads of bronze, a bridle bit of bronze, a long iron sword of foreign type[48] found on the sill of the doorway to Room 18, and a carved scabbard tip of bone.[49] Other objects include iron spikes,[50] iron blades of knives and a sickle, a globular object of bone or ivory,[51] a polish-

38. Cameron informs us that in the upper left corner of the squeeze to the left there seem to be three El. signs: *mas* followed by two personal determinatives, namely a vertical wedge and *hal*. The first character of the second line may be a numeral (but if it is "4," it is incorrectly written in any cuneiform script); the second sign may be OP "100" (lacking a vertical) or El. *be;* the third sign is OP *i*. The first sign of the third line is unknown to him (one wedge faces in the wrong direction); the second sign is probably OP *a*. In the squeeze to the right the first sign is El. *nu;* the second is unknown to him; and the third is El. *a*. He suggests that a mason carved from faulty memory some wedges of signs whose values he did not comprehend.

39. An unusual specimen is illustrated in *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 28 (PT3 278).

40. PT3 297–98.

41. PT3 250.

42. PT3 300.

43. PT3 246.

44. PT3 137–43; see *AI*, pp. 27–35 (No. 14).

45. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 11–15.

46. A foundation record of the same character was discovered by Herzfeld in a corner of the Harem (p. 255).

47. E.g. *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 28 (PT3 96).

48. PT3 135.

49. PT3 95.

50. E.g. PT3 117.

51. PT3 84.

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ing stone,[52] stone beads of common forms, and an eye stone.[53] A signet ring of gold[54] was cached in a canteen of baked clay[55] found at the center of the southern wall. Another canteen was found near a limestone plate in the southeast corner of the room.[56] Two slender narrow-mouthed pots[57] of almost identical form lay in the northeast corner and near the center of the northern wall respectively. The two halves of a flat circular stone slab, measuring almost a meter in diameter and presumably used as a base for grinding or pounding, occurred near the southern ends of the rows of bricks and foundation tablets (see Fig. 82). The eastern half was close to the floor on which the tablets stood; the other half was at a level corresponding to that of the tablet tops.

The collapse of the tower injured the walls of the other units (17–20) in this area to such an extent that only incoherent mud-brick fragments were left. Their relations to the rest of the garrison complex are problematical; but we know at least that Room 18 and Yard 20 were connected with Room 16 by the two doorways in its southern wall. In front of the doorway, partly cut out of bedrock (see p. 209), between Yard 20 and Room 16 there is a step, also cut from the living rock, leading to the upper of two rock ledges which form the floor of Yard 20 (see Fig. 83, sections *C–C* and *D–D*). There is only one more structural feature of interest. In examining the wall fragments bordering the yard on the west, Bolles noticed mud bricks (*ca.* 16 × 32 × 12 cm.) of half the normal size.

This area contained relatively few arrowheads and armor scales. In Yard 20 occurred a horn-shaped bridle ornament of chalky stone and part of a bridle bit of bronze. In addition to fragments of tools and hardware of iron and bronze, the refuse contained a small gold bead,[58] a bronze bell,[59] a plano-convex stone whorl, ten conoid game pieces of bone, and—near an opening in the roof of the drainage tunnel (between Yard 20 and Room 19)—a tall slender bottle[60] and fragments of a pitcher of baked clay. In Room 17 we found fragments of a canteen of baked clay and an iron blade resembling that of a razor.[61] There was a whetstone[62] in Room 18, and Room 19 contained two bronze hoes,[63] a whorl of baked clay,[64] and a Mysian silver coin[65] of about 480–400 B.C.

THE DRAINAGE TUNNEL

The founder of Persepolis and his architects were well aware of the destructive effect of the torrential winter rains. In order to protect their buildings, which were constructed largely of sun-dried mud bricks, they had to devise a system of drainage which would draw the flood water from the streets and courtyards and prevent it from undermining the walls. The most exposed portion of Persepolis is the eastern area along the foot of the Mountain of Mercy, whence during rainstorms torrents of water rush toward the site. The moat, to be described below, disposed of much of the flood water. The overflow, perhaps guided through the fortification by means of culverts,[66] and water gathering in the courtyards of the garrison quarters were directed to a tunnel cut through bedrock beneath the houses of the soldiers. Herzfeld and others traced long sections of similar rock tunnels extending beneath the palace area (see Figs. 21 and 88 *B*), but our plan of the tunnel system, based largely on previous surveys, is far from complete. In many places proof was found that roof drainage had been guided to tunnels through downspouts in walls (see Fig. 21). However, we do not accept Herzfeld's conclusion that Darius' architects drafted the plan for all palatial structures of the site because the orifices of some of the tunnels correspond to walls of subsequently erected buildings.[67] We see no reason why the tunnel system existing at Darius' time could not have been subsequently expanded in any direction to take care of additional structures not necessarily visualized by the original architects.

The tunnel system—a work of considerable magnitude—was constructed primarily for the protection of the site and its buildings. It is possible that a secondary purpose was the storage of water, perhaps in as yet undiscovered reservoirs. In this connection we may mention a well wrought stairway of stone (discovered, we believe, by Herzfeld) which descends from the original surface east of the Throne Hall to the level of the tunnel system (Figs. 21 N, 88 *A*). This stairway was used presumably by workers cleaning the tunnels and perhaps by water-carriers as well.

We suggested above (p. 207) that the tunnel extending beneath the garrison quarters was cut synchronously with the leveling and scarping of the adjacent bedrock terraces prior to the construction of the fortress wall. It must be remembered, further, that the sewage drains in the garrison quarters do not lead to the tunnel but emptied into the street. The tunnel, averaging 1.15 m. in width and 1.75 m. (north) to 2.10 m. (south) in height, is cut into the bedrock and slopes down slightly from north to south. The level difference of the floor over a distance of about 20 meters is only 10 cm. (see Figs. 82–83, sections *A–A* to *C–C*). The walls are smoothed but not so well finished as those in other parts of the system.[68] Large roughly-cut stone slabs form the roof, which is covered with rubble and other filling material. The top of the tunnel proper is about 1.50 m. below the lowest floor level of the superposed garrison quarters. Inlets, marked by gaps in the tunnel roof, were noticed in Courtyard 14 and between Yard 20 and Room 19. It is unknown in what manner these openings were protected against the pressure of the inclosing rubble.

52. PT3 85.
53. Cf. PT6 455.
54. PT3 60.
55. PT3 59.
56. PT3 145 and PT3 144.
57. E.g. PT3 147.
58. PT3 20.
59. PT3 226.
60. PT3 311.
61. PT3 209.
62. PT3 190.
63. E.g. PT3 258*b*.
64. PT3 257.
65. PT3 270.
66. None found in the section examined.
67. See *IAE*, p. 224.
68. See Curzon, *Persia* II 181.

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THE FORTRESS WALL

The almost square tower (see p. 206) consists of a shell of mud-brick walls, measuring 4.50–5.50 m. in thickness, and a subdivided core of three roomlike sections solidly packed with masses of rubble and also boulders and earth (Fig. 86 *C–D*). The adjoining curtains have cores of the same nature buttressed by mud-brick walls. The appearance of the top of the defense wall is not known; but it must be assumed that the rubble-filled sections were covered with mud floors on the level occupied by the guards.

The western part of the defense wall rests on bedrock, whereas on the east a foundation layer of boulders was noticed. The wall bricks have the usual dimensions: 31–33 cm. square and averaging 12 cm. in thickness. Bolles remarked that the horizontal and vertical jointing varies from 1 to 5 cm. and that joints are broken vertically; but no attempts were made to break the jointing in plan. Thus the brick patterns on the top of the wall remnants form checkerboards. Bolles noted, further, that alternating half-bricks were used for corner bonding. His section *D–D* (Fig. 83) and Figure 86 *C–D* illustrate the interior construction of the tower. Apparently the building of the mud-brick walls and the filling of the voids were more or less synchronized. Phases of the work are marked by offset blocks of bricks, which indicate at the same time that neatness of construction was not considered essential. Openings were left in the partitions between the voids (see Fig. 86 *C*) to facilitate the transport of rubble and stones. Transverse blocks of mud brick separate Section 24 from the rubble-filled cores (25 and 26) of the curtains. We have referred (p. 209) to the thick plaster and the greenish-gray wash applied to the western face of the tower. Plaster coats, 2–8 cm. thick, were found on the external faces of the defense wall but not on the faces of the rubble-filled cores (22–26).

Large portions of the eastern wall of the tower had fallen eastward into the moat on top of layers of sediment and debris which had risen to a thickness of almost 2.50 m. (see Fig. 83, section *D–D*). Bolles was able to measure the fallen parts of the wall and to determine that the height of the eastern part of the tower was at least 11.50 m. Assuming that the eastern and western edges of the tower top were on the same level, he concluded that the west part of the tower—rising from a lower point of the slope—was at least 15 meters high. The height of the curtain walls is not known, but it is to be assumed that the tower was higher.[69] The debris gave no clues as to parapets, but no doubt they existed, perhaps duplicating in mud bricks the stepped stone crenelations of the stairways on the Terrace.

The only finds in the remnants of the fortification were six arrowheads, all of bronze, and a finger ring[70] of the same material.

THE MOAT

We implied above (p. 210) that the trench—about 6.00 to 9.50 m. wide at the bottom—extending along the outer face of the eastern fortification was intended as much as a defense against floods as against human enemies. Thus the normally dry moat (28) served as a drainage ditch during the periods of violent winter rains. It is bordered on the east by a slanting buttress of heavy boulders (see Fig. 83, sections *D–D* and *E–E*), whose extant top is traceable on the surface for a distance of about 53 meters beyond and north of the excavations (see Fig. 21), where it turns east toward the cistern, described below. Remnants of a facing of mud bricks leaned against the inner (western) side of the boulder wall. The upper portion of the buttress also apparently consisted of mud bricks, to judge by some units found on top of the boulders.

The excavations in the moat did not penetrate to bedrock. Its bottom consists of rocks, rubble, and earth, which were covered by a layer of nondescript, nonstratified debris 60 cm. high. Between .60 and 1.60 m. from the bottom the architect counted twenty-eight layers of water-borne sediment, undoubtedly corresponding to as many flood periods, that is, winters. This deposit was in turn covered by a characterless debris layer, perhaps crumbled wall matter, which had risen almost a meter before the tower collapsed and fell on top of it (see above).

The dirt filling of the moat contained a number of objects, some of which have bearing on the military character of the area, whereas others may have been left here by workmen who must have cleaned the trench from time to time. As to soldiers' equipment, there were only three arrowheads of bronze in addition to two armor scales,[71] a strap buckle, and a button of the same material. Tools are represented by an iron spade,[72] a bronze punch, and a piece of a whetstone. A lead disk might have been used as a weight. Some fragments of hardware include a bronze clamp.[73] Personal ornaments are represented by two bronze earrings, a large spheroid chalcedony bead (2.8 cm. in diameter), and a fragmentary frit pendant.[74] For the sake of curiosity we mention, finally, a prehistoric button seal,[75] older by about three millennia than the moat fill in which it was imbedded. It must have been carried here from Tall-i-Bakun A, 2 kilometers to the south.[76]

69. See Dieulafoy's hypothetical reconstruction of the Susa fortification in *L'Acropole de Suse*, Figs. 101–2.

70. PT3 285.

71. E.g. PT3 58.

72. PT3 343.

73. PT3 114.

74. PT3 105.

75. Closely resembling Seal TBA 412; see *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 93.

76. We should mention parenthetically the remnants of a building uncovered near the surface in Plot HG 85 above the eastern inclosure of the Treasury. There was only part of a crude boulder foundation including stones pilfered from the Achaemenian ruins, as indicated by several sculptured fragments. We found remains of a large room (Fig. 85 *B*) and a narrow adjoining chamber. The upper parts of the walls presumably were built of mud bricks, and mud was used to bind the stones of the foundation courses. We have no doubt that these remnants belonged to a building of the Islamic era, although the only object of this period found in the vicinity (in Plot HG 96) is a plano-convex spindle whorl of stone bearing a neatly engraved intricate fish pattern resembling early Islamic specimens from near-by Istakhr.

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THE CISTERN

About 30 meters beyond the eastern defense wall and somewhat higher up on the slope of Kuh-i-Rahmat, a cistern,[1] 4.15 m. square, was cut out of the living rock as early, presumably, as the time of Darius I (see p. 40). There is no doubt that it was used as a reservoir for the storage of water provided by the winter rains—in the same manner as we used it subsequently ourselves. We decided to clear it in order to determine whether it is linked with the tunnel system of the Terrace. We may mention at once that there is no connection, for we excavated the vertical cistern shaft (Fig. 89 *B–C*[2]) to a depth of about 24 meters without finding a lateral tunnel. At this point the excavation was discontinued for reasons of safety and because of the start of the rainy season. Within a short time the cistern was completely filled with water which rushed down the slope of the mountain, and in order to protect the excavations farther downhill we had to direct the overflow into the rock-cut drainage tunnel beneath the garrison quarters (see p. 210).

The cistern was filled with dirt and rocks to within 2.50 m. of the surface. At the time of Cornelis de Bruin's visit in 1704 the empty portion of the shaft was about 25 feet deep.[3] This means that in two hundred and thirty years the filling, mainly water-borne deposits, rose about 5 meters. Bolles' contour lines (see Fig. 21) indicate that the orifice of the cistern is 21–22 meters above our datum, which corresponds to the lowest landing of the Terrace stairway. The shaft bottom—which we did not reach (see above)—is therefore considerably below the base of the Terrace foundation.

The top edge of the rock cistern was cut to receive three beams (marked by broken lines on Fig. 89), or groups of such, lying in a north-south direction. One adjoined the eastern edge, the second spanned the center of the orifice, and the third lay on a ledge at the western edge. The dimensions of the cuttings indicate that if individual beams were used they were at least 55 cm. high and 40–50 cm. wide. It is possible, however, that several posts were employed in each case. On top was presumably a covering of planks with an opening for the hoisting of water. The purpose of two short channels cut diagonally into the western edge is not clear.

A parapet measuring about 55 cm. in height and thickness separates the eastern edge of the cistern from a level space (2.60 × 6.15 m.) cut out of the rocky slope. The eastern escarpment of this platform is 2.95 m. high. Its southeastern corner is connected with a rock-cut drainage canal (40 cm. wide), which was once apparently covered with stone slabs, to judge by ledges at either side. The drain extends in a westerly direction for about 7 meters, then turns south to cross(?) the east-west portion of the boulder-built retaining wall of the moat (see p. 211 and Fig. 21). At the start of this drainage canal what appears to be a feeder channel for the cistern branches off toward the south.

Most of the objects found in the filling of the cistern belong to the Islamic era—a silver coin attributed by George C. Miles to Shah Shuja[c] (A.D. 1359–84), four copper coins which may possibly range in time from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries after Christ, some glazed pot fragments, and a few ornaments of bone and glass. At a depth of 21 meters below the orifice occurred one Achaemenian arrowhead of bronze and a bronze finger ring with remnants of a lead bezel. Had we been able to penetrate to the bottom of the shaft, more instructive finds of the Achaemenian period no doubt would have come to light.

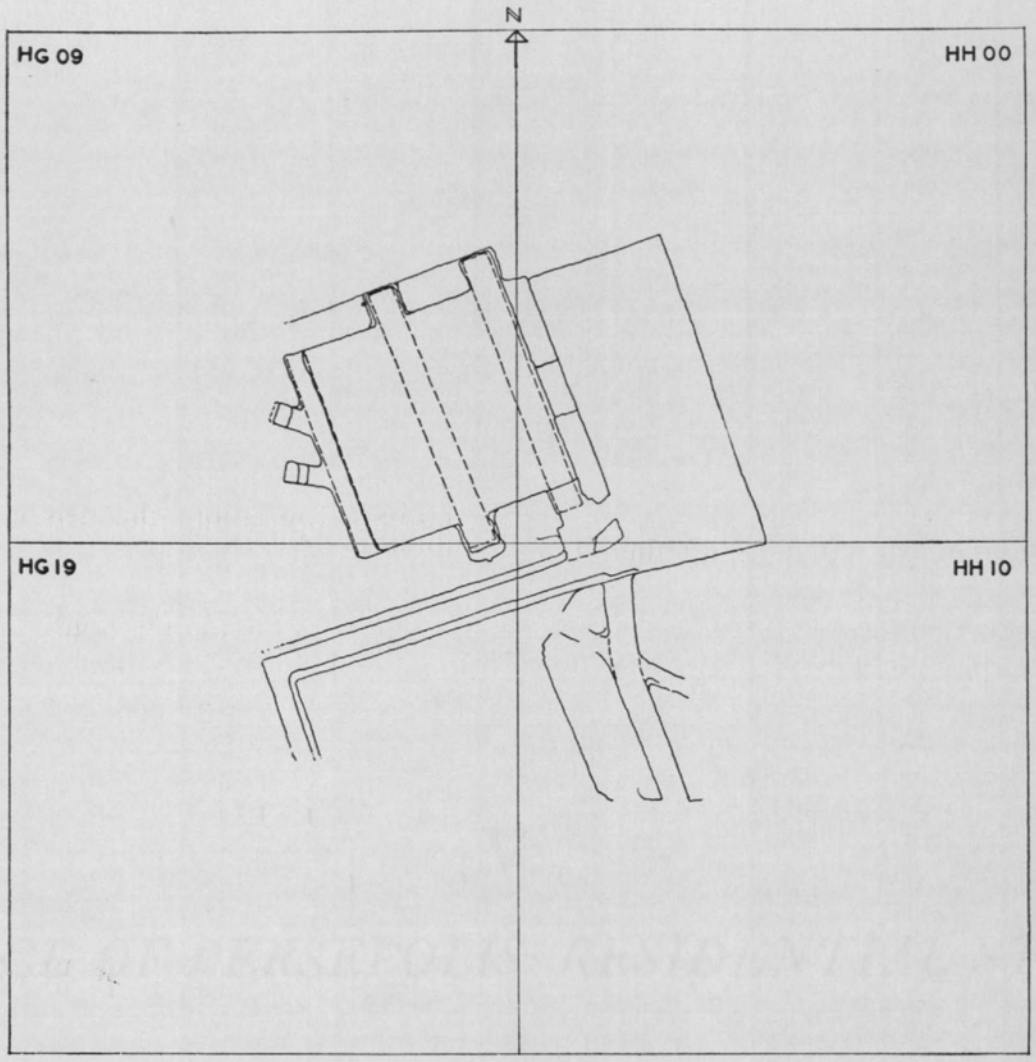
A similar cistern, discovered from the air, is situated on a rocky slope about 2 kilometers north-northwest of Persepolis (see p. 56). It also is cut into the living rock and filled to within a few meters of its orifice. The depth is unknown, and its location is difficult to explain.

1. We now prefer this term to "well"; cf. *OIC* No. 21, pp. 88 f.

2. See also *ibid.* Fig. 63.

3. *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales* (2 vols. paged consecutively; Amsterdam, 1718) p. 277.

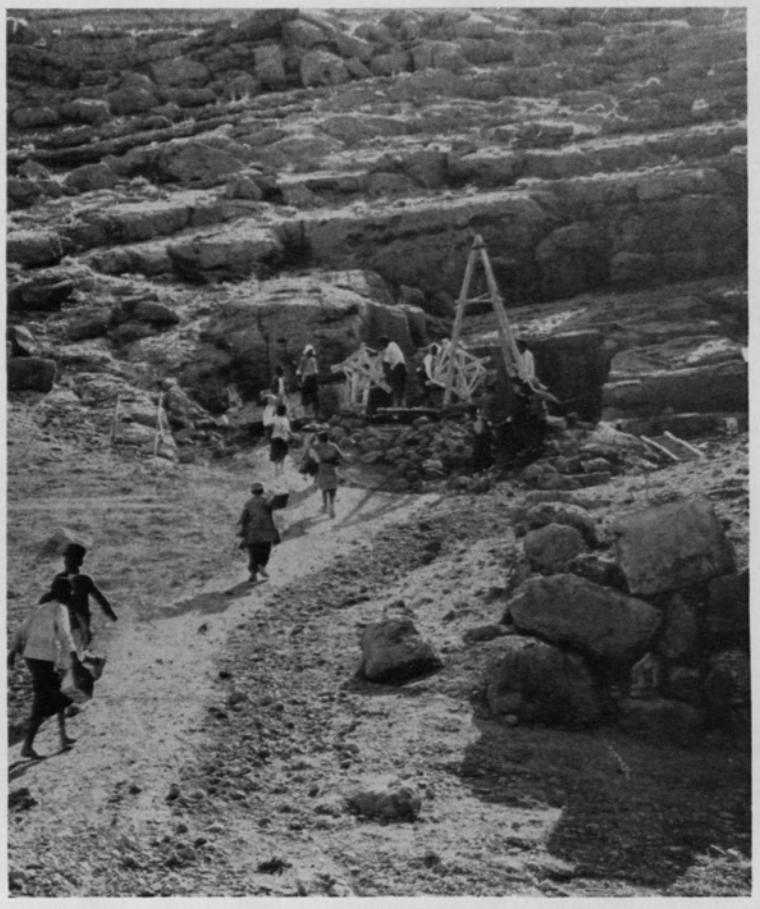
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A



B



C

Fig. 89. *A*. Plan of Cistern. Scale, 1:150. *B*. Excavation Scene on Top of Cistern (*direction of view, NW*).
C. Location View of Cistern (*direction, ENE*)

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V

THE TERRACE OF PERSEPOLIS: RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES

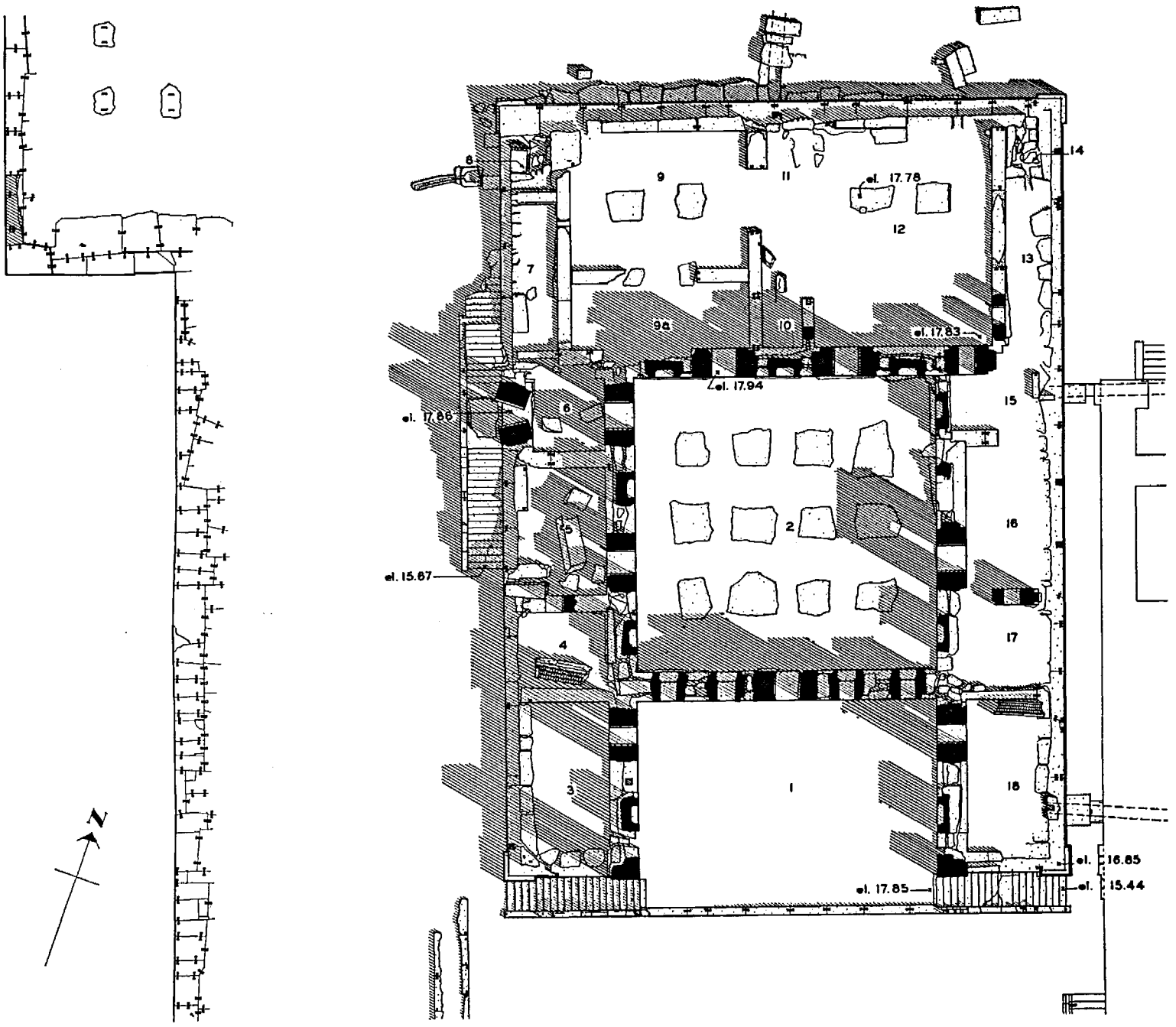
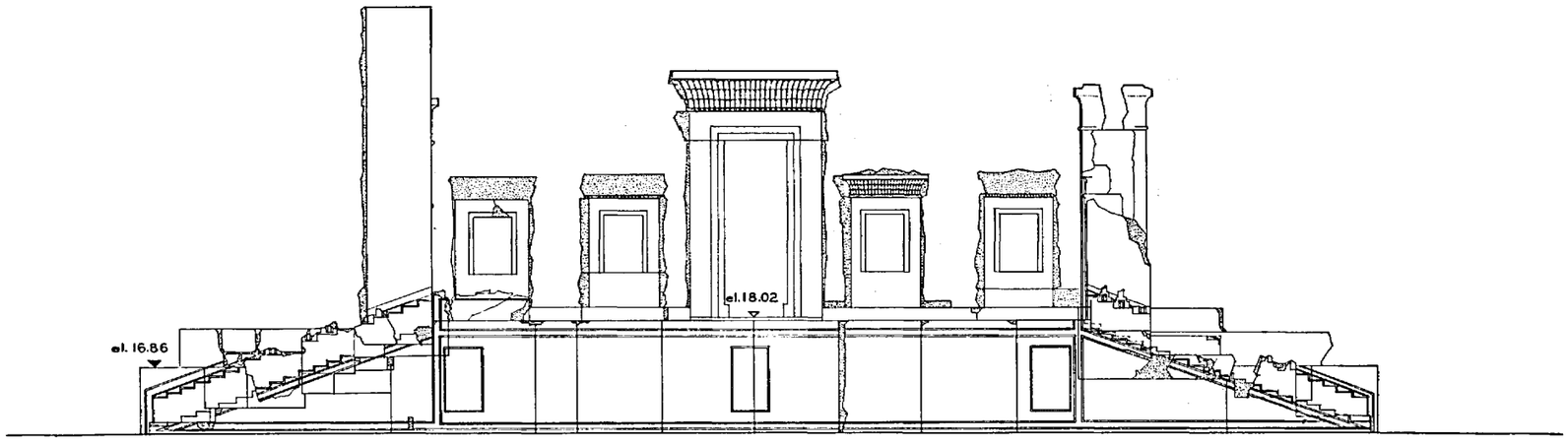
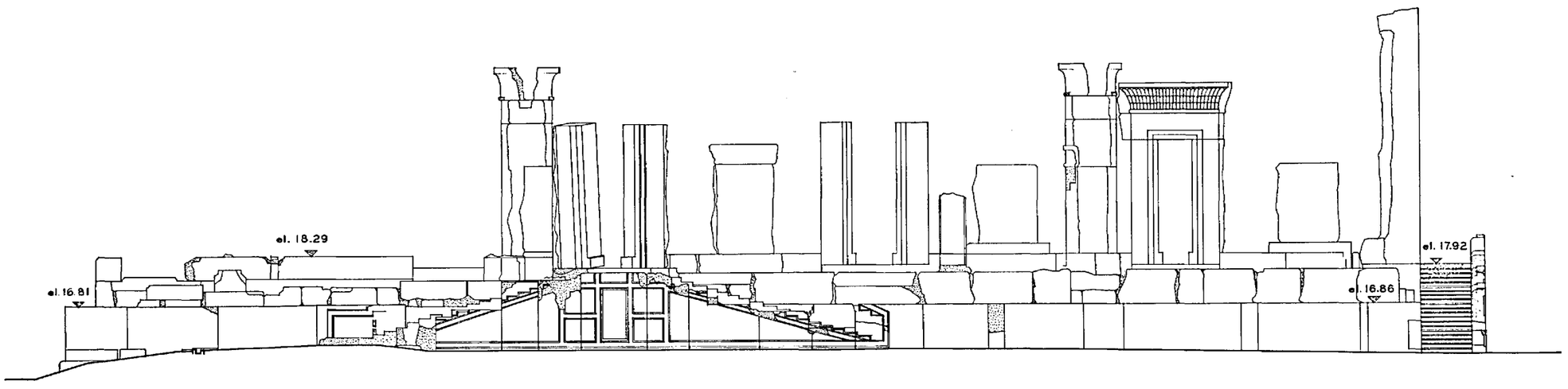


FIG. 90. PLAN OF EXTANT REMAINS OF PALACE OF DARIUS AND NEIGHBORING EDGE OF TERRACE. SCALE, 1:300

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A



B

FIG. 91. ELEVATIONS OF EXTANT SOUTHERN (*A*) AND WESTERN (*B*) PORTIONS OF PALACE OF DARIUS. AFTER ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:150

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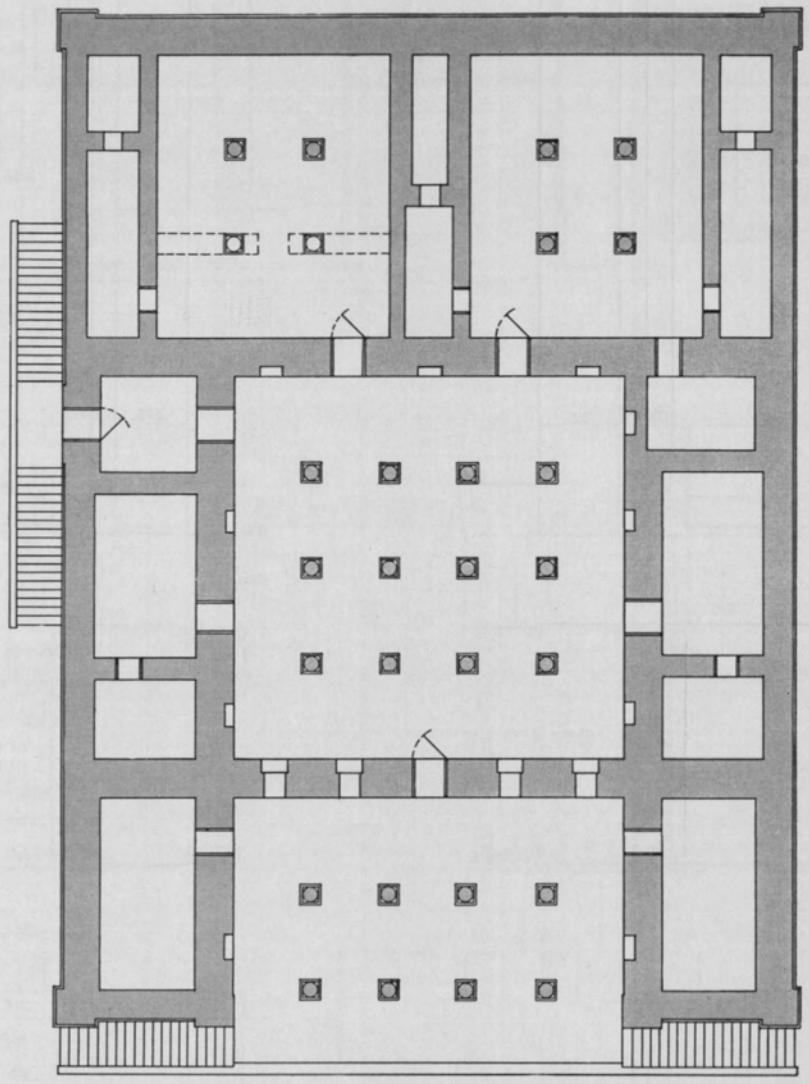
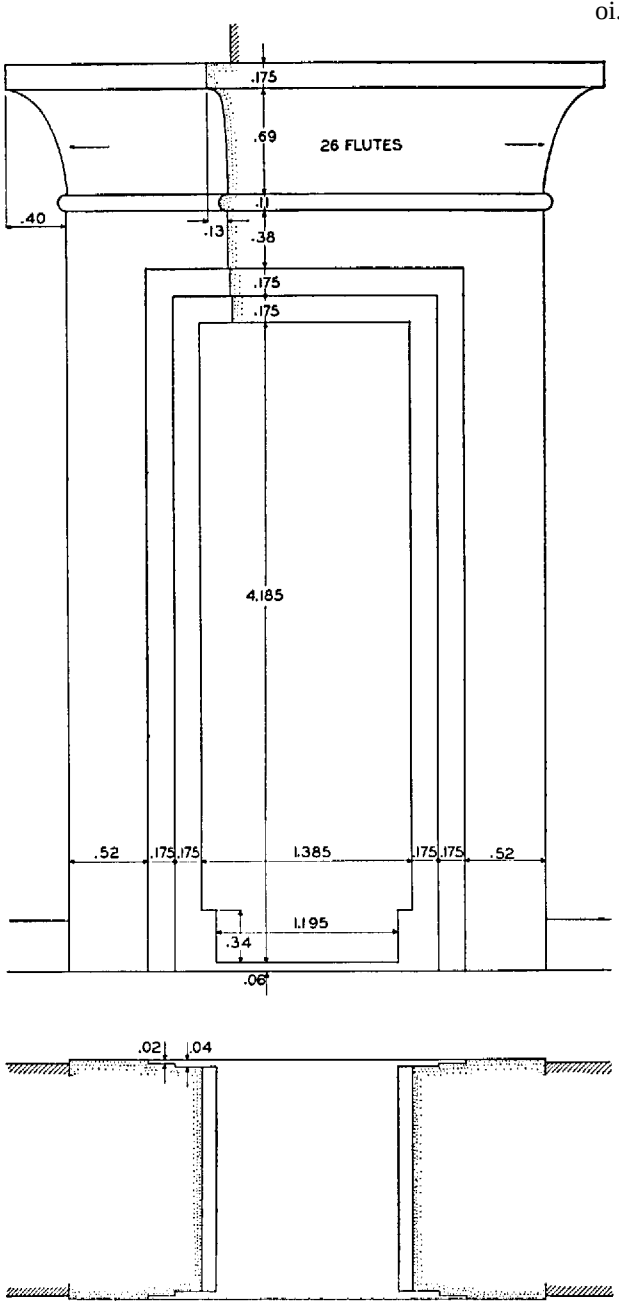
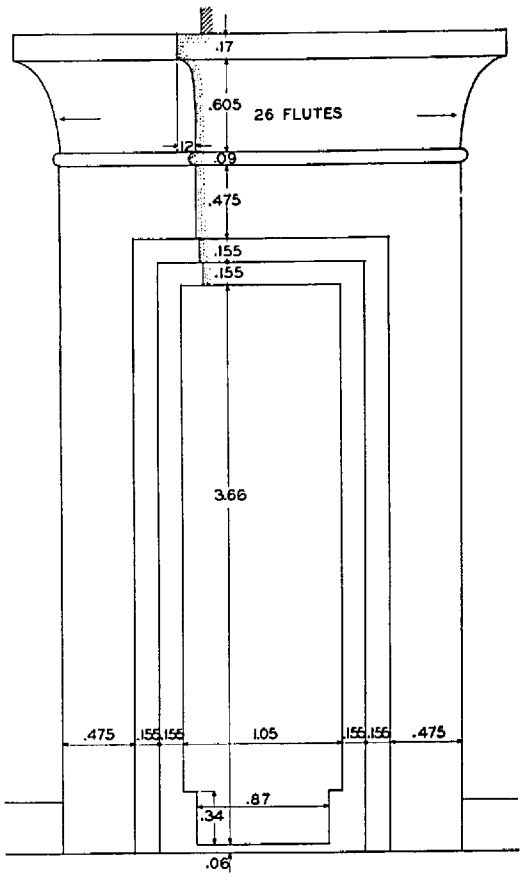
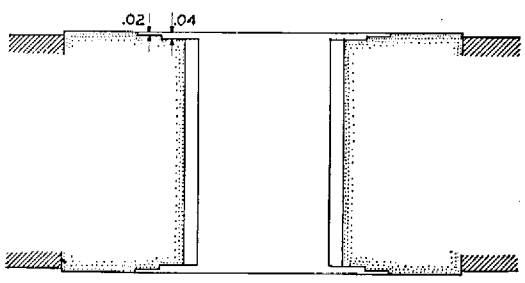


FIG. 92. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF PALACE OF DARIUS. SCALE, 1:300

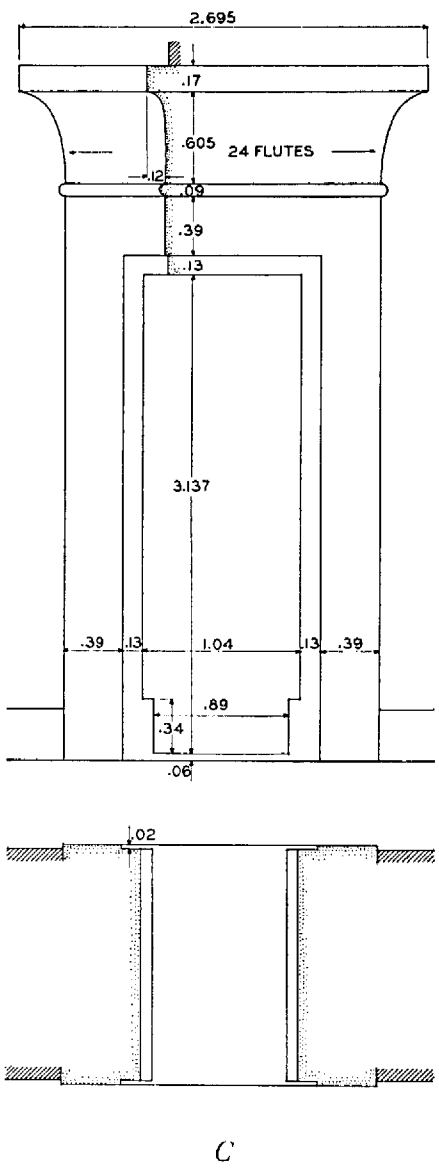




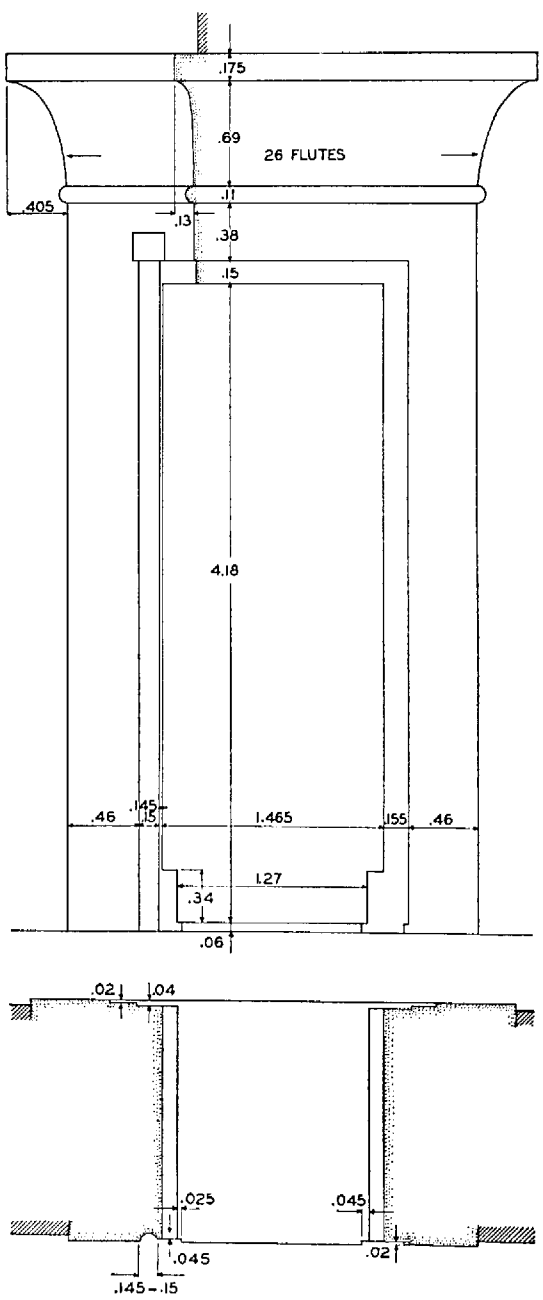
A



B



C



D

FIG. 93. PALACE OF DARIUS. DIAGRAMS OF DOORWAYS. SCALE, 1:50. *A*. SOUTH, EAST, AND WEST DOORWAYS OF MAIN HALL AND WEST DOORWAY OF VESTIBULE 6. *B*. DOORWAYS TO GUARDROOMS FLANKING PORTICO. *C*. SMALL DOORWAYS IN EAST, WEST, AND NORTH APARTMENTS. *D*. NORTH DOORWAYS OF MAIN HALL

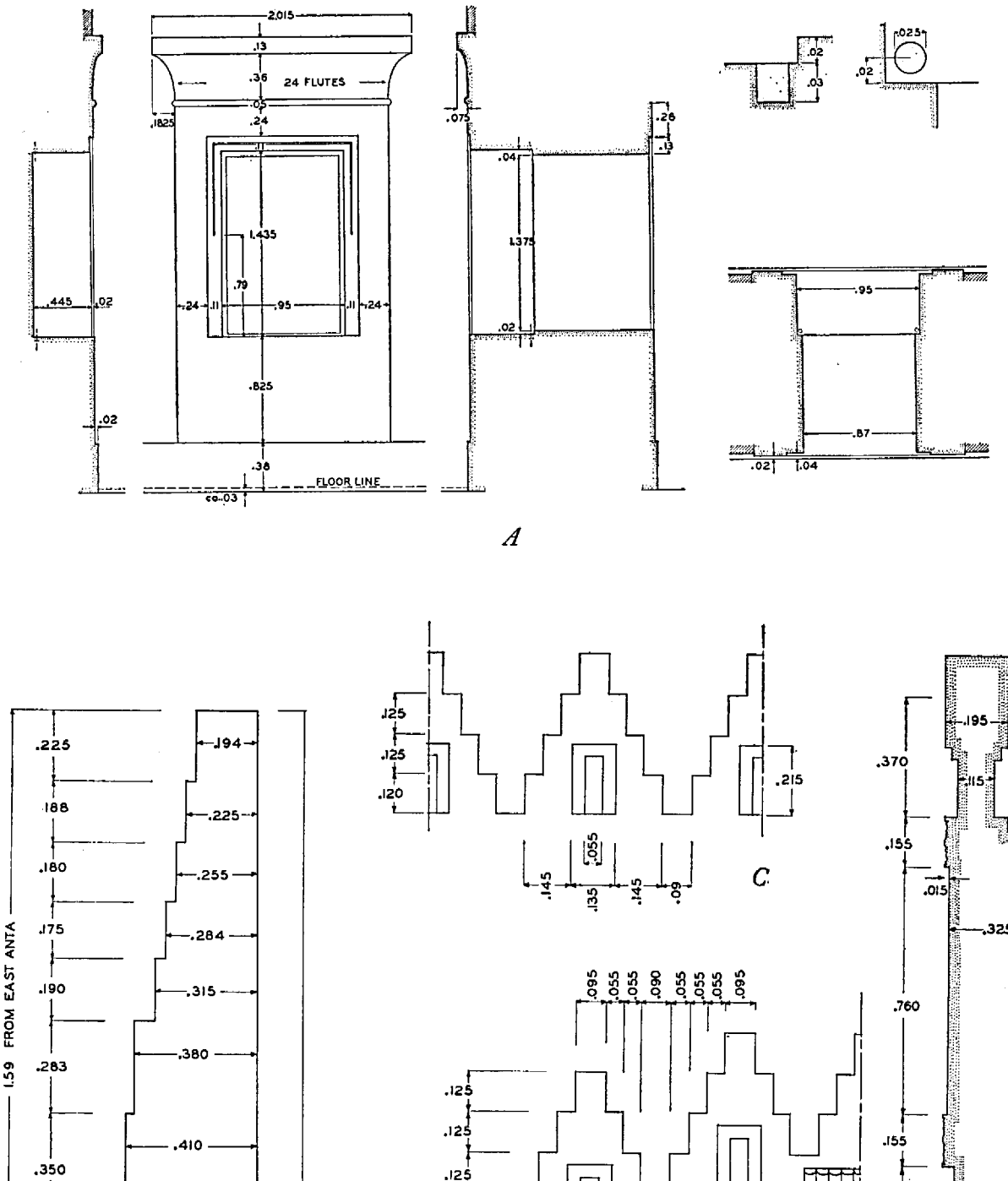


FIG. 94. PALACE OF DARIUS. *A*. PLAN OF WINDOWS AND ELEVATION AND SECTIONS OF NICHES AND WINDOWS IN MAIN HALL. *B*. PROFILE OF ANTAE, WITH INSCRIPTION PANELS. *C*. CRENELATIONS ON PARAPET OF PORTICO. *D*. CRENELATIONS ON PARAPET OF EAST FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. *E*. COLUMN BASE FOUND IN PORTICO. *F*. CROSS SECTION OF SOUTHERN END OF PLATFORM WITH PORTICO PARAPET
SCALES, 1:50 (*A*, EXCEPT PIVOT = 1:5) AND 1:20 (*B–F*)

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THE PALACE OF DARIUS I

GENERAL NOTES

IN 1841 Flandin and Coste[1] cleared some of the detritus which filled the main hall of this palace and trenched the deposit piled against the walls of its platform. Andreas and Stolze apparently continued the excavations.[2] Coste's survey[3] and the almost identical plan of Dieulafoy[4] were corrected through Herzfeld's investigations.[5] Our ground plan (Fig. 90) is based on Bergner's detailed survey, and our reconstruction (Fig. 92), made after careful re-examination of the structure by Haines, differs in minor points only from Herzfeld's version. Subsequent to the investigations of Curzon,[6] who tabulated and summarized the work of previous visitors, Herzfeld dealt with this building in various publications.[7]

Facing south, the Palace of Darius stands on a platform —buttressed by wrought masonry—which rises 2.20 to 2.50 m. above the floor levels of the Apadana and the neighboring courts on the west and south (see Fig. 91 and Pls. 124–25). A passage separates the building from the higher terrace of Palace G. This passage and the very narrow lane between the north wall of Darius' palace and the (reconstructed) southwest tower of the Apadana could have served as routes of communication between the palace and the southern entrances to the Apadana (see Fig. 21 and Pl. 129). A later wall foundation of reused stones breaking off near the southwest corner of the building is dealt with in reference to Palace H, which it abuts (see p. 279).

There is enough space for a fortification wall of normal thickness (*ca.* 10 m.) between Darius' palace and the edge of the Terrace (see Fig. 90). However, since a parapet apparently was considered sufficient protection for the adjacent area west of the Apadana (see p. 62), we assume that a defense wall was absent also west of Darius' palace, its southern courtyard, and Palace H. The elevations marked on our reconstructed plan of the Terrace (Fig. 21) show that its edge from the angle west of the northwest tower of the Apadana to the area west of Palace H has a uniform height of more than 14 meters above the plain. The hourglass-shaped depressions marked on Figure 90 along the Terrace edge and in the masonry of Darius' palace once contained cramps of iron, presumably set in lead.

The essential features of the plan of Darius' palace—namely a central hypostyle hall with adjacent suites of smaller rooms and a columned portico flanked by guard-rooms—were repeated, though modified, in the later residential buildings of Persepolis.[8] There was almost perfect symmetry in the plan of Darius' palace before one of the two four-columned rooms on the north was subdivided (see p. 228). A principal stairway of two opposed flights ascends from the level of the southern courtyard to the portico (1), and on the west a smaller stairway of the same type gives access through a vestibule (6) to the main hall (2).

All walls of the palace, including the dark gray monolithic niches and windows, stood on base courses of stone, whose remnants define the plan, for the mud-brick portions of the walls have disappeared (see Pl. 128 *A*). The insides of some of the niches and windows show an exceptionally glossy surface owing to high polish. The niche openings in the hall correspond in width to the northern openings of the windows (Fig. 94 *A*), whereas the portico niches have the same width as the somewhat narrower southern openings of the windows. The windows were once provided with shutters, made presumably of wood. Depressions in the floors of the niches, at their inner corners, suggest that their back walls had been covered with similar devices. Fluted, Egyptianized cornices crown the lintels of all niches, windows, and doorways (see Pl. 128 *B*). Apparently only four doorways of the entire building had doors: the southern doorway and the two northern ones of the main hall (the door swinging in each instance against the northern edge of the stone sill) and the western doorway of Vestibule 6, where the door swung against the eastern edge of the sill. Only the southern doorway of the main hall was inscribed (Dar. Pers. a, Dar. Pers. b, Xerx. Pers. "tač.").

There is a hollowed-out stone—a drip stone for roof drainage—connected with a section of a stone channel in the courtyard west of Room 8. Square holes of roof drains were noticed at several points,[9] but there are no indications of bathroom facilities or drainage therefrom, either in Darius' palace or in any of the palatial buildings of the site.

The floors of the palace are now mostly destroyed, but soundings by Herbert Weld-Blundell fortunately determined the presence of red coloring "on the floor of north-westerly rooms of the Palace of Darius."[10] We have no doubt, therefore, that the entire building was provided with red-surfaced flooring like that used in the Treasury. We have pointed out (p. 159) that the same kind of floor was noticed in structures south of the Terrace as well as at Susa and at Babylon.

1. See *Voyage en Perse ... Relation du voyage ...* II (Paris, 1852) 176–81.

2. See Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, "Bemerkungen zu den Tafeln" (3d page).

3. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 113; see also Pls. 114–28.

4. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* II, Pl. XIII.

5. Cf. *IAE*, Fig. 333.

6. *Persia* II 150 and 166–72.

7. *IF*, pp. 126–32; *AMI* I 28 f.; *IAE*, pp. 231–33 and Pls. XLV (left), LIV (above), LV (right), LXII, LXX (right), LXXIII (left), LXXXII (right). As to the lion frieze shown on Pl. LXXII (above) and erroneously assigned to Xerxes' Harem, see p. 226 below. The fragment with graffiti of human heads shown on the same plate (below) apparently was found detached, for it was previously called "fragment of sculpture of Darius from Persepolis" (Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, Pl. X, left).

8. As to the resemblance between the Palace of Darius and the Egyptian temple built by him at Hibis, see pp. 26 f.

9. Cut through stones north of Room 11, in west wall of portico (1), in east wall of eastern guardroom (18).

10. See *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* II 557. The red coloring found by Weld-Blundell "in the court of Palace No. 6" (the Harem) is, of course, the floor surface of the Treasury which he struck when he trenched through the superposed (greenish-gray or drab) floor of the Harem complex.

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INSCRIPTIONS

The building was started by Darius I and finished by Xerxes, as indicated by inscriptions. At least part of the western stairway was added by Artaxerxes III (see p. 224). Because the locations of the inscriptions have been described too ambiguously and corrections and additions are scattered in various publications, we find it advisable, here as elsewhere in this volume, to specify the find-locations of the texts and to give their latest translations.[11]

Darius I

DARIUS PERSEPOLIS a

This trilingual inscription (Pls. 138 *A* and 139 *A*) occurs on both jambs of the doorway connecting the portico (1) with the main hall (2). In each case the Old Persian text is closest to the southern edge of the jamb, that is, nearest to the portico. Next follows the Elamite text, in the center, and finally the Babylonian version. The Old Persian text says:

> Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries,[12] son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, who built this *tachara*.[13]

Below the inscription on each jamb is a relief depicting the king and two attendants leaving the building (see p. 224).

DARIUS PERSEPOLIS b

Darius' Pers. b inscription was carved on the vertical folds of the king's gown in the relief on the western jamb of the doorway which bears Dar. Pers. a. The mutilation of the king's gown (see (Pl. 139 *B*) was caused mainly by removal of the inscription (by De Bruin). Weissbach mentions the Old Persian text only.[14] However, by rearranging De Bruin's confused copy of the "characters which once appeared on the folds of the garment of the principal figure"[15] Cameron discovered two trilingual inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, namely Dar. Pers. b and Xerx. Pers. "tač." (see p. 224). The former is translated as follows:

> *Old Persian:* Darius the great king, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid.
> *Elamite:* Darius the great king, son of Hystaspes, [the Achaemenid].
> *Babylonian:* Darius the great king, [son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid].[15a]

DARIUS PERSEPOLIS c

The trilingual inscription Dar. Pers. c (Pl. 131 *A*) occurs eighteen times, on the stone frames of all the windows and niches of the portico and the main hall.[16] The four windows, between hall and portico, are inscribed on both the northern and the southern faces. The Old Persian text always occurs horizontally on the lintel of the windows and niches. The Elamite version forms a vertical band on the left frame, and the Babylonian balances it in the same position on the right. The inscription states:

> Frame(?)[17] of stone made for the palace[18] of King Darius.

Xerxes

XERXES PERSEPOLIS ca AND cb

These two trilingual inscriptions differ only in the arrangement of the lines. Xerx. Pers. ca is inscribed on the two stone antae flanking the portico entrance (Pl. 131 *B–C*). The western anta is still standing *in situ*. The inscribed upper part of the eastern pillar had fallen into the courtyard (see Pl. 126).[19] In both cases the Old Persian text is at the top, the Elamite in the center, and the Babylonian at the bottom. The duplicate inscription (Xerx. Pers. cb) occurs in three equally spaced panels on the sculptured façade of the southern stairway (Pls. 126 and 130, Fig. 91 *A*). Here the Old Persian text is in the center, the Elamite on the right side, and the Babylonian on the left. The Old Persian text of both inscriptions is translated as follows:[20]

> 1. A great god (is) Ahuramazda[21] who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.

11. Based on publications of Weissbach, Herzfeld, Kent, and Tolman and verified by Cameron. For an inventory of the inscriptions known in 1910 and their locations, see *KA*, pp. XIV–XVI.

The post-Achaemenid inscriptions of Persepolis are outside the scope of this publication; but we illustrate two Sasanian and two Cufic texts, all found in the Palace of Darius, where also a number of later Islamic inscriptions occur. Pl. 157 shows two texts of the time of Shapur II (A.D. 309–79) engraved on the southern face of the east jamb of the doorway which links the portico with the main hall. Translations, tentative and somewhat obscure in parts, are to be found in Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 121 f. A Cufic inscription of ᶜAdud al-Daulah (Pl. 158 *A*) was engraved in A.D. 955 beside the Sasanian inscriptions. Its latest translation also is given by Herzfeld (*ibid.* p. 125). The second Cufic text (Pl. 158 *B*) was engraved on the south face of the west jamb of the same doorway in A.D. 1002. Its latest translation, as pointed out to the writer by Professor Nabia Abbott, is in *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* VI (Le Caire, 1935) No. 2087, pp. 42 f.

12. El.: "of the countries of all tribes"; Bab.: "of the countries of all tongues" (see *KA*, p. 80, n. *a*).

13. The translation "winter palace" (see *KA*, p. 81) was subsequently dropped by Herzfeld (see *IAE*, p. 232). *Tachara* and *hadish* were used in the inscriptions of the Palace of Darius to designate one and the same residential palace, and the same is true of the Palace of Xerxes; cf. below Xerx. Pers. ca and cb (pp. 223 f.), Xerx. Pers. da and db (p. 238), and Xerxes' tori inscriptions (p. 239). As to the *hadish* at Susa, see p. 30.

14. Now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*KA*, p. XVI); illustrated by Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Fig. 138.

15. *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales* (1718) p. 273 and Fig. 133; see also G. F. Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der persepolitanischen Keilschrift* (Hannover, 1837) Pl. IV.

15a. While the present volume was in press Émile Benveniste published an interesting article dealing with this inscription: "Une inscription perse achéménide du Cabinet des Médailles," *Journal asiatique* CCXXXIX (Paris, 1951) 261–73. Benveniste, once for all, disposes of the "cubit of Darius" (composed of fragments of a garment fold with parts of the OP version of our Dar. Pers. b inscription), confirming Weissbach's previous repudiation of its validity as a measure (see *KA*, p. LXXV, n. 1). As to Benveniste's question in regard to the present condition of the inscribed doorway relief (*op. cit.* p. 269, n. 2), see our Pls. 138–39, specifically Pl. 139 *B*. No further fragments of the inscription have been found.

16. Including one almost destroyed niche in the eastern wall of the hall.

17. OP *ardastāna* (see Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* II 684), previously translated "orthostat" (see *AI*, pp. 22 f. [No. 9] and 74–76).

18. "Royal house" (*AI*, p. 353): *viθ-*, in addition to *tachara* and *hadish*, a third term used in designating the same palace.

19. Cameron remarks that the spacing of the text differs on the two antae, and he suggests that the circular hole obliterating a few wedges on the eastern anta was cut after the inscription had been carved. However, this hole may have been patched with a neatly fitting stone plug over which the inscription was carved. The rectangular cut at the edge of the same anta had undoubtedly been patched in this manner.

20. For variations in El. and Bab. versions see *KA*, pp. 110–13, footnotes.

21. Cameron points out that neither inscription has division wedges between *aurahyā* and *mazdāha*, thus implying that the two words are actually one.

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2. I (am) Xerxes the great king, king of kings, king of the countries possessing many kinds of people, king of this great earth far and wide, son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.

3. Says Xerxes the great king: By the grace of Ahuramazda this *hadish*[22] Darius the king made who (was) my father. Let Ahuramazda protect me with the gods, and what (was) done by me and what (was) done by my father Darius the king, (all) this let Ahuramazda protect with the gods.

XERXES PERSEPOLIS "tač."

On the eastern jamb (Pl. 138 *B*) of the doorway between the main hall and the portico Herzfeld discovered remnants of an inscription which was carved on three of the vertical folds of the king's gown. The inscription was possibly trilingual, for Herzfeld publishes fragments of Old Persian and Elamite versions; a Babylonian version is not mentioned. He does not express doubt as to the correctness of the text restored by him.[23] We have to accept it therefore as final, in spite of puzzling factors. Its translation reads:

Xerxes, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.

The identical royal figure on the opposite jamb is designated "Darius the great king" (Dar. Pers. b; see p. 223), and both jambs bear the Dar. Pers. a inscription mentioning "Darius the great king . . . who built this *tachara*." This, at any rate, is the primary inscription. Herzfeld states that the Xerxes inscription on the east jamb shows the official title of the heir to the throne.[24] He does not explain why the crown prince's name should identify the image of the king, who bears the scepter—the only distinguishing attribute of the ruler's apparel in the king–crown prince reliefs of the Treasury and the Council Hall (see Pls. 121, 123, and 78). While accepting the inscription as restored, we should assume that it was added by Xerxes after his father's death, though we cannot explain the omission of the royal title after Xerxes' name (cf. p. 238). Cameron informs us that enlargements of the photograph shown on Plate 138 *B* definitely show parts of Xerxes' name in Old Persian at the beginning of the inscription on the foremost vertical fold of the king's gown and his full name in Elamite on the fourth fold from the right. The second fold (less mutilated) is apparently blank, and the third fold must have been inscribed with the Babylonian version. Referring again to De Bruin's copy of the gown inscription (see p. 223), Cameron comments that the Babylonian text of De Bruin's line 6 can be restored only as "Xerxes, (of) Darius . . . (the son)," supporting Herzfeld's claim that Xerxes' name is not followed by the royal title. Cameron states, furthermore, that De Bruin's line 5 mentions in Elamite "(of Dar)ius the king, the son . . . ," which can only be part of an inscription of Xerxes.

ARTAXERXES III

ARTAXERXES III PERSEPOLIS b

The monolingual, Old Persian, text (Pl. 154) is engraved on the central panel of the sculptured western stairway façade.[25] It is identical, except for the number of lines, with the text (Art. III Pers. a, c, d) which is carved three times on the façade of Palace H (see p. 279):[26]

1. A great god (is) Ahuramazda who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made me, Artaxerxes, king, one king of many, one lord of many.

2. Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth: I (am) the son of Artaxerxes (II) the king; Artaxerxes (was) the son of Darius (II) the king, Darius (was) the son of Artaxerxes (I) the king; Artaxerxes (was) the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes (was) the son of Darius (I) the king; Darius (was) the son of Hystaspes by name; Hystaspes (was) the son of Arsames by name, the Achaemenid.

3. Says Artaxerxes the king: This *ustashanām*[27] of stone (was) made by me.

4. Says Artaxerxes the king: Let Ahuramazda and the god Mithra protect me and this country and what (was) done by me.

THE SOUTHERN STAIRWAY

The façade inscription of Xerxes, though stating that Darius built the palace, shows that Xerxes completed it after his father's death. The sculptures on the southern stairway may therefore belong to the beginning of Xerxes' reign, but, if so, it is to be assumed that sculptors who executed reliefs in the palace continued their work under Xerxes and carved the reliefs of the stairway too.

The façade (Pl. 126) has a long central section corresponding in length to the width of the portico. Two antithetic rows of nine Persian guards flank and face the central (OP) inscription panel. The two other versions of the inscription are at either end. Each guard is armed with a long lance held at attention, a bow, and a quiver. The dress consists of fluted tiara, long Persian candys, and shoes with three straps. A frame with twelve-petaled rosettes incloses this portion of the façade. The space above, that is, the outer face of the originally crenelated portico parapet (see Fig. 94 *C*, *F*), was decorated largely with rows of connected segmented stalks crowned by palmettes (cf. p. 83). The central motif consists of a winged disk flanked by two sejant sphinxes—dignified monsters composed of parts of man, lion, eagle, and bull (Pl. 127).[28] The human head has the long, square-tipped beard of royalty. The ear, adorned with a pendant, is that of a bull. Horns are symbolized on the high tiara with dentate or feathered crown. The body is that of a lion. One of its paws touches a palmette beneath a tip of the winged disk symbol. The leonine tail curves upward and forward, and from the shoulder of the monster rises a wing, its tip upcurled in typical Achaemenian fashion.

The triangular panels at either end of the façade front the two flights of stairs leading to the portico. Palmettes

22. See n. 13.

23. *AI*, p. 42 (No. 18); see also *SAOC* No. 5, p. 8.

24. *SAOC* No. 5, p. 8.

25. There is now no trace of a second inscription observed by Curzon (*Persia* II 167) "partly buried on the wall of the platform," above the stairway.

26. See *KA*, pp. XXIX and 128 f.

27. Variously translated "terrace" (Weissbach), "staircase" (Tolman), "Vorbau" (W. Eilers; oral information) but indicating, at any rate, that at least part of this stairway and its sculptures was made during the time of Artaxerxes III (see p. 228).

28. The extant sphinx had been removed to the Tehran Museum; for a complete example of this motif see Pl. 22.

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and the common scene of a rampant regardant bull attacked by a lion (see p. 83) decorate these panels, which are bordered by twelve-petaled rosettes. Figures of servants (Pls. 132–33) are carved above them, on the outer faces of the stairway parapets, which were topped by crenelations (see Fig. 94 *D*). The servants carry supplies for the royal table (see below). They appear to ascend the stairway on steps marked on the façade.

Similar, almost identical, processions of servants are shown on either flank of both flights of stairs (Pls.134–35). Hence there are six rows of servants altogether. Their dress marks them as Persians and Medes, always strictly alternating, but—where traceable—the first and the last servant of each file is a Persian. The dress of the Medes consists of the usual long belted coat, trousers, ankle straps suggesting shoes, and a bashlyk made of one piece (of felt, presumably) with domed top, a flap at the back of the neck, and scalloped markings on the chin strap. The swords of the Medes[29] are visible wherever their right sides are shown. The Persians wear the usual candys, buttoned shoes with three straps, and a bashlyk which seems to be a scarf wrapped several times around the upper part of the head and around the neck.[30] No Persian daggers—always worn in front—are visible. There were nineteen persons in each file, that is, one servant for each riser of the stairs, except the lowest. They are domestic servants, each carrying provisions needed for the king's table—lambs, kids, and young stags; animal skins, probably wineskins; and vessels, including a chalice with lid.[31] The reliefs flanking both flights of stairs on the north are cut into the masonry of the palace platform and into the lower parts of the antae. A stepped line paralleling the stairs and a band of rosettes form the upper frame in both rows.

When scrutinizing the stairway reliefs, we noticed a curious alternation of bearded and beardless Persians and Medes, a row of curls and usually a trace of a mustache marked above the chin flap of the bashlyk distinguishing the bearded persons. It is more plausible to assume that eunuchs are represented by the beardless servants than to consider them youths, alternating with adult men. The following table indicates that both Persians (or foreign servants in Persian dress) and Medes (or foreign servants in Median dress) are shown beardless, whereas apparently in the reliefs of the western stairway the persons in Median dress only are shown without beards (see p. 228). The table shows, furthermore, that on the southern stairway whole files of bearded and beardless servants alternate as strictly as the individuals of each file.

Beardless Persians Alternating with Bearded Medes	Beardless Medes Alternating with Bearded Persians
Façade of western flight	Façade of eastern flight
North face of western flight	North face of eastern flight
South face of eastern flight	South face of western flight

The figure of a Persian guard (Pl. 134 *B*), armed and attired in the same manner as the guards on the façade, is carved in the corner stone of the palace platform at the bottom of each flight of the stairway, but oriented transversely to the latter. The return of each corner stone (after fourth servant from bottom) is ornamented with an elaborate floral motif (Pl. 135 *D*), namely a palmette crowning a trunk of stacked blossoms which are derived, according to Dr. Kantor (see p. 83, n. 98), from the "heraldic flower (the 'South Flower') of Upper Egypt."

THE PORTICO

Eight columns supported the portico roof, but neither here nor in other parts of the building is there any trace of the shafts and capitals. It is plausible to assume that they were made of wood rather than stone, but our observations in the Palace of Xerxes teach caution (cf. p. 241). A solitary square stone base with two steps (Fig. 94 *E*) was noticed in the eastern part of the porch. It has never been mentioned by previous observers and is not shown on Bergner's detailed plan. It may have been brought here from some other part of the site—perhaps from a building excavated by Herzfeld south of the Terrace which shows identical bases. It does illustrate, however, the type of base which we assume was employed in Darius' palace, to judge by the form of the bases on his tomb.[32]

A cross section of the portico parapet, decorated on its inner (northern) face with a continuous row of the common palmettes on tall segmented stalks, is shown on Figure 94 *F*. The two antae, bearing the Xerx. Pers. ca inscription (see p. 223), are dimensioned on Figure 94 *B*. The profile of the portico roof is marked at the tops of these pillars by stepped cuts which provided clues for the attempted reconstructions by Coste[33] and Dieulafoy.[34] As mentioned above, the two monolithic niches—one at either side of the portico—and the four stone windows (Fig. 94 *A*)—between the porch and the main hall (2)—bear the Dar. Pers. c inscription (see p. 223).

The reliefs on the stone doorways (Fig. 93 *B*) leading to the two lateral rooms (3 and 18) adjoining the portico mark them as guardrooms. The stereotyped figures, occurring also at the corresponding locations in Xerxes' palace, in the Harem, and in the Throne Hall, represent on each pair of jambs the reflected images of two guards (Pls. 136–37) in Persian dress with low fillet-like tiara open on top. All guards face the portico. The foremost of each pair holds a tall rectangular shield (actually of wickerwork), and both hold long lances.

29. For an elaborately ornamented Median sword see southern relief of Treasury (Pl. 120).

30. Exactly the same dress—bashlyk, gown, and shoes—as is worn by the dignitary standing behind Xerxes in the Treasury reliefs (Pls. 121 and 123).

31. There is a certain periodicity which would permit a rather accurate reconstruction of the stairway reliefs, some gaps excepted.

32. Illustrated in Vol. III.

33. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 121 *bis* (actually numbered 122).

34. *L'Art antique de la Perse* III (1885) Pl. VII.

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THE MAIN HALL

The doorway between portico and main hall shows on both jambs the king in formal attire as he leaves the palace (Pls. 138 *B* and 139 *B*). He is followed by two Persian attendants, who are represented at a smaller scale. The upper part of each jamb bears the Dar. Pers. a inscription (see p. 223). On the west jamb Darius' name and title were inscribed on the king's gown (Dars. Pers. b; see p. 223), and Xerxes' name is traceable on the opposite jamb (Xerx. Pers. "tač."; see p. 224).

Whereas in the two reliefs the attendants and their attributes are pictured in true mirror reflection—as in all other similar instances—the king's right hand holds the scepter and his left a lotus blossom (see p. 84, n. 108) with two buds. The king's tall tiara with dentate top is rough in contrast to the polished surface of the rest of the reliefs and the doorway. This indicates that the tiara had been covered, probably with a sheet of gold fastened by means of tacks, to judge by a number of small holes. Holes at the back of the neck and in the chest and others at either side of the wrists show the locations of a necklace and bracelets. These attributes of formal attire are not marked on the reliefs of the Treasury (Pls. 121 and 123) and the Harem (Pls. 193–94). The two Persian attendants wear the same type of long gown—the candys—as the king. Their headress, however, is the usual low band. The bearer of the royal parasol, appearing in both cases in the foreground, is bearded. The second attendant, holding a fly-whisk over the king's head with one hand and a towel in the other hand, is perhaps beardless, as are his counterparts on the northern doorways of the main hall (see below).

Twelve columns—not sixteen as marked on early surveys—supported the roof of the central hall.[35] The walls were adorned with eight stone niches (see Figs. 90 and 92). The niches as well as the four stone windows bear the Dar. Pers. c inscription (see p. 223). Six monumental doorways of stone (Fig. 93 *A*, *D*) connect the hall with the other parts of the building.

The reliefs on the jambs of the entrance from the portico are described above. The jambs of the two doorways leading through the opposite wall into the northeastern and northwestern apartments are embellished with two identical pairs of reliefs (Pls. 140–41), which closely resemble the scene carved in the southern doorway. In the reliefs on the northern doorways the king is shown facing and entering the hall. He is identical with his counterpart in the portico entrance in size, indications of formal attire, and royal paraphernalia; but deep triangular cuts below the chin indicate that here the royal beard consisted of inlaid material. In the western doorway interesting engraved textile patterns are preserved on the king's gown. On the eastern jamb the lower hem of the candys is embellished with a file of walking lions bordered above and below by zigzag lines (Pl. 142).[36] On the western jamb the king's gown has an allover pattern of elaborate encircled palmettes bordered by two staggered tiers of semicircles which may actually depict a wreath of flowers (Pl. 143). The carelessly drawn designs are undoubtedly artists' sketches made in preparation for painting the reliefs (cf. similar designs on king's gown in Xerxes' Harem; p. 257 and Pl. 198). While under the protection of the roof the king was not in need of the sunshade; thus, the hands of the counterpart of the bearded attendant who carries the royal parasol in the reliefs on the portico entrance are shown at ease and crossed. There is no doubt that the second attendant, holding fly-whisk and towel, is beardless and therefore presumably a eunuch. The footgear of all persons is well preserved, the plain shoes of the king contrasting with the attendants' buttoned shoes with three straps.

The three pairs of sculptures carved on the doorways to the eastern and western apartments (Rooms 16–17 and 5–4) and Vestibule 6 show the royal hero in combat with animals and monsters. As usual, the combat scenes are pictured on the two jambs as reflected images. Apparently it did not matter whether the hero's right hand or his left held the dagger, whereas, as we have pointed out, the scepter is always held in the king's right hand. The hero's only attribute of royalty is his long square-tipped beard. His headdress is not the tall cidaris. It is the fillet-like band open at the top, such as that worn by attendants and certain guards. The hero's upper body is bare except for parts of the tucked candys thrown over his shoulders. One leg also is exposed, and the shoes are like those of the Persian dignitaries, soldiers, and servants.

On the jambs of the eastern doorway (Pl. 146) the hero holds and stabs a rampant lion which is strangely small, weak, and unimpressive compared to the formidable leonine antagonists pictured on the western doorway of the main hall of Xerxes' Harem (Pl. 195) and the southern doorway in the west wall of the Throne Hall (Pl. 115).[37] On the other hand, it would be difficult to find any difference between the monster (composed of horned lion, bird, and scorpion) which the royal hero dispatches in the opposite western doorway (Pl. 145) and the (better preserved) monster shown on the eastern doorway of the main hall of the Harem (Pl. 196) as well as the monster in the northern doorway of the east wall of the Throne Hall (Pl. 116).

The hero faces the interior of the main hall in the eastern and western combat reliefs just mentioned. However, in the third combat scene he turns his back to the hall and faces Vestibule 6 and the western entrance of the palace. It is clear, therefore, that the orientation of this relief has bearing on the entrance. We see no reason to doubt that it was carved when the palace was built. We believe therefore that the western entrance and some sort of stairway existed long before the alterations or additions referred to by Artaxerxes III in his inscription (Art. III Pers. b) engraved on the stairway façade (see p. 228). The scene under consideration (Pl. 144) shows the royal hero in stereotyped battle dress and position, grasping the horn[38]

35. See Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, "Bemerkungen zu den Tafeln" (3d page).

36. See p. 222, n. 7. We do not know to what period to attribute the ursine animal scratched above the lions shown on Pl. 142 *A*.

37. Perhaps we see in the reliefs on the eastern doorway of the hall and in those on the doorways between the rooms in the eastern and western apartments (see p. 227) the work of sculptors who were later replaced by artists of greater skill.

38. Only one horn is visible.

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of an erect bull while stabbing the animal with his dagger. The bull's neck is adorned with a band of eight-petaled rosettes. In reference to a similar combat scene in the Throne Hall we mentioned that the adorned bull has the appearance of a sacrificial animal rather than an antagonist (see p. 137).

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN APARTMENTS

The larger room of each apartment is connected with the main hall by a doorway adorned with combat reliefs (see above). In either suite a less pretentious sculptured doorway of stone (Fig. 93 *C*) links the two rooms (16, 17 and 5, 4). The two pairs of reliefs (see n. 37) are identical (Pl. 147).[39] They are treated as reflected images in the same manner as the similar scenes described above. The royal hero is shown strangling with one arm a young lion whose head is turned back. The other hand holds a dagger, ready to dispatch the animal. The hero is dressed for combat (see p. 226), but his upper body is shown in an awkward frontal position whereas his head and legs are, as usual, pictured in profile. Ends of his gown are thrown over both shoulders, and the upper part of a Persian type scabbard, stuck behind the belt, is visible in front.[40]

THE NORTHEASTERN APARTMENT

Haines re-examined the remnants of the mostly destroyed northern portion of Darius' palace and found sufficient clues among the remains of the wall foundations of stone to reconstruct its original plan (see Fig. 92).

The apartment concerned has a main room (12), once provided with four columns, and five subsidiary rooms. Three sculptured doorways connect the main room with the pairs of subsidiary rooms on the east (13–14) and west (10–11) and the single room (15) on the south. The plan of Room 12 is clear. The point where the dividing wall between Rooms 10 and 11 abutted their western stone foundation is marked by a faintly chipped vertical line and by a rough area on the otherwise polished face. There is no doubt that the two rooms were linked by a doorway. The length (2.96 m.) of Room 14 was determined with the aid of similar markings on a stone of its eastern base course which had fallen into the southern courtyard of the Apadana near the northeast corner of Darius' palace (see Fig. 47 *E* and Pl. 129). There are no traces of the doorway between Rooms 13 and 14, but its location is clear. Room 15, on the other hand, was not connected with Room 16. The seemingly smooth end of the dividing wall foundation (see Fig. 90) is a fracture, and the wall continued eastward.

The reliefs which adorn the only doorway connecting the apartment with the main hall show the king with two attendants, a scene exactly duplicated on the entrance from the hall to the northwestern apartment (see p. 226 and Pls. 140–41). The domestic character of the northeastern apartment is emphasized by the fact that all inner doorways are ornamented with reliefs of personal attendants of the king. All are Persians, as shown by their attire. Two attendants, both wearing earrings, are beardless youths or eunuchs. The heads of the others are too defaced to show details.

The southern jamb of the doorway between Rooms 12 and 10 bears the well preserved relief[41] of a beardless attendant (Pl. 149) holding a cosmetic bottle[42] in his raised right hand and a folded towel in his left. There is no trace of the northern jamb. The missing sculpture may have been the reflected image of the person pictured on the southern jamb and facing east, that is, toward Room 12; or, if we judge by the reliefs on the opposite doorway, it may have been identical with the attendant shown on Plate 148 *B*.

In the opposite doorway, connecting Rooms 12 and 13, the relief on the southern jamb (Pl. 148 *A*) is almost identical with the relief just described. Here, however, the beardless attendant carrying cosmetic bottle and towel faces west in order to face Room 12. The northern jamb Pl. 148 *B*) does not show the reflected image of the relief on the southern jamb. Here the attendant, also facing Room 12, carries a censer[43] in his right hand and an incense pail in his left. This is the only extant example of doorway reliefs at Persepolis which does not follow the rule requiring the representation of the same scene on both jambs.

The reliefs in the doorway connecting Rooms 12 and 15 (Pl. 150) combine on each jamb the two attendants shown individually on the opposite jambs of the doorway described above. The carrier of cosmetic bottle and towel precedes the attendant with censer and incense pail. Because of mutilations it is not possible to state whether they are bearded or beardless. The two reliefs are reflected images, both attendants on each jamb facing Room 12.

39. Of the western doorway the mutilated eastern jamb only is *in situ*. The western jamb (Pl. 147 *D*) lay west of the Terrace in the plain, where it was photographed before removal to the Tehran Museum.

40. The graffito of a standing Sasanian prince was discovered by Herzfeld "on a side-door" of the palace and tentatively identified as Shapur son of Papak and elder brother of Ardashir I (see *IAE*, Fig. 401 and p. 308; also Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 80 f.). For further Sasanian graffiti, found in the Harem of Xerxes, see p. 258 below.

41. The almost perfect preservation of this relief is due to the fact that the jamb had fallen, and the sculpture was thus hidden from view. Herzfeld's crew, we believe, put it back in its original position.

42. Actually made of alabaster or similar stone; cf. PT5 931 and PT5 525.

43. Almost identical in form with the larger incense burners shown in the Treasury reliefs (see Pl. 121).

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THE NORTHWESTERN APARTMENT

Originally one room with four columns balanced the main room (12) of the northeastern apartment.[44] Subsequently this room was subdivided (Rooms 9 and 9*a*) by a mud-brick wall on a foundation course of stone. This is proved by the facts that the foundation slabs for the southern pair of columns are still *in situ* and that the eastern and western wall foundations are polished behind the abutting remnants of the stone course of the dividing wall.

West of Rooms 9–9*a* two subsidiary rooms (7–8) balance Rooms 13 and 14 of the northeastern apartment. The doorway between Rooms 9*a* and 7 has disappeared, but Haines determined the position of the jamb stones with the aid of slightly chipped markings on the sill stone. The doorway was undoubtedly ornamented with reliefs, which presumably were identical with those on the doorway between Rooms 12 and 13 (see Pl. 148). This assumption is supported by the fact that the reliefs on the doorways linking the two apartments with the main hall are identical (Pls. 140–41). The location of the east jamb of the doorway between Rooms 7 and 8 is marked by a faint line on the preserved sill stone.

THE WESTERN ENTRANCE AND STAIRWAY

We mentioned that the royal hero in the reliefs on the doorway connecting the main hall with Vestibule 6 faces west (see Pl. 145), that is, the western entrance. The jambs of the outer doorway (Fig. 93 *A* and Pls. 151–52), dislocated perhaps by earthquakes, are ornamented with guard reliefs duplicating those on the doorways which link the portico with the guardrooms (Pls. 136–37). The figures in the reliefs concerned face the landing of the western stairway and represent a detail of the palace guard watching the western approach to the building. Vestibule 6 was not a guardroom, since the doorway with the soldier reliefs had a door whereas the entrance to Hall 2 was open (see p. 222). The guards here stationed found protection against the weather inside the spacious entryway.

The walls and parapets of the western stairway are ornamented in the same fashion as those of the southern stairway (see p. 224). Four files of alternating Persian and Median servants carrying supplies for the royal table (Pl. 156) mount the two converging flights of stairs. The exact number of servants is not known. There may have been nineteen ascending each side of the southern flight; but at the foot of the northern flight four additional servants are shown approaching the lowest step (Pl. 156 *D*). Here too the last figure in each file is a Persian. All animals are carried by Medes, and all wineskins by Persians. The upper figures are missing, but a section of parapet found on the ground beside the stairway (Pl. 156 *A*) shows ornamental crenelations like those of the parapets of the southern stairway. The figures of two Persian guards are preserved on the newel of the parapet of the southern flight (faintly visible on Pl. 155 *B*).

There are enough differences in details between the reliefs on the western stairway and those on the southern stairway to indicate that they were not carved by the same sculptors. If the western reliefs were carved during Artaxerxes III's reign (see below), about one hundred and thirty years would have elapsed between the execution of the two sets of sculptures. Some of the differences noticed on the western stairway are as follows: The figures of the servants appear to be more stocky. The bashlyked heads of the Medes are larger in proportion to the bodies. The servants mounting the stairs seem to lean forward. The ends of the wineskins are larger, as are the rear flaps of the bashlyks of the Persians. The forelegs of the animals are bent at a more acute angle, and the rosettes of the ornamental frames are smaller.

Here, as on the southern stairway, the servants are alternately bearded and beardless. However, in contrast to the sculptures of the main stairway, which show files with beardless Medes as well as files with beardless Persians (see p. 225), the extant figures of the western stairway indicate that here the servants in Median dress only are shown beardless, whereas all those in Persian dress are bearded.

The façade of the western stairway bears an Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes III, in which he claims to have made "this *ustashanām* of stone" (see p. 224). For stylistic reasons Herzfeld denied categorically that the stairway, its sculptures, and the western entrance with its guard reliefs could have been built by Artaxerxes.[45] We believe that a western entrance was planned by Darius' architects and therefore that a stairway must have existed at this point originally. It is possible, however, that the façade, for instance, had been left incomplete and that it was finished and sculptured during the reign of Artaxerxes III.

The middle portion of the façade is divided into eight panels (Pl. 153 *B*), which are inclosed, as far as they are preserved, by frames with twelve-petaled rosettes. Above the central inscription (Pl. 154) the bird tail of a winged disk symbol is visible. Its wings must have been very short, to judge by the distance between the lateral frames. At either side are abbreviated versions of gift-bearing delegations in three registers. The remnants of four additional delegations, two at each side, are shown ascending imaginary stairs above the triangular side panels, which are ornamented with the usual lion-and-bull combat and palmette motifs (Pls. 152, 153 *A*, and 155). All delegations face the center of the façade. Those to the north are led by Median ushers, the southern ones by Persians. The ushers, as far as preserved, are armed with sword or dagger and are distinguished, as usual, by torque and staff.

Herzfeld[46] attempted to identify the foreign delegations. Owing to his discovery of the eastern stairway of the Apadana, it is now possible to add somewhat to his observations. The uppermost registers of the central group

44. As to the possibility that one of the two apartments was occupied by—or at least had been planned for—the queen, see p. 258, n. 26.

45. *IF*, p. 126.

46. *Ibid.* p. 49 and Fig. 14.

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of delegations are destroyed except for remnants of feet (Pl. 153 *B*). The shoes of the Median usher in the uppermost panel at the left are clearly recognizable. There are three delegates in each of the four preserved panels in addition to the usher, who holds the delegation leader by his hand. The two other persons of each group carry gifts. Herzfeld identified the delegates of the middle panel to the left with the assumed Cilicians of the Apadana reliefs (delegation No. 8; p. 87). They are characterized by fillet with tassel, long gown with ribbed belt (whose tasseled end is tucked behind the belt), and high shoes with ornamental straps tied in front (cf. throne-bearer No. 8 [Cilician?] of the Council Hall; p. 118). Their gifts are two animal skins, carried by the last person of the delegation, and apparently two vessels, held by the preceding man. The dress of the delegates shown in the opposite panel identifies them with the Arachosians(?) of the Apadana reliefs (delegation No. 7; p. 85). They wear banded bashlyk, long belted coat, trousers with characteristic notches at the side, and high boots with slightly upturned toes. Each of the gift-bearers appears to carry two vessels. The delegations of the two lowest registers have not been definitely identified. The delegation at the left belongs to the large group of Saka peoples.[47] The dress consists of pointed hat, belted "cutaway coat" (that of the delegation leader being strapped on the chest), long trousers with horizontal scalloped pattern on the legs (apparently strapped at the knees), and plain shoes. Markings on the coat suggest fur trimming. The gift-bearers carry a coat[48] and two bracelets or similar ring-shaped objects. Herzfeld suggested that the delegation of the lowermost panel at the right may represent a nation of eastern Iran. The delegates are bareheaded (the hair being groomed in tiers and bunched at the back) and wear apparently long coat, long trousers, and plain shoes with slightly upturned toes. Their gifts are two vessels and two spears.

Only one group of the ascending delegations is fairly well preserved, at the southern end of the stairway (Pl. 155). It belongs to the group of Saka peoples (see n. 47). The upper part of the Persian usher is missing. Behind him is the leader of the delegation, followed by five gift-bearers. Their headdress with knobby point (not sharp, as suggested by mutilated third figure from right) is identical with that worn by the assumed Sogdians of the Apadana reliefs (delegation No. 17; p. 89). The plain baggy trousers of the two groups are identical, but the coats of the delegates concerned resemble more closely those worn by the persons in the lowermost register at the left (cf. Pl. 153 *B*). The gift-bearers carry two bracelets, two pairs of vessels, animals skins, and (last person) objects which suggest an open bow case, the two halves being held side by side. Some feet only are left to indicate that another delegation preceded this group. Along the upper steps of the opposite, northern flight of the stairway are preserved the lower parts of four delegates clad in long gowns (see Pl. 152)[49] reminding one of the dress of our Western Lowlands (group No. VII; p. 117). Along the lower steps, traces of feet only remain.

47. Our Scythian group (No. IV; see p. 117). Junge apparently refers to this delegation when stating that the Saka Tigraxauda are represented on the western stairway of Darius' palace (*Saka-Studien*, p. 93).

The Saka delegation pictured on a relief (of Artaxerxes I?) which was used secondarily in the east stairs of Palace H undoubtedly represents the same nation as the tribute-bearers in the relief with which we are here concerned (see p. 282 below).

48. Faintly visible on Pl. 152; cf. *IF*, Fig. 14 *E*.

49. Cf. *IF*, Fig. 14 *B*.

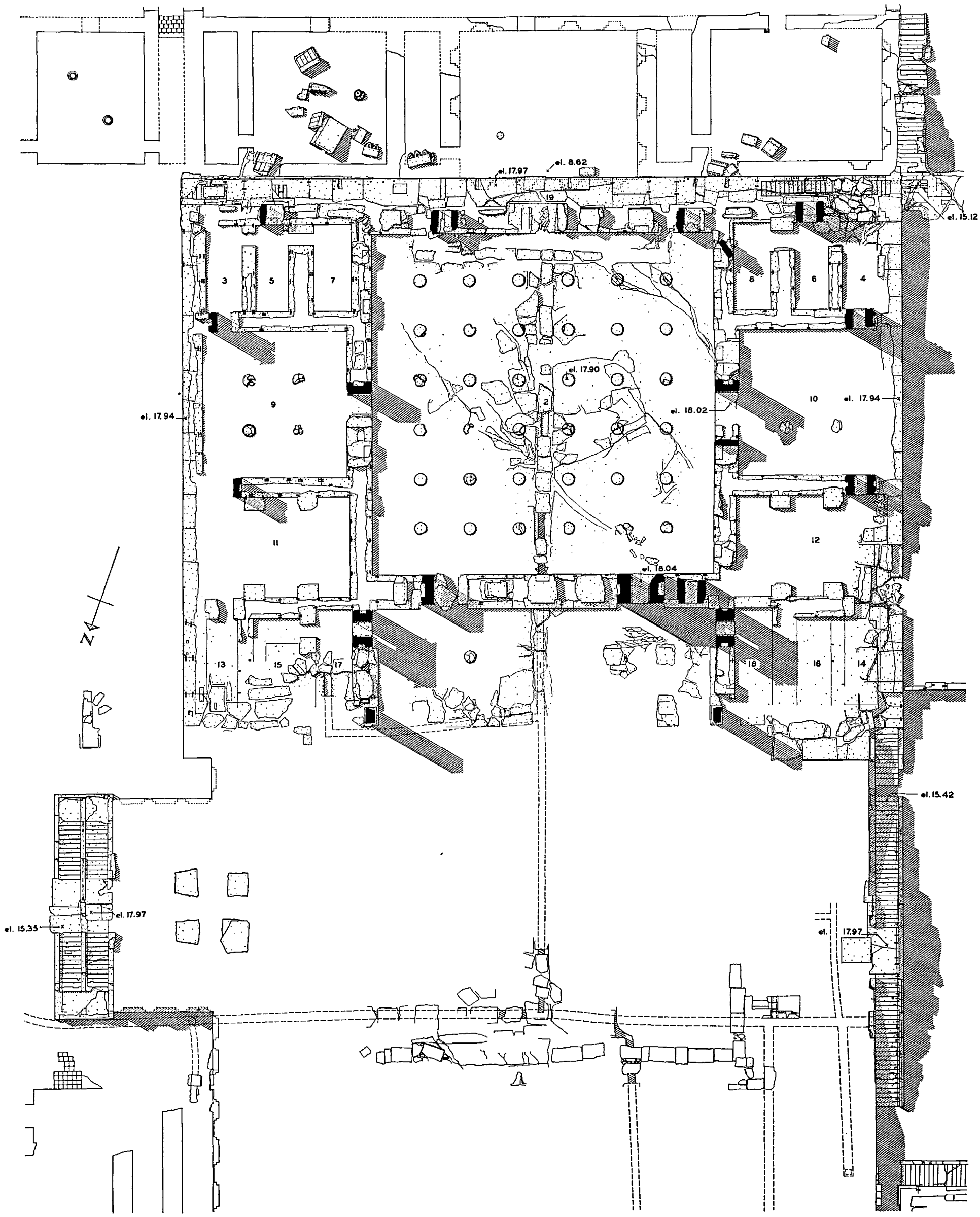
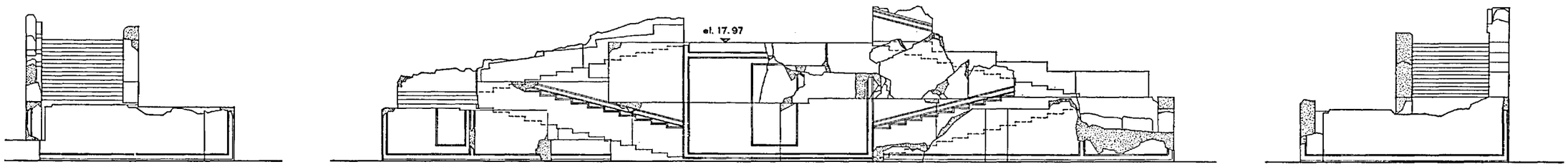
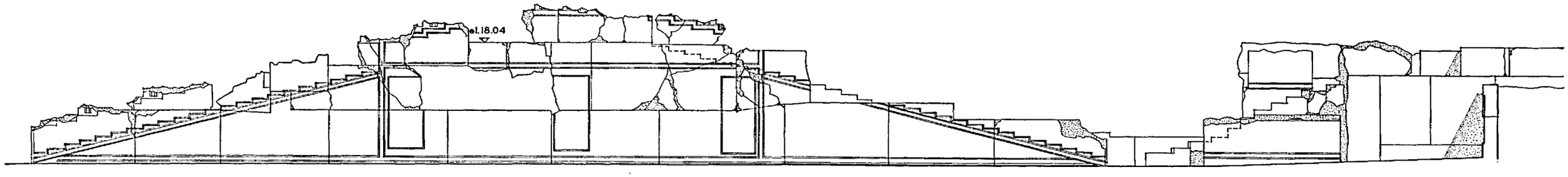


FIG. 95. PLAN OF EXTANT REMAINS OF PALACE OF XERXES. AFTER ORIGINAL SURVEY BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:300

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A



B

FIG. 96. ELEVATIONS OF EXTANT PORTIONS OF EASTERN (*A*) AND WESTERN (*B*) STAIRWAYS TO COURTYARD OF XERXES' PALACE. AFTER ORIGINAL DRAWING BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:100

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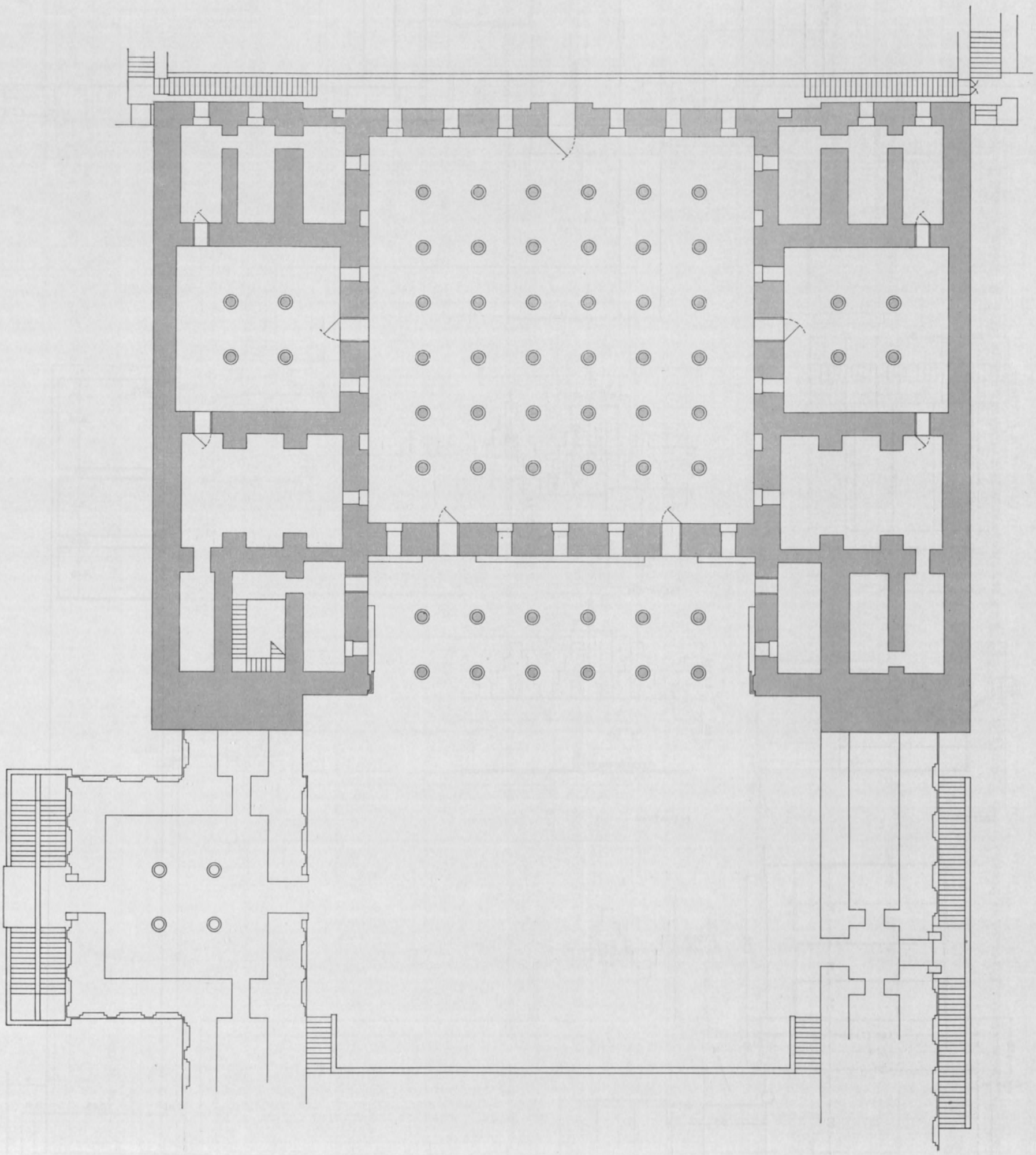


Fig. 97. Reconstructed Plan of Palace of Xerxes. Scale, 1:300

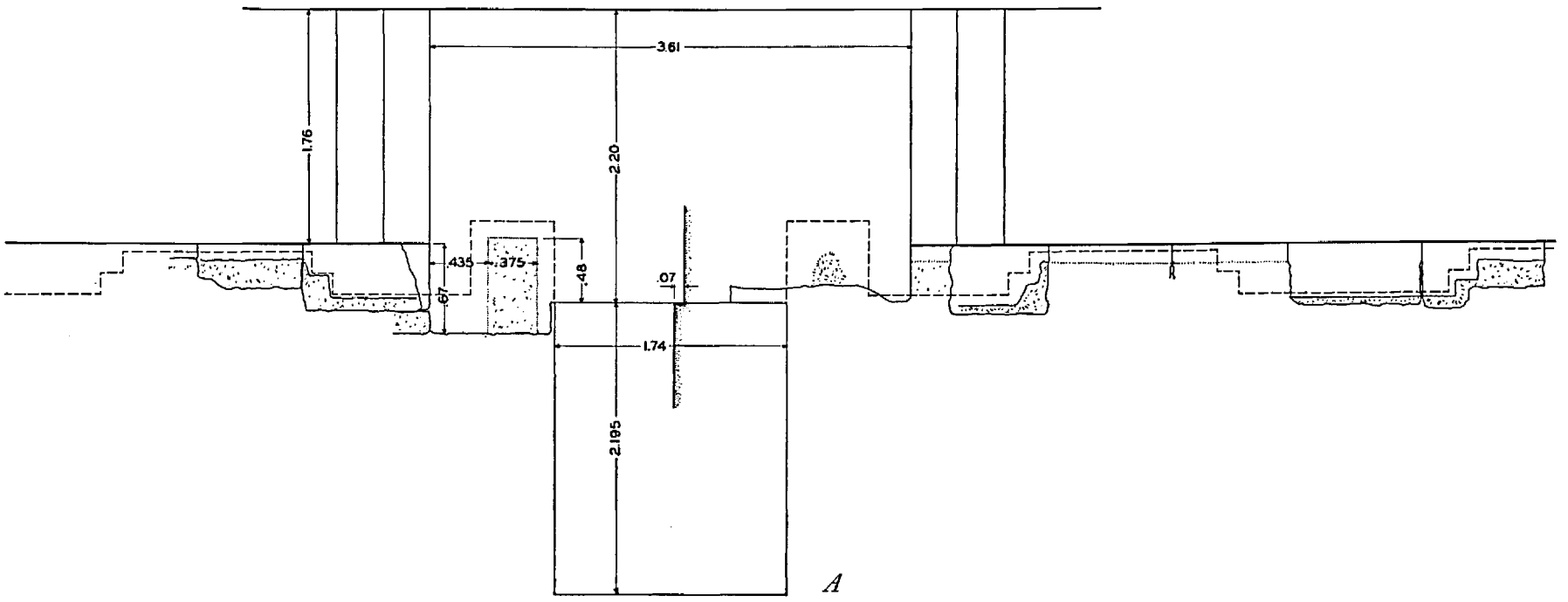


FIG. 98. PALACE OF XERXES. *A*. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF WALL AT WESTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:50. *B*. PORTIONS OF SOUTHEASTERN STAIRWAY AND OF BALCONY PARAPET. SCALE, 1:40. *C*. INTERMEDIATE LANDING OF SOUTHWESTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:40. *D*. RECONSTRUCTED NORTHEASTERN COLUMN BASE OF ROOM 9. SCALE, 1:20, *E*. WESTERN ANTA OF PORTICO. SCALE, 1:40

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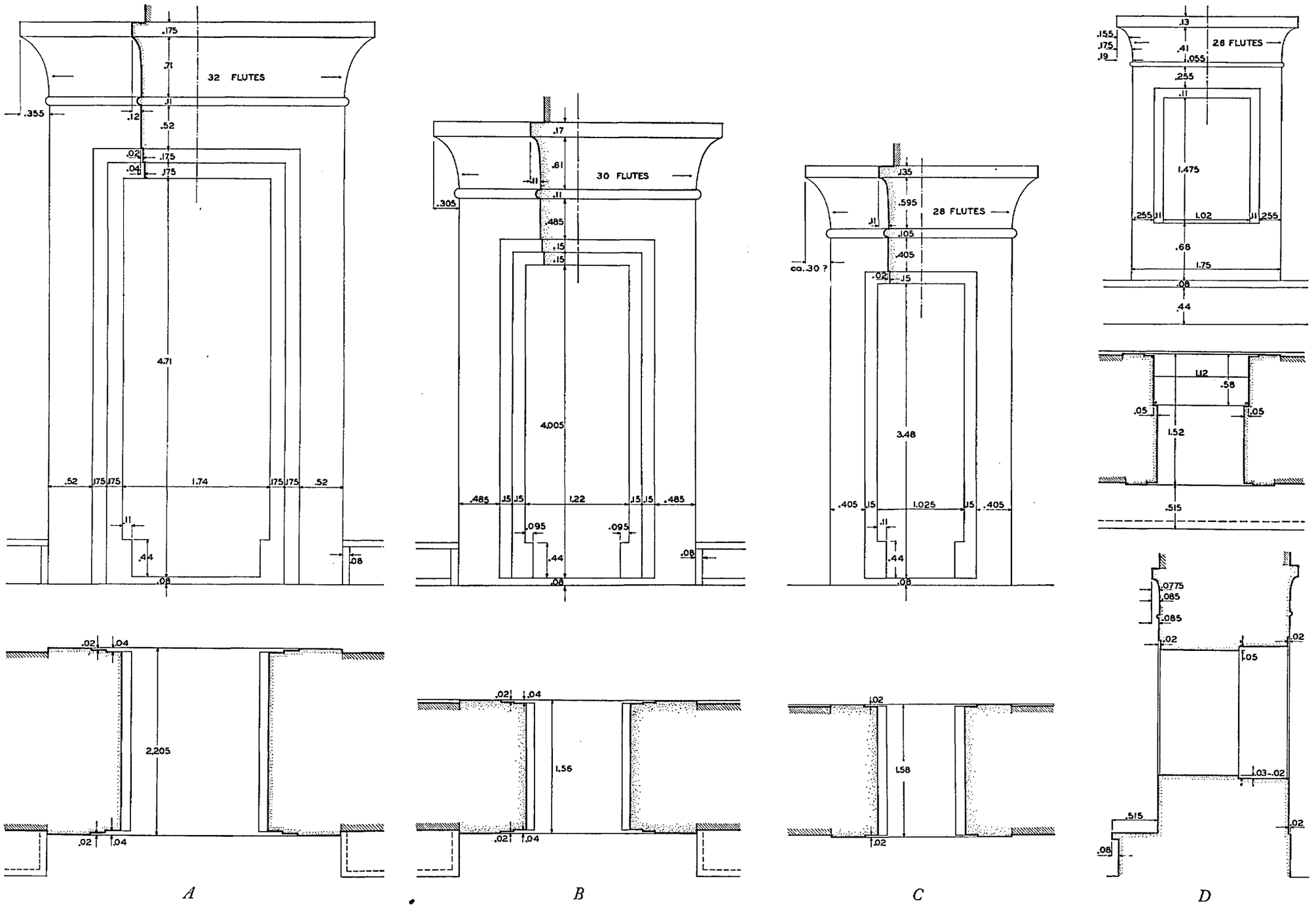


FIG. 99. PALACE OF XERXES. DIAGRAMS OF DOORWAYS AND WINDOWS. SCALE, 1:50, *A*. EASTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL. *B*. DOORWAY FROM PORTICO TO WESTERN GUARDROOM. *C*. SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF ROOM 9. *D*. EXAMPLE OF WINDOWS

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A



B

FIG. 100. PALACE OF XERXES. *A*. COLUMN FOUNDATIONS HEWN FROM BEDROCK IN MAIN HALL (*direction of view, SW*).
B. LEVELED BEDROCK IN AREA OF ROOMS 14, 16, AND 18 (*direction of view, S*)

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Fig. 101. Palace of Xerxes. Scale, 1:3. *A*. Stone Fragment (PT7 352) with Problematical Old Persian Inscription. *B–E*. Examples of Inscribed Column Tori from Palace, Found in West Wing of Harem: PT7 289, with Part of Monolingual (OP) Inscription; PT7 191; PT7 319 and PT7 224, with Parts of Trilingual (OP, El., and Bab.) Inscription

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THE PALACE OF XERXES

GENERAL NOTES

In reference to the Palace of Darius we pointed out that the essential features of its plan were repeated in the later residential buildings of Persepolis. Xerxes' palace (Figs. 95, 97), however, covers almost twice the area of the earlier structure. The usual guardrooms, and in this case additional units, flank a columned portico (1) from which two doorways lead to a large hypostyle hall (2). One doorway on each side connects this main hall with symmetrically planned apartments, and a completely destroyed southern doorway once gave access to a narrow balcony (19) from which two stairways descended to the level of the western wing of the Harem. The palace stands on a platform of bedrock, large denuded patches of which are visible. Depressions in the rock were filled with boulders and rubble, and the eastern and western sides of the platform as well as upper portions of its southern face were buttressed with wrought masonry (see Pl. 174 and Figs. 111–12 *C*). The floors of the palaces of Darius[1] and Xerxes[2] are almost on the same level. Two monumental stairways of stone lead from courtyards on the east and west to the platform of the Palace of Xerxes.

INSCRIPTIONS

Xerxes Persepolis db and da

These two trilingual inscriptions differ only in the arrangement of the lines. Xerx. Pers. db[3] assigns both stairways to the time of Xerxes. The Old Persian text is in either case engraved on a central panel (Pls. 159, 162 *B*,[4] 166, and 167 *A*[5]); the Elamite version is to the right (Pl. 162 *C*[6]), and the Babylonian to the left (Pls. 162 *A* and 167 *B*[7]). The duplicate inscription (Xerx. Pers. da) occurs on the two antae of the palace portico (Pl. 175). Here in each case the Old Persian text is at the top, the Elamite[8] in the middle, and the Babylonian at the bottom. Sections 1 and 2 of both inscriptions are identical with Xerx. Pers. ca and cb on Darius' palace (pp. 223 f.). Section 3 states:

> Says Xerxes the great king: By the grace of Ahuramazda this *hadish* I made.[9] Let Ahuramazda protect me with the gods and my kingdom and what (was) done by me.

Xerxes Persepolis e

The trilingual inscription occurs on the jambs of certain doorways of stone, on doorway frames, on the garments of the king in doorjamb reliefs, and on the frames of stone windows:

> Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, the son of Darius the king, the Achaemenid.

Four examples of the jamb inscription, arranged in three panels of four lines each above reliefs of the king and two attendants, are preserved on doorways of the main hall:

North wall, western doorway, east jamb: Old Persian left, Elamite center, Babylonian right (Pls. 179 and 182 *A*)
North wall, western doorway, west jamb: Old Persian center, Elamite right, Babylonian (missing) left (Pls. 178 *B* and 182 *B*)
Eastern doorway of hall, south jamb: Old Persian right, Elamite center, Babylonian left (Pl. 180)
Western doorway of hall, south jamb: Old Persian left, Elamite center, Babylonian (missing) right (Pl. 181)

The illustrations referred to in the table indicate that here as in Darius' palace the Old Persian text is usually first in line, that is, it is placed above the image of the king. The west jamb of the western doorway in the northern wall is an exception. Here the sculptor evidently committed an error, for he engraved the Old Persian text in the center, the Elamite above the king, and the Babylonian version, as usual, above the attendants. There is no doubt that the same inscription was present on the fragmentary or missing jambs of the eastern doorway in the north wall and on the missing northern jambs of the eastern and western doorways. The completely missing southern doorway, giving access to the balcony, may also have been provided with the same inscription on its jambs and—to judge by the neighboring windows—perhaps on the frames of both faces.

The Xerx. Pers. e inscription with each text carved in one line may have existed on at least one face of most stone doorway frames in the palace. Where preserved, it is engraved in the outer of the two recessed bands framing the doorways; the Old Persian is always found on the lintel, the Elamite on the left, and the Babylonian on the right:

Eastern doorway of portico, west face only (Pl. 176 *A*)
Western doorway of portico, east face only (Pl. 177 *A*)

1. Portico, 17.82–17.85 m. above our Terrace datum.

2. Main hall, *ca.* 17.90 m.

3. For bibliography see *KA*, pp. XXIV f. Comments on the inscriptions (in our notes 4–9) are by Cameron.

4. Showing that Weissbach's numbering of lines 16 and 18 is incorrect (*KA*, p. 114).

5. Unlike other OP texts, this inscription has a division stroke at the very end.

6. Showing that Weissbach's numbering of lines is incorrect. The panel with the El. inscription of the eastern stairway has been either destroyed or removed.

7. About 6 lines are missing at the beginning. Weissbach's numbering of the lines (*KA*, pp. 113 and 115) differs markedly from the actual arrangement.

8. Weissbach's line numbering (*KA*, pp. 112 and 114) differs somewhat from the arrangement of the lines of the Elamite text on the eastern anta (Pl. 175 *A*).

9. The Bab. version of this sentence states: "What I here accomplished and (what I) in other land(s) accomplished, that all which I accomplished with the protection of Ahuramazda I did (it)."

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North wall of main hall, western doorway, north face only (Pl. 182 *C*; Bab. missing)
North wall of main hall, eastern doorway, north face only (fragment of El. preserved)
Northern doorway of Room 10, south face only (Pl. 183 *B*; fragment of El.[10])

The Xerx. Pers e inscription presumably was carved on the royal garment in all reliefs showing the king, that is, on the five doorways of the main hall. The Old Persian text appears in two lines on the foremost of the four vertical folds of the king's robe. Both the Elamite and the Babylonian texts occupy one line on the fourth or hindmost vertical fold, the Elamite being behind the Babylonian (see n. 12). The following fragmentary examples of garment inscriptions are preserved:[11]

North wall of main hall, western doorway, east jamb (Pl. 182 *D*; cf. Pl. 179)[12]
Eastern doorway of main hall, south jamb (Pl. 180 *B*[13])
Western doorway of main hall, south jamb (very fragmentary; see Pl. 181 *B*)

Finally, the Xerxes Pers. e inscription appears on the recessed frames of stone windows. The Old Persian text is engraved in two lines on the lintel. The Elamite and the Babylonian are both written in one line on the jamb frames, the former to the left and the latter to the right of the Old Persian text. It may be that all windows and niches were inscribed in this manner, but only three windows in the southern wall of the palace are sufficiently preserved to show the inscribed surfaces. Apparently the six windows in the southern wall of the main hall bore the inscription on both the inner (north) and the outer (south) faces, as shown by the preserved second window from the east (Pl. 188 *C* [south face] and *B* [El. text on north face; Bab. fragment not illustrated]). The window of Room 6 (Pl. 188 *A*), near the southwestern corner of the building, and the window of Room 5 (east jamb only preserved), near the opposite end of the southern façade, bear the inscription on the outer (south) face only. This suggests that the missing windows of Rooms 3 and 4 also were inscribed on their southern faces only and that the niches indicated south of Rooms 7 and 8 likewise bore the inscription. About forty (mostly small) fragments of such inscribed frames were found in the Harem rooms adjacent to the balcony of Xerxes' palace, and three small pieces were found in debris in Palace D (see p. 269).

Fragment from Room 12

A stone fragment bearing the beginnings of four or five lines of a problematical Old Persian inscription (Fig. 101 *A*) was found in a hole dug at some unknown time in the northwest corner of Room 12 (see Fig. 95). Cameron transliterates the badly weathered signs as follows:

1. *ma*(?) . . .
2. *da* . . .
3. *ma*\ . . .
4. ?-*ra-i*(?). . . .

The first sign of line 4, according to Cameron, might be *ba*—suggesting *abariy*, "it was brought." He suggests, further, that the fragment may be part of some unknown anta inscription (of Xerxes?) or that it may be part of the inscription of Artaxerxes I found in the near-by courtyard north of Palace H (see pp. 280–81).

10. Also a portion of the OP text; not shown on the illustration.

11. Three small pieces of garment inscriptions were found with other debris of Xerxes' palace in and near Room 4 of the west wing of the Harem. They may have belonged to the (missing) southern doorway of the main hall.

12. According to Cameron the OP text is here divided as follows: (1) . . . *xa-ša-a-ya-θa-i-ya-a* . . . (2) *na-a-ma* . . . etc. Sequence of texts on Pl. 182 *D* from right to left: 1 fragmentary line of El., 1 line of Bab., 2 lines of OP.

13. Detail published in *IAE*, Pl. LXXI, upper left (erroneously labeled "tripylon, robes of Darius").

14. *AI*, pp. 41 f. (No. 17: "Xerx. Pers. tač. col.").

15. Translation by Cameron, whose transliterations (here omitted) of the OP, El., and Bab. versions correct and clarify a number of points in Herzfeld's publication of the text (see n. 14).

16. Bab.: "this house, *tachara*."

Column Tori

Almost a hundred shattered pieces of detached inscribed tori were uncovered in the detritus filling the westernmost rooms of the west wing of the Harem. Most of these fragments occurred in Rooms 4 to 6 and in the adjacent section of Corridor 1 (see Fig. 102), that is, largely in those units of the Harem neighboring—at a much lower level—the central and western parts of the palace balcony. Only six pieces were found in Rooms 2 and 3, which were adjacent to the eastern section of the balcony. These tori are not parts of the Harem columns, whose bases have attached moldings of this type (cf. Fig. 107 *G–H*). They must belong to the Palace of Xerxes, though not a single such fragment was found in the palace. Several additional pieces of inscribed tori occurred in a mass of rubble in Palace D (see p. 269), east of Xerxes' palace and intermediate between its level and that of the Harem. Finally, those fragments to which Herzfeld refers[14]—without giving specific find-data—presumably were uncovered by him in the Harem rooms situated south of the platform of Palace D.

This collection includes pieces of at least nine tori, but probably many more, bearing a trilingual inscription in three lines (see Fig. 101 *C–E*). Old Persian is uppermost, Elamite is on the second line, and the Babylonian text is at the bottom. However, two, or possibly three, additional tori had only the Old Persian text (Fig. 101 *B*). One of these pieces occurred in the debris of Palace D, the others in Room 4 of the Harem, below the center of Xerxes' balcony. It is probable, therefore, that the majority of the fifty-six columns of Xerxes' palace—perhaps those of the main hall and the portico—had tori with trilingual inscriptions; but it is certain that a few columns, possibly those of Rooms 9 and 10, had tori bearing only the Old Persian text:[15]

I, Xerxes, great king, king of kings, king of lands, king of this earth, son of Darius, the Achaemenid. Says Xerxes the king: This *tachara*[16] I built.

We do not believe that the column bases which were found on the neighboring site of the almost completely destroyed Palace D are remnants of that structure. Certainly there can be no doubt that at least those inscribed tori which were uncovered in the westernmost rooms of the Harem belong to the Palace of Xerxes. It is proved therefore that this building too was called *tachara* as well as *hadish*, the latter designation appearing on the antae of the portico and on the two stairways leading to the palace courtyard (see p. 238). The Palace of Darius is called *tachara* in inscriptions of its founder (see p. 223) and *hadish* in those of Xerxes, who completed the building (see pp. 223–24). It is evident, therefore, that neither term should be used to identify either of the two structures.

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THE WESTERN STAIRWAY

In construction and ornamentation the western stairway closely resembles that leading from the same courtyard to the Palace of Darius (cf. Fig. 96 *B* with Fig. 91 *A*). Both have two single flights of stairs ascending to approximately the same level. In both cases six processions of servants with supplies for the royal table are shown mounting the stairs. The façade of the stairway concerned (Pl. 159) likewise pictures Persian guards facing the central one of the three inscription panels; and the usual combat scene of lion and bull, together with the common palmette motifs, fills the triangular panels at either end. The upper center of the façade is treated differently in each case. On Xerxes' stairway the upper body of Ahuramazda is shown in right profile above the winged disk (Pl. 160), whereas there is not enough space for the god's bust above the winged symbol partly preserved on the façade of Darius' stairway (see Pls. 126–27). The god's right hand is raised, and his left holds a ring. A band, curled at the ends, extends from either side of the god's figure and parallels to some extent trifurcate appendages at either side of the bird tail. There are slight differences in the two sphinxes flanking in both palaces the winged disk symbol. Crenelations crowned the entire façade of Xerxes' stairway, and bands of rosettes frame the principal ornamental divisions.

When Haines examined the tops of the inner (eastern) stone walls of Xerxes' western stairway, he noticed angular cuttings indicating that there were stepped niches in the mud-brick walls which once rose above the stone walls (Fig. 98 *A*). The areas covered by the brick walls were left rough, and for the most part they project above the otherwise smooth, sloping tops of the stone bases. A stone sill 2.19 m. long is the only clue to suggest the thickness of the niched walls and the existence of a doorway leading—presumably through a vestibule—to the courtyard north of Xerxes' palace. The entrance was apparently flanked by two animal statues,[17] as suggested by a chipped rectangular area at the southwest corner of the stone sill and a similar though defaced patch at the northwest corner. The chipped areas are somewhat lower than the smooth surface of the adjacent stairway landing (see Fig. 98 *A*).

As might be expected, the servant sculptures on Xerxes' western stairway (Pls. 161 and 163–65) closely resemble those of the southern stairway—completed by the same ruler—of Darius' palace, and they differ in the same minor but perhaps significant features from the servant reliefs on the stairway bearing Artaxerxes III's inscription (see p. 228).

Each flight of the stairway under consideration has thirty steps and is flanked (except for the lowest step) by processions of twenty-nine servants. The façade shows two additional files of twenty-two figures. This means that one hundred and sixty servants are pictured on this stairway alone. Certain principles of order are the same as those noticed at the stairways of Darius' palace and elsewhere: Medes alternate with Persians; every fourth servant is a Persian wineskin-bearer,[18] either preceded[19] or followed[20] by a Mede carrying an animal. In addition to kids and lambs, previously noted, young gazelles and an antelope with spreading horns appear among these animals. The remaining servants carry vessels—chalices, bowls, and cups, open or provided with lids—and are arbitrarily distributed in the processions. While in many cases the servants pictured on opposite sides of the same step have identical attributes, in some instances these differ; but they are always dressed alike, either in Persian or in Median fashion. The last servant of each file is a Mede (cf. p. 225).

Again, as in the reliefs of Darius' palace, there are alternating bearded and beardless servants (see p. 225). On the façade the Persians in the procession of the northern flight are beardless (Pl. 165 *A*), whereas in the corresponding file of servants of the southern flight the Medes are shown without beards (Pl. 161 *A*). On the east face of the parapet of the northern (Pl. 164 *B*) and of the southern (Pl. 163 *B*) flight all servants in Persian dress are beardless, whereas on the southern stairway of Darius' palace the corresponding files show beardless Medes and beardless Persians respectively (see table on p. 225). As to the poorly preserved files of servants on the inner walls of Xerxes' stairway, in the group of the northern flight one Persian servant appears to be bearded (Pl. 163 *A*); if so, the Medes would be beardless. In the corresponding group of the southern flight the Persians may be beardless, since one of the Medes appears to be bearded (Pl. 164 *A*).

The newel of the parapet of each flight bears the figure of a Persian guard (e.g. Pl. 165 *B*), armed and dressed in the same fashion as the soldiers guarding the stairways of Darius' palace.

Some stone slabs with reliefs of servants lie in the courtyard near the top of Xerxes' western stairway, at the southwestern corner of the debris mound which marks the site of Palace G (see p. 274). One piece (Fig. 119 *B*) shows the lower end of a servant procession. It does not belong to the western stairway, since the only possible location for it—the eastern wall of the northern flight—is occupied by other servant reliefs (Pl. 165 *C*). The two other reliefs (Fig. 119 *A*) cannot be fitted into the stairway façade—the only possible location according to their shapes. Consequently it may be assumed that the three reliefs belonged to the dismantled Palace G (but see p. 275).

THE EASTERN STAIRWAY

The very similar main staircase of the Council Hall well illustrates the original appearance of the partly destroyed stairway under consideration (cf. Fig. 96 *A* with Fig. 53 *A–D* and Pl. 166 with Pl. 62). Two double flights of stairs lead from the courtyard of Palace D to the remnants of a gate structure at the elevated level of the courtyard in front of Xerxes' palace. Each of the two symmetrical

17. Cf. the statues of mastiff, bull, feline, and ibex in Vol. II.

18. With one traceable exception: on the east face of the northern flight, the seventh servant from the top carries a vessel instead of a wineskin (Pl. 163 *A*).

19. On both sides of the northern flight (Pls. 163 *A* and 164 *B*).

20. On the façade (Pls. 161 and 165 *A*) and on both sides of the southern flight (Pls. 163 *B* and 164 *A*).

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wings of the façade (Pls. 166, 168 *A*, and 169 *A*) is adorned with the ubiquitous lion-and-bull scene, which adjoins on the south wing the panel with the Babylonian text of the Xerx. Pers. db inscription (Pl. 167 *B*) and on the north wing the space where the missing Elamite version had been (see n. 6). Two Persian guards face each inscription panel, and the usual palmette motifs serve as fill ornaments. Eight additional guards in Persian attire are shown on either flank of the structure (Pl. 173 *A*, *C*), and superposed composite palmette symbols decorate the western face of a projection behind the last guard in each row (e.g. Pl. 173 *B*).

The center of the main façade bears the Old Persian text of the Xerx. Pers. db inscription, flanked by two pairs of Persian guards (Pl. 168 *A*). Isosceles triangles at either side are filled with variants of the lion-bull combat scene. The remnants of the reliefs carved above the center panel suggest a winged disk symbol[21] above a row of connected palmettes with a sphinx at either end.

Altogether, each double flight of stairs had thirty steps, the same number as each flight of the western stairway. The lower and upper flights have fourteen steps each. Two more are on each of the intermediate landings. The usual reliefs of Persian and Median servants flank the stairs and border the landings (Pls. 168–72). The parapets of the landings are missing (see Pls. 168 *A* and 169 *A*), but there is no doubt that the files of servants continued on their inner faces. There are no indications, however, that on this stairway the upper parts of the façades facing east, north, and south were decorated with servant processions. As far as can be ascertained the servants are arranged in roughly the same order as those on the western stairway. Medes and Persians alternate, and the equidistant Persian bearers of wineskins—usually preceded or followed by Median animal-carriers[22]—divide the processions into groups of four, including arbitrarily distributed vessel-carriers. To judge by the other processions of servants we may assume that here too bearded and beardless Persians and Medes alternate; but with the exception of one bearded Persian (Pl. 169 *B*, second from bottom) the servants' faces are too badly mutilated to permit definition of details.

On early illustrations the eastern stairway appears isolated from the courtyard to which it leads. Herzfeld filled in the denuded area and restored—on the partly preserved base courses of stone—the niched mud-brick walls which buttressed the courtyard, in addition to replacing stone parts of the stairway which had fallen. West of the upper landing the foundation pillars[23] of four columns indicate the former existence of a gate structure. It was undoubtedly inclosed, though no walls remain (see Fig. 97). However, Haines proved the former existence of a wall at the east, adjoining the stairway, in the same manner as he traced the mud-brick walls which once bordered the western stairway (see p. 240). The location of part of a niche is marked on the sloping top of the uppermost stone[24] of the inner northern flight (see Pl. 169 *A*). The upper landing projects westward and presumably was continued by the stone sill of the entrance to the gate structure. Faint traces of chippings at either side of the projection resemble the roughened areas occurring in approximately the same relative positions on the landing of the western stairway (p. 240). Our assumption that both pairs of chipped patches had been prepared to receive the bases of statuary may be supported by the discovery of a bull's torso sculptured in the round.[25] The statue was found by Flandin and Coste[26] in detritus near the northern end of the eastern stairway and closely resembles the torso of a bull uncovered by us near the small stairway leading from the southern courtyard of the Apadana to Palace G (see p. 77). On the other hand, the French explorers may be right in believing that an L-shaped stone south of Xerxes' eastern stairway served as the pedestal for the statue which they found. This stone appears to belong to Palace D, and the bull statue could be one of a pair which may have flanked the entrance to that building (see p. 269).

THE PORTICO

There are hardly any traces of the eight columns which supported the roof of the portico (1), but the lower part of one bell-shaped stone base (visible on Pl. 174 *A*) indicates that the bases of the portico were similar to or identical with a less mutilated base found in Room 9 (visible on Pl. 174 *B;* reconstructed on Fig. 98 *D*). As explained above (p. 239), detached inscribed tori found in the Harem and elsewhere in the vicinity must have come from Xerxes' palace. We would have assumed that the column shafts and capitals were made of wood had it not been for our discovery, in the adjacent rooms of the western wing of the Harem, of parts of stone shafts and fragments of addorsed bull capitals of the same material. These shafts and capitals did not belong to the Harem rooms in which they were found. It appears, therefore, that certain groups of columns of Xerxes' palace—perhaps those of the portico and the main hall—were made of stone, although in such case it is difficult to understand why not a single fragment of the tori, shafts, and capitals remained on the palace platform. It may be that the Palace of Xerxes was destroyed with particularly vindictive thoroughness. Nevertheless, we have to consider the possibility that columns of other buildings situated on the higher terraces of the site—such as the Palace of Darius—may have been dealt with in the same fashion. Some of the column parts of Xerxes' palace may have fallen to the lower level of the Harem, but most of the column fragments uncovered by us must have been carried to the balcony to be thrown on top of the Harem roof or into the debris of that building.[27]

The inscribed antae of the portico have been referred to

21. The three-pronged end of one of the usual appendages (cf. Pl. 160) is visible above the inscription on Pl. 167 *A*.

22. For at least one exception see Pl. 171 *A*, upper end of procession.

23. Their bases stand on a level corresponding roughly to the foot of the stairway; their flat irregular tops are flush with the level of the top landing.

24. Only the eastern face of the stone and the seat of the niche on top are dressed; the western face of the stone is rough.

25. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 130.

26. See *Voyage en Perse ... Relation du voyage ...* II 186; find-spot illustrated by Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, Pl. 16.

27. Even so, the possibility of further dismantling in post-Achaemenid times (see e.g. Palace H; pp. 279 ff.) and of intensive stone-pilfering must be taken into account, for the column fragments uncovered by us represent only a few of the 48 columns which supported the roofs of the portico and the main hall.

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above (p. 238; see also Fig. 98 *E*). The two doorways (e.g. Fig. 99 *B*) connecting the portico with the guardrooms on the east and west are adorned with the usual reliefs of pairs of guards (cf. e.g. p. 225) shown as reflected images on the two jambs (Pls. 176 *B–C* and 177 *B–C*). The inscriptions, occurring only on those faces of the doorways which are turned toward the portico, are mentioned above (pp. 238 f.). Remnants of sill slabs show that a stone window existed in either side wall of the portico, between anta and doorway. Stone benches project from all the portico walls.

THE ROOMS EAST OF THE PORTICO

A few remnants of base courses of stone, smooth and rough areas of bedrock, chiseled guide lines for masons and also V-shaped cuts marking the locations of individual stones enabled Haines to make a plausible reconstruction of the plan of this part of the building. The westernmost room (17) is, of course, a guardroom and is provided with a branch of the system of drainage canals. The central unit (15) appears to have been occupied by a stairway leading to the roof, and the eastern room (13) was linked solely with Room 11 of the eastern apartment. We have no satisfactory explanation for the thickness of the outer wall north of Stairway 15 and Room 13—a feature duplicated in the corresponding rooms (16 and 14) at the west. The northern outline of the eastern section was determined by Haines' discovery of the northeastern corner stone of the palace, projecting 2.405 m. beyond the formerly assumed corner. The upper courses of the corner had disappeared, but the base course, covered by detritus, was preserved at the level of Palace D.

THE ROOMS WEST OF THE PORTICO

Here again guide lines chiseled into the bedrock determine the width of the rooms (18, 16, 14) and their northern ends. Apparently there was no connection between the guardroom (18) and Room 16, and there is no evidence of a stairway. There are no clues to suggest the location of the assumed doorway between Rooms 16 and 14 (see Fig. 97), but Room 14 is definitely linked with Room 12 of the western apartment. The bedrock north of Rooms 16 and 14 (see Figs. 95 and 100 *B*) had evidently been prepared to receive the thick section of wall referred to above. Either the northwestern corner of the building was already in ruins or—less plausible—it was cut down when the east stairway of Palace H was constructed (see p. 282).

THE MAIN HALL

Thirty-six columns (of stone?) identical presumably with those of the portico (see above) supported the roof of the hall (2). They stood on circular foundations hewn from the living rock of the palace platform (see Fig. 100 *A*). Branches of the drainage system are cut into bedrock and covered with stone slabs.[28]

The extant jambs of four doorways of stone (e.g. Fig. 99 *A*) are ornamented with reliefs of the king followed by two Persian attendants. The missing southern doorway presumably was adorned in the same fashion. Scenes of combat between the royal hero and animals or monsters are absent in Xerxes' palace. There are indications that all doorways of the hall had doors. Their locations are marked on Figure 97. The reliefs on the two northern doorways (Pls. 178–79), leading to the portico, are very similar to the corresponding sculptures in Darius' palace (cf. p. 226 and Pls. 138–39). The attendants are again shown as reflected images on the two jambs of each doorway, whereas the king's scepter is always in his right hand. Holes at the wrists and at the neck show that the Xerxes reliefs too were adorned with the jewelry of formal attire; but the king's tiara is here not dentate, and it is not marked with holes, although lateral slots indicate that it also had been covered, presumably with precious metal. Both attendants of the Xerxes reliefs—one with the royal parasol, the other with fly-whisk and towel—are definitely bearded. The Xerx. Pers. e inscription on the king's gown, on the jambs, and on the northern faces of the doorways has been referred to above (pp. 238–39).

Exactly the same scene is repeated on the two doorways (Pls. 180–81) linking the eastern and western apartments with the central hall. Incongruously, the king enters the hall from his private quarters under the protection of the parasol—a feature which is omitted in the corresponding reliefs of Darius' palace (Pls. 140–41). In both palaces, however, the bearer of the fly-whisk and the towel attending the king as he leaves his private quarters is represented beardless (see Pls. 180 *B* and 140–41). Therefore in Xerxes' structure, in spite of the same attributes of service, this attendant and the bearded attendant who follows the king as he leaves the palace are two distinct persons. The parasol-bearer here, as elsewhere, is always bearded.

Windows of stone (Fig. 99 *D*) opened from the main hall into all adjacent units. To judge by remnants in the northern, western, and southern walls, the jambs of all windows were ornamented with reliefs of servants depicted with the attributes of their duties. In the eastern and western walls two stone niches must have alternated with windows,[29] as determined by Hauser, who based his conclusion on the form of the remaining sill slabs and their locations in reference to the walls of the rooms on the east and west.

All windows had shutters which swung against a projection formed by the narrower outer portion of the window

28. Herzfeld mentions in one of his letters to the Oriental Institute that the bottom of the canal—he refers presumably to a vertical drain shaft—was struck 7 m. below the surface in front (i.e., north) of Xerxes' palace.

29. Contrary to Herzfeld's reconstruction in *IAE*, Fig. 335.

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opening (see e.g. Pl. 187 *B–C*). The shutters pivoted in socket holes cut into the sills and lintels. The backs of the niches, here as in other buildings, must have been covered with shutter-like devices, to judge by socket holes at the inner corners.

In the northern wall the westernmost window only is extant (Pl. 185 *C–D*). The two apparently identical jamb reliefs pictured four servants, alternating Persians and Medes, all of whom faced the hall. A fragment only of the foremost Persian is preserved, on the eastern jamb. The other Persian carries a wineskin. The attributes—presumably vessels—of the Medes (second and fourth in line) are not recognizable. The servants' attire, here and on the other window reliefs, seems to be the same as that of the Persians and Medes in the servant processions previously described (see p. 225).

In the western wall single jambs of three windows are preserved. The southernmost (Pl. 185 *B*) shows one of three servants, a Persian, facing the hall. He seems to carry a vessel with a lid. The other two servants face Room 8. The first is a Persian, also apparently carrying a vessel, and the Mede behind him seems to carry a chalice (cf. Pl. 186 *B–C*). The design of the Mede's scabbard tip closely resembles that of one of the Median guards in the Council Hall reliefs (Pl. 65 *B–D*).

The two windows opening from the hall to Room 10 appear to have identical scenes (Pls. 185 *A* and 181 *B*). In both cases a Persian carrying a wineskin and a Mede holding a lidded chalice face Room 10, whereas a third servant, a Persian, faces the hall.

The servant reliefs on the jambs of the two extant windows in the southern wall of the hall also are grouped identically (Pl. 186). In both instances three servants turn their backs to the balcony and face the hall. On the eastern jamb of the eastern window the entire scene is preserved (Pl. 186 *B*). The foremost servant is a Persian who holds a semiglobular bowl covered by a lid with a handle. Next follows a Mede carrying a tall chalice with a corrugated stem. One of his hands rests on the lid which covers the vessel. The third servant is a Persian carrying a wineskin. We mentioned above that both faces of this window bear the Xerx. Pers. e inscription (p. 239).

At this point we may consider the two remaining extant windows, facing south from Rooms 5 and 6 of the eastern and western apartments (Pl. 187). To judge by the preserved portions, the reliefs of the two windows are alike. They show two servants—a Persian, apparently carrying two open vessels, and a Mede, leading an adult male ibex by holding its horn with one hand and touching its neck with the other. The ibex may be a pet, whereas the young animals carried by the Median servants on the stairway reliefs were to be used as food. We assume that the southern walls of the neighboring Rooms 3 and 4 were provided with similarly ornamented windows, whereas south of Rooms 7 and 8 there are suggestions of outside niches only (cf. niches in main hall; p. 242).

THE EASTERN APARTMENT

The only entrance to this apartment, namely the doorway linking Room 9 and the main hall, has been described above (see p. 242 and Pl. 180). The stone windows which flanked the doorway were presumably ornamented with reliefs of the same nature as those on the extant jambs of the windows in the opposite, western wall of the hall. The roof of the principal room (9) was supported by four columns. One of the bell-shaped bases is sufficiently preserved to permit reconstruction (Fig. 98 *D*). Fragments of fluted column shafts of stone which had fallen or been thrown to the lower level of the Harem rooms to the south indicate that stone columns existed in Xerxes' palace, but we do not know whether they were used in the main rooms (9–10) of the two apartments.

Two doorways of stone (e.g. Fig. 99 *C*), adorned with identical reliefs, link Room 9 with rooms to the north and south. In both instances one jamb only is preserved. The reliefs show pairs of Persian attendants (Pl. 184), all facing Room 9. The outlines of the mutilated heads indicate that their headdress is the fillet-like tiara. The foremost attendant carries a cosmetic bottle in his right hand and a towel in his left. The second holds a censer and an incense pail.

The southern doorway of Room 9 leads to three small interconnected rooms, two of which (3 and 5) had stone windows facing south and the third (7) a window in its western wall, facing the main hall. The east jamb of the window in Room 5 is extant (see above and Pl. 187 *A*).

North of Room 9 the rather large Room 11 is partly subdivided by two pairs of pillars projecting from the southern and northern walls and forming alcoves. A stone window in the western wall opened into the main hall. On the north a doorway connects Room 11 with the narrow Room 13.

In the entire apartment the doorways of the main room (9) only show indications that they had been provided with doors. Their locations are marked on Figure 97.

THE WESTERN APARTMENT

As far as can be ascertained the plans of the eastern and western apartments were alike.

The only entrance to the western apartment, namely the doorway leading from the main hall to its main room (10), has been described above (see p. 242 and Pl. 181), and the sculptured stone windows, in the east wall of Room 10 and the south wall of Room 6, have also been referred to above. The relief scenes on the southern and northern doorways of Room 10 are identical with those of the corresponding doorways of Room 9 in the eastern apartment. In the western apartment too the pairs of attendants (Pl. 183 *A, C, D*) face the main room (10). The beardless attendants in the relief on the west jamb of the northern doorway (Pl. 183 *D*) suggest that the attendants in the other reliefs were beardless too, and the inscription fragments on the southern face of the same doorway (see Pl. 183 *B*) may indicate that the other doorways also were inscribed.

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THE BALCONY AND THE SOUTHERN STAIRWAYS

The doorway which led from the main hall through the center of its southern wall to the balcony (19) has completely disappeared. Presumably it was ornamented with reliefs of the king and two attendants similar to the sculptures of the northern doorways (see Pls. 178–79), but possibly with the figures facing south. The balcony windows in the southern walls of the main hall and the lateral rooms have been referred to above.

The stone floor of the balcony[30] is 9.35 m. above the floor level of the adjacent rooms of the west wing of the Harem (see Fig. 108) which contained stone fragments of columns, doorways, and windows of Xerxes' palace (see Fig. 112 *B*, *D*). The debris included also sections of the stone parapet of the balcony topped by crenelations and sections of the upper flight of the southeastern stairway to the balcony (Fig. 98 *B*). Irregularly spaced grooves at the edge of the balcony floor indicate that drainage water was channeled to the roof of the Harem, 2.40 m. below the balcony level (see p. 261). It is puzzling that the southern, that is exterior, face of the southern wall of the palace, bordering the balcony, shows no remains of a base course of stone such as is rather well preserved along the inner, northern face. It would be difficult to believe that only the inner face of the wall had a base course of stone and that the outside, exposed to erosion, was faced with mud bricks.

The lower flights of the two stairways ascending to the balcony rise from corridors in the west wing of the Harem to intermediate landings at the southwestern and southeastern corners of the palace (see p. 260). At these points the upper flights, wrought in stone, lead eastward and westward to the balcony. Unfinished blocks in the masonry of the palace platform north of both landings indicate that walls abutted these points. Haines concluded, therefore, that the landings—as well as the lower flights—were inclosed. The upper flights and the balcony were open, though partly protected by the projecting roof. Two circular socket holes preserved at the turn of the southwestern stairway (Fig. 98 *C*) show that a door with two wings separated the upper flight from the landing. Stone steps lead from the landing northward and westward to the area of Palace H (see p. 279).[31] It is not known whether the landing (destroyed) of the southeastern stairway was linked with the platform of Palace D.

30. Good illustration in *AMI* I, Pl. 17, Fig. 34.

31. For crude reliefs of Median guards carved beside the landing, see pp. 260 f.

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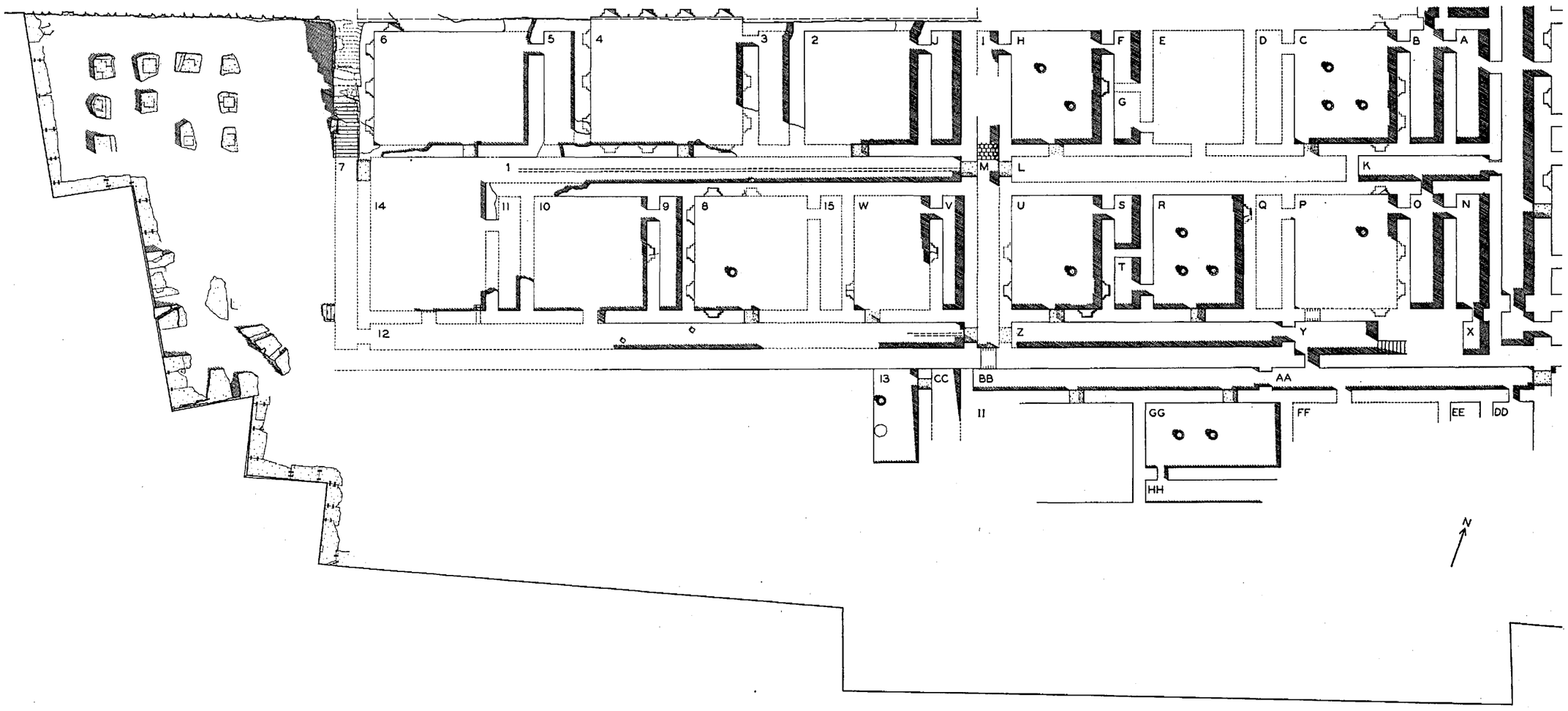


Fig. 102. Plan of West Wing of Harem as Excavated, Including Remnants of "Pavilion." Scale, 1:400

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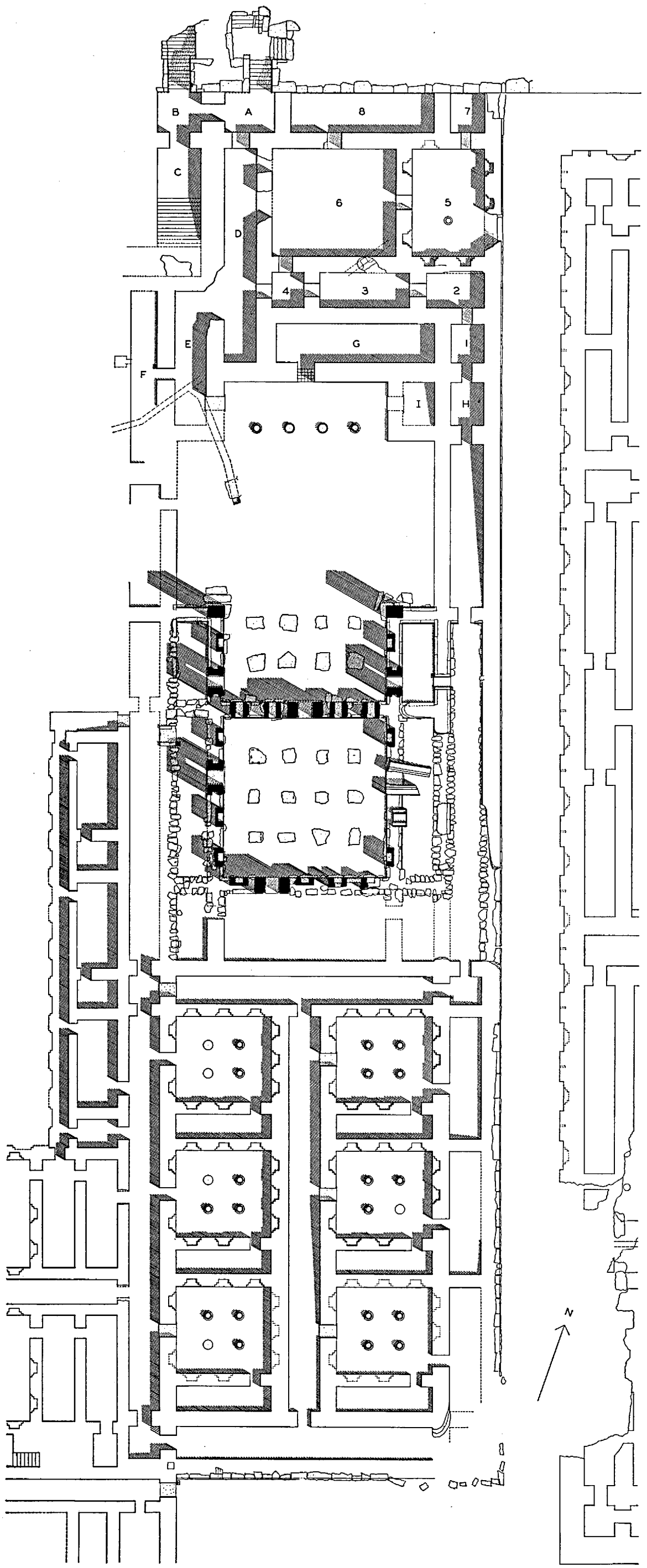
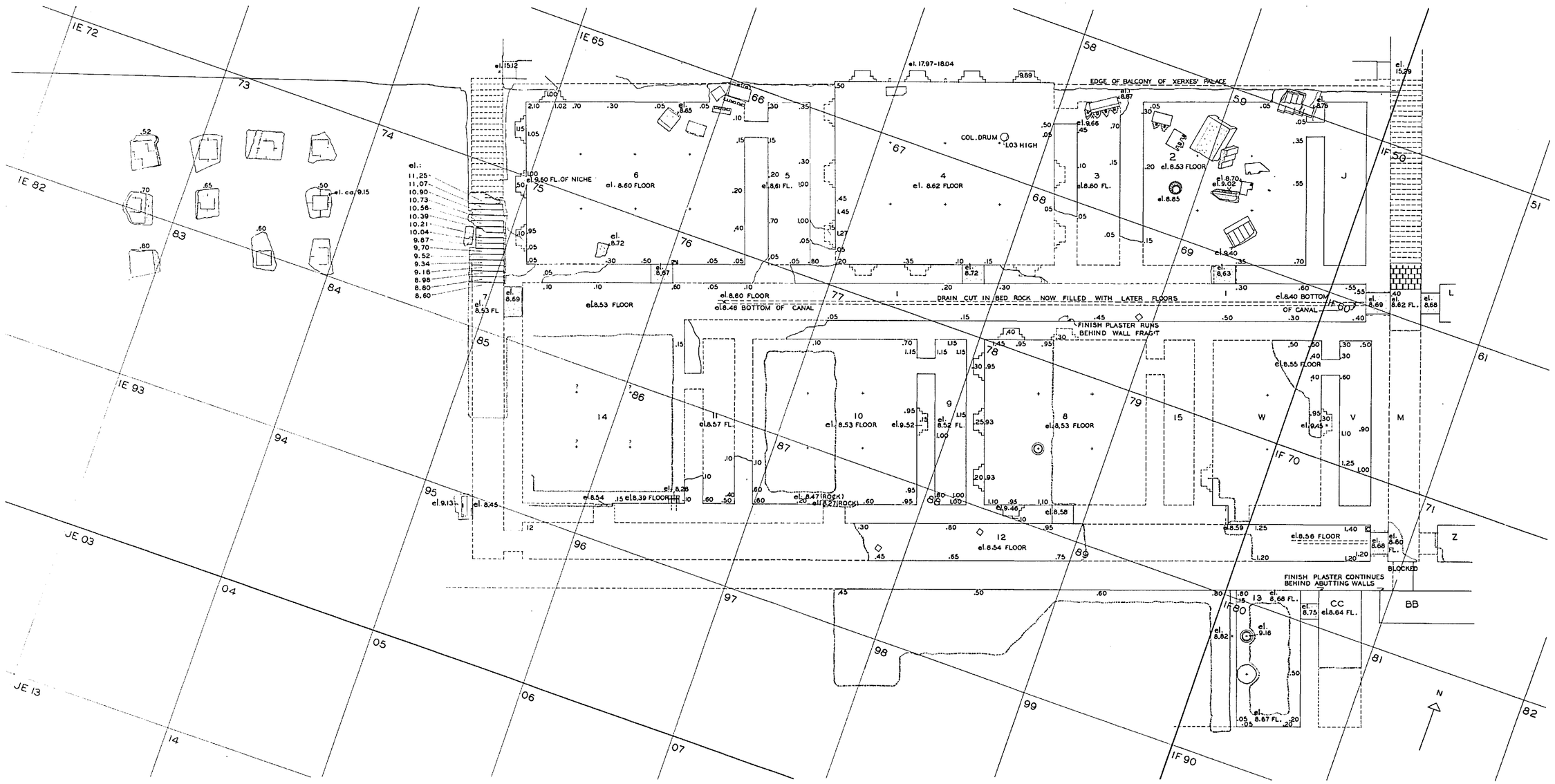


FIG. 103. PLAN OF MAIN WING OF HAREM (CONTINUATION OF FIG. 102). SCALE, 1:400


IE 72
IE 65
IE 82
IE 93
JE 03
JE 13
IF 50
IF 60
IF 70
IF 80
IF 90
el. 15.12
el. 17.97-18.04
EDGE OF BALCONY OF XERXES' PALACE
el. 15.39
COL. DRUM
1.03 HIGH
el.:
11.25
11.07
10.90
10.73
10.56
10.39
10.21
10.04
9.87
9.70
9.52
9.34
9.16
8.98
8.80
8.60
el. ca. 9.15
el. 8.60 FL. OF NICHE
el. 8.60 FLOOR
el. 8.61 FL.
el. 8.62 FLOOR
el. 8.53 FLOOR
el. 8.53 FL.
el. 8.69
el. 8.72
el. 8.97
el. 8.85
el. 8.63
el. 8.62 FL.
el. 8.68
el. 8.46 BOTTOM OF CANAL
DRAIN CUT IN BED ROCK NOW FILLED WITH LATER FLOORS
el. 8.40 BOTTOM OF CANAL
FINISH PLASTER RUNS BEHIND WALL FRAGT
el. 8.55 FLOOR
el. 8.57 FL.
el. 8.53 FLOOR
el. 9.52
el. 8.52 FL.
el. 8.53 FLOOR
el. 8.26
el. 8.54
el. 8.39 FLOOR
el. 8.47 (ROCK)
el. 8.27 (ROCK)
el. 9.13
el. 8.45
el. 9.46
el. 8.58
el. 8.54 FLOOR
el. 8.56 FLOOR
el. 8.68
el. 8.60 FL.
BLOCKED
FINISH PLASTER CONTINUES BEHIND ABUTTING WALLS
el. 8.68 FL.
el. 8.75
el. 8.64 FL.
el. 8.82
el. 9.16
el. 8.67 FL.
el. 8.59
el. 8.66
el. 8.67
el. 8.76
el. 8.70
el. 9.02
el. 9.40
el. 9.45
el. 8.39
el. 8.65
el. 8.69
el. 8.68
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el. 8.69
el. 8.69
el. 8.69

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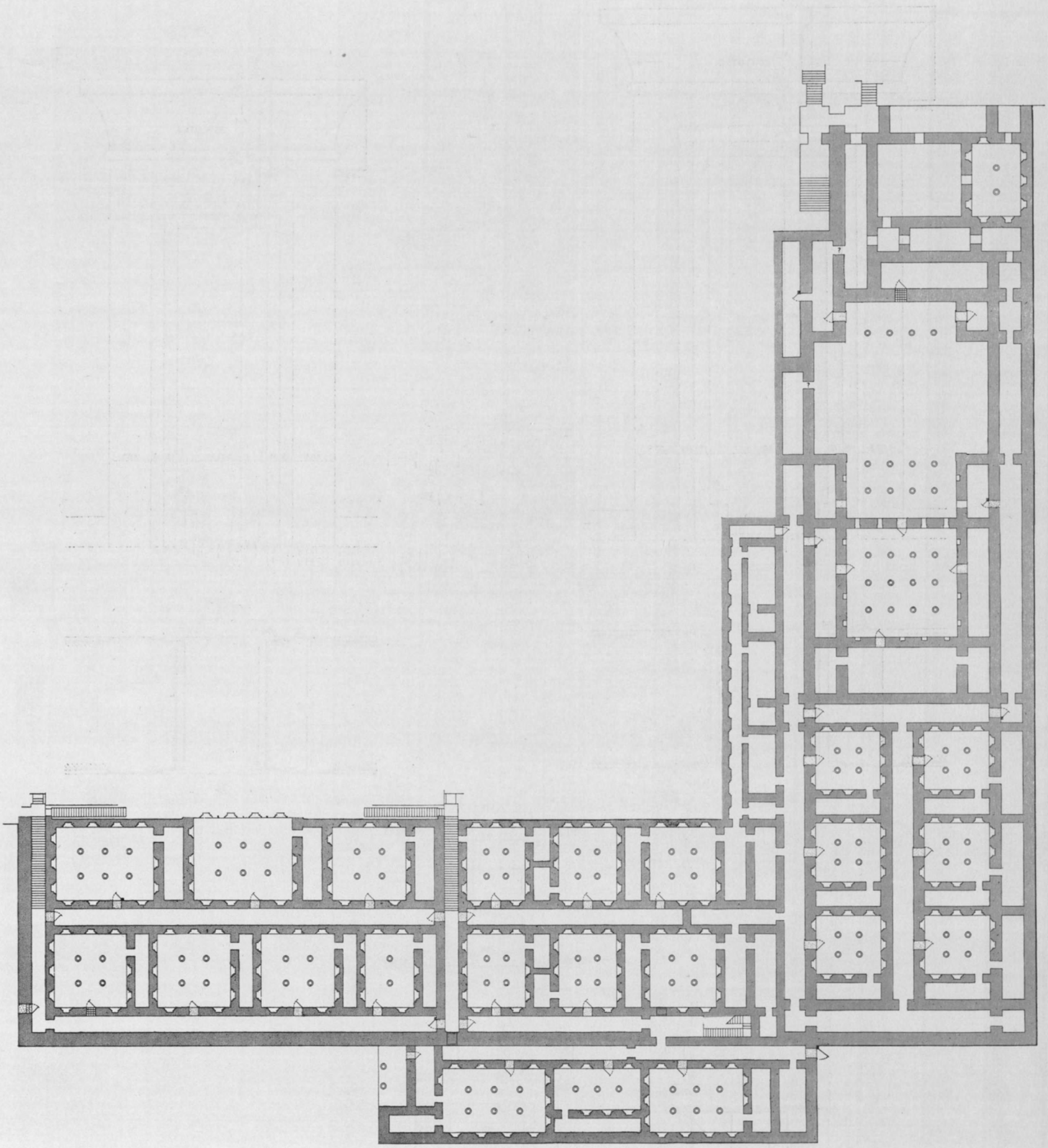
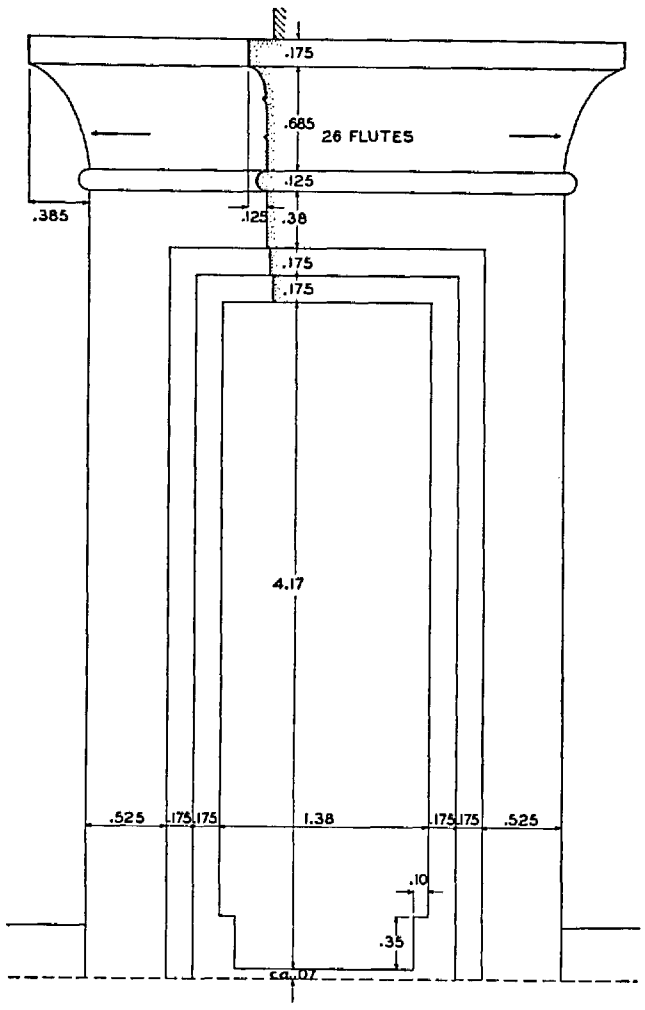
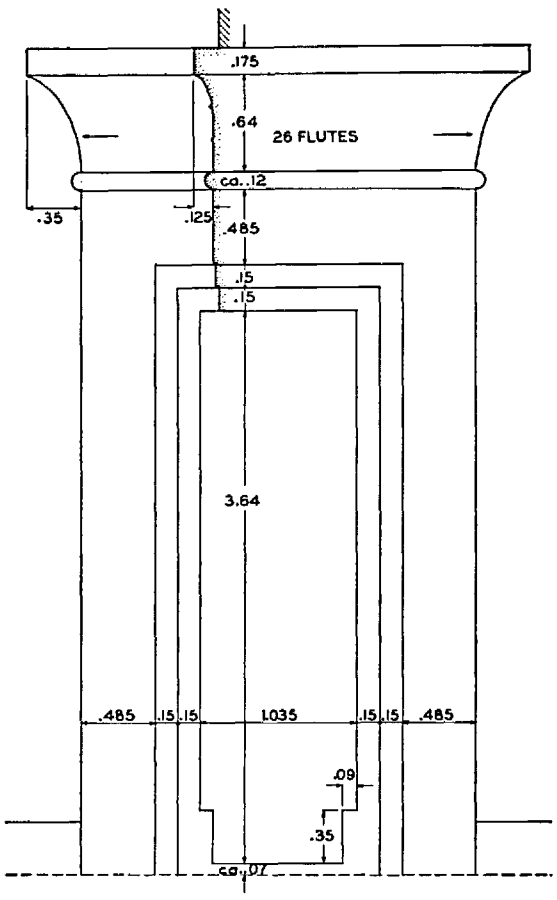
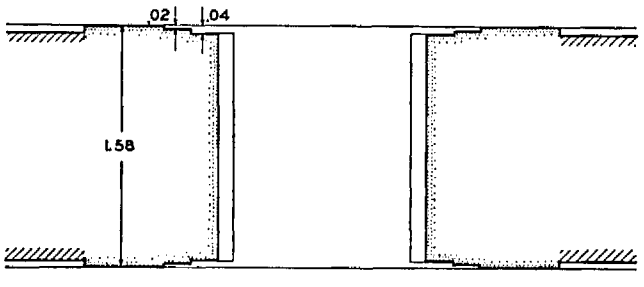


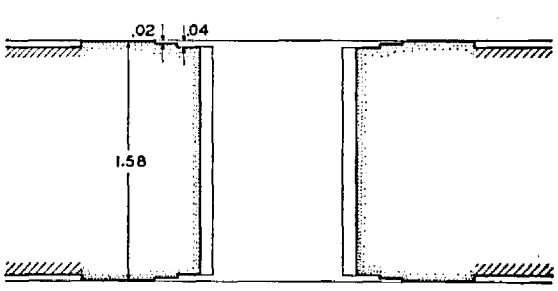
FIG. 105. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF HAREM. BASED ON ORIGINAL SURVEYS OF F. KREFTER AND R. C. HAINES. SCALE, 1:600



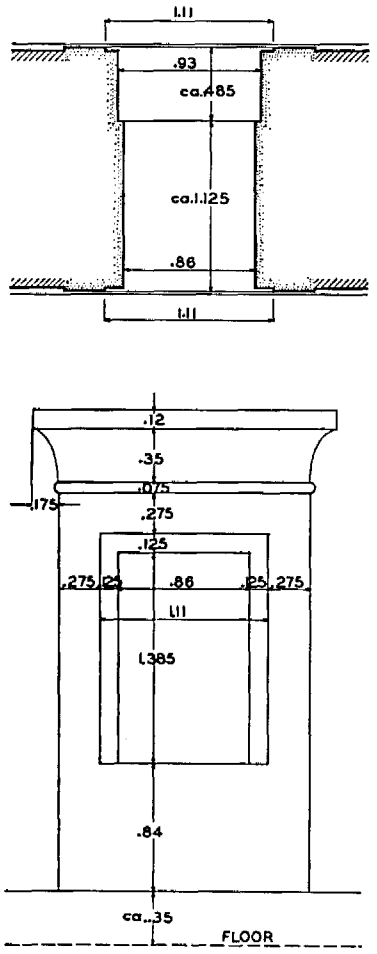




A



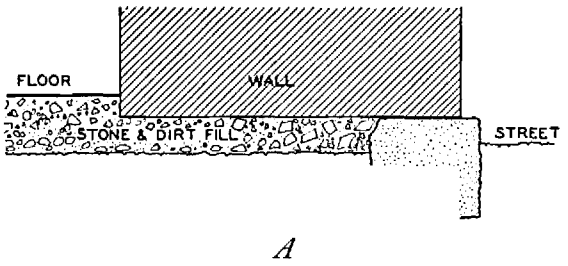
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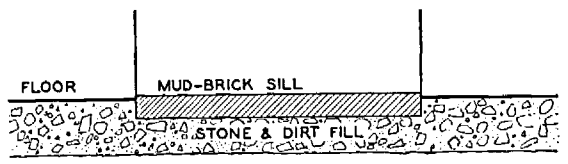
C

D

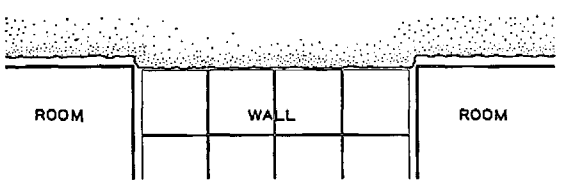
FIG. 106. HAREM. ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS. SCALE, 1:50. *A–B*. DIAGRAMS OF DOORWAYS TO MAIN HALL AND GUARDROOMS. *C*. DIAGRAMS OF WINDOWS AND NICHES IN MAIN HALL AND PORTICO. *D*. PLAN OF EAST ANTA OF PORTICO



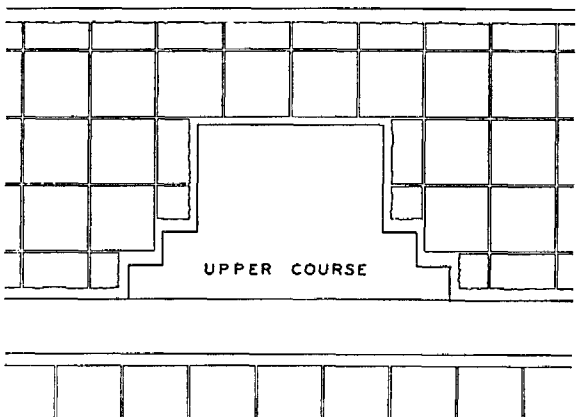
A



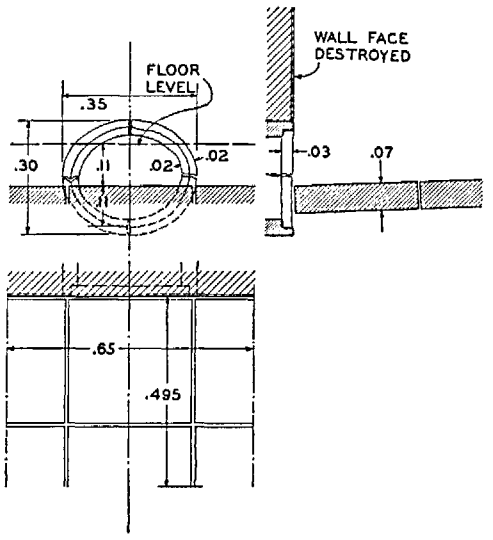
B



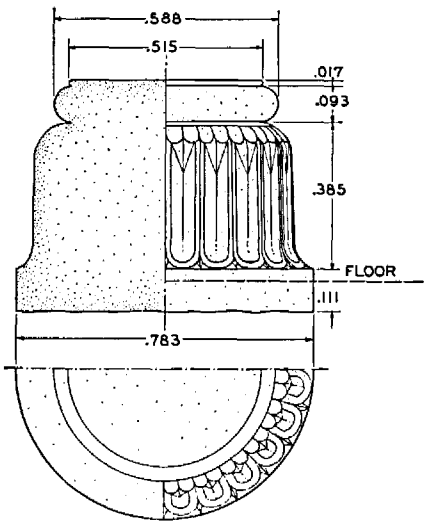
C



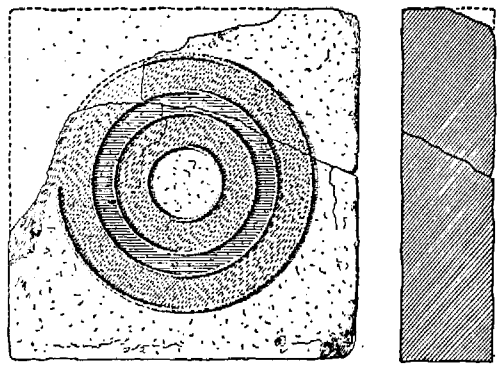
D



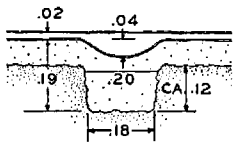
E



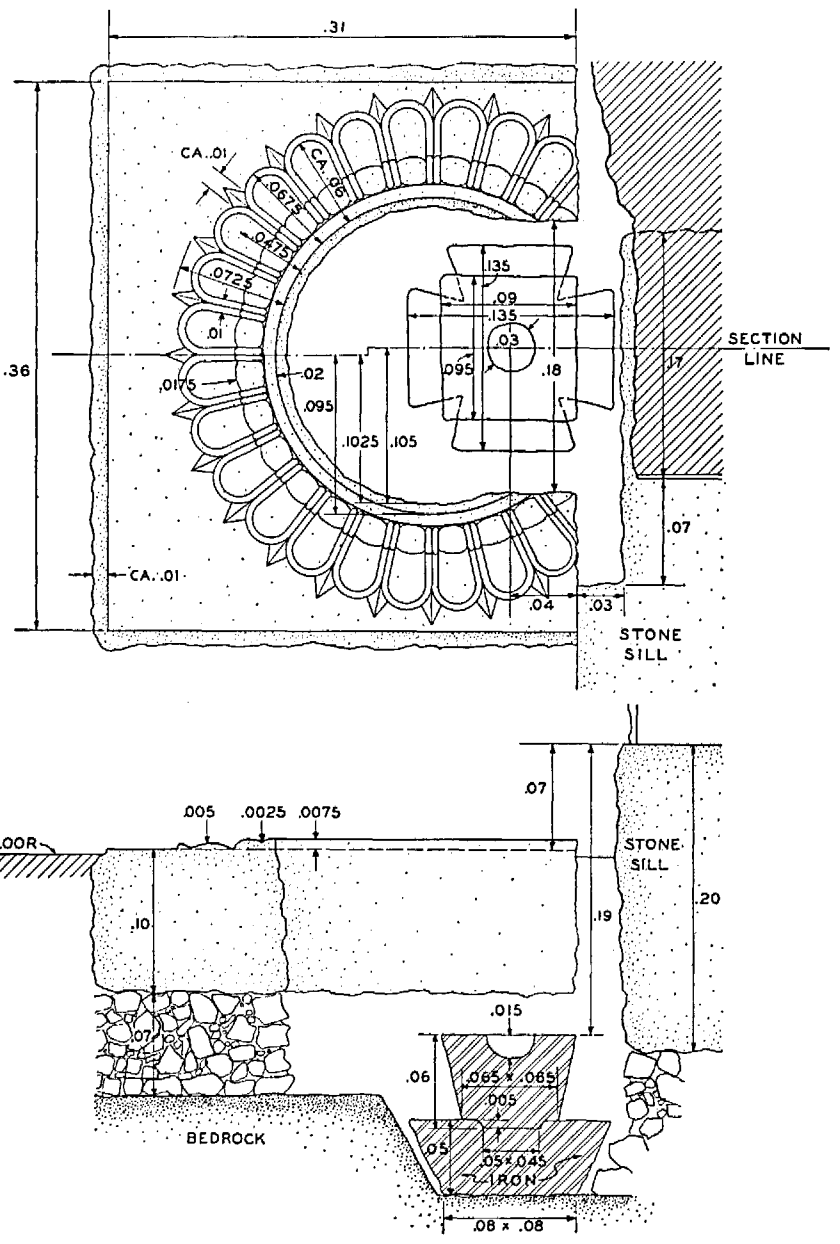
F



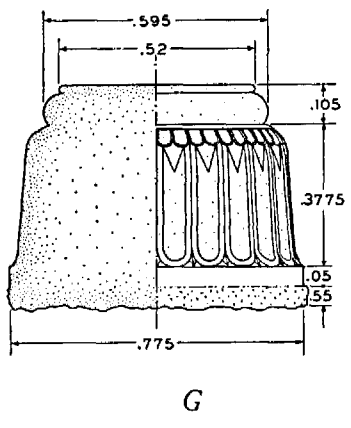
I



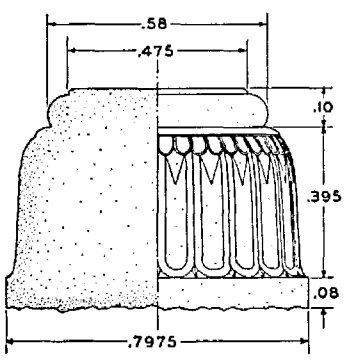
J



K



G



H

FIG. 107. HAREM. DIAGRAMS OF ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS. NORTHERN SERVICE QUARTERS: *A*. SECTION OF EASTERN EXTERIOR WALL. *B*. SECTION THROUGH A DOORSILL. *C*. SKETCH PLAN OF WALL ABUTTING PLATFORM OF THRONE HALL. *D*. BONDING OF MUD BRICKS OF NICHE IN ROOM 5. *F*. COLUMN BASE OF ROOM 5. WEST WING: *E*. DRAIN IN ROOM 14. *G*. COLUMN BASE OF ROOM 2. *H*. COLUMN BASE OF ROOM 13. *I*. GLAZED BRICK FOUND SOUTH OF CORRIDOR 12. *J*. SECTION THROUGH DRAIN AND FLOOR IN CORRIDOR 1. *K*. IRON DOOR SOCKET AND ORNAMENTAL RING STONE OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF CORRIDOR 12 SCALES, 1:20 (*A–C*, *E–H*, *J*), 1:40 (*D*), 1:8 (*I*), AND 1:5 (*K*)

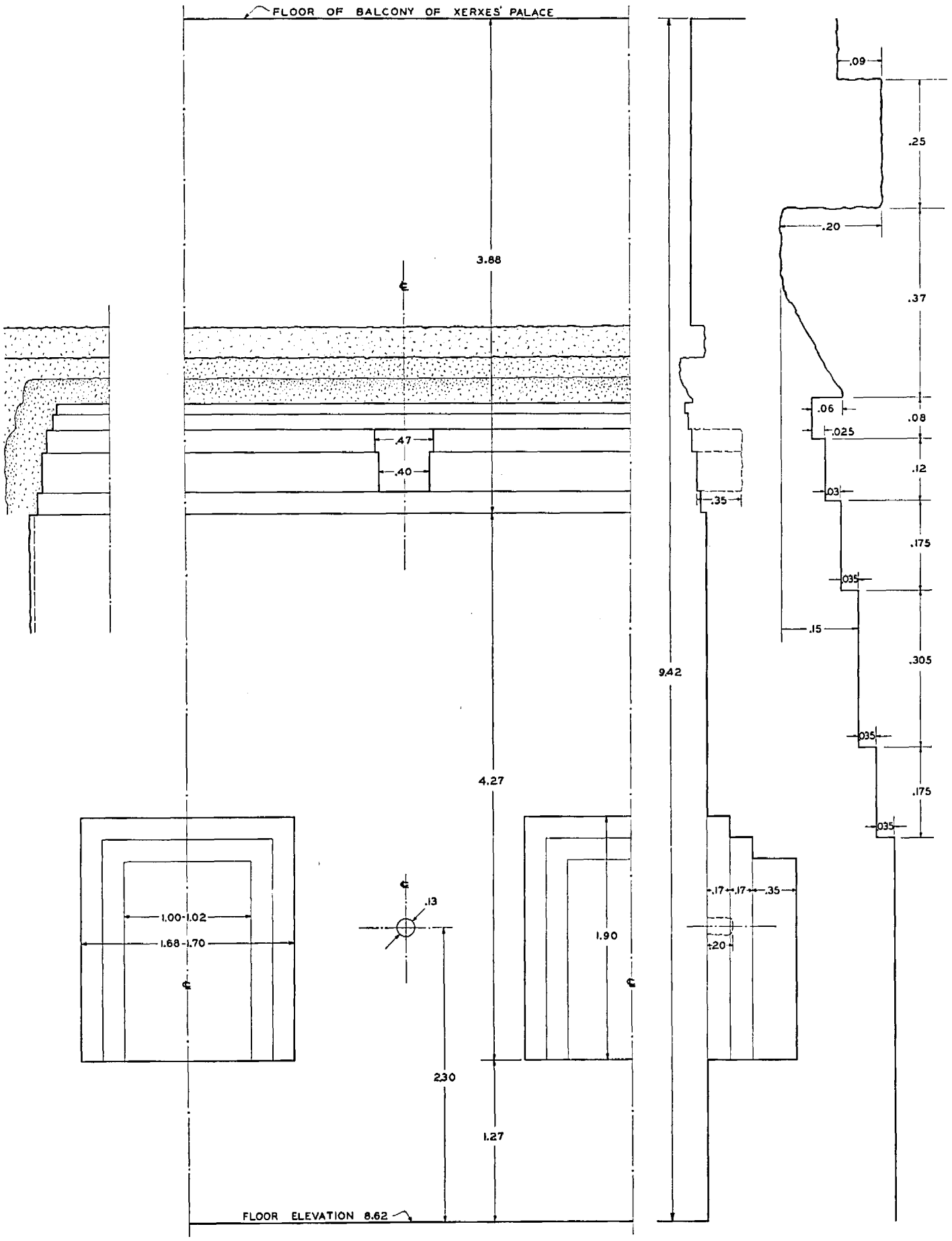
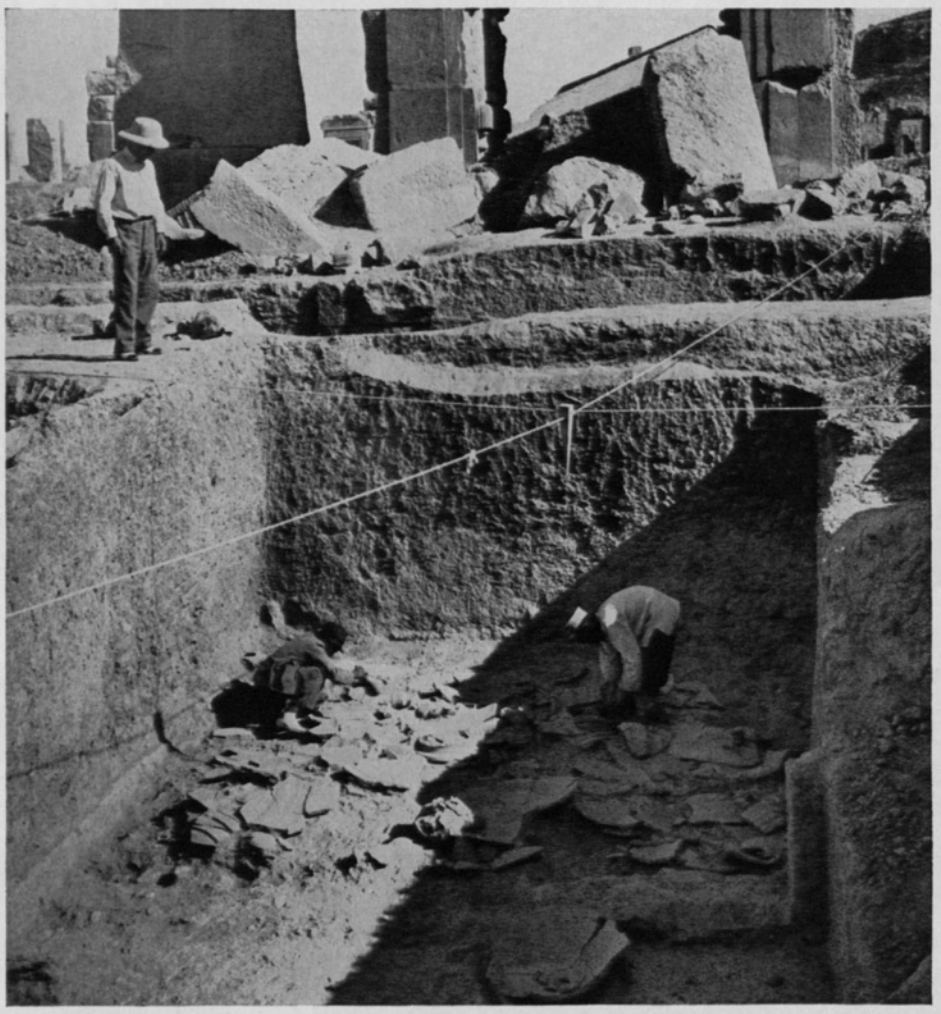
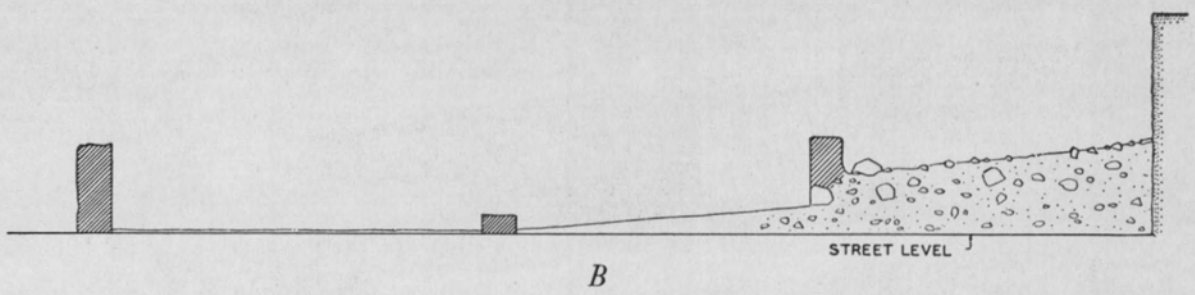


FIG. 108. HAREM. WEST WING. NORTH WALL OF ROOM 4 CARVED IN BEDROCK OF XERXES' PALACE PLATFORM. SCALES, 1:40 (ELEVATION AND SECTION) AND 1:10 (DETAIL OF SECTION)

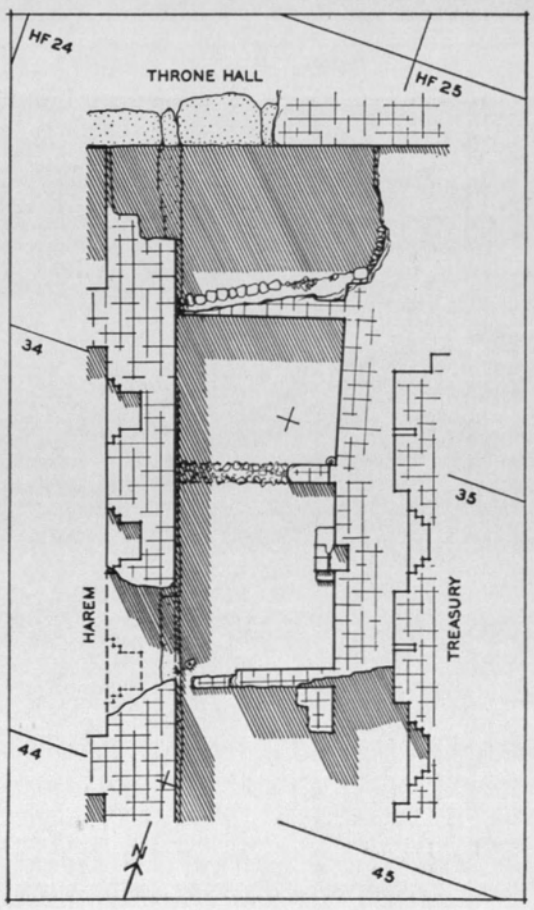
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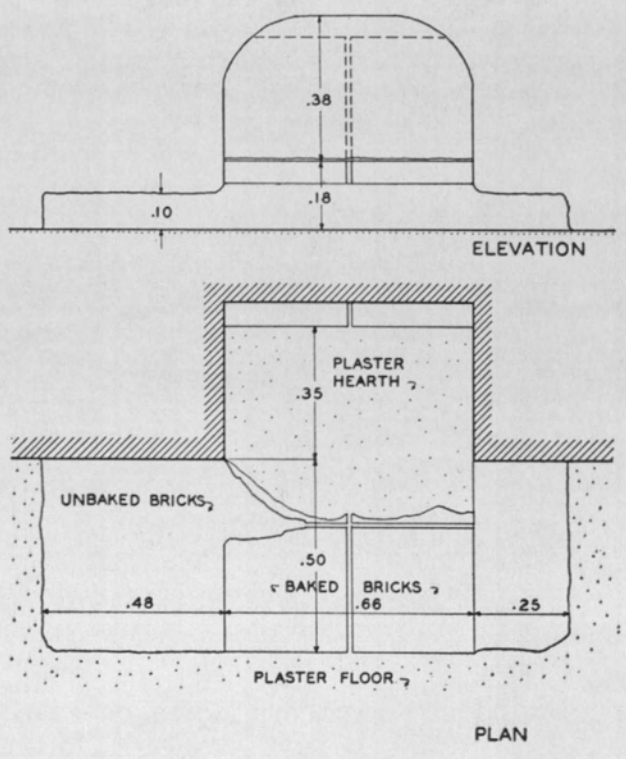
A



B



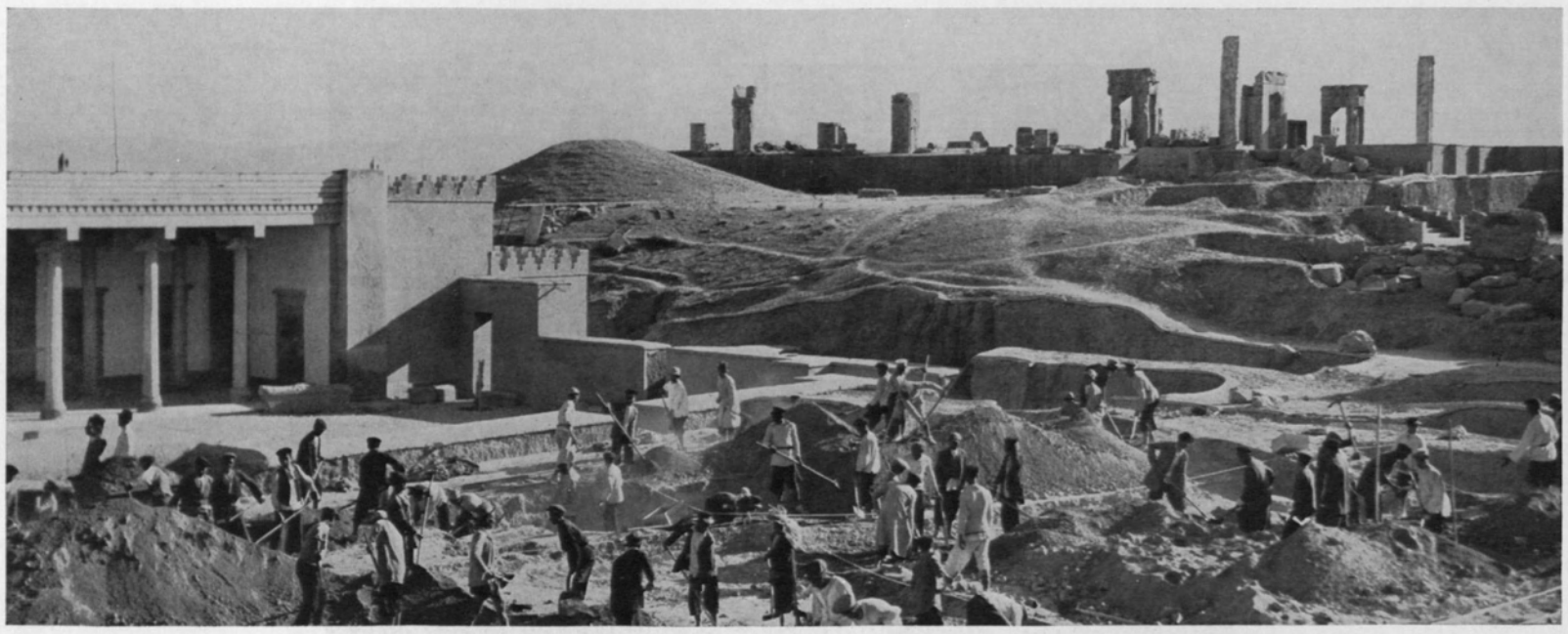
C



D

Fig. 109. Secondary Rooms in "Harem Street." *A*. Broken Pottery in North Room (*direction of view, NNW*). *B*. Cross Section. Scale, 1:100. *C*. Plan. Scale, 1:200. *D*. Elevation and Plan of Fireplace in South Room. Scale, 1:20

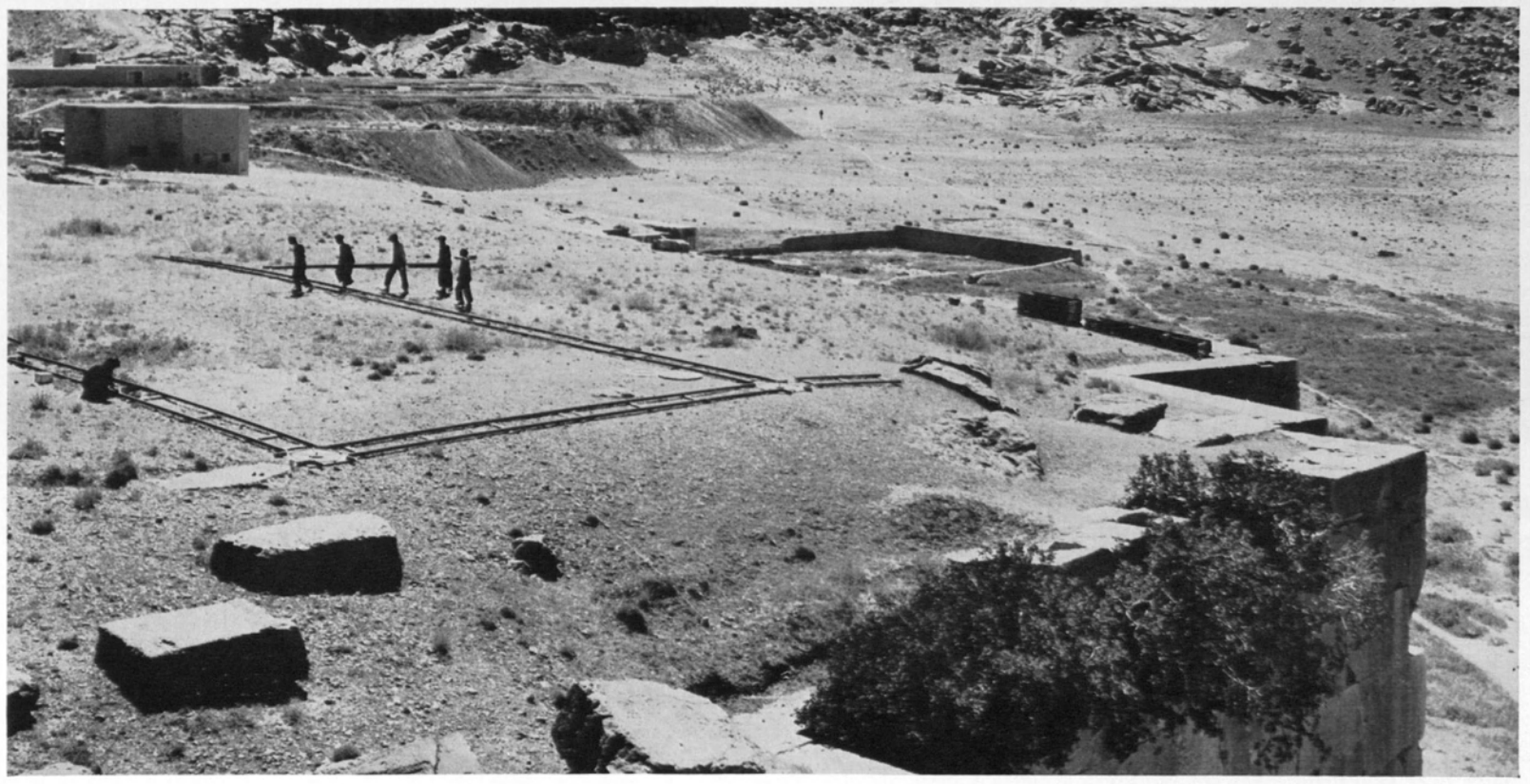
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A



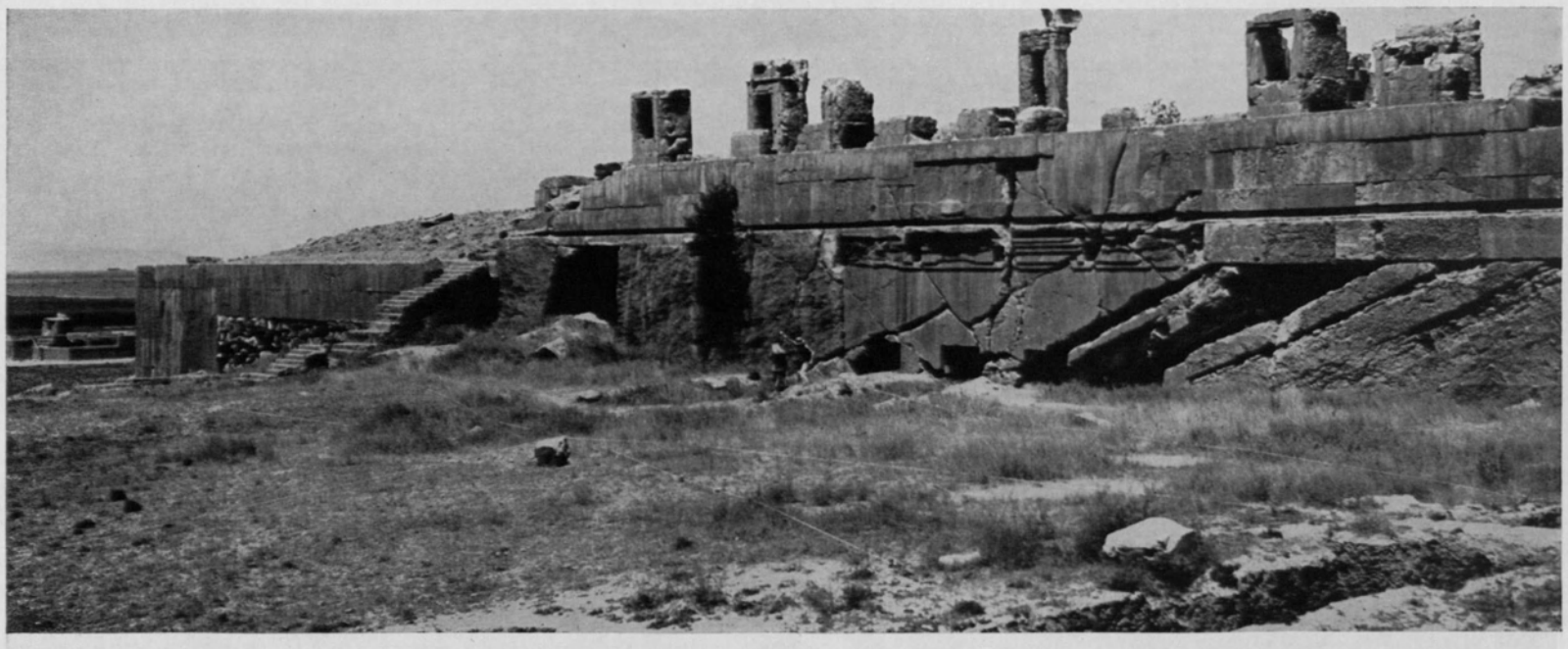
B



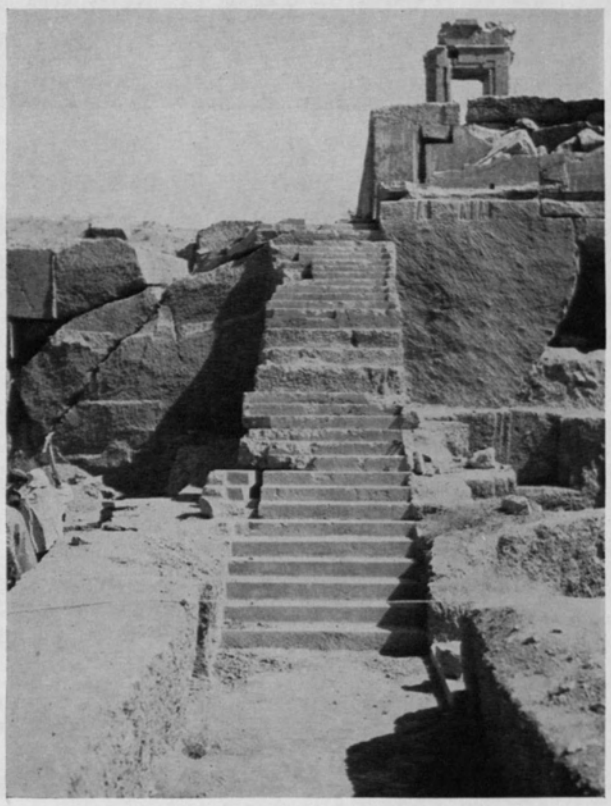
C

FIG. 110. HAREM. *A*. EXCAVATION OF SERVICE QUARTERS IN MAIN WING, WITH XERXES' PALACE IN BACKGROUND BEYOND SITE OF PALACE D (*direction of view, SSW*). *B*. SERVICE QUARTERS AFTER EXCAVATION, WITH THRONE HALL IN LEFT BACKGROUND (*direction of view, ENE*). *C*. WEST END OF WEST WING AT START OF WORK, WITH SOUTHWESTERN EDGE OF TERRACE (*direction of view, ESE*)

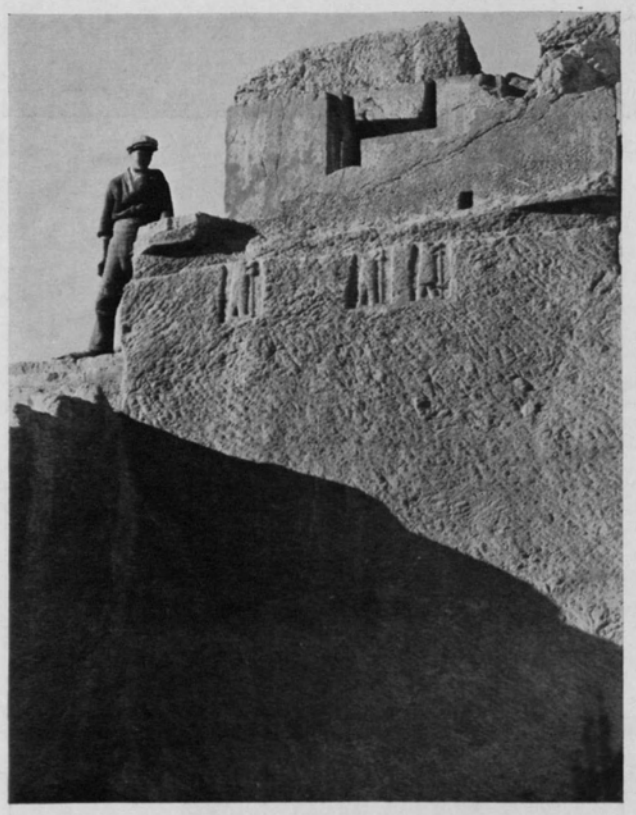
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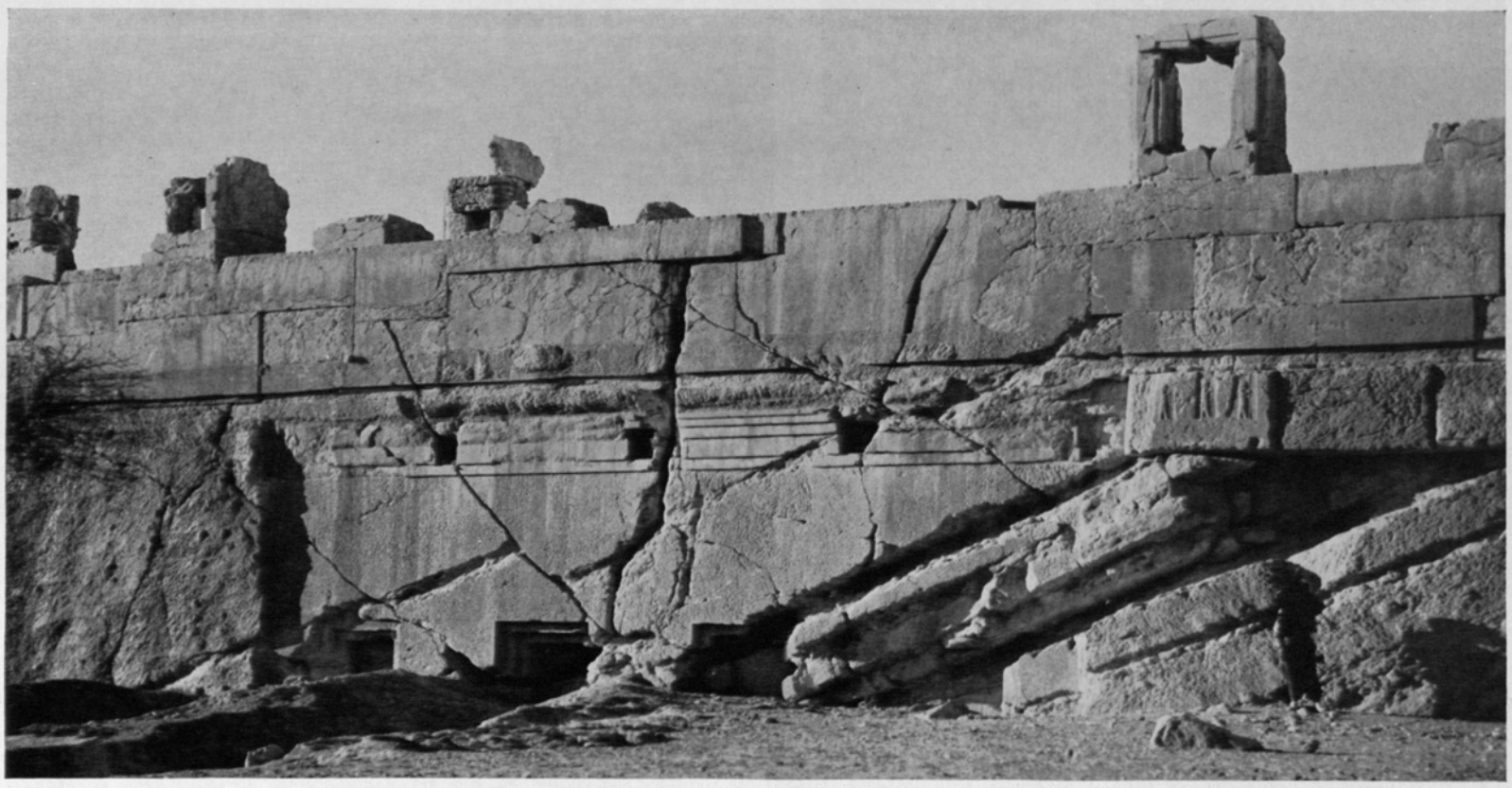
A



B

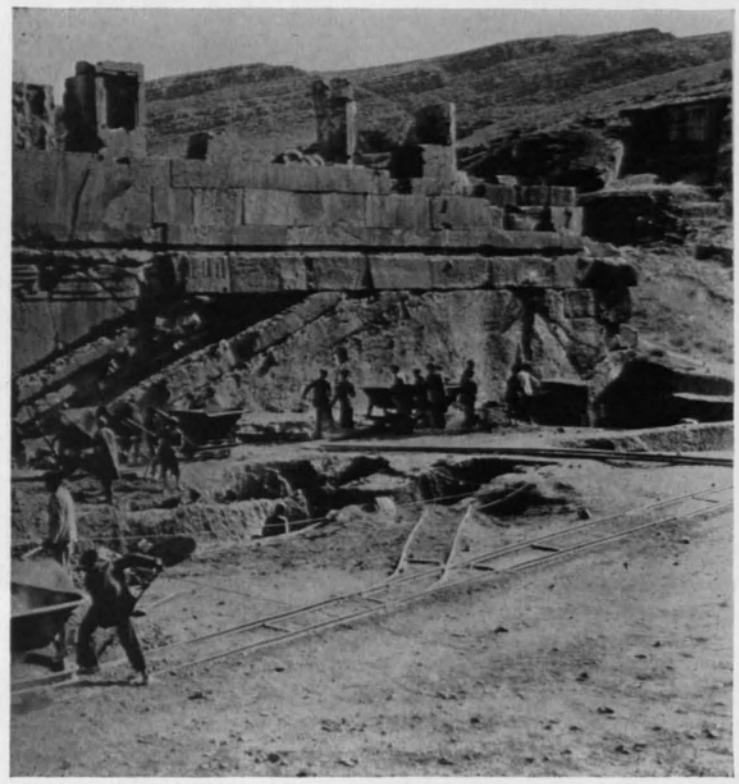


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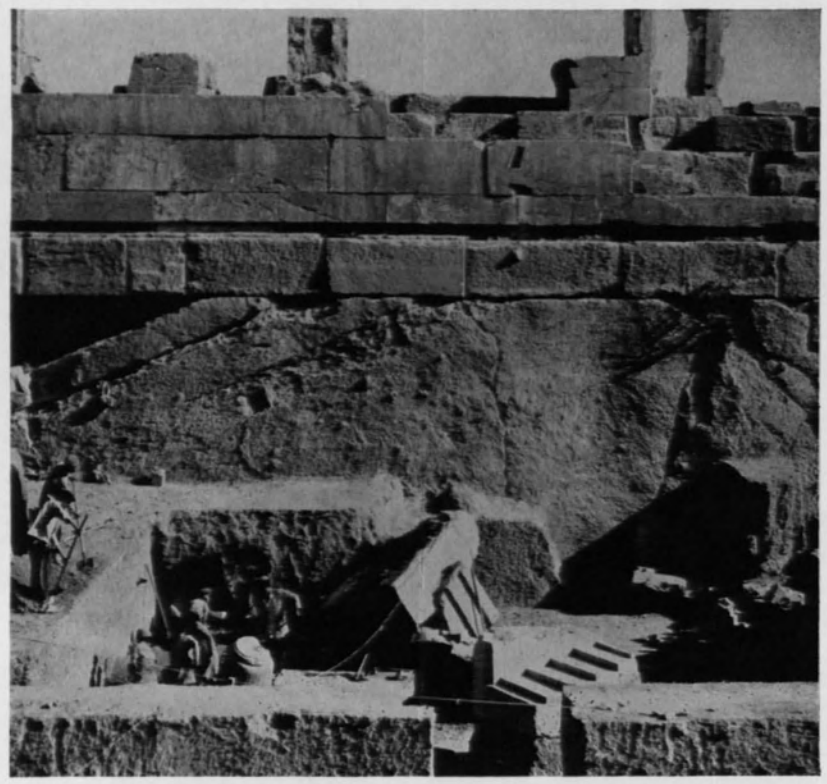


D

FIG. 111. HAREM. WESTERN PORTION OF WEST WING. *A.* BEFORE EXCAVATION, WITH PLATFORMS OF XERXES' PALACE AND PALACE H IN BACKGROUND (*direction of view, WNW*). *B.* CORRIDOR 7 AND SOUTHWEST STAIRS OF XERXES' PALACE (*direction of view, NNW*). *C.* RELIEFS OF MEDIAN GUARDS ON BEDROCK BESIDE SOUTHWEST STAIRS OF XERXES' PALACE. *D.* NORTH WALL OF ROOM 4 CARVED IN BEDROCK OF XERXES' PALACE PLATFORM (*direction of view, NW*)



A



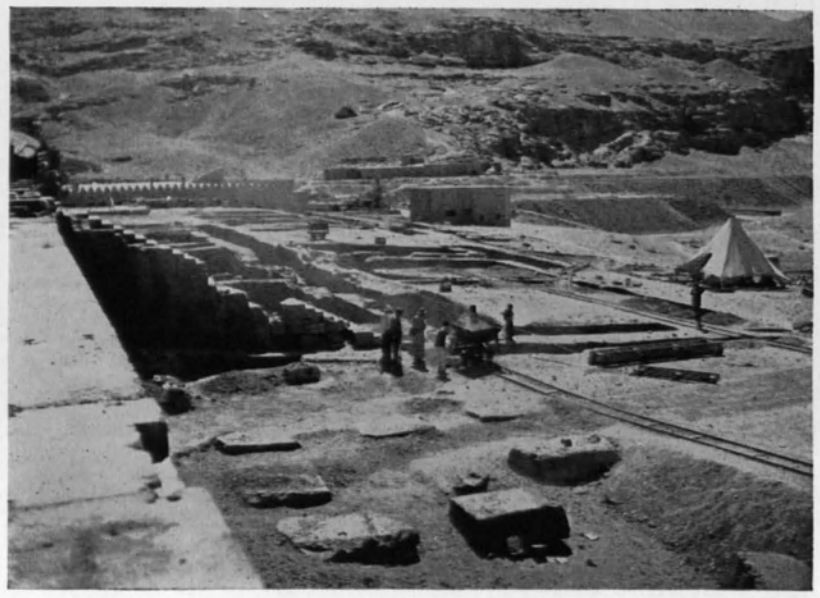
B



C



D



E

Fig. 112. Harem. Western Portion of West Wing. *A*. Excavation in Front of Southeast Corner of Xerxes' Palace Platform (*direction of view, NE*). *B*. Debris from Xerxes' Palace and Column Base in Room 2 (*direction of view, NNW*). *C*. Reliefs of Median Guards on Stone Block of Xerxes' Palace Platform above Room 3. *D*. Room 2 Seen from Balcony of Xerxes' Palace (*direction of view, SE*). *E*. Column Foundations of "Pavilion" West of West Wing (*direction of view, E*)

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THE HAREM OF XERXES

GENERAL NOTES

Two antae and some doorways, windows, and niches of stone were the only visible remnants of the so-called "Southeast Building" before Herzfeld cleared a considerable portion of the extensive structure and identified it as the Harem of Xerxes. The identification was based principally on the plan of the building, which shows a number of rather uniform apartments, each consisting of a main room connected with one smaller room or two such subsidiary chambers.

The main wing of the Harem (Figs. 103 and 105) is oriented north-south[1] and extends from the southern edge of the platform of the Throne Hall, which it abuts, to within about 12 meters of the southern fortification wall (here destroyed), remnants of which were discovered south of the Treasury (see Fig. 21). At the east a street separates the building from the Treasury, built on the same low level of the Terrace, and at the west it is bordered by the Council Hall and Palace D, both situated on a higher level (see Pls. 124–25).

The west wing of the Harem (Figs. 102 and 104–5) extends from the southern portion of the main wing toward the west, south of Palace D and the still more elevated residential Palace of Xerxes. Some of the southernmost rooms must have abutted the southern fortification, which once towered above the Harem roof.

The major part of the main wing and the eastern half of the west wing were excavated by Herzfeld to the extent shown on his schematized plans.[2] Under his direction Krefter restored that portion of the building which extends from the palatial portico and main hall to the southern limits of the main wing (Pls. 189–92 and 118). The restoration shows modifications in the system of circulation, lighting, and so forth, required by the use of the building as working quarters for the expedition.

Herzfeld discovered in the southwest corner of the main wing a foundation slab of limestone bearing an inscription of Xerxes in Old Persian cuneiform.[3] This document was found *in situ*—apparently at the point marked by a small square (taken from Krefter's survey) on Figure 103—and dispersed any doubt as to the dating of the Harem. Subsequently we discovered in the quarters of the garrison (see p. 209) further copies of the same text, including the Babylonian version,[4] which invalidates in part Herzfeld's interpretation of the Harem text and proves that Darius did not abdicate but that he had died when Xerxes ascended the throne.[5]

Herzfeld found that the main wing of Xerxes' Harem was built on the red-surfaced floors of an earlier structure and concluded that the latter was the harem of Darius.[6] We accepted his theory[7] until the excavation of the neighboring Treasury was far advanced and Haines succeeded in exploding it. He proved that the earlier building was the western portion of the first two sections of the Treasury (see Fig. 67). There is no building at Persepolis which can be identified as a seraglio of the founder.

The old Treasury did not extend as far as the west wing of the Harem. It is possible, therefore, that this part of the women's quarters was built by Xerxes—with whose palace it is closely linked by two stairways—before the main wing of the Harem was constructed.

The stairways linking Harem, Council Hall, and Throne Hall (see p. 256) are the only connections of the main wing of the Harem with other structures. The main wing is connected in a circuitous manner with the west wing, which had two exits to courtyards or gardens confined by the Terrace fortification and the walls of the Harem. The only opening of the entire Harem complex which led directly into the open was the third exit of the west wing, namely the eastern doorway of Corridor *AA* (see p. 259).

THE MAIN WING

Service Quarters

We are probably correct in assuming that the portion of the main wing located north of the principal courtyard was reserved for Harem personnel. The plan (Fig. 103) emphasizes one room (5), which may have been occupied by the superintendent of the Harem.

The rooms marked on the plan with numbers are those excavated by us (see Fig. 110 *A–B*); those identified by letters were cleared during Herzfeld's regime. In contrast to the carefully prepared red-surfaced floors of the Treasury, the floors of the northern rooms of the Harem consist of plain stamped earth over a packed stone-and-dirt fill about 30 cm. in depth. Figure 107 *A* indicates that the bottom of this fill corresponds to the level of the street at the east. The same drawing shows a section of the exterior wall, roughly 1.80 m. thick, with the slightly projecting base course of stones which protected the eastern and southern inclosures of the main wing in their entire extent. The Treasury inclosure, not protected in the same manner, was undoubtedly damaged during the rainy seasons and must have required frequent repairs. The drawing shows that the base stones extend a certain distance only beneath

1. Actual line of orientation: 20° west of north to 20° east of south.
2. *IAE*, Figs. 337, 332, 327–28.
3. See *SAOC* No. 5; *AMI* IV 117–39.
4. PT3 137; see Vol. II, section on "Foundation Documents of Xerxes."
5. See *OIC* No. 21, p. 12; *AI*, pp. 35–38 (No. 15).
6. *IAE*, p. 236.
7. See *OIC* No. 21, pp. 91 f.

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the mud-brick inclosures and are backed by the stone-and-dirt fill mentioned above. The interior walls, averaging 1.50 m. in thickness, stand on this fill, which seems to spread over the entire northern area of the Harem.

All walls of the service quarters consist of unbaked bricks of the usual dimensions (33–34 cm. square and 12–13 cm. thick) laid in mud mortar. In every doorway excavated by us in this section of the building the lowermost course of the wall extends across the opening and forms a sill (see Fig. 107 *B*). Except in Room *F* (see below) there was no evidence of pivoting devices. To judge by our observations in the Treasury, this suggests that there were no doors. Curtains may have been used instead. The walls are covered with the usual layer (3–5 cm. thick) of mud mixed with straw and surfaced with a greenish-gray plaster coat (5 mm. thick) such as we found on all normal walls of the Treasury. The finishing coat extends to the very base of the walls, roughly 10 cm. beneath the levels of the floors.

The northern border of Rooms 7 and 8 is the escarpment beneath the southern face of the Throne Hall, whose floor level is almost 3 meters above that of the Harem. At the points where the walls of these rooms abut the stone face the latter projects somewhat (see Fig. 107 *C*). The adjacent areas were roughly straightened by chipping and covered with the usual coats of mud and plaster, varying in thickness (up to 10 cm.) according to the irregularities of the rock surface.

In the previously excavated parts of this section of the Harem were uncovered stairs which ascend from the level of this building to the higher platforms of two adjacent structures. Stone stairs rise from Room *A* to a landing from which further steps lead east and north into the corridors inclosing the Throne Hall. A fragmentary stone stairway ascending northward from Room *B* undoubtedly connected the Harem with the Council Hall, as shown on our reconstructed plans of that building (Fig. 52) and the Terrace (Fig. 21) and as indicated on Herzfeld's reconstruction.[8] We have not succeeded in finding a satisfactory explanation for the mud-brick stairs—once perhaps surfaced with baked bricks—which rise from Room *C* toward the south. On Herzfeld's reconstruction they simply stop at a wall. Haines suggested that they represent secondary construction in an existing room (*C*). In cleaning the landing south of the stairway he found a patch of the floor (indicated on Fig. 103) and a trace of the wall face which it abuts. He concluded tentatively that the stairs could have been continued by a wooden flight ascending above Room *F* to the roof of the Harem or to one of the southeastern rooms of the Council Hall complex (see p. 120).

On the north the Harem was entered through Vestibules *B* and *A*. The latter opened into a long corridor (*D*), which may have been connected with Room *E* at the point where the wall between these two units is destroyed. If a doorway existed here, as assumed by Herzfeld,[9] access to the Harem courtyard would have been gained through Room *E* and its southeast doorway. Stone sills distinguish this doorway and that of the small Room *I*, at the opposite end of the northern portico of the courtyard. The four bell-shaped column bases of this portico resemble the other bases of the building (see Fig. 107 *F–H*).[10] An alternative route to the central section of the main wing, and perhaps the only possible one, extended from Corridor *D* through Rooms 4, 3, 2, 1, *H* and the corridor east of the courtyard, avoiding the latter. One room (*G*) is linked solely with the northern portico of the courtyard, by means of a doorway which shows the remains of a sill of baked bricks. Another room (*F*), adjacent to the platform of the Council Hall complex, had a door, as indicated by a socket stone. Herzfeld's crew uncovered a drainage shaft in its western wall and traced parts of the drainage system linked with canals to the west (see Fig. 21) and with one branch draining the Harem courtyard.

The nucleus of the service quarters consists of the "superintendent's room" (5), Courtyard 6, and two subsidiary rooms (7–8). The roof of Room 5 was supported by two presumably wooden columns. Their bell-shaped stone bases with attached tori are completely different in form from the bases encountered in the Treasury. One of the bases was found *in situ* and is illustrated on Figure 107 *F*. The walls of Room 5 are embellished with stepped niches (see Pl. 190), apparently a distinctive feature of living rooms to judge by its occurrence in the main rooms of the Harem apartments (see e.g. p. 260). The floors of the niches are elevated about a meter above the floor of the room. The bonding of the mud bricks used in constructing the niches is shown on Figure 107 *D*. On the north, Room 5 is adjoined by a small subsidiary room (7) which abuts the platform of the Throne Hall (see above). On the west, a doorway opens into a large rectangular inclosure. There were no clues suggesting columns, and, as Haines remarked, even the long span between the Apadana columns is shorter than the width of this inclosure. Thus we must assume that it was an open courtyard, although there is no further evidence.

A doorway connects Courtyard 6 with Room 8, which also abuts the platform of the Throne Hall. The contents of Room 8 suggest that it was used as a toolroom. It is the only room in this part of the building, furthermore, which was destroyed by fire. In the northwest corner a bronze pulley wheel(?)[11] was in a layer of burned matter. The iron blade of a spade[12] was found in the eastern part of the room, near two belt buckles of bronze. Close to the northern wall, on the floor opposite the doorway, we found a peg of blue composition with an inscription of Darius (I).[13] Needless to say, it antedates the structure. Finally, an eye stone and a wing-shaped bronze fragment occurred in the debris.

Finds from the other rooms did not give much information. There was a stamp seal with crude design[14] in the northern doorway of Room 5. A sculptured fragment of a stone vessel[15] lay in the northwest corner of Room 7, which contained further a small discoid gold pendant with suspension ringlet. Courtyard 6 was entirely sterile; but a cylinder seal[16] occurred on the floor of Room 4, which served as a vestibule for both the courtyard with its connected rooms and the flight of passages leading to the central section of the wing (see above).

8. *IAE*, Fig. 332. 9. *Ibid.*

10. The two central bases, however, do not have attached tori, as do the other bases of the Harem. Krefter's original survey suggests that the four bases were found *in situ*.

11. Cf. PT5 479. Objects referred to by field number are described and illustrated in Vol. II.

12. Cf. PT3 320.

13. PT5 112; see *OIC* No. 21, p. 62 (read Room "8" instead of "6") and Fig. 42.

14. PT5 113. 15. PT5 433. 16. PT5 351.

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Central Section

The palatial nucleus of the Harem consisted of a stately hall and a portico open toward a spacious courtyard. The doorways, their sills, the niches and windows, and the two antae flanking the portico entrance were made of stone (Pl. 191 *A* and Fig. 106), but there are no inscriptions. The walls were built of mud bricks laid on stone foundations.

The roof of the hall was carried by twelve columns made presumably of wood. Probably they stood on bell-shaped stone bases identical in shape with those illustrated on Figure 107.[17] The form of the capitals, here and on the eight columns of the portico, is not known. They may have been double-headed bulls of wood similar to those restored by Herzfeld and Krefter (Pls. 191 *B* and 192). If shafts and capitals of the columns had been made of stone the excavators undoubtedly would have found some shattered fragments of such in this low, debris-covered area of the site. The same is true in regard to the columns of the Treasury. On the other hand, the high, almost completely denuded terrace of Xerxes' palace had been entirely cleared of traces of its stone columns, remnants of which were thrown into the adjacent part of the west wing of the Harem (see pp. 241, 244, 262).

The four doorways of the hall are embellished with monumental reliefs. On the jambs of the southern doorway (Pl. 193) the king—Xerxes undoubtedly—is represented as entering the hall from a small inner courtyard, which apparently was connected with two small lateral rooms but not with the apartments to the south. As usual, the relief on one jamb shows the opposite sides of the persons depicted on the other jamb. The king's attire is informal, that is, there are no cuts in the stone indicating the former presence of attached jewelry and a metal cover of the headdress (cf. e.g. Pls. 178–81 and 138–41). The decisive feature which distinguishes Xerxes the king in reliefs on his palace and the Harem from his representation as crown prince in the Council Hall (Pls. 77–78) and on the Treasury orthostats (Pls. 119–23) is the scepter, which he now holds in his right hand. On the east jamb traces of designs are preserved on the king's garment. A file of lions is shown on the hem of the sleeve, and an allover pattern of encircled rosettes covers the rest of the candys (Pl. 198). Here as well as in Darius' palace (see p. 226) the garment patterns are sketches which guided the painter in coloring the reliefs. Combined with traces of pigments found in the Throne Hall and on the façades of the royal tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam[18] these patterns suggest that all or most of the stone reliefs had been painted, or at least were meant to be painted. Two attendants, shown at a smaller scale, walk behind the ruler. One of them—beardless and therefore presumably a eunuch—holds a fly-whisk over the head of the king and a towel in his other hand. The hands of the second, bearded attendant are crossed. The king and his attendants wear Persian dress, but the king's tiara is higher than the attendants' hats and apparently closed at the top, whereas the attendants' hair is visible above their fillet-like caps. The king's shoes are plain; those of the attendants show the three straps and buttons of the stereotyped Persian footgear in the Persepolis reliefs. The beard of the second attendant, furthermore, is groomed close to the chin, contrasting with the long squared beard of royalty.

On the jambs of the northern doorway, which gives access to the portico and the Harem courtyard, Xerxes[18a] is seen leaving the hall in the shade of the royal parasol, carried by one of the two bearded attendants (Pl. 194). The second attendant again raises a fly-whisk over the king's tiara while carrying a towel in the other hand. Fortunately the heads of the two servants were sculptured on a repair patch which broke loose, presumably when struck, and escaped further mutilation (Pl. 197). Herzfeld's crew discovered it in the debris. We replaced it in its original position (without endeavoring to model the missing shoulder of the parasol-bearer).

A different subject is pictured on the eastern and western doorways. On the former (Pl. 196) the royal hero, facing west, that is, the interior of the hall, thrusts a dagger into the belly of a monstrous rampant griffin with scorpion tail. A horn undulating from its forehead is grasped by the hero's other hand. Only the long beard with squared tip identifies the hero as a royal person—or as a deified being.[19] He wears the same kind of low fillet-like cap as the attendants on the other reliefs. He also wears the same type of Persian shoes. His candys is tucked up for combat. The two reliefs are shown as reflected images. All features are exactly duplicated as though seen in a mirror. The same is true with regard to the pair of combat reliefs on the jambs of the western doorway. Certain features of the northern and southern doorway sculptures are treated in the same manner. The representations of the parasol-bearer, for instance, are shown as reflected images. The king, however, always holds his scepter in his right hand. In the combat reliefs it is the nearer hand, right or left, that holds the dagger. In the reliefs on the southern doorway the two figures of the bearded attendant are shown as reflected images, but the figures of the second attendant vary, for in both reliefs his right hand holds the fly-whisk above the king's head. The reliefs of the western doorway show the hero stabbing a lion while grasping the animal's forelock (Pl. 195). As far as preserved, the hero, again facing the interior of the hall, is identical in every detail with the person dispatching the monster in the opposite doorway.

There are four stone niches in the southern wall of the hall and three each in the eastern and western walls. Two stone windows are at either side of the northern doorway.

The portico was flanked by guardrooms, as indicated by reliefs of two Persian soldiers[20] on each jamb of the eastern and western doorways. These sculptures are identical in all major features with the guard reliefs in the palaces of Darius and Xerxes (Pls. 136–37, 176 *B–C*, and 177 *B–C*) and the Throne Hall (Pls. 94–95). Both soldiers hold lances, and the foremost is equipped with a shield (actually of wickerwork).

17. To judge by their appearance and by the fact that Krefter's original survey shows only the foundation slabs but no bases in the main hall and the portico, we must conclude that most of the bases now present are casts made of concrete during the restoration of the Harem (see Pl. 191 *A*, showing all bases in position and molds lying at east wall of portico).

18. See Vol. III.

18a. Here too without indications of formal attire.

19. Ahuramazda and monsters of divine nature such as human-faced sphinxes and bulls are also distinguished by the type of long beard worn by royalty.

20. Illustrated by Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, Pl. 3.

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There is one stone niche at either side of the portico, and a stone anta at each outer corner. Original cuts in the upper parts of the antae indicate the height of the façade and assisted Herzfeld and Krefter in restoring the portico roof. Their restoration includes a clerestory, which admits light to the hall through windows close to the roof (see Pls. 189–90 and 124).

We illustrate two Sasanian graffiti found in this part of the building. One is located on the southern wall of the main hall, west of the doorway to the inner court (Pl. 199 *A*). The second is on the southern wall of the portico, below the sill of the westernmost window (Pl. 199 *B*). Both graffiti appear to represent the same person, a prince mounted on an elaborately caparisoned horse. While there are differences in the trappings of the two horses and in the dress of the two riders—the dress of one is very similar to that in a graffito of Papak (see below)—the most important feature, namely a domed crown or helmet with a crescent as heraldic emblem, is the same in both cases. This kind of crown, sometimes bearing the same emblem, is found on coins of satraps of Persis[21] and on early issues of coins of Ardashir I,[22] the founder of the Sasanian empire. It may well be that this prince is pictured by our graffiti. Herzfeld, in referring to one of the graffiti, identifies the horseman with "one Manuchihr of Stakhr."[23] Another graffito, discovered by De Mecquenem in 1928 on the southern wall of the portico and first described and illustrated by Allotte de la Fuÿe,[24] pictures a standing prince identified as Papak,[25] the father of Shapur and Ardashir I. Shapur may be represented by the graffito in Darius' palace (see p. 227, n. 40).

Long corridors east and west of the palatial center connected the main hall and the northern entrances and service quarters with apartments which undoubtedly were reserved for the feminine occupants of the building. We are not able to point out definitely the quarters of the queen, but we assume that the impressive central portion of the Harem was reserved for her and her entourage.[26]

Southern Apartments

An east-west corridor separates the central portion of the Harem from the six southern apartments, which are arranged in two rows. Two long north-south corridors give access to the main room of each apartment. Stone sills are present in most entrances and may have existed in all cases. We may assume that the doorways to all the suites had doors; but information concerning pivoting devices and other architectural details which may have been noticed during the excavation of the building are not available to us. Nor do we have information with regard to the remnants of the contents of the rooms found during Herzfeld's excavations. The western row has three apartments consisting in each case of a main room and one subsidiary room, whereas the main room in each of the apartments in the eastern row is connected with two subsidiary rooms. The roofs of the almost square main rooms were in each case supported by four columns (made undoubtedly of wood) standing on bell-shaped bases of stone which closely resemble the other bases of the building. Stepped niches ornamented the walls and, of course, served practical purposes as shelves.

At the southern end of the main wing there is another east-west corridor, flanked by a passage room on the west and presumably a small corner room on the east.

Western Apartments

There are additional apartments west of the long row of western corridors. Their location and their small size suggest that they were occupied by persons of inferior rank. Two identical suites consist of a main room and a subsidiary chamber. Both main rooms are connected at the west with a narrow passage adjoining the elevated platform of Palace D. South of these suites are two rooms—once possibly combined in one apartment—which are both connected with the corridors on the west and east. The small southernmost room is actually no more than a passage linking the main wing with the west wing of the building.

THE WEST WING

Here again, the units excavated by Herzfeld are marked with letters, whereas our excavations are designated with numerals (Figs. 102 and 104). Herzfeld's work covered the area from the main wing to points somewhat beyond the eastern stairs from the Harem to Xerxes' palace. By combining parts of plans made by Krefter and by resurveying all key points, Haines was able to connect the plan of our excavations with the previously excavated area, where he clarified certain details by further cleaning and measuring.

21. Cf. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922) Pls. XXXII–XXXVII.

22. Cf. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* IV, Pl. 251 *B–C*.

23. *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 81.

24. *RA* XXV (1928) 159 ff. (illustrated on p. 168).

25. *Ibid.* p. 165; *IAE*, p. 308 and Fig. 402.

26. On the other hand, one cannot disregard the fact that the plans of the residential palaces of Darius and Xerxes each show two almost identical apartments, an arrangement which suggests that one of those suites in each palace was occupied by the queen.

Eastern Apartments

The eastern portion of the west wing has three tiers of apartments which are separated by long east-west corridors. Each apartment consists of a columned main room with stepped niches, connected normally with one subsidiary room but in some cases with several smaller rooms. Some of the bell-shaped stone bases with attached tori were preserved *in situ*. The column shafts, undoubtedly made of wood, have disappeared.

Communication between the west wing and the main wing was circuitous. We do not know whether Corridors *K* and *L* were originally connected, forming—together with Corridor 1 (see below)—a continuous passage through the entire west wing. For a time there existed a route from the southernmost west corridor of the main wing, through Corridor *K* and Rooms *O–P* of the central tier, to Corridor *Y*. The doorway connecting the latter corridor and Room *P* was subsequently blocked. This change left only one connection between the two wings of the

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Harem, namely the doorways linking the main wing with Rooms *A* and *B*[27] and, consequently, with Room *C* and Corridor *L*. Haines suggested that the indirectness of communication indicates a definite plan to control traffic between the two parts of the building.

The northern and central tiers of apartments are almost symmetrical. All main rooms had four columns. The doorways connecting these rooms with the adjoining corridors were provided with stone sills, several of which are still extant. The two eastern suites, each consisting of a main room (*C* and *P*) and three subsidiary rooms (*A*, *B*, *D* and *N*, *O*, *Q*), presumably ceased to be used as living quarters when they were turned into passage rooms, though the southern of the two apartments may have been reconverted to its original purpose with the blocking of its southern doorway. A small chamber (*X*) south of Room *N* was possibly roofed by a wooden landing of the mud-brick stairway which led from Corridor *Y* to the roof. The central apartments of both tiers have only one small subsidiary room (*G* and *T*). The northern suite (Rooms *E* and *G*) was excavated in part only, but its dimensions are clear. In the southern suite (Rooms R and T) the existence of the wall separating Room *T* from the subsidiary Room *S* was determined by Haines when he cleaned parts of the previous excavation. The plan of the two western apartments (Rooms *H*, *F* and *U*, *S*) is similar to that of the central ones, but a small additional chamber (*I*) adjoining Room *H* extends underneath the eastern stairway to Xerxes' palace (see p. 260).

The corridor (*L*) separating the northern and central tiers of apartments gives access to the passage (*M*) which on the west borders the eastern portion of the west wing. The southern corridor (*Z*) opens into the same passage and is connected with Corridor *Y*, from which the above-mentioned mud-brick stairway ascended to the roof. An opening, apparently without reinforced sill, links Corridor *Y* with a parallel pair of passages (*AA* and *BB*) which give access to the southern tier of apartments. The doorway—protected by a stone sill—at the east end of Corridor *AA* appears to be the only exit of the Harem complex leading into the open, that is, into an area which was open to general Terrace traffic. A socket stone, curiously enough situated at the outer edge of the sill, attests that the entrance had a door. Parenthetically, there is hardly a doubt that all doorways with stone sills were provided with doors, whether or not indications of pivoting devices are preserved.

The entire tier of southern apartments apparently was added sometime after the rest of the west wing had been completed. The thickness (1.82 m.) of the wall between Corridors *Z* and *BB* marks it as an exterior wall, and the greenish-gray surface coat on the southern face of the south wall of Corridor 12 is continuous behind the bricks of the abutting walls of Rooms *CC* and 13. We do not know whether the subsequently blocked southern doorway of Corridor *M* was originally an entrance to the building. No stone sill was found beneath the blocking wall of mud bricks.

The layer of structural remains is so thin in the southern section of the west wing that it was difficult, and in places impossible, to trace the original plan of the building. Herzfeld's excavations uncovered the southern wall and doorways of Corridors *BB* and *AA*. He traced the central apartment, which has a main room (*GG*) with three columns and a subsidiary room (*HH*). Stone sills were found in the doorways giving access to this apartment and the partly excavated Room *II*. Krefter's survey, on which our plan (Fig. 102) of this section of the building is largely based, shows traces only of the other rooms. There were at least two small rooms (*DD* and *EE*) at the east end of the southern tier. A doorway without stone sill leads from Corridor *AA* to Room *DD*. Another plain doorway—presumably once provided with a stone sill—gives access to Room *FF*, undoubtedly the main room of an apartment. We reconstruct it and Room *II* as six-columned rooms (see Fig. 105) connected with subsidiary Rooms *EE* and *CC* respectively. An additional subsidiary chamber of Room *II* is assumed south of Rooms *CC* and 13. The situation in the two latter rooms is puzzling. The traceable walls of Room *CC* had previously been uncovered. We extended the excavation and cleared Room 13, which at first appeared to have the earmarks of the main room of an apartment. A typical bell-shaped column base (Fig. 107 *H*) was found *in situ*, and the original location of a second base was marked by a broken roughly circular area in the otherwise well preserved greenish-gray floor plaster. However, a short distance to the west of the two columns we found a row of mud bricks, laid on the original floor and coated on its eastern face only with greenish-gray plaster. There were no traces of walls west of these mud bricks, but patches of a secondary floor were here found 14 cm. above remnants of the original floor and flush with the top of the mud-brick step. In spite of the fact that the (secondary) floor on the outside is higher than the floor inside Room 13, it appears that this unit was actually a small porch open toward the west. Haines suggested that the brick shelf and the secondary floor may have been laid to compensate for rising ground in the open area—that is, a courtyard—to the west. There is another feature pointing toward the use of this unit as a portico. The doorway connecting it with Room *CC* is provided with a stone sill, whereas the openings between main rooms and subsidiary rooms of the Harem never have reinforced sills.

Western Apartments

The two northern tiers of apartments described above continue westward (Figs. 102 and 104) beyond a north-south corridor (*M*), from which a stairway led to the level of the Palace of Xerxes. Two long east-west corridors (1 and 12) give access to the apartments adjoining each passage on the north and lead to the western end of the building, which is occupied by another north-south corridor (7). From this corridor a second stairway rises to the level of Xerxes' palace, and some stone steps give access to a courtyard west of the Harem, where foundation slabs indicate the former existence of an additional structure (see p. 264). Our observations made in the westernmost portion of the Harem elucidate certain features of the previously excavated parts of the building for which no records are available (see p. 258). A detailed description, based mainly on Haines' architectural field notes and diagrams, is therefore included.

27. Herzfeld's plan in *IAE*, Fig. 337, does not show these doorways; but on Krefter's original plans the northern doorway of Room *B* is marked by a solid line, and the western entrance to Room *A* by a dotted line indicating that here the jambs were not preserved.

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COMMON FEATURES

Walls.—As usual, the walls were built of sun-dried mud bricks (33–34 cm. square and 12–13 cm. thick) laid in mud mortar. The wall faces are covered with mud plaster, varying in thickness from 3 to 5 cm. The finish coat is apparently identical with that applied to the walls of the Treasury—greenish-gray plaster about 5 mm. thick. The interior walls were built normally in two widths: 1.12–1.15 and 1.48–1.50 m. The thickness (1.82 m.) of the southern wall of Corridor 12 marks it as an exterior wall, and we mentioned above (p. 259) that Rooms *CC* and 13 are later additions, their walls abutting the finished face of that wall. A few baked bricks, used for special purposes, will be dealt with in reference to their find-spots.

Niches.—Wherever walls of main rooms of apartments were preserved to a sufficient height, three-stepped niches were found. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the walls of all main rooms were embellished in this manner. The rock-cut niches of Room 4 (see pp. 261–62) illustrate the niches in the mud-brick walls as to form and dimensions. However, the floors of the other niches are, as a rule, .93–1.05 m. above the floors of the rooms, whereas the distance between these two points is 1.27 m. in Room 4.

Doorways.—The main rooms of the apartments are linked with the adjoining corridors by doorways averaging 1.35 m. in width. Five of the seven entrances have well wrought stone sills, whose tops are somewhat above the adjacent floors. One (Room 14) has remnants of a sill of baked bricks, and the missing sill of Room 10 was presumably removed by stone-pilferers. A socket stone in Room 6 and floor depressions in Rooms 2 and 4 caused by the removal of such pivoting devices show that the entrances were provided with doors swinging into the rooms. The narrow doorways (.98–1.00 m. wide) between the main rooms and the subsidiary rooms of the apartments had neither special sills nor doors. The doorways at the ends of the long Corridors 1 and 12 are as wide as the entrances to the main rooms, and they too are provided with sills of stone, except at the denuded west end of Corridor 12. It may be assumed that all corridor entrances had doors, but a pivoting device was preserved at the east end of Corridor 12 only (see p. 262).

Floors.—Nowhere in the Harem do we find red-surfaced floors such as were used in the entire Treasury. Instead, in the section under consideration and presumably elsewhere in this building except in the service quarters (see p. 255), the floors have a thin finish coat of grayish-green plaster similar to the surface coat of the walls. The subfloor, varying in thickness from 3 to 12 cm., consists of a layer of mixed mud and straw, laid either directly on the bedrock or on a fill of stone chips and dirt.

Columns.—To judge by the rock-cut northern wall of Room 4 (see pp. 261–62), the total height of the columns—including base, shaft, and assumed bull capital—was 6.195 m., namely the distance between the floor and the upper edges of the holes which received the principal roof beams. The bell-shaped stone bases preserved in a few rooms (see Fig. 107 *G–H*) have a height of 53 cm. above the floor. Consequently, the remaining parts of the columns—undoubtedly made of wood—measured 5.665 m. The inner diameter of the top molding of the stone bases (47.5–49 cm.) equals the diameter of the column shafts at the lower end. The capitals may have been addorsed bulls such as those restored in the main wing (see Pl. 192). In this case the depth of their saddles—that is, the distance from the tops of their heads to their backs, on which rested the roof beams—corresponded to the height (48 cm.) of the rock-cut holes which received the beam ends. There were no traces of painted plaster to indicate that the column shafts were treated in the same fashion as the columns of certain halls in the Treasury (see pp. 160–61 and Fig. 72 *J*).

THE EASTERN STAIRWAY AND CORRIDOR *M*

There are remnants of a stairway—the lower flight of the southeastern stairway of Xerxes' palace—which ascended from the northern part of Corridor *M* (el. 8.62 m.) to a landing (el. 15.29 m.) at the southeast corner of Xerxes' palace (see Fig. 112 *A*). Stone steps—that is, the upper flight of Xerxes' stairway—lead from this landing (destroyed) westward to the balcony of the palace (see p. 244). The preserved steps of the lower flight, excavated by Herzfeld, are made of mud bricks. However, remains of lime plaster or mortar with brick impressions (32.5 cm. square) indicate that a veneer of baked bricks covered the less resistant base of sun-dried bricks. Haines remarked that the brick impressions on the first tread are level with the floor of the corridor. Since the second tread is 14 cm. higher, two courses of baked bricks, each about 7 cm. high (see dimensions of baked bricks on p. 261), must have been used for each step. It may be assumed that the missing upper part of the lower flight was made of wood, for it had to be carried over Room *I*.

Stone sills protect the four doorways which connect Corridor *M* with the passages on the east and west, but there was no indication of such a sill beneath the mud bricks blocking the doorway in the southern, originally exterior, wall.

THE WESTERN STAIRWAY

More monumental than the eastern stairs, the western stairway—that is, the lower flight of the southwestern stairway of Xerxes' palace—was partly cut into a spur of bedrock projecting from the platform of that palace (see Figs. 111 *A–B*, 112 *E*, and 23). The lower steps were cut from large detached blocks of stone. Part of the stairway is missing or broken, but according to Haines' measurements it consisted of thirty-six treads, rising from the level of Corridor 7 (el. 8.60 m.) to a landing (el. 15.12 m.) at the southwest corner of Xerxes' palace. The treads and risers were dressed and polished between the original wall faces, which were about 1.95 m. apart, but they were left rough beyond the face lines of the walls. The treads average 35.5 cm. in depth, the risers 18 cm. in height. The upper flight of the western stairway ascends from the landing eastward to the balcony of Xerxes' palace. The upper flights of both stairways were open, but the landings and the lower flights were roofed and inclosed by walls which have disintegrated (see p. 244).

Carved into the bedrock of Xerxes' palace platform beside the landing of the western stairway are three rectangular panels with crudely sculptured Median guards (Fig. 111 *B–C*) at less than half life-size. Their heads and the tops of their lances were cut by the raggle of the Harem roof—a fact which indicates that the reliefs antedate the building of the adjacent Room 6 of the west wing of the

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Harem. They may represent an attempt to illustrate soldiers guarding the stairway to Xerxes' balcony.

A second group of three similar Medes appears on a stone used secondarily in the construction of the wall of the platform some distance to the east, beside the rock-cut north wall of Room 4 (Figs. 111 *D* and 112 *C*). Both groups of reliefs were entirely hidden from view behind the abutting Harem roof while this building existed.

CORRIDOR 7

All walls of this corridor have disintegrated; but the edges of the floor, the width of the finished parts of the stairs to Xerxes' palace, a stone sill in the entrance to Corridor 1, and some stone steps provided sufficient clues for the reconstruction of the plan. The western wall was undoubtedly the exterior wall of the building. Near the southern end three stone steps mark an exit to a courtyard on the west (see Fig. 21), which was elevated about 60 cm. above the floor of the corridor, to judge by the top level of the stairs. There are suggestions of a pivoting hole for a door, with a central slot for a locking device. We have no doubt that Corridors 7 and 12 were once connected by a doorway with a stone sill, which was exposed by the denudation of this area and has disappeared.

CORRIDOR 1

The doorways connecting this corridor with the transverse passages on the east and west and with the three apartments of the northern tier are provided with stone sills, whose tops are from 4 to 16 cm. above the floors. The top of the sill of the doorway to Corridor 7 is 16 cm. above the floor, and its eastern face is coated in an unusual manner with a mud layer 4 cm. thick. Because the adjoining walls have disintegrated, we do not know whether this mud layer indicates that the doorway had been blocked.

A drainage canal (18–20 cm. wide and 9–12 cm. deep), cut into bedrock, extended in the middle of Corridor 1 along almost its entire length (see Fig. 107 *J*). Its roof, which may have consisted of wooden boards, was covered with the usual greenish-gray floor, 19 cm. above the floor of the drain. The channel was found to be filled with detritus, and the floor above had sagged about 4 cm. Remains of a second floor with greenish-gray surface were observed in the eastern part of the passage. The level surface of the superposed layer shows that it was intended to straighten the irregularity of the earlier floor. The canal drained toward the east, sloping 6 cm. from its western traceable end to the east end of the corridor. We did not follow its course in the previously excavated area to the east.

APARTMENTS OF THE NORTHERN TIER

In the easternmost apartment none of the walls of the main room (2) were preserved to the height where niche floors occur in other main rooms. Thus, all niches indicated on Figure 105 are assumed, but there is hardly a doubt that they existed. The northern walls of the main room and the subsidiary room (*J*) were built against the rock face of Xerxes' palace platform. Irregular holes in the floor of the main room indicate the positions of the four columns which supported the roof. There are suggestions that the column bases were placed directly on the fill of stone chips and dirt before the floor was laid. One of the bell-shaped bases—apparently dislocated and damaged by one of the heavy stones which fell from Xerxes' palace—was found 30 cm. above the floor (see Figs. 104, 112 *B* and *D*, 107 *G*). A stack of baked bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 7 cm.) laid in bitumen occurred 10 cm. above the floor in the northeast corner of Room 2. They are probably remnants of a roof drain such as those represented by similar blocks of bricks found in the eastern portico of the Apadana (pp. 80 f.). One of at least five drainage channels cut into the stone edge of the balcony floor of Xerxes' palace (see Figs. 23 and 112 *B*) is situated above the roof level of Room 2. The Harem roof must have been protected at all these points by drains directing the overflow from above to the outside of the building. One baked brick, yellowish gray and of the same size as the bricks found in Room 2, lay on the floor in the adjacent part of Corridor 1.

The north wall of the important main room (4) of the central apartment fortunately was fashioned in the very bedrock beneath Xerxes' palace. The carefully wrought profile of this wall, preserved in all essential features from the floor to the top of the roof, serves as an example for the walls of the main rooms of the Harem apartments and presumably of other Persepolis structures whose less durable building materials have disintegrated. Haines' diagram (Fig. 108), supplemented by photographs (Fig. 111 *A*, *D*), sufficiently illustrates the main features of this wall, but for a few explanatory words. Not only was a mud-brick wall (such as abuts the bedrock in neighboring rooms) omitted, but that portion of the rock face of the platform which forms the wall of Room 4 was recessed 20–40 cm. Hence this room is the most spacious unit in all the Harem apartments. The recessing was probably necessitated by rock faults which are now deeply corroded. The face of the wall was chiseled to a fine pebbled surface. Then it was artificially pitted, presumably so that the usual wall coating of greenish-gray plaster would adhere. No traces of plaster were left, but we assume that this wall was coated to conform with the other walls of the room. On the other hand, Hauser suggested that the chiseled surface would have provided the bond if a coating with plaster had been intended. Chisel marks on the lower part of the rock wall show that the floor had been planned to be 22 cm. higher than actually laid. Consequently, the floors of the rock-cut niches are 1.27 m. above the room floor, instead of .93 to 1.05 m. as in the other rooms (see p. 260). The locations of the principal roof beams are indicated by three roughly T-shaped holes (48 cm. high) cut into the rock to a depth of about 35 cm. and at a distance of 5.715 m. above the floor. This distance gives us the height—from the floor to the lower surfaces of the beams—of the six columns which must have been aligned with the holes, though no traces of bases were left. If addorsed bull capitals (of wood?) were employed, the roof beams would have rested of course in the saddles (see p. 260). The bases undoubtedly were of stone and of approximately the same form and size as the other bell-shaped bases of the building.

Circular holes 13 cm. in diameter and 20 cm. deep were cut into the rock wall directly below the holes for the roof beams, that is, midway between the niches, but only 2.30 m. above the floor. There is no satisfactory explanation for these holes. Haines suggested they may have held some kind of brackets for torches or the like. We may emphasize here again that at Persepolis no object was uncovered

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which could be called a lamp. Below that part of the north wall which was covered by the abutting roof five cornice bands project slightly from the wall face. They are smooth and polished in contrast to the rest of the surface. At either end, that is, in the northeast and northwest corners of the room, they were cut to receive the presumably wooden cornices of the formerly abutting mud-brick walls. It is possible, as suggested by Haines, that for the sake of conformity cornices of stone and wood were painted alike.

A large portion of the adjoining subsidiary room (3) was destroyed, but there is no doubt that its northern wall was built of mud bricks against the rock face of Xerxes' palace platform.

The dimensions of the main room (6) of the westernmost apartment indicate that it had six columns arranged in the same manner as those assumed in Room 4. However, as in most rooms of this part of the Harem, all bases have disappeared. Protected by the adjacent stone stairs, the northwest corner of this room was preserved to a height of 2.10 m.[28] The two niches nearest to this corner show repair patches of white plaster applied—in places in two coats (each 4 mm. thick)—over the original greenish-gray surfacing. For an analysis of this plaster, defined as gypsum plaster by Matson, see page 285. The doorway connecting Room 6 with the subsidiary room (5) was, as usual, a simple opening without a door. The entryway to the corridor, however, is provided with a stone sill, and there are definite remnants of a pivoting arrangement for a door. The corresponding doorways of the two other main rooms (2 and 4) show only floor depressions which mark the former locations of door sockets. In Room 6 too the actual socket is missing. Made presumably of iron, it had been inserted in a hole (9 cm. square, 3 cm. deep, with fine pebbled surface) cut into the bedrock. The distance from the bottom of the hole to the top of the sill is 26 cm. A sculptured stone, similar to that at the eastern doorway of Corridor 12 (Fig. 107 *K*) and to other ornamental pivot rings of the site, inclosed the pivoting device at floor level.

CORRIDOR 12

The thick southern wall of this passage was the exterior wall of the building. With the exception of the subsequently added Rooms *CC* and 13 (see p. 259) and the mouth of a drain near the Terrace edge (see Figs. 21 and 23), no structural remains were observed south of this wall. The corridor is connected with the transverse Corridor *M* and undoubtedly with 7, and it gives access to the main rooms of the southern tier of apartments. The doorways to Corridor *M* and to Rooms *W* and 8 are provided with stone sills, whose tops are 4–7 cm. above the floors. The sill of the opening into Room 10 and that of the assumed doorway to Corridor 7 had presumably been pilfered. Remnants of a sill of baked bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 7 cm.) occurred in the doorway to Room 14. All doorways probably had doors, but a pivoting device—exceptionally complete—was preserved only at the entry to Corridor *M*. Here a sculptured stone of the same type as that of Room 6 (see above) incloses the space above an iron door socket with cruciform base and squared upper part (Fig. 107 *K*). The socket hole is 3 cm. in diameter and 1.5 cm. deep.

One of the square stones bearing on one face the relief of a twelve-petaled rosette (claimed by Herzfeld to be associated with door sockets[29]) occurred—obviously out of place—near the floor, opposite the entrance to Room 8. Two baked bricks found on the floor in the central portion of the corridor have the same dimensions (32.5 × 32.5 × 7 cm.) as those used for the sill in the doorway to Room 14 and those found in Room 2 imbedded in bitumen. It is possible that a drain extended along the entire length of the corridor. A small section of the channel (see Fig. 104) was examined at the eastern end and proved to be similar to the drain in Corridor 1 (see p. 261).

APARTMENTS OF THE SOUTHERN TIER

Each apartment consists, as usual, of a columned main room connected by a doorless opening with a narrow subsidiary room. To judge by its width, the main room (*W*) of the easternmost apartment had only two columns, whereas the roofs of the other main rooms (8, 10, 14) must have been supported by four columns each. Only the southwestern column base of Room 8 was found. It is like those found in Rooms 2 and 13 (Fig. 107 *G–H*), and there is little doubt that all the missing bases had identical or very similar form and dimensions. The entrances to the main rooms are referred to above in the description of Corridor 12.

Room 14 requires some additional explanation. Most of its walls have disintegrated, but the reconstructed plan is probably correct. If mud-brick fragments found on top of the baked-brick sill in the entrance are remains of a blocking wall, another entrance must have been cut through either the northern or the western wall, both of which are missing. Near the southeast corner, where the floor level is 25 cm. lower than at the north, a drain pipe of baked clay (Fig. 107 *E*) pierces the southern wall. It may have drained into the channel in Corridor 12. The pipe, made of coarse red ware 4 cm. thick, was apparently cylindrical, with inside diameter of 27 cm. Its bottom was 13 cm. below an apron of baked bricks which protected the floor in front of the drain opening. The apron consists of normal-sized bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 7 cm.), half-bricks, and quarter-bricks, lightly fired, with red surface and black core.

OBJECTS

The most important objects found in this area have no bearing on the building in which they were discovered. They are shattered fragments of columns, doors, windows, and the balcony of Xerxes' palace—pieces that fell or were hurled down during the destruction of that building and others that crumbled in the course of time. We have dealt with these remnants in the description of the building to which they belonged. They were scattered within the area limited by (but not including) Corridor 12 and the rock wall of the palace platform and by the two stairways ascending to the palace level.

The western portion of the west wing was largely destroyed by fire. It is interesting to note, however, that only the main rooms (2, 4, 6) of the northern tier were burned, whereas the intervening subsidiary rooms (3 and 5) show no effect of fire. In the southern tier heavy scorching was observed in Room 8 only. Here the walls were baked in horizontal strips 15 to 50 cm. above the floor, and in Room

28. The heights of the extant wall remains are indicated beside the walls on Fig. 104.

29. *IAE*, pp. 233 f.

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6 the effect of the flames was confined to a zone reaching from the fire-blackened floor to a line on the walls 70 cm. above it. At any rate, it appears that there was no general conflagration; but the combustible contents of the main rooms—furniture, fabrics, and the like—apparently were methodically destroyed by separate fires.

The modest finds leave doubt whether the western apartments of the west wing were occupied at the time of the conquest of Persepolis. There was little jewelry, as compared with hundreds of beads of semiprecious stones and other objects of personal adornment found in the Treasury. A small incised gold rosette occurred in Room 3, a gold button in Room 6, a gold globe with ringlet in Corridor 1, and an onyx eye stone in Room 10. On the other hand, bronze nails with gold caps were unusually frequent in this area. Not less than twenty-eight specimens—almost half the total (64) of all specimens found by us at Persepolis—were scattered in the main rooms, subsidiary rooms, and corridors. The greatest number (8) occurred in Room 6. None were found in Room 4. There is little doubt that these gold-headed nails had been employed mainly in fastening ornamental metal sheets to furniture, doors, and the like.

There were, further, a few sculptured objects—two small figurine fragments of blue composition in Rooms 7 and 10, the leg of a bronze horse in the southern doorway of Room 4, and two pieces of inlay beards[30] of blue composition in Rooms 6 and 10. A seal cylinder[31] of curiously archaic type was found in the center of Room 2.

The only objects of purely domestic character were fragments of two large coarse vessels lying in the northwest part of Room 6 in a floor layer of burned matter. Iron nails and fragments of lead were found near by. Other pieces of hardware occurred at various spots, and some coins of the Islamic era had strayed into the surface layer.

Two almost identical ornamental bricks of baked clay were found south of the exterior wall of the central portion of Corridor 12, close to its southern face. Concentric circular bands, coated alternately with green and yellow glaze, decorate one face of each brick (Fig. 107 *I*). The edges of the bands are slightly raised. The green glaze of the central circle and of the area outside the circles is weathered and faint. To judge by their find-spots, it may be assumed that these bricks of larger than normal size (36 × 36 × 9.6 cm.) were used decoratively on the outside face of the exterior wall.

SECONDARY ROOMS IN "HAREM STREET"

It is difficult to find a reasonable explanation for the location of two rooms occupying the northern end of the street between the Harem and the Treasury (Fig. 109 *C*) and completely blocking circulation between "Harem Street" and the northern entrance to the royal storehouse (see Fig. 21). Originally we believed that these rooms were built after the destruction of the site.[32] However, their contents—quantities of vessels closely resembling the Achaemenian pottery from the garrison quarters—combined with the absence of post-Achaemenian structures in the vicinity forced us to change our opinion. We are now inclined to consider the rooms an addition to the service quarters in the northern portion of the Harem complex. There is no evidence of a route of communication between the rooms and the service quarters, but an opening may have existed at the point where at present a gap of more than 2 meters interrupts the Harem wall between the "superintendent's room" (No. 5; see pp. 255 and 256) and the southern one of the two rooms under consideration.

It appears that these rooms were built when construction of the Throne Hall[33] to the north was well advanced or finished, to judge by masses of stones and masons' chips piled up between the rock foundation of that building and the north wall of the northern room. This wall actually stands on the rubble talus, and its lowest course consists of large stones acting as a buttress for the rubble (see Fig. 109 *B*). The mud floor of the room is laid on the sloping end of the pile of builders' debris.

The western border of the two rooms is the massive mud-brick inclosure of the northern portion of the Harem rising above a well wrought stone foundation. The other walls also were built of unbaked bricks coated on the inside with thin mud plaster. The dividing wall stands on a rubble foundation. The thick eastern wall appears to have only a facing of mud bricks, while the space between this facing and the western inclosure of the Treasury was simply filled with mud. Socket stones with circular pivot holes mark doorways in the partly destroyed dividing wall and in the south wall of the southern room. The sills consist in both cases of unbaked bricks. An additional doorway, as mentioned above, may have existed in the gap in the Harem inclosure.

A neatly constructed fireplace was uncovered at the east wall of the southern room (Fig. 109 *D*). The hearth consists of a low platform of baked bricks (32.5 × 32.5 × 6 cm.), with remnants of plaster, flanked by mud bricks. The actual fireplace, originally with domed top, is cut into the wall to a depth of 35 cm. It is backed by two baked bricks standing on edge.

The entire floor of the southern room was covered with white plaster which apparently was applied directly on the surface of the original street. A patch of such flooring was also preserved in the southeast corner of the northern room. Traces of red powder noticed here and in the northeast corner of the southern room are undoubtedly surface pigments of pottery and not the remnants of red floor finish such as was used in the neighboring Treasury. There are no definite indications that the structure extended farther toward the south. A large fragment of wall matter lying south of the southernmost wall had presumably fallen from the southeast corner of the room.

The contents of the northern room mark it as a storeroom for liquids and perhaps grain. The floor was covered with masses of broken pottery (Fig. 109 *A*). We were able to restore thirteen vessels,[34] including a huge storage jar, five slender narrow-mouthed wine(?) jars, a pitcher, a canteen, and various other pots. We do not know the purpose of two thick cylinders (diameter, 10.8 and 10.4 cm.;

30. Cf. PT3 246.

31. PT7 204.

32. *OIC* No. 21, p. 87.

33. Started by Xerxes and finished by Artaxerxes I (see p. 129).

34. E.g. PT5 627–29, PT5 633, PT5 637, PT5 639.

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height, 9.9 and 10 cm.) of fritlike material and of a steatite(?) bar (40 × 2.7 × 7 cm.)[34a] found among the potsherds. A fragment of a green chert mortar with Aramaic inscription (cf. p. 182) had somehow strayed into the upper debris near the northern wall.

It may be that the large storage pot originally stood in the southern room near the connecting doorway, for here we found its bottom (see Fig. 109 *A*), whereas all its remaining portions lay in the northern room. With the exception of one small jar[35] found near the fireplace no other pots occurred in the southern room. A signet ring of bronze[36] lay near the center of the southern wall, and a bronze pin[37] and two iron spikes were found in the western part of the room.

THE "PAVILION" BELOW PALACE H

Remnants of a problematical structure exist west of the western stairway to Xerxes' palace, that is, outside the limits of the Harem. Only foundation stones are left, indicating that there were twelve columns arranged in four north-south rows (Figs. 112 *E*, 102, and 104). The stones, ranging in width from 1.25–1.80 to 1.70–2.30 m. and in height (marked beside stones on Fig. 104) from 50 to 80 cm., are imbedded in a fill of stone chips and dirt. In most cases four centering marks for the location of the column bases are cut into the edges of approximately square, usually somewhat depressed, areas ranging in size from .80 × .85 to 1.10 × 1.25 m. They are wrought to a level surface, more finely dressed than the otherwise roughly worked tops of the stones. Haines deducted from the width of the bays and the size of the wrought areas in the foundation slabs that the columns had approximately the same dimensions as those in the Harem.

It is evident that the fortification wall which no doubt originally protected this low sector of the Terrace was destroyed in this area before the building under consideration was erected. It may have been a pavilion open on three sides or a porch open toward the south. There is hardly enough space for a southern wall to permit reconstruction of a hall entirely inclosed by walls (see Fig. 110 *C*). At the north the structure must have been bordered, however, by the wall of the higher terrace which supported the platform of Palace H—possibly contemporaneous with the "pavilion." A considerable area of this wall consists of rough boulders (see Fig. 23), which were faced with either a projecting buttress of masonry or a mud-brick wall. The floor level of the building corresponds roughly to the level of the top step of the small stairway leading from the courtyard south of the "pavilion" to Corridor 7 of the Harem (see p. 261).

34a. PT5 396; possibly a polisher. 35. PT5 263. 36. PT5 283. 37. PT5 284.

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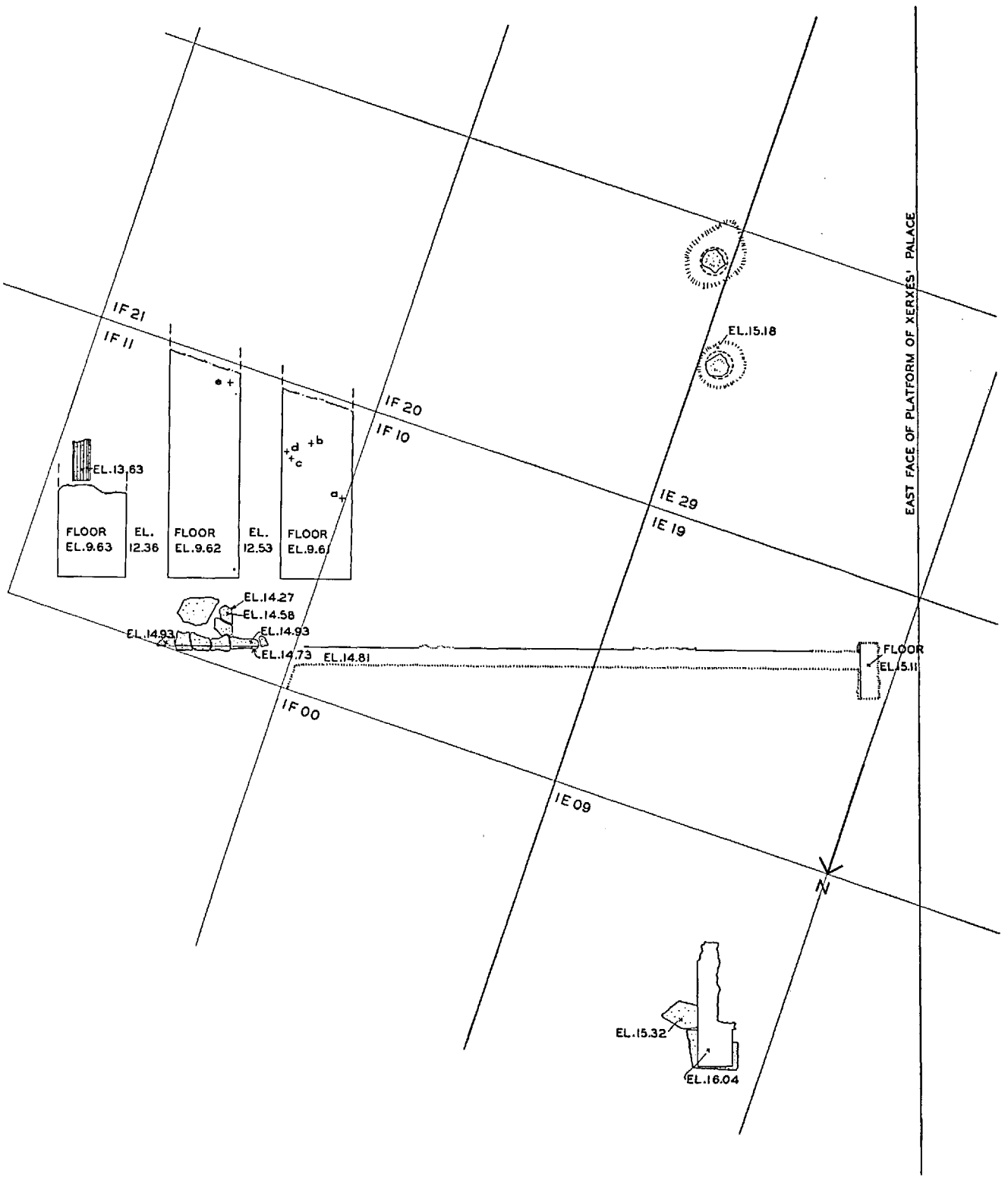


FIG. 113. *A*. EXCAVATION PLAN OF REMNANTS OF PALACE D. SCALE, 1:200. *B*. COLUMN BASE RECONSTRUCTED FROM FRAGMENTS *a–e* MARKED ON *A*. SCALE, 1:20

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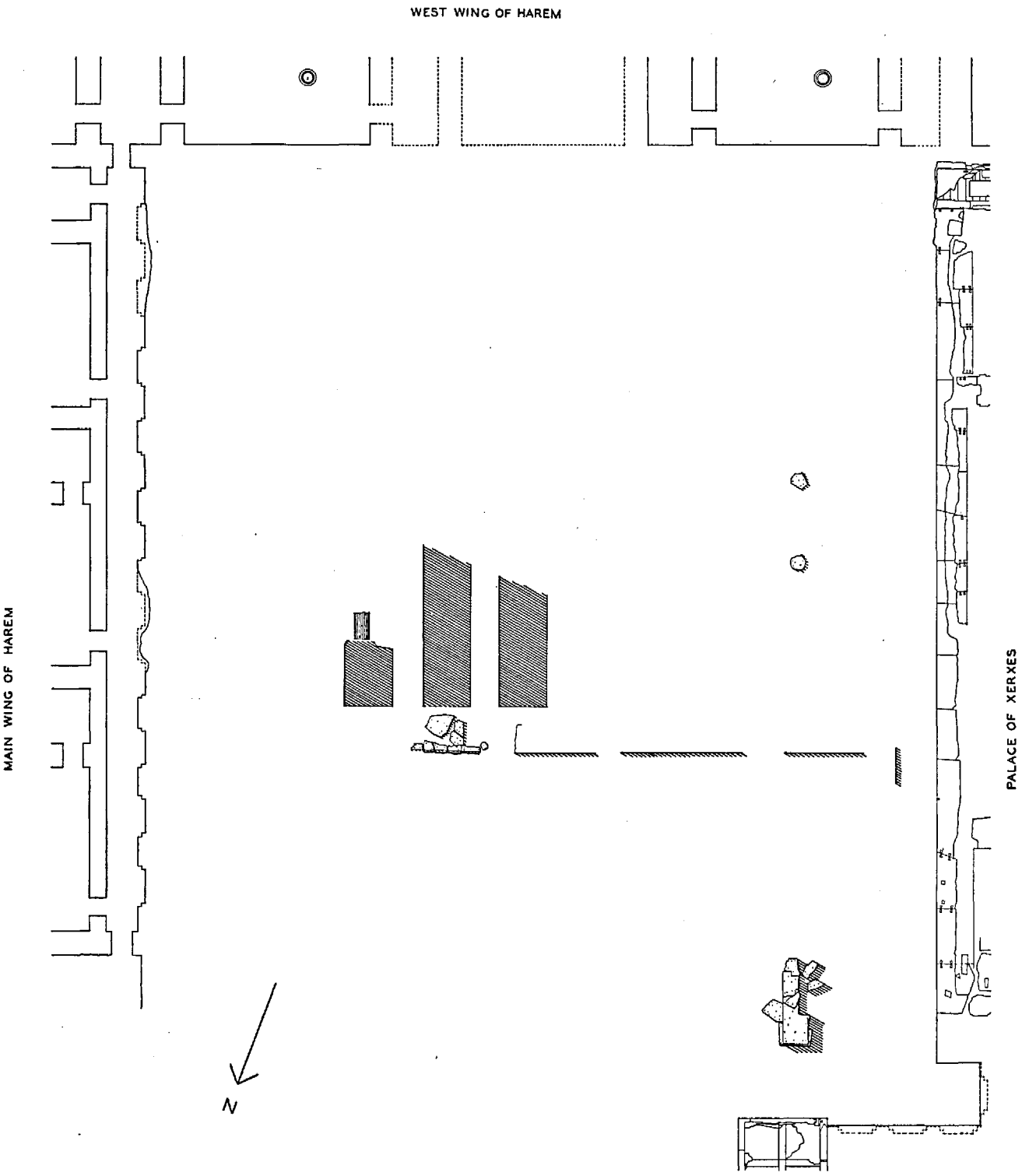
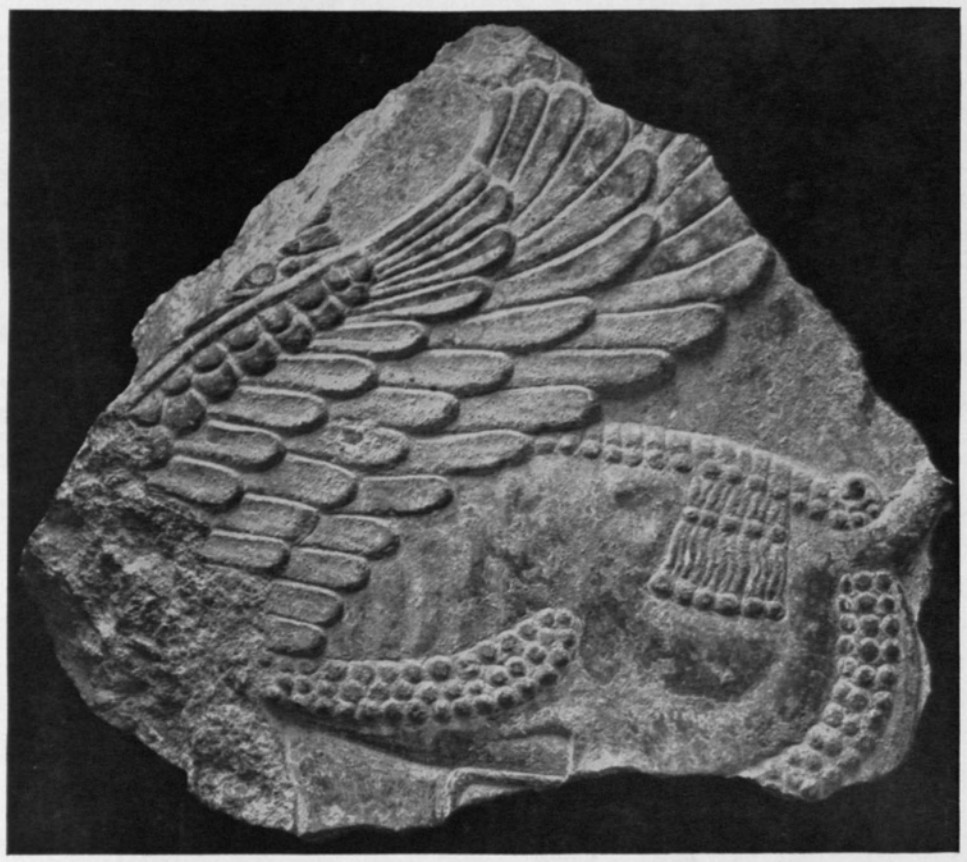
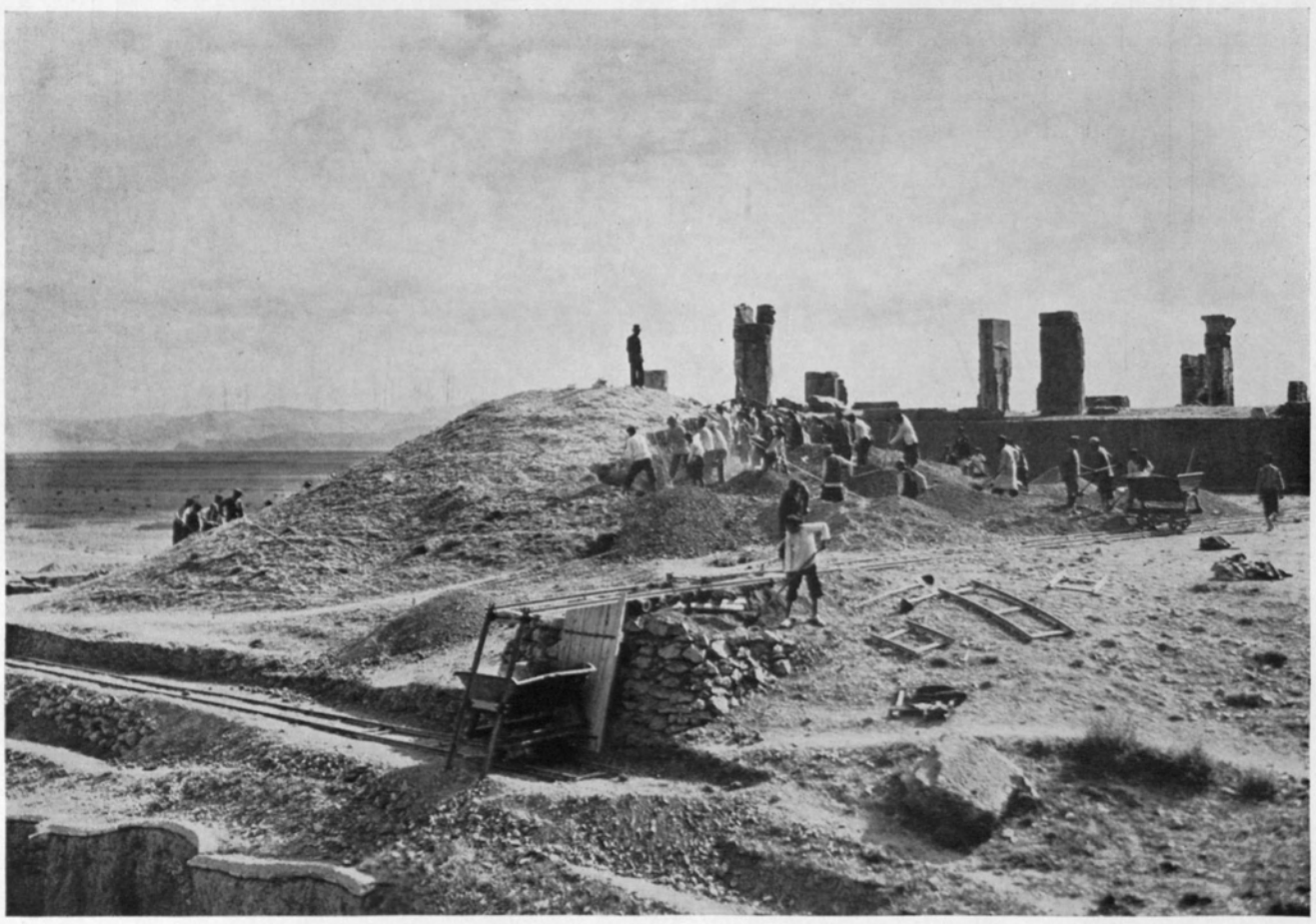


FIG. 114. LOCATION PLAN OF REMNANTS OF PALACE D. SCALE, 1:300



A



B

Fig. 115. Palace D. *A*. Relief Fragment of Small Winged Monster from Hillock Shown on *B*. Actual Size. *B*. Work on Site, with Palace of Xerxes in Background (*direction of view, approximately SW*)

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PALACE D

There are only incoherent remnants of this building, which is intermediate in level between the Palace of Xerxes and the Harem (see Pls. 124–25 and Figs. 110 *A*, 113–14). We are not able to assign it to any particular ruler. Its area was sounded in one plot only (IF 11; see Fig. 115 *B*) and in some test trenches. Aligned with the northern edge of a fragmentary stone sill uncovered in this plot were found traces (5–30 cm. high) of a mud-brick wall which may be the remnant of a partition between a hypostyle hall with lateral rooms and a portico facing north (see below). A small fragment of the western inclosure was found 2.05 m. east of the platform of Xerxes' palace. Parts of two bell-shaped column bases are the only remains of one of the western rooms. They stand on a fill of earth and small stones and seem to be *in situ*. North of the building (in Plot IE 09; see Fig. 113 *A*) is a smoothly finished L-shaped stone lying south of the eastern stairway to Xerxes' palace courtyard. It is possible that Flandin and Coste were right in assuming that this stone served as a pedestal for the bull statue discovered by them north of that stairway (see p. 241). If so, an identical statue may have stood at the eastern, now denuded, side of the assumed portico.

The center of Palace D is covered with masses of stone chips, to all appearances construction refuse, forming a conoid hillock which measures about 15 meters in diameter and 3.50 m. in height (see Fig. 21). Most of its upper portion was sterile except for a small limestone relief showing the torso of a winged monster (Fig. 115 *A*) and a fragment of the western inscription panel of Artaxerxes III on the façade of Palace H (see p. 279, n. 3). We are at a loss to find an explanation for the rubble hillock. Seven fragments of inscribed tori occurred in its lower portion and in the detritus below it. We have little doubt that these tori belonged to the neighboring Palace of Xerxes, for their inscription—trilingual in six cases and monolingual (OP) in one instance—is identical with that of the tori which fell or were thrown from Xerxes' palace into the western wing of the Harem (see p. 239). The same is true with regard to three small pieces of stone window frames found in the same debris as the tori. They bear parts of the window inscription of the Palace of Xerxes (Xerx. Pers. e; see p. 239). The find-circumstances of the tori and window fragments assignable to Xerxes' palace strongly suggest that the rubble hillock was piled up—for reasons unknown—after the destruction of the site.

After penetrating the hillock we uncovered the above-mentioned sill fragments sloping downward 35 cm. from north to south. The excavation then proceeded through earth and some rubble and struck the wall tops of three narrow rooms at a depth of about 2.40 m. beneath the level of the stone sill. The floors of these rooms were encountered at 4.97 m. below the sill. Their elevation (9.61–9.63 m.) is about a meter above the floor level of the neighboring Harem. After reviewing the evidence and considering the facts that the walls of the deeply buried narrow rooms are not plastered and that their floors consist simply of tramped earth, we concluded that these rooms were built to form a partitioned substructure[1]—similar to the rubble-filled sections of the eastern fortification (see p. 211)—filled with earth, discarded architectural fragments, etc., which formed a solid foundation for the platform and subsequently for Palace D.

The objects found in the three rooms suggest that at least part of the material used in filling them was debris from a destroyed building. There were five fragments of bell-shaped column bases (reconstructed on Fig. 113 *B*), ranging in depth from floor level to 2.85 m. above. As far as ascertainable, the bases are somewhat smaller than those of Xerxes' palace but larger than the bases of the Harem. A portion of a fluted column shaft of stone (length, 1.40 m.; diameter, 59 cm.) was buried in detritus 1.50 m. below the level of the stone sill and 3.40 m. above the floor of the easternmost room (see Fig. 113 *A*). Five fragmentary basal parts of animal horns of blue composition occurred in the central and western rooms. Square holes indicate that they had been attached to column capitals or to statues. One of the horns has a basal diameter of 8.5 cm. Both rooms contained fragments of lions[2] of the same blue composition material. Two eye inlays[3] and pieces of ornamental bronze sheets[4] occurred in the center room. Three bronze rivets(?) with gold heads[5] and fragments of a peg of blue composition without inscription[6] were found in the western room. There were, further, a gold-capped bronze nail and a ribbed piece of blue composition.

Any attempted reconstruction of the plan of Palace D could only claim to be a hypothetical sketch. Haines plausibly suggested that the plan may have been similar to that of the Palace of Darius: a columned portico flanked by guardrooms and a central hypostyle hall inclosed on three sides by suites of private rooms. There is some difficulty in visualizing the plan of the portico. A reconstruction including the assumed pedestal and its (missing) counterpart (see above) with statues flanking the portico, as in the Throne Hall, would have to introduce improbable features not encountered elsewhere at Persepolis, namely a row of rooms between portico and main hall, or a portico with three rows of columns.

1. And were not parts of a previously inhabited building as assumed in the preliminary report (*OIC* No. 21, pp. 91 f).

2. E.g. PT5 829.

3. E.g. PT5 830.

4. PT5 831.

5. E.g. PT5 836.

6. For an inscribed specimen see PT5 112.

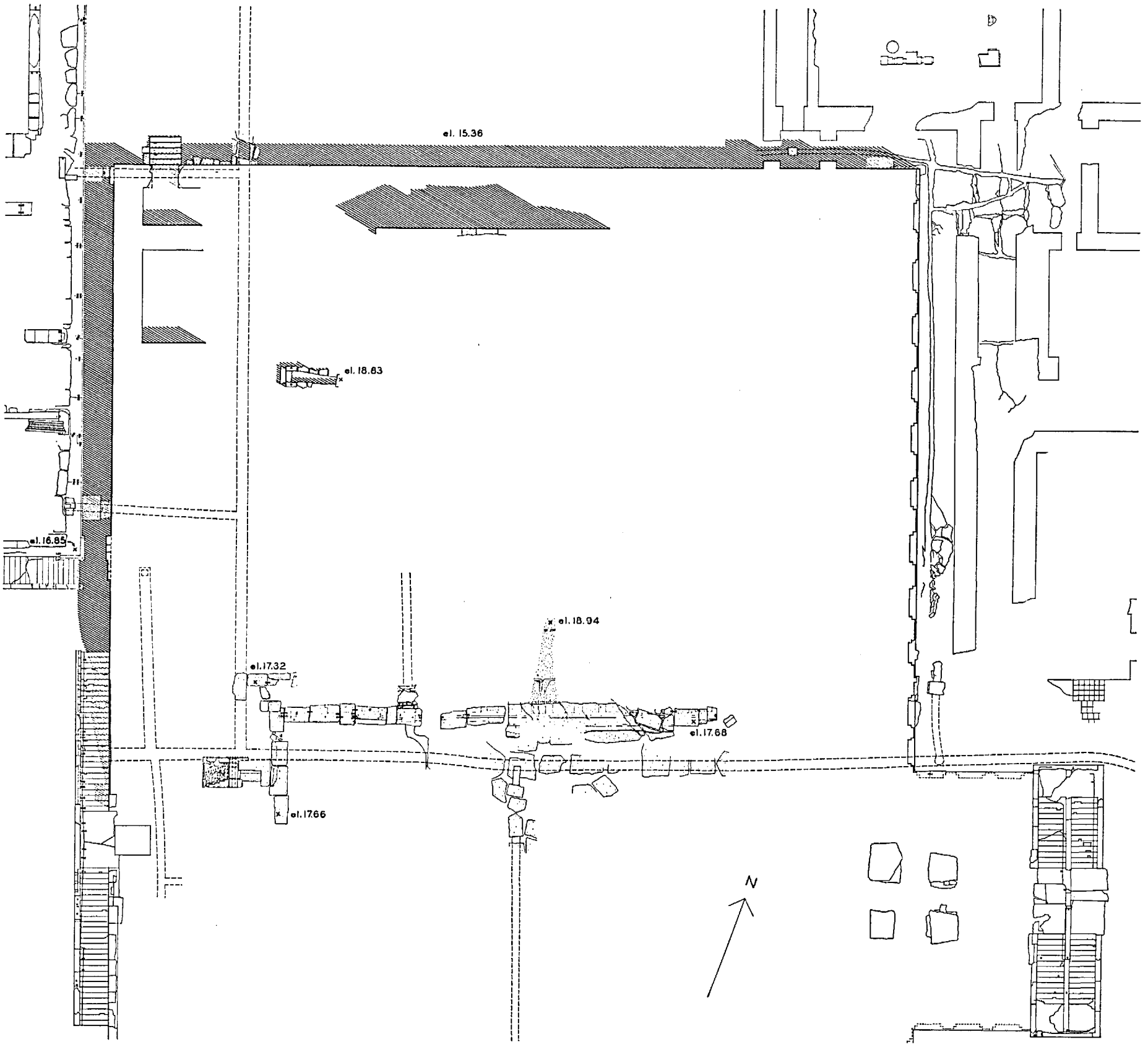
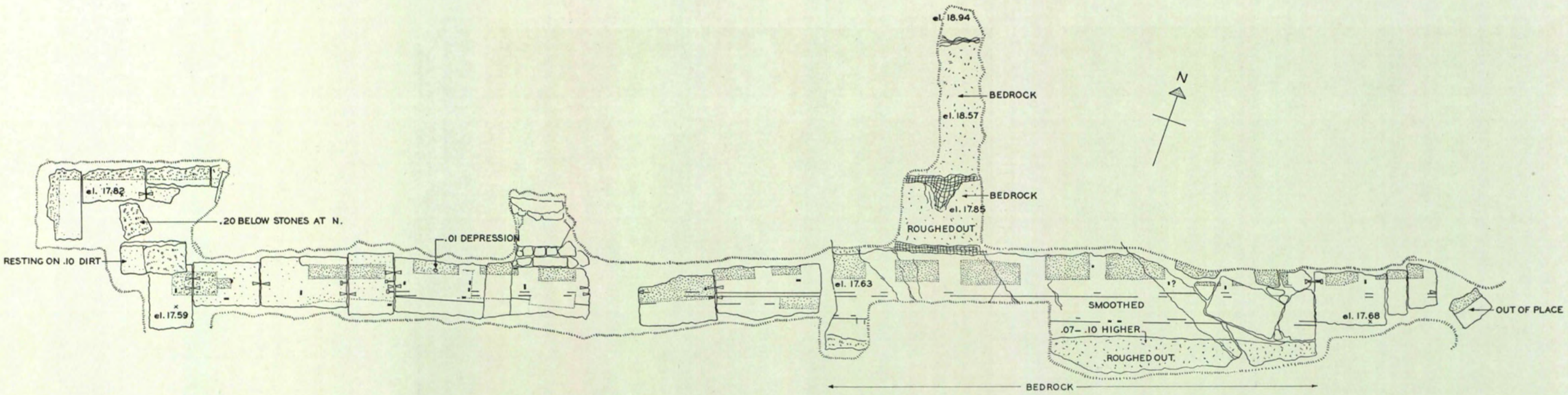
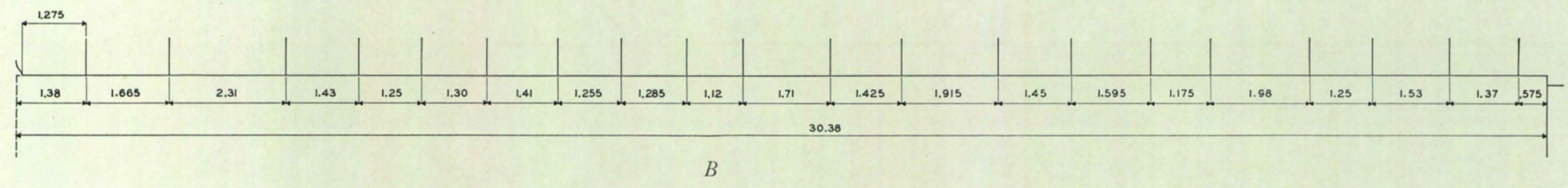


FIG. 116. PLAN OF SITE OF PALACE G. AFTER ORIGINAL SURVEYS BY K. BERGNER AND R. C. HAINES. SCALE, 1:300

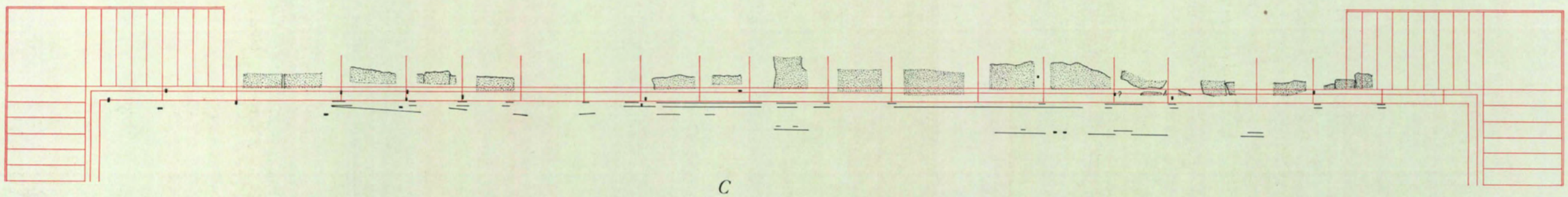
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A



B



C

Fig. 117. Palace G. Scale, 1:100. *A*. Plan of Area Tested along South Front of Site. *B*. Spacing of Stones of Façade of Artaxerxes III (from Palace H). *C*. Superposition of *B* (*in red*) on *A*, with Reconstructed Stairway

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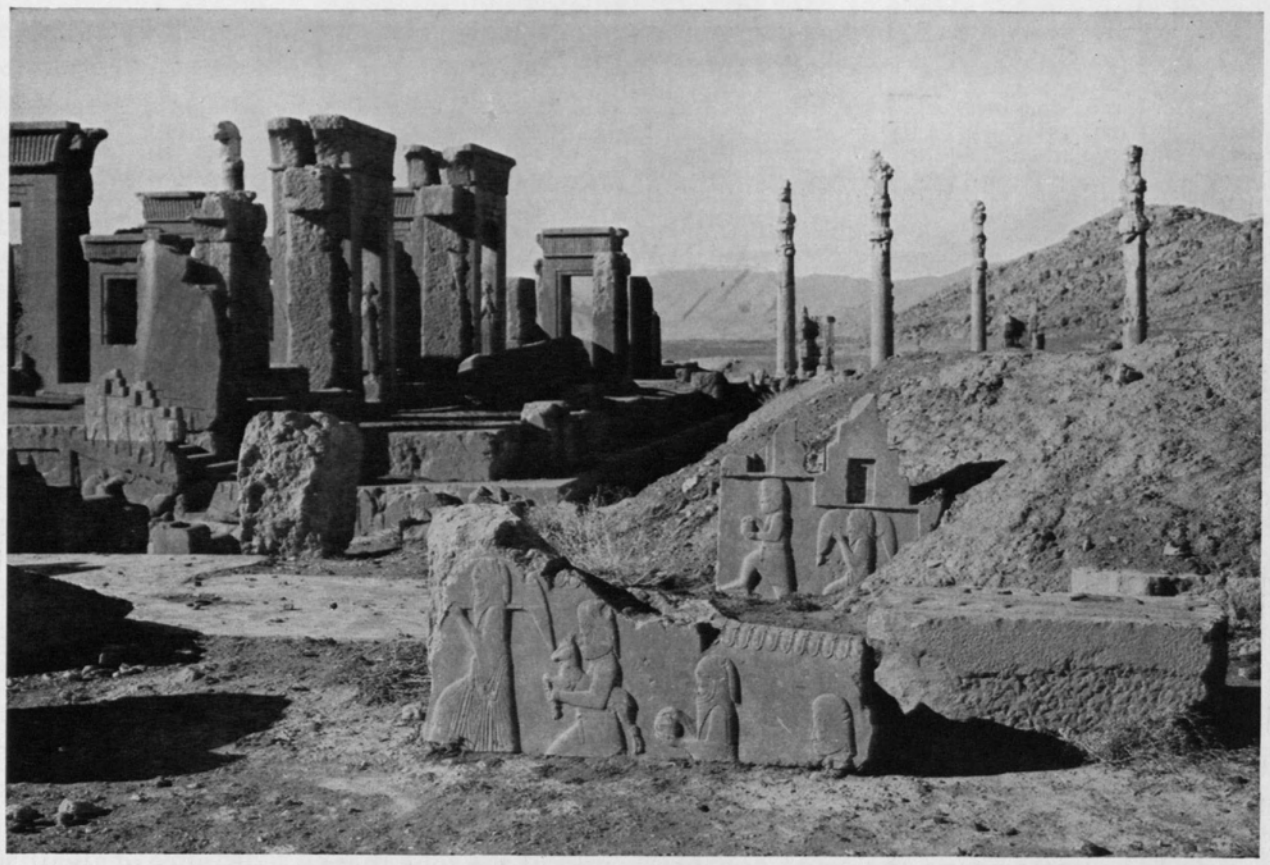
A



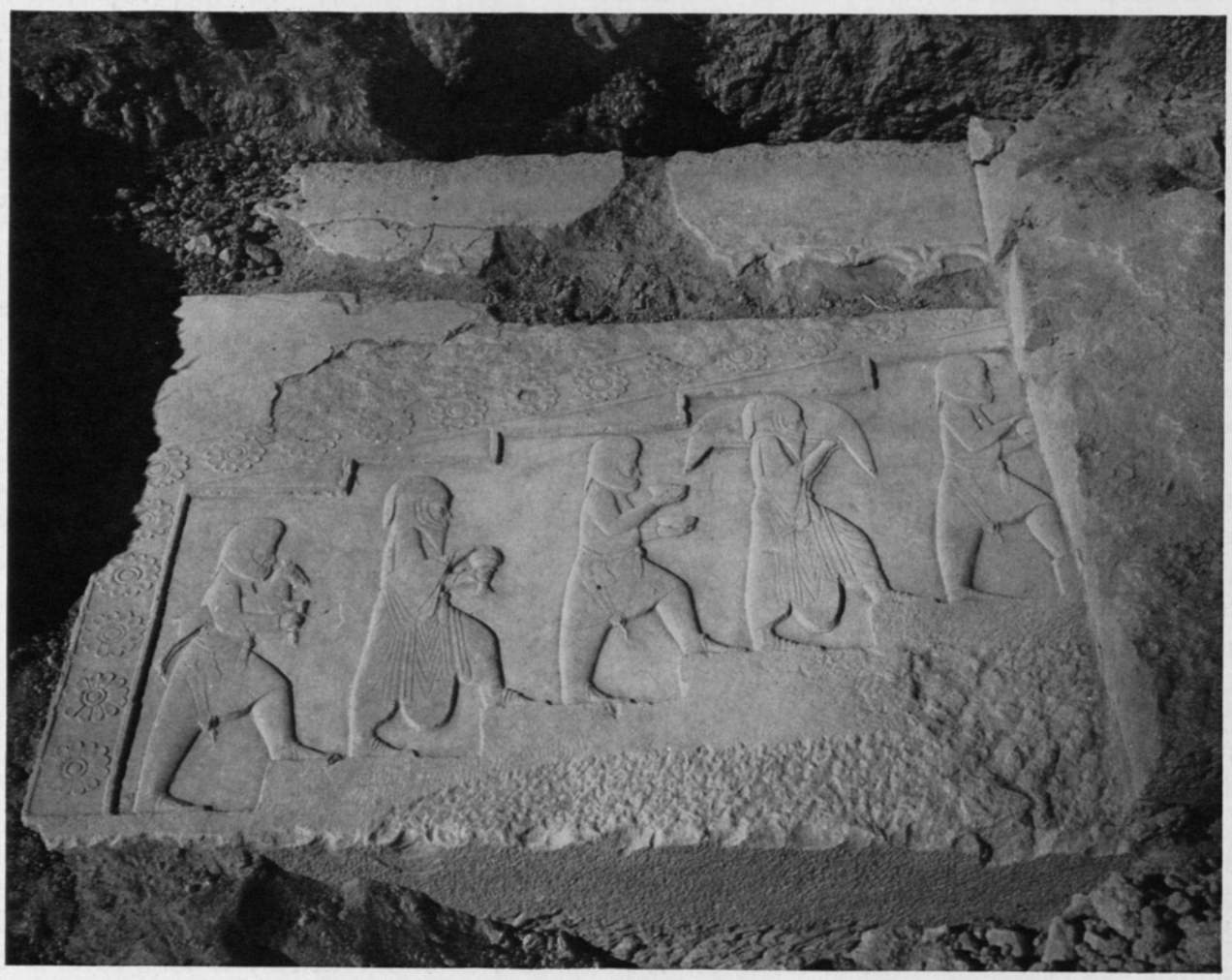
B

Fig. 118. Palace G. *A*. Rubble-covered Site, beyond Council Hall, with Palaces of Darius and Xerxes in Right and Left Background Respectively (*direction of view, SW*). *B*. Small Stairway at Northwest Corner, with Workman at Torso of Bull Statue (*direction of view, approximately E*)

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A



B

Fig. 119. Palace G. Sculptured Stairway Fragments with Servant Reliefs, near Southwest Corner of Site (*direction of views, NNW*)

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PALACE G

The foundation of this building consists largely of a core of bedrock which was cut down along its southern edge to the level of the courtyard north of Xerxes' palace. Mud-brick walls such as the niched east wall restored by Herzfeld's crew presumably bordered and buttressed the rectangular area (Fig. 116) along its northern and western edges. Low-level rooms in the northwest corner (see below) and bedrock rising from a low rock shelf at the northern edge and parallel to the latter indicate a terraced profile.

The palace area is almost entirely covered with a mass of rubble consisting mainly of stone chips of the same type as those found in the hillock on the site of Palace D (see p. 269). A knoll on the otherwise rather flat rubble mass is about 3 meters above the courtyard on the south, but the average elevation is 1–2 meters above the court and between 3 and 4 meters above the floor level of the Apadana on the north and the Council Hall on the east (see Fig. 118 *A*). A strip of a solid rock slope was uncovered in a sounding which extends northward from our principal test trench at the southern edge of the site (Fig. 117 *A*).

This mound of bedrock and rubble, rising above the level of the courtyard on the south, must be the core of the upper portion of the foundation platform, or an upper step whose retaining walls have disappeared. As far as we know, except for a drain (see below), nothing remains of the structure which once stood on the upper step of the foundation. Herzfeld uncovered near the northwest corner a small stairway of stone leading from the southern courtyard of the Apadana to two rooms which presumably were connected by further stairs with the higher level of the site. A reused fragment of a relief showing a file of walking lions and bands of rosettes above a tasseled fringe—undoubtedly a portion of the baldachin which is always found in reliefs depicting the enthroned king (cf. e.g. Pl. 99)—is a remnant of the parapet of the stairway.[1] The original location of the relief is not known. The stairway was apparently flanked by two stone bulls, fragments of which were uncovered during our subsequent excavations of the southern courtyard of the Apadana (see p. 77 and Fig. 118 *B*).

Soundings mentioned by Stolze[2] uncovered in the northwestern part of the mound a portion of a drainage canal built of reused stones, one of which has an arrow-shaped hole. A stone which was part of the roof of this drain is about 1.20 m. above the level of the courtyard on the south. It is to be assumed that the drainage channel was close to the (missing) floor of Palace G and that it was linked with a roof drain.

The most important information concerning Palace G was obtained as a result of soundings which Haines carried through along the southern edge of the rubble mound. He cleared the debris which had accumulated on top of the leveled bedrock and on blocks of masonry here forming the floor of the courtyard. Hourglass-shaped depressions indicate that some of the floor slabs had been joined by clamps. The stone surfaces show markings which prove that they were prepared as foundations for a stone wall, that is, the façade of Palace G (see Figs. 116 and 117 *A*). There are V-shaped cuts marking here, as in other instances observed (see e.g. p. 81), the lengths of individual wall stones. Furthermore, there is a row of slightly chipped and depressed patches, usually rectangular, prepared to give a firm seat to the stones of the wall. In addition, Haines noticed traces of two sets of interrupted double lines incised in the bedrock and the slabs of masonry. The lines of each pair are about 8 cm. apart, and in the eastern part of the zone there is a distance of about 50 cm. between the pairs. When Haines measured the stones of the façade of Artaxerxes III at Palace H (see pp. 279–80) and superimposed the measurements of the lower course of these stones on the markings under consideration, he found that the units of the Artaxerxes III façade—if turned about to face south—coincide remarkably well with these markings (Fig. 117 *B–C*).[3] Nine stone joints of the Artaxerxes III façade coincide with the nine preserved V-shaped cuts, and the sixteen chipped rectangles fall neatly between the joints of the façade stones. We are convinced, therefore, that the façade of Artaxerxes III at Palace H originally formed the southern front of Palace G. As to the double lines mentioned above, the northern pair appears to have been cut into the bedrock and masonry foundation to align the stones of the façade (see Fig. 117 *C*). Haines believes that the southern pair of grooves—observed mainly in the bedrock of the eastern portion of the area—marks the face line of an earlier structure. At the west are some lines cut at varying angles into individual foundation stones. Haines suggested that these marks may have been aligned with the southern pair of grooves at the east before the foundation stones were shifted to their present position.

A row of foundation stones extends toward the south from the western end of the façade foundation (see Figs. 116, 117 *A*) and partly coincides with the course of the western lower flight of the double stairway reconstructed on Figure 117 *C*. The turn of the west wing of this stairway appears to be marked by a chipped area beyond a line which forms a right angle on the row of foundation stones. A sculptured section of a stairway bearing reliefs of servants carrying supplies (Fig. 119 *B*) lies at the western end of the area tested. It is possible that this stone, as well as two more fragments of servant reliefs found near by (Fig. 119 *A*), belonged to the steps which were once situated at the ends of Artaxerxes III's façade. We have already stated (p. 240) that these reliefs cannot have belonged to

1. According to the records of the Oriental Institute, where the relief is on exhibition (Oriental Institute Museum No. A 24068).

2. See Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* II, "Bemerkungen zu den Tafeln" (3d page).

3. For the sake of comparison Haines measured the stones of the western stairs to Xerxes' palace platform and those of the southern façade of Darius' palace and found that neither construction would fit the markings in front of Palace G.

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Xerxes' western stairway, located a short distance to the west. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the rosettes in the relief on one slab (Fig. 119 *B*) differ in size somewhat from those of Artaxerxes III's façade. It may be that this slab, lying flat on the ground together with some abutting stone fragments, was reused at this spot for some unknown purpose. A section of a drainage channel extends beneath the sculptured slab.

To judge by the height of Artaxerxes III's façade, the floor of Palace G was about 2 meters above the level of the courtyard to the south and above the floor of Xerxes' palace. The double stairway which was once combined with Artaxerxes III's façade was adorned with servant reliefs (see p. 280) in the same manner as the near-by stairs leading to the residential palaces of Darius and Xerxes. The use of such servant figures on a stairway which once led to Palace G proves its residential character and disposes of Herzfeld's assumption[4] that a temple existed at this spot. True, the façade of Artaxerxes III and its stairway may have replaced parts of an earlier structure, or they may have been added to such a building. It would be absurd, however, to assume that a Persepolis temple—if one ever existed on the Terrace[5]—was secularized by an Achaemenid ruler.

In the section dealing with Palace H we describe the remnants of a sculptured façade of a palace which was founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I (pp. 280–81). In the same section we mention that the area of Palace G is the most attractive of three possible sites (but see p. 281, n. 19) and that the wording of Artaxerxes III's inscription does not preclude the existence of a palace to which his façade may have been added. There is only one architectural clue which may suggest the existence of a structure antedating that of Artaxerxes III on the site of Palace G, namely the southern pair of grooves cut into bedrock and possibly indicating the face line of an earlier structure (see p. 274). There are, however, no chipped rectangular patches corresponding to those which fit beneath the stones of the palace façade of Artaxerxes III.

4. *IAE*, p. 230.

5. Cf. Herodotus i. 131.

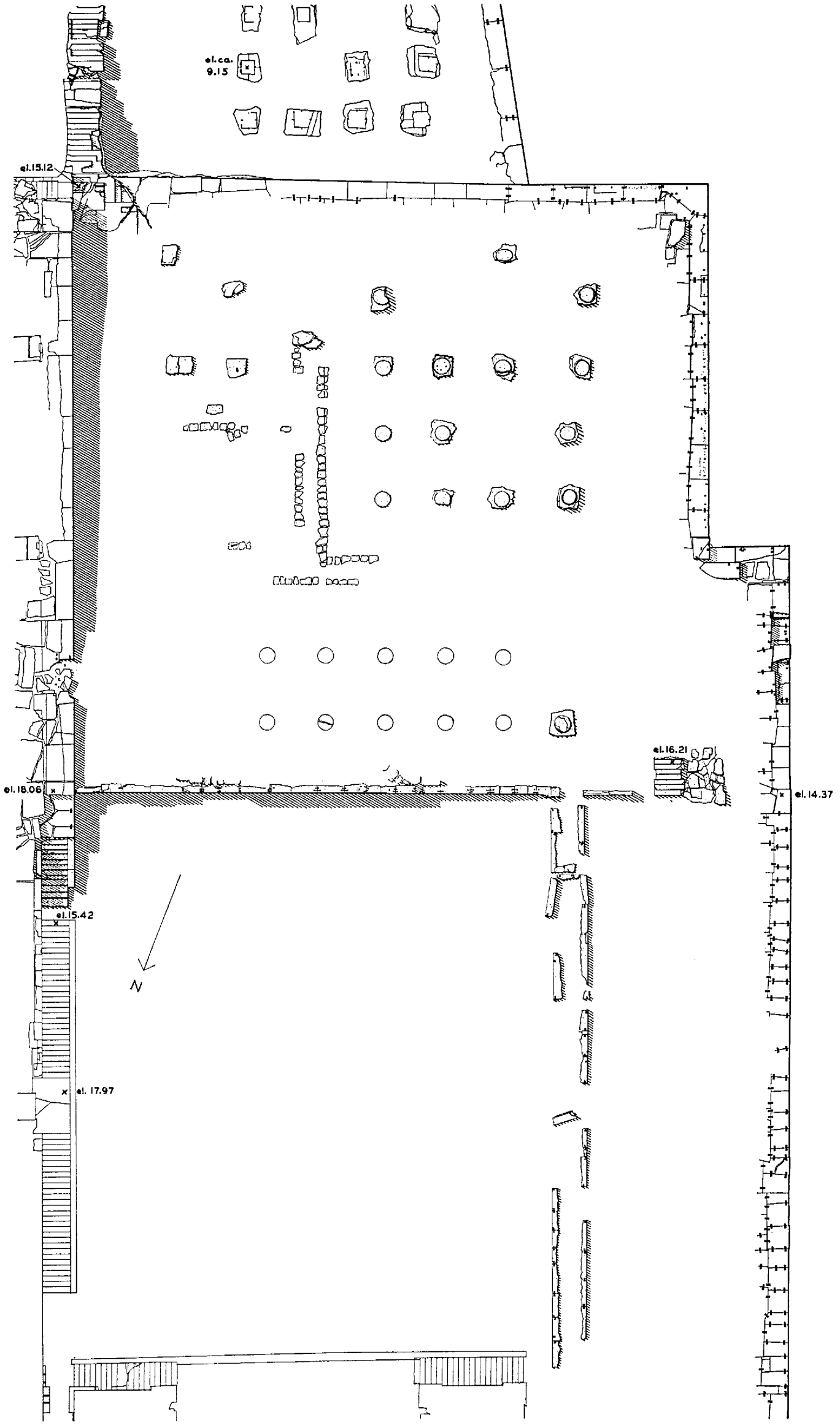


FIG. 120. PLAN OF REMNANTS OF PALACE H. AFTER ORIGINAL SURVEY BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:300

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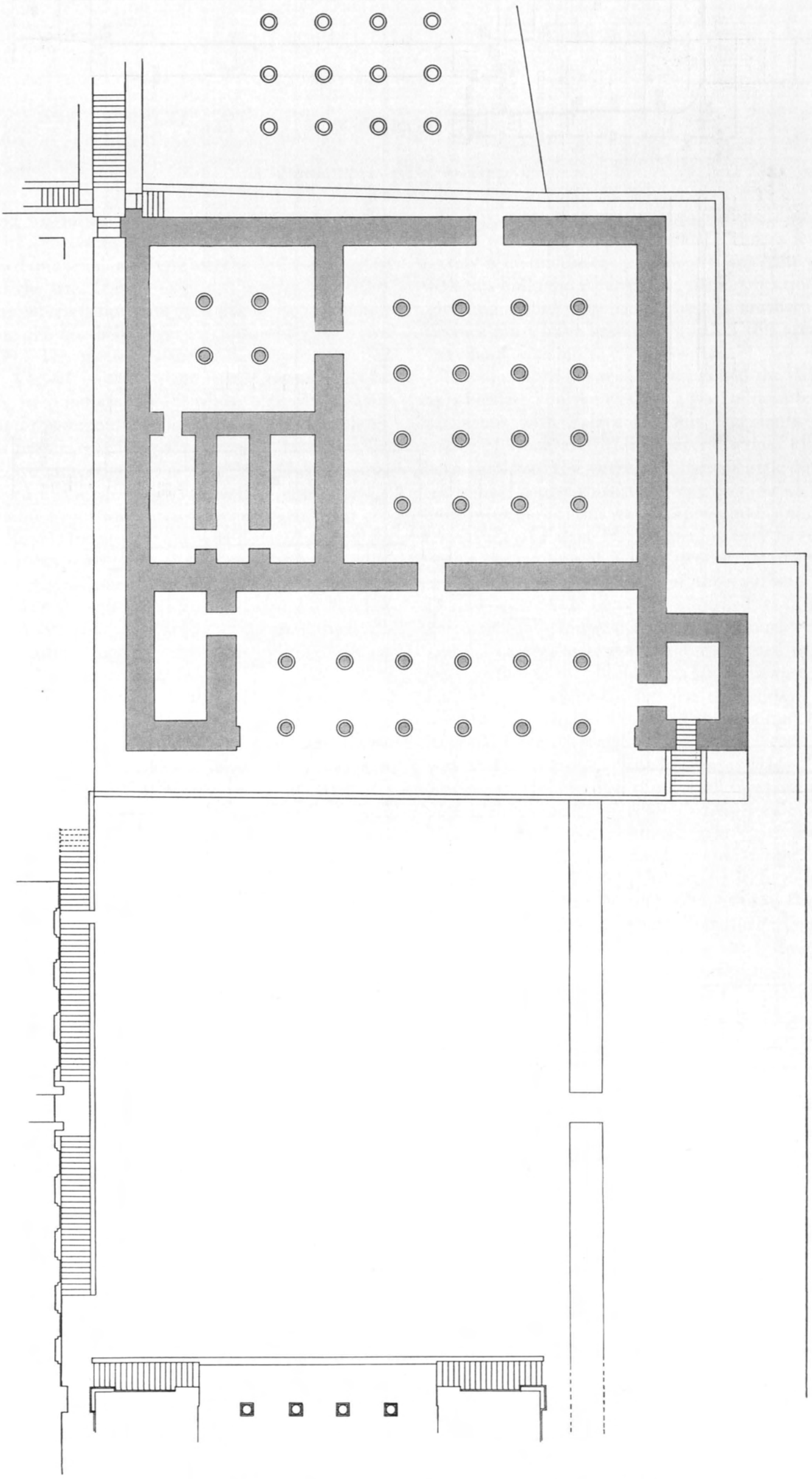
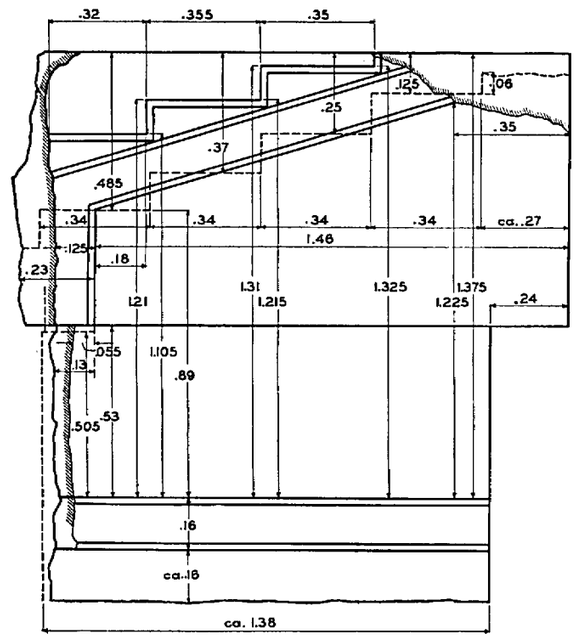
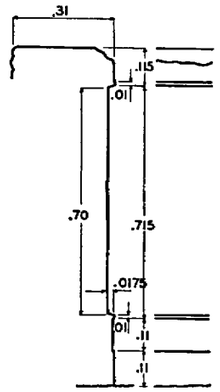


Fig. 121. Tentative Reconstruction of Plan of Palace H. Scale, 1:300

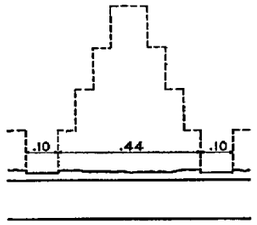
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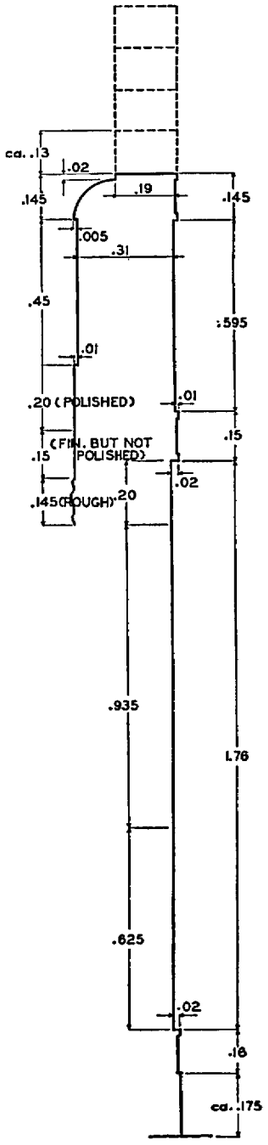


A

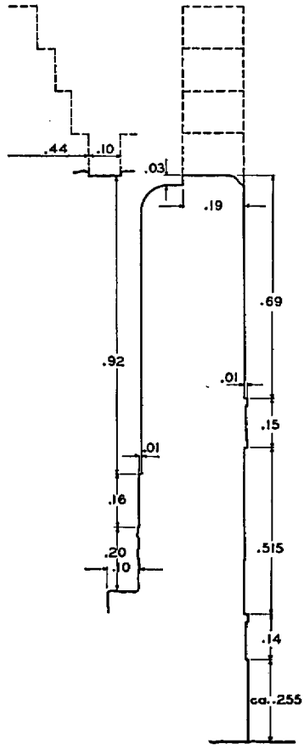


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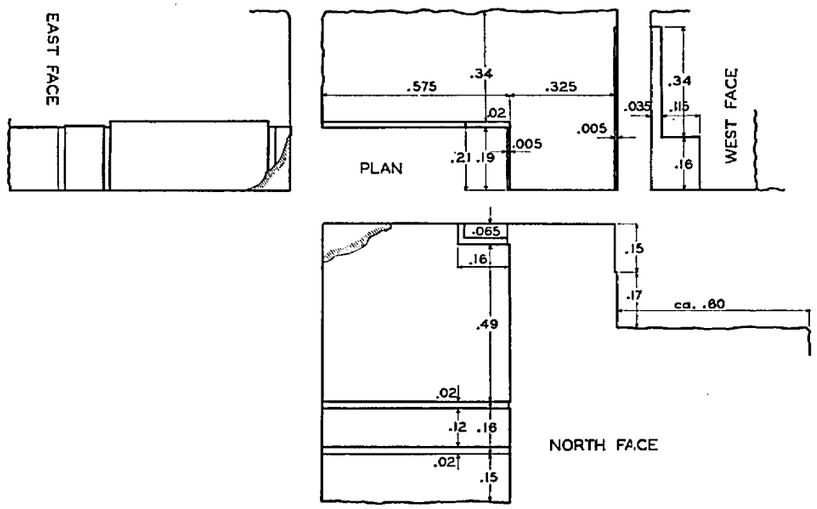




E



D



C

FIG. 122. PALACE H. DIAGRAMS OF DETAILS. SCALE, 1:20. *A*. NORTH FACE OF EASTERNMOST STONES OF WALL OF ARTAXERXES III. *B*. CROSS SECTION OF STONE WITH INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES I. *C*. WESTERNMOST STONE OF WALL OF ARTAXERXES III. *D*. CROSS SECTION OF STONE WITH SERVANT RELIEFS IN EAST STAIRS. *E*. CROSS SECTION OF CENTER OF WALL OF ARTAXERXES III, WITH CRENELATION RECONSTRUCTED

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PALACE H

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Others, and we ourselves, formerly called this building the "Palace of Artaxerxes III." It was actually a composition of reused material and one of the least attractive structures of the site. It rose—if it was ever completed—on a platform which is now largely a flat mound of rubble buttressed on the north by the remnants of a sculptured wall (Pl. 200). The mound is somewhat lower than the platform of Xerxes' palace on the east. Column foundations, that is, irregular stone slabs whose tops were shaped into disks, and the remains of some base courses of roughly hewn stones preserve at least a portion of the plan (Fig. 120). There are indications of a main hall of sixteen columns arranged in four rows and a portico—open toward the north—whose roof was carried by two rows of six columns each. Rooms for private use were located east of the main hall: a room with four columns and perhaps, as assumed on our reconstructed plan (Fig. 121), three narrow chambers. There were probably two guardrooms flanking the portico. A remnant of a stairway of stone near the northwestern corner suggests that the building was entered through the western guardroom.

There are parts of another stairway, never completed, at the northeast corner of the platform of Palace H (see p. 282). From the landing situated at the southwest corner of Xerxes' palace (see pp. 244 and 260) some stone steps ascend northward. Apparently they led to an open passage between Palace H and the platform of Xerxes' palace. Further stone steps, descending westward from the same landing, led to a balcony which was located between the southern face of Palace H and the Terrace edge and continued along the western face of the building. The level of the balcony was considerably below that of the palace platform (see Fig. 23) and corresponded roughly to the level of the courtyard north of the building. Narrow roughened strips along sections of the western and southern edges of the Terrace (see Fig. 120) indicate that at some period the balcony had a parapet of stone, similar perhaps to that of the balcony of Xerxes' palace (see p. 244).

It is possible that the twelve-columned "pavilion" (see p. 264) which stood south of Palace H on a level approximately 6 meters below its balcony was contemporaneous with this building. At any rate, the fortification wall which once undoubtedly protected the low southern step of the Terrace must have been destroyed in this area before the "pavilion" was built.

The courtyard between Palace H and the Palace of Darius is bordered on the west by a wall undoubtedly contemporaneous with Palace H. Only fragments of the base course of stone are extant. Several stones obviously had been employed elsewhere, and there is little doubt that the entire base course consists of reused material. The missing mud-brick part of this wall was presumably not higher than the façade of Palace H. An opening may have existed opposite the landing of Xerxes' western stairway. The wall breaks off at a point west of the southern stairway of Darius' palace. It may have turned east immediately north of that stairway to abut the southwest corner of Darius' palace, or it may have continued parallel to the western face of that building as far as its western stairway. Had the wall extended beyond the western stairway to abut the southwestern tower of the Apadana (see Fig. 21), it would have covered the sculptured façade of the stairway and its inscription of Artaxerxes III.

After careful consideration of all clues we are now convinced that all the reliefs and inscriptions connected with Palace H had been removed from other locations. The manner of their piecemeal re-employment appears so haphazard and senseless that we hesitate to attribute this structure to an Achaemenid ruler, even to Darius III.[1] We rather believe that sometime after the destruction of Persepolis (though certainly prior to the Islamic era) a local ruler or governor erected (or commenced to erect) this building,[2] combining parts of two or more previously destroyed palaces. The western wall of the courtyard suggests that the same person made use of the Palace of Darius (I), which even now would be easily restorable.

SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ARTAXERXES III

The principal portion of the palace front, extending from the western face of Xerxes' palace platform as far as the western inclosure of the courtyard (Pl. 200), consists of parts of the façade of a sculptured stairway from a palace altered or repaired and presumably inhabited by Artaxerxes III. This is indicated by three inscribed panels (Pls. 201 and 202 *A*), each bearing the same Old Persian text (Art. III Pers. a, c, d)[3] of this ruler that is engraved on the western stairway of Darius' palace (Art. III Pers. b; translated on p. 224). All four copies of the text differ in the arrangement of the lines. In this text Artaxerxes III does not claim to have built a palace. Obviously he did not build Darius' palace, and by inference we are justified in concluding that Artaxerxes III added a sculptured stairway—or just the sculptures of the façade (depending on the meaning of *ustashanām;* see p. 224, n. 27) subsequently

1. So Herzfeld (*IAE*, p. 231)

2. A similar suggestion was made by Flandin in *Voyage en Perse ... Relation du voyage* ... II 184.

3. One inscribed fragment found in the rubble hillock of Palace D (see p. 269) fits, according to Cameron, into the fractured upper portion of the westernmost panel (Pl. 202 *A*). The fragment restores the words *pa-u-ça* ("son") and *a-ṛa-ta-xa-ša-ça-a* ("Artaxerxes") in the original lines 20 and 21. It is difficult to account for the find-spot of this fragment.

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used at Palace H—to another palace constructed by an earlier ruler. We have explained that marks on the bedrock and on foundation slabs along the southern front of the Palace G area indicate the original location of the façade of Artaxerxes III and suggest the site of an earlier palace (see p. 274).

The composition of the façade reliefs is similar to that of the sculptures on the façade of the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius. Sixteen Persian guards, dressed and armed in the same fashion as those of the latter palace, stand at either side of the central inscription panel. The usual combat scene of lion and bull at either end is separated from the guards by the eastern and western inscription panels. The portico parapet, which was crowned by crenelations (Fig. 122 *E*), was ornamented on both faces with a continuous design of the usual palmettes on segmented stalks. The position of the extant piece (if correctly restored) indicates that there was no central motive—such as the image of Ahuramazda flanked by sphinxes—on its outer face.

Haines determined that the stairs originally located at either end of the façade consisted of an upper flight parallel to the façade, a landing, and a lower flight forming a right angle with the front of the building. Although this arrangement of stairs differs from that of the other monumental stairways of Persepolis, Haines is undoubtedly correct. The western end of the wall actually turns at a right angle and continues toward the north for a distance of 19 cm. (see Fig. 122 *C*). The projecting fragment of the stone shows on its eastern face the remnant of a palmette motif. If the stairs too had been transferred to the present location of the façade, their lower western flight would have coincided with the southern end of the west wall of the courtyard north of Palace H (see p. 279).

The eastern end of the façade as reused is near the corner originally formed by the eastern lower flight of stairs. Here the panel with the lion-and-bull relief does not form a triangle (see Fig. 122 *A* and Pl. 200 *A*), as do the corresponding panels on the façade of the southern stairway of Darius' palace, where the stairs at each end are constructed in one flight parallel to the façade.

The two wings of the stairway were adorned with reliefs of servants carrying supplies for the royal table, similar to the stairway reliefs of Darius' palace and to those of the western and eastern stairs leading to the palace platform of Xerxes. On the stairway under consideration a few fragments only of the servant figures are extant. Parts of five rather carelessly executed figures of Medes and Persians, alternating as usual, are preserved on the inner (southern) face at the eastern end of the wall (Pl. 203 *A*). The servants are shown ascending the upper flight, which originally abutted the steps marked on the stone slabs. These figures must have been completely covered by the rubble of which the platform was composed. If the stairs proper had been transferred to this location, the bottom step of the upper flight would have run dead against the stone wall of Xerxes' palace platform. On the opposite, outer face of the wall the legs of other servant figures are preserved (Pl. 203 *B*). Flandin and Coste pictured the remnants of the corresponding servant reliefs at the western end of the façade.[4] The slab which includes the upper part of the lion-and-bull panel has been further mutilated during the past century (Pl. 203 *D*). It was given by the Iranian authorities to the Oriental Institute and is now on permanent loan in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. A servant relief which was reused in the unfinished stairs at the northeast corner of Palace H (see p. 282) may once have bordered a landing of the stairway concerned. Three additional fragments with figures of servants, lying in the debris of Palace H, and the servant reliefs found near the southwest corner of Palace G (pp. 274 f.) also may have belonged to the same structure.

SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF ARTAXERXES I

Aligned with the façade of Artaxerxes III but located west of the western wall of the courtyard there is a portion of a palace façade of Artaxerxes I (Pls. 200 and 202 *C*, Fig. 122 *B*), including remnants of a Babylonian inscription of this king. The most recent translations of this inscription (Art. I Pers. a[5]) were made by Herzfeld[6] and Cameron. Cameron's translation[7] is as follows:

(1) [8]. . . one among many kings,
(2) one among many lords.
(3) I (am) Artaxerxes, great king,
(4) king of kings, king of lands of all tongues,
(5) king of this great extensive earth, son of
(6) Xerxes the king, (grand)son of Darius,
(7) an Achaemenid.
(8) Artaxerxes the great king says:
(9) In the protection of Ahuramazda,
(10) this palace Xerxes the king, who (was)
(11) my father, . . . , afterwards I
(12) built (to completion).[9] Me may Ahuramazda
(13) protect, with all the gods,
(14) and my kingdom and what I built.

One of a number of stone slabs found in the courtyard north of the façade of Artaxerxes III bears the remains of an Old Persian inscription (Pl. 202 *B*). Herzfeld[10] attributed this text to Artaxerxes I and pointed out a certain relationship to the Babylonian inscription dealt with above. Kent and Cameron[11] are convinced that the Old Persian fragment is part of an inscription of which the Babylonian text is a translation. Kent completely restored the very fragmentary Old Persian text. His English translation differs in minor points only from Cameron's translation of the Babylonian inscription (see above) and does not shed any light on the wording of the important fragmentary passage in lines 10–12 (see n. 9). In any event, both inscriptions[12]

4. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 129.

5. Bibliography in *KA*, p. XXVI.

6. *AI*, pp. 43 f. (No. 20).

7. Published by Kent with explanation of differences between Cameron's and Herzfeld's versions; see *JNES* IV 228–32.

8. Preceded by the (missing) customary formula of adoration. For parts of the text now destroyed see Flandin and Coste, Pl. 129.

9. Kent, *op. cit.* p. 231, points out that by comparison with Artaxerxes I's foundation text from the Throne Hall ("Hundred-Column Hall") this passage clearly means "this palace Xerxes my father began and I finished," but the precise wording remains uncertain.

10. *AI*, pp. 44 f. (No. 21).

11. *JNES* IV 229.

12. There is still a possibility that an El. version and additional portions of the Bab. and OP texts will be found, perhaps in the talus of debris at the foot of the Terrace platform west of Palace H. Cameron has suggested that a fragment found in Xerxes' palace may be part of the OP text (see p. 239).

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probably belonged to the façade of a monumental stairway which led to a palace the construction of which was started by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I. This stairway was ornamented with reliefs of tribute-bearing delegations, as indicated by the group of figures carved on the stone slab which bears the Babylonian inscription (Pl. 202 *C*).

The tribute scene has been badly mutilated since Flandin copied it[13] and since Stolze subsequently recorded it photographically.[14] Herzfeld published a drawing[15] which is based on Stolze's illustration. Our photograph shows the remnants of ten figures. There are three bearers of animal skins at the right end, preceded—according to Flandin's drawing combined with Stolze's photograph—by four persons, each carrying one elephant tusk on his right shoulder. The tusk-bearers are preceded, according to Stolze's photograph, by two figures, each holding one deep roughly cylindrical vessel with a conical lid. Flandin, who illustrates a total of eight persons, shows only one delegate with a vessel; Stolze's photograph does not show the tenth figure—another tribute-bearer or the leader of the delegation—whose sandaled feet only are now extant (see Pl. 202 *C*).

All the delegates wear a belted skirt[16] reaching to the knees. The upper body and the legs are bare. The sandals have a strap across the toes and the instep and are provided with a heel guard. All headdresses are now destroyed, but the hair, neatly combed and parted on the left side of the head, is preserved on the last two figures. Herzfeld erroneously shows two of the figures wearing a domed helmet with a pointed knob to which a ribbon is attached. Flandin pictures a topknot forming a double volute on those delegates whose hair is not covered by the heads of animal skins.

None of the delegations in the great tribute procession of the Apadana resemble the group of tribute-bearers under consideration closely enough to permit identification of the latter, but there is no doubt that it belongs to our group of Indian nations (V; see p. 117). The nature of the gifts carried by the delegates in the Artaxerxes relief supports this attribution. As to dress, in the Apadana procession the skirted, bare-chested and barelegged Indians (Pl. 44), whose leader wears a similar kind of sandal, are closest to our tribute-bearers. The dress of the members of Apadana delegation No. 14—the Gandarians? (Pl. 40)—too, obviously resembles that of the tribute-bearers concerned. However, the peculiar hairdress of the figures in the Artaxerxes relief links them most closely with the assumed Sattagydian throne-bearer in the Throne Hall (No. W11; see p. 136).

It has been suggested,[17] erroneously without doubt, that two distinct nations are represented in our relief, namely that the last three tribute-bearers are representatives of the Akaufačiya[18] whereas the preceding tribute-bearers represent the Sattagydians. The earlier illustrations to which we have referred (nn. 13–14) leave no doubt that our relief shows nine almost identically attired tribute-bearers, all of whom certainly represent the same nation. The tenth person—first in line—of whom the sandaled feet only are preserved, could possibly be the delegation leader.

The rest of the western portion of the façade of Palace H presumably showed additional sections of Artaxerxes I's tribute procession. A fragment (Pl. 203 *C*) standing in the courtyard north of the building pictures four persons whose dress and gifts (two rams and fabrics) identify them with the assumed Cilicians of the Apadana procession (cf. Pl. 34). Another fragment, found on the platform of Palace H, apparently belongs to a second relief depicting Cilicians(?). It shows part of one person and behind him the head of a ram. This fragment suggests that the palace of Artaxerxes I was ornamented with two views of the same tribute procession, composed of complementary scenes in the manner of the procession of the Apadana (see p. 82) though certainly at a smaller scale.

The site of the palace founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I is unknown, but in our opinion there are only three possible locations, namely the areas occupied by the remnants of Palaces G, D, and H. The most attractive site would have been that of Palace G, which stood on the most elevated step of the Persepolis Terrace and formed a balanced compound with the Palace of Xerxes (see Fig. 21). We mentioned a clue which suggests the existence of a structure antedating that of Artaxerxes III on the site of Palace G (see p. 274). If Palace G was originally the palace of Artaxerxes I, it must have been embellished with reliefs of tribute-bearing delegations which were either replaced or supplemented by the façade of Artaxerxes III, showing reliefs of servant processions. The wording of Artaxerxes III's inscription permits this assumption.

In order to assign the palace of Artaxerxes I to the site of Palace D, we would have to assume that the hillock of stone chips (see p. 269) is the core of a terrace—similar to the platform of Palace H—which was buttressed along its northern front by the façade with which we are concerned. This solution is not very satisfactory, for the building marked by remains of walls, a stone sill, and two column bases would have been buried by the terrace, not to speak of the inscribed tori and so forth which belonged to the Palace of Xerxes and were found in the lower portion of the hillock.

It is possible, of course, that the palace of Artaxerxes I originally stood on the site of Palace H. The only clues suggesting this location, namely fragments of the façade of Artaxerxes I, are indecisive, because it is very doubtful that the portion of the façade aligned with that of Artaxerxes III (see p. 280) is in its original position and there is no clue as to the original location of the detached fragments which we ascribe to the palace of Artaxerxes I (see p. 280).[19]

13. Cf. Flandin and Coste, Pl. 130.

14. Cf. Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis* I, Pl. 65.

15. *IF*, Fig. 16.

16. Or a skirt rolled at the top.

17. By Junge in *ZDMG* XCVIII = n.F. XXIII 371–76.

18. Mentioned in Xerxes' so-called "Daiva" text (see *AI*, pp. 27–35 [No. 14]), which occurs on foundation documents discovered by us in the quarters of the garrison (pp. 208–9; see Fig. 2 for possible location of Ākaufaka).

19. While this volume was in press, the writer was orally informed by M. Ravanbod that tests of the Iranian Antiquity Service established the existence of a building level below the surface remains of Palace H. This increases the possibility that the palace of Artaxerxes I had actually occupied the site of Palace H.

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THE EAST STAIRS

The northwest corner of Xerxes' palace had either been destroyed before this stairway (Pls. 204–5 and Fig. 122 *D*) was constructed, or it was cut away to provide room for the stairs. There is hardly a doubt that in either case the palace had been in disuse for some time. The upper part of the stairway which was meant to give access to the northeast portion of Palace H was never finished, and no steps actually led to the platform of the palace.

The stone steps appear to have belonged originally to at least two other flights of stairs, and the stairway sculptures too were taken from two different locations. A relief showing four alternating Persian and Median servants on the east side of the stairway (Pls. 204 *A* and 205) may once have adjoined a landing connected with the façade of Artaxerxes III (see p. 280). The opposite face of the stone slab likewise is sculptured, showing on its upper portion the same design of servants carrying supplies—a fact which proves that the slab was reused, for its eastern face is so close to the bedrock of Xerxes' palace platform that its sculptures would not have been visible after the completion of the stairs. Furthermore, the palmette pattern on the western face of the slab is partly covered by the abutting steps.

The two remaining reliefs of the stairway probably belonged to the palace of Artaxerxes I, for both show parts of tribute processions (cf. p. 281). The larger fragment (see Pl. 205), bordering the stairway on the west and standing on the floor of the courtyard, pictures representatives of two nations separated by an armed Median usher. He wears a torque and carries a staff—distinctive attributes of the ushers in the Apadana procession. However, in the relief under consideration no cypress tree separates the delegations, as in the Apadana.

The remainder of the first delegation, which may represent the Saka Tigraxauda,[20] consists of seven persons. The gifts carried by the three foremost delegates are long-sleeved fur(?)-trimmed overcoats. Next follow three men bearing fabric with dentate fringe. The last person leads a stallion equipped with headgear and with a tassel tied to the end of its tail. Each delegate has a mustache and a long stringy beard with scalloped outline on the cheek. The hair is bunched behind the ear flap of the conical headdress. What appear to be strips of leather, or, more probably, fur, embellish the upper part of the belted short-sleeved "cutaway coat." The trousers are tied with string below the knees and seem to continue to a point above the ankles. Less plausibly, the parts below the string may represent the sagging tops of boots.[21]

There remain parts of three persons only of the second delegation, in addition to the Median usher, who holds the hand of the delegation leader. The gifts carried by the two persons behind the leader consist of lances, two of them being held by one man. Possibly the second delegate, of whom only one hand is preserved, carried further gifts in addition to a lance. The delegates wear a short-sleeved belted coat reaching to the knees. The belt is tied in front. Their backs are covered by a cape with tasseled ends reaching to the calves. Two ends (one of which is visible) of the cape were thrown over the shoulders and may have been joined by a clasp (not shown) at the chest. The heads and headdresses are missing. Legs and feet are bare. We are tentatively identifying this delegation with the Gandarians on account of the close similarity in dress and tribute to delegation No. 14 in the Apadana procession (see Pl. 40).

The second relief of tribute-bearers (Pl. 204 *B*) stands above the uppermost extant step of the stairway and is roughly aligned with the above-mentioned relief of servants. The stone slab with the tribute scene is probably not *in situ*—even in secondary use—considering the orientation of its figures. There are four tribute-bearers carrying coats as gifts. The badly mutilated fifth person, equipped with a staff, is a Persian usher preceding another (missing) delegation. In dress the tribute-bearers are almost identical with the group of the Apadana reliefs tentatively identified as Cappadocians (Pl. 35), and their contributions are similar. Each delegate has a mustache and a short pointed beard marked by small curls in the same manner as the hair which shows beneath the three-knobbed (felt?) hat. The ear flaps of the latter are turned up and tied at the back. Below a mantle fastened near the shoulder by means of a fibula, the delegates wear the belted coat and stiff trousers of Median type.

20. Here, however, unarmed in contrast to the members of delegation No. 11 of the Apadana (Pl. 37). See Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 81.

21. The dress of the Saka delegation pictured at the left in the lowest register of the relief of Artaxerxes III on the façade of the western stairway of Darius' palace (see p. 229 and Pl. 153 *B*) is almost identical with that of the tribute-bearers concerned. It is quite certain, therefore, that the two groups represent the same nation.

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APPENDIX

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A STUDY OF WALL PLASTER, FLOORING, AND BITUMEN

By F. R. Matson[1]

GYPSUM PLASTER AND MORTAR

THE use of gypsum plaster and mortar was widespread in Egypt and the Near East in antiquity, for gypsum deposits are found throughout most of the region and the material can be prepared without too much trouble or fuel. When gypsum is heated just a little over 100° C. it loses much of its chemically combined water and becomes what is now known as plaster of Paris. This, when powdered and mixed with water, will again form gypsum, so it is a material readily adapted for use as mortars and plasters. If gypsum is calcined at too high a temperature (above 200° C.), however, all of the chemically combined water is driven off and the mineral anhydrite is formed, which will not recombine with water. It is therefore necessary to use some care in preparing the plaster of Paris, and occasionally in the ancient plasters fragments of anhydrite are found, which show that some of the material was fired too high.

Although gypsum is a fine finishing material for buildings, it has one defect—it is slightly soluble in water. This helps explain why so little plaster is found when ancient buildings are excavated, for over the millennia if there is fairly good drainage the ground waters will gradually dissolve the plaster. When fire destroys buildings the temperatures reached are usually above that at which anhydrite is formed, so the gypsum plaster will be decomposed into a friable powder and disappear.

Lucas[2] and Partington[3] have summarized most of the information available about ancient plasters and mortars. A technical study of the plasters from Seleucia on the Tigris by Matson was abstracted by Debevoise[4] but has not been published in full.

The specimens from Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam[5] were examined under a binocular microscope and thin sections and powder mounts of the materials were studied under a petrographic microscope. A differential thermal analysis was made of two of the pieces to check the identification of the gypsum. If the term "plaster" is reserved for well finished smooth external surfacings and "mortar" is the designation used for the more roughly finished pieces from walls, floors, and from between bricks, then only one of the five specimens examined can be termed a plaster while the other four are mortars. The differentiation between the two is not important, especially when only small fragments are studied, for it is largely a matter of definition.

Apadana: Floor Sample From Room 5

The specimen is 76 × 51 × 13 mm. in size with a long oval cross section. The outer face is a slightly irregular surface with an intentional depression near one end. The fragment is backed with raw brown clay in which there are numerous straw or grass impressions indicating chaff tempering. A petrographic study of a thin section of the material shows that it is composed chiefly of very fine gypsum although some grains are up to 0.5 mm. in diameter. There is considerable anhydrite present in angular grains up to 1.5 mm. in length and 0.7 mm. in width. Several clay lumps occur in the section up to 0.7 mm. in diameter with an occasional larger grain, and much fine clay is disseminated through the section, giving the mortar a dirty tan color. The texture of the mortar can be seen in Figure 123 *C*, in which the bright grains are gypsum and the elongated grain in the upper right area is anhydrite.

West Wing of Harem, Room 6: Plaster Sample from Northern Niche in West Wall

Two thin flat fragments of white plaster are each about 19 × 13 × 8 mm. in size. Both surfaces are quite smooth and parallel. A petrographic thin section shows that this is a gypsum plaster that is very fine grained, hardly any inclusions being seen in the section. In fineness of texture this sample is quite different from the others in the series. Perhaps the archeological observations will suggest a specific use for this type of material.[6]

LIME PLASTER

Calcite, the mineral from which lime is prepared, occurs abundantly as limestone in most of the same regions in which gypsum is found. When calcite (calcium carbonate) is calcined at a temperature above 800° C. it decomposes and burnt lime is formed. This material can be slaked with water and the paste so formed may be used as a plaster, which will slowly take a permanent set as it gradually absorbs carbon dioxide from the air and becomes calcium carbonate again. A plaster thus prepared is very

1. Two of my graduate students, Messrs. Harold Stetson and Alexander Sheheen, assisted in the laboratory examinations.

2. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries* (3d ed., rev.; London, 1948).

3. J. R. Partington, *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London, 1935).

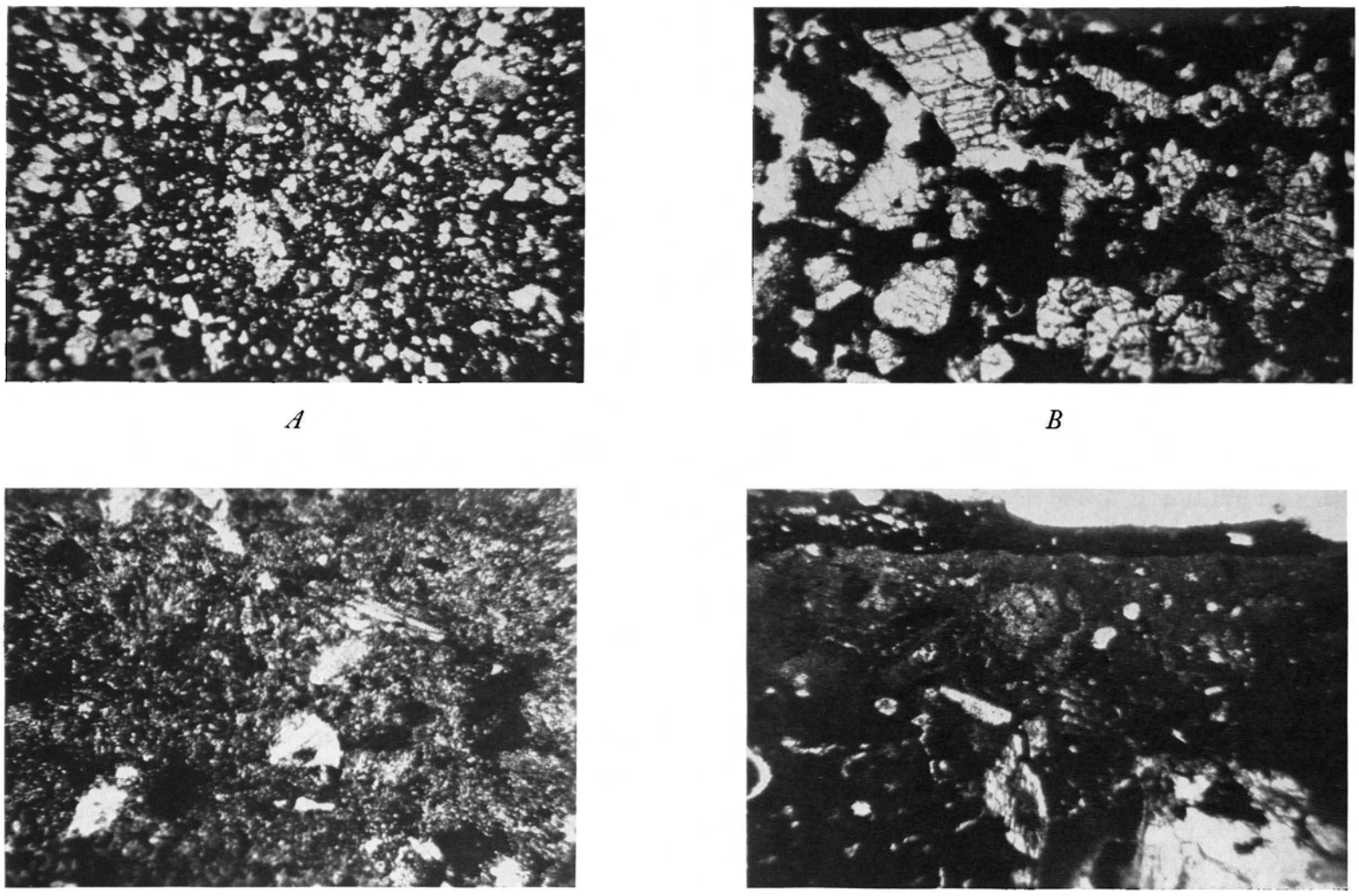
4. See N. C. Debevoise, "The Origin of Decorative Stucco," *AJA* XLV (1941) 48 f.

5. [To be considered in Vol. III.—E. F. Schmidt.]

6. [The plaster was used in repairing a niche, perhaps at a time considerably later than the original construction of the room.—Schmidt.]

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durable, but because of the cost of the fuel necessary to reach the calcining temperature it would be more expensive than a gypsum plaster in a region where there is a fuel shortage. Its slower rate of setting might also be an undesirable feature. Lucas states that he knows of no example of the use of lime in any form in Egypt before the time of Ptolemy I.[7] Many references to lime plaster in the archeological literature are doubtless inaccurate, the material really being a gypsum plaster. Yet it is simple to differentiate between the two by putting a few drops of dilute acid on the sample to be tested. If the acid causes it to fizz, it is a lime plaster; if there is no reaction, it is one made from gypsum. Since limestone and gypsum frequently occur together, it is not uncommon to have a few grains of calcite mixed into a gypsum body. Occasionally the two materials were intentionally mixed when it was desirable to retard the rate of setting of the plaster so that the surface could be worked more carefully. With a little experience it should be possible to determine in the field which of the three types of plaster has been found. It would be helpful if more archeologists would use this simple acid test as an aid in sorting the plasters into types and in selecting specimens to bring home for further study in the laboratory.



A *B*

C *D*

FIG. 123. PHOTOMICROGRAPHS. *A–B*. BITUMEN FROM EASTERN PORTICO OF APADANA. *C*. GYPSUM MORTAR FROM FLOOR OF ROOM 5 IN THE APADANA. *D*. RED-SURFACED LIME PLASTER FROM FLOOR OF HALL 73 IN THE TREASURY
MAGNIFICATIONS, 25 TIMES (*A, C, D*) AND 50 TIMES (*B*)

TREASURY: SAMPLE OF FLOORING FROM ROOM 64

This sample is composed of several lumps of plaster, the largest of which is 25 × 19 × 13 mm. in size. The exterior surface of the larger fragments is flat and is covered with a fine coating of light brown clay. The rough inner surface is also coated with a wash of clay. In order to see whether there was any surface coloration of the plaster, some of the clay was scraped off with a needle while the specimen was being examined under a binocular microscope. No color was found.

A petrographic thin section shows that this is a lime plaster. It is composed chiefly of cryptocrystalline calcite which formed from the slaked lime but also contains crystalline grains of calcite that show well marked cleavage parting throughout the grains that are up to 0.2 mm. in diameter. Larger lumps of granular calcite up to 0.7 mm. in diameter and a vein of granular material occur in the slide. Such material had not been sufficiently calcined when the lime was burned to decompose it, so it remained in its original crystalline form, the cleavage parting being caused by heat because of the difference in expansion of the calcite in two crystallographic directions. Very fine angular quartz grains 0.05–0.1 mm. in size occur very sparsely in the plaster but are abundant in the clay surfacing of the fragment. Some lumps of clay appear throughout the slide, few of which are larger than 0.4 mm. In the clay surfacing many biotite flakes occur.

Some of the plaster was powdered and treated with dilute hydrochloric acid to dissolve the calcite in order to

7. *Op. cit.* p. 93.

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check on the other materials that were present. After washing and drying the residue, small lumps of unburnt clay and a few grains of quartz were found. It is not impossible that the clay was intentionally added, but this cannot be assumed because it could so easily have been included as an impurity when the plaster was made.

Treasury: Sample of Red-surfaced Flooring from Hall 73

This flat piece of plaster has a smooth exterior coated with red ocher and is 25 × 19 × 6 mm. in size. It is tempered with dark grains of limestone, brown to black in color, that are up to 2 mm. in diameter. The petrographic thin section shows that this is a lime plaster that contains not only coarse lumps of the cryptocrystalline limestone already mentioned, but also angular grains of calcite in the same size range that show well developed cleavage, some fossiliferous limestone, and a few chips of marble. Clay lumps occasionally appear up to 0.7 mm. in size, and a few very fine grains of angular quartz less than 0.2 mm. in diameter are present. The red ocher surfacing is 0.35 mm. thick and contains many fine grains of calcite. Figure 123 *D* shows a thin section of this piece of plaster. The dark red pigment layer containing fine grains of calcite can be seen at the top of the illustration and the crystalline and cryptocrystalline calcite in the body can be recognized. One of the coarse lumps of limestone appears in the lower right-hand corner.

This plaster was intentionally tempered to give it greater strength, and more than one source of lime was used. One would have to be familiar with the local types of limestone before the significance of this mixture could be discussed.

CALCITE

Treasury: Sample of Yellow Substance from Subfloor of Room 33

The sample consists of a tan lump about 19 mm. in diameter together with a quantity of very fine powder of particles less than 0.2 mm. in diameter, most of them being in the grain size range of 0.05–0.1 mm. A microscopic examination of the material showed that much of the calcite was cryptocrystalline but many good crystalline fragments were also present. The calcite could have served as a white pigment or as a raw material for lime plasters.

CLAY PLASTER

Treasury: Sample of Greenish-Gray Plaster from the Eastern Inclosure

This sample consists of a gray clay plaster 9 mm. thick which served as facing for a brown clay.[8] Both clays were unfired and chaff tempered. The greatest concentration of chaff was at the interface between the two clays, but the brown clay appeared to contain more chaff than did the gray. Both were very plastic when mixed with water; in fact, if too much water was added they became sticky, so the addition of chaff would make them easier materials with which to work. In order to compare the two clays we washed both with dilute acid to remove the calcite that was abundant in each; then, after they were dry, a differential thermal analysis was made of each of them. Such an analysis will show the type of clay minerals present in a clay and will often indicate the presence of major impurities such as chlorite, gypsum, or iron hydroxides. The calcite was removed because it interferes with the identification of the other minerals present. The two curves obtained from the analysis were identical and indicated that the clay was of the Illite type which is very widespread in sedimentary deposits. Samples of the clays fired to 1,000° C. developed different colors—the gray clay became orange-tan, while the brown clay became brick red. Apparently the major difference between the two materials was in their iron content, which would affect their color development when they were fired.

Lucas[9] reports that clay plaster was used in predynastic and early dynastic Egypt, often a better quality serving as a finishing coat for coarser clay plaster. At Tell el-ʿAmarnah the walls of the private houses and palaces had painted decoration applied directly on the clay plaster (which faced the sun-dried brick) rather than on gypsum. The clay plaster from Persepolis that was examined did not have a smooth surface such as would be desired for painting, so probably it was just a protective coating on a brown clay plaster.

BITUMEN

Apadana, Eastern Portico: Sample of Bitumen Adhering to Baked Bricks of a Drainage Channel

The sample is 76 × 51 × 19 mm. in size. When it was examined under the binocular microscope a freshly fractured surface was seen to have a vitreous luster and to contain many mineral inclusions.

The petrographic thin section showed that the bitumen was abundantly tempered with angular grains of fossiliferous limestone that ranged in size from .05 to .5 mm. The addition of limestone to make bitumen less sticky so that it could be used as a mortar was well known in ancient Iraq according to Forbes,[10] who found it present as the

8. [The brown clay is the layer of "mud plaster" applied to the wall and surfaced with the greenish-gray (called "gray" by Matson) clay coat.—Schmidt.]

9. *Op. cit.* p. 95.

10. R. J. Forbes, *Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1936) pp. 44 f. and Table III.

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filler in bitumen from Tell Asmar, Ur, and Babylon, and also in material from Mohenjo Daro. Forbes cites reports of its current use in mastic for the repair of Baghdad roads. The sample from Persepolis was certainly prepared in a manner similar to that used in other parts of the Near East and may have been used as a mortar or as a waterproof surfacing. A portion which was acid-treated to remove the calcite was found to contain besides the bitumen very small quantities of the following minerals listed in order of diminishing frequency: quartz, epidote, feldspar, chlorite, biotite, and muscovite. These grains were 0.1 mm. in diameter or smaller. A few clay lumps up to 3 mm. in size were also included in the bitumen, but very little vegetal material such as twigs was seen.

The general appearance of the limestone-tempered bitumen can be seen from the photomicrograph shown in Figure 123 *A*. The grains were quite uniformly distributed through the matrix, but occasionlly narrow streaks of aligned fragments appeared that were up to 6.5 mm. in length. These probably represent the folding of the bitumen as it was mixed with the limestone, the mineral grains being sprinkled on the hot surface, which was then pulled or folded into the tacky mass, exposing fresh bitumen for tempering. Calcite (calcium carbonate) is of course the mineral constituent of limestone. The calcite in the bitumen was cryptocrystalline in form, both in fossiliferous and in plain grains. Occasionally grains were seen in the thin section that were coarsely crystalline and were fractured along the cleavage planes of the mineral. Such pieces can be seen in Figure 123 *B*. Since calcite expands five times as much in one crystallographic direction as it shrinks in another when it is heated up to 81° C., the grains would fracture when worked into the hot bitumen, which softens in the same temperature range. Such grains were certainly not calcined, and since much of the material was angular, it seems most unlikely that burnt lime was prepared for use with the bitumen. Instead, native limestones, some fossiliferous and some well crystallized, were crushed and worked into the hot bitumen.

When a four-gram sample of the bitumen was ignited it burned with a luminous flame. It was found to contain 52% mineral ash after being fired to a red heat. Another sample was treated with hydrochloric acid to dissolve the calcite and was then dried. Assuming that all of the calcium carbonate had been changed to calcium chloride, we calculated that there was 47% calcium carbonate present in the sample. Therefore, on the basis of these two experiments, it can be assumed that the tempered bitumen contained 50–60% calcite by weight. The mastic thus prepared contained far more bitumen than is common in modern materials, 12–16% being usual according to Forbes.[11] He also points out, however, that because of excess bitumen present in the mastic, it could be worked and poured at lower temperatures than are used today, a consideration that was important in areas where fuel was scarce.

Abraham[12] presents an excellent discussion of the use of bitumen in antiquity. In tracing the literary references he quotes Zakariyya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Qazvini on the manner in which bitumen was collected in ancient Persia:[13]

> There are two kinds of native asphalt. First the kind that oozes from certain mountains; second we have the kind that appears with water in certain pools. When boiled with the water and as long as they remain together, the asphalt is soft; but if we separate them, the asphalt hardens and becomes hard and dry. It is collected by means of matting and deposited on the shore. Then it is placed in a kettle under which a fire has been lit, and a certain amount of sand is added and a mix prepared by constant stirring. When the mix is ready, it is poured on the ground, where it cools and hardens.

He also refers[14] to Herodotus (vi. 119), who mentions

> Ardericca . . . 210 furlongs distant from Susa, and 40 from the well that is of three kinds, whence men bring up asphalt and salt and oil . . . what is drawn . . . goes three ways; the asphalt and the salt grow forthwith solid;[15] the oil, which the Persians call rhadinace, is dark and evil-smelling.

There is much yet to be learned about the preparation and specific uses of bitumen in the construction of ancient buildings, and the collection of well documented specimens, together with native bitumen from the region, should aid in this project.

11. *Ibid.* pp. 49 f.

12. Herbert Abraham, *Asphalts and Allied Substances*. I. *Raw Materials and Manufactured Products* (5th ed.; New York, 1945).

13. *Ibid.* p. 16.

14. *Ibid.* p. 31.

15. [Here George Rawlinson's translation adds "while the oil is drawn off into casks."—SCHMIDT.]

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1. Professor Nabia Abbott and Dr. George C. Miles assisted with spellings of Islamic names, but as a general rule the principles established by Dr. A. A. Brux have been followed; see Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, pp. 99 ff.

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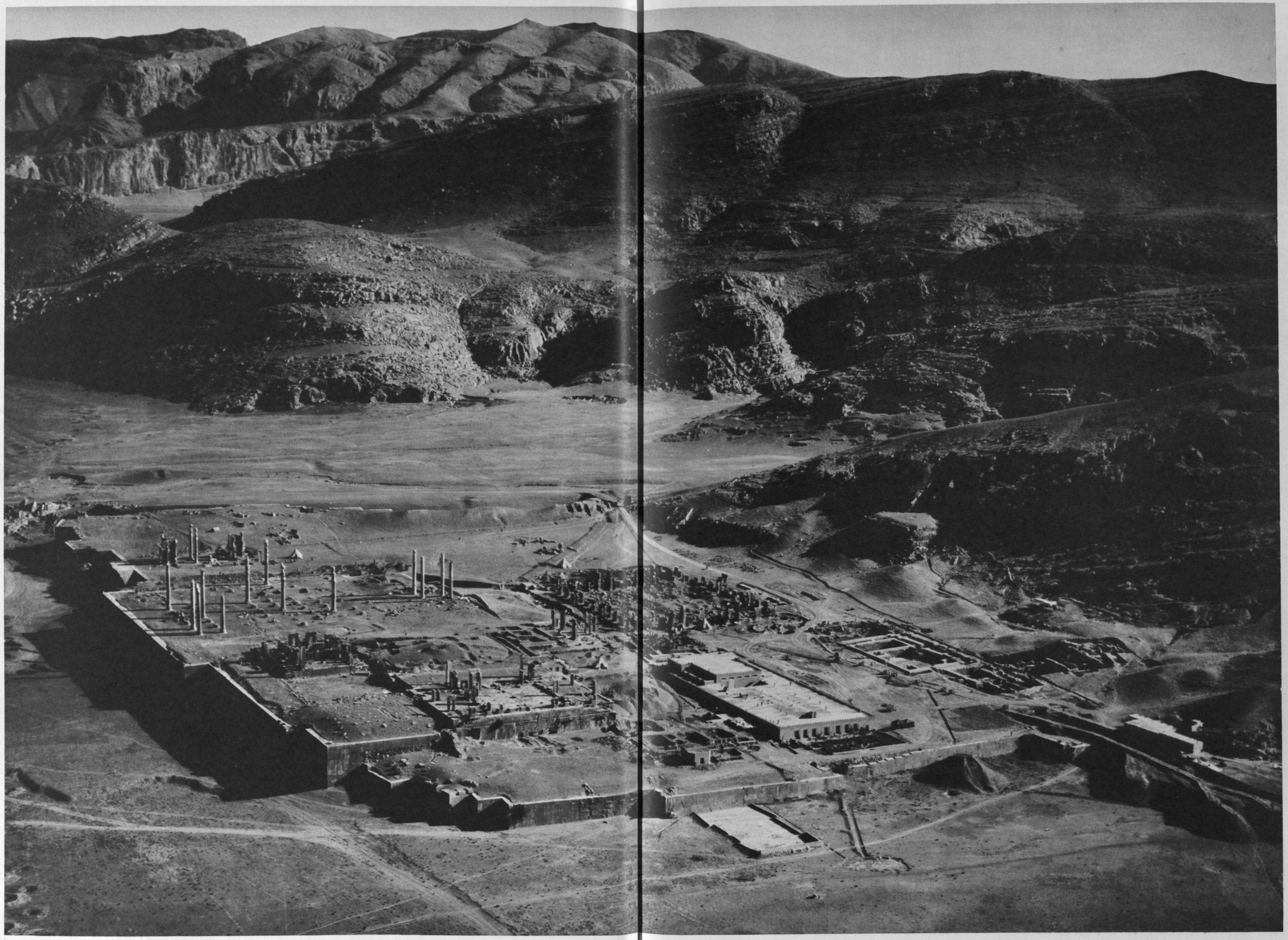
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THE TERRACE FOUNDATION AND THE GATE OF XERXES

PLATES 1–14

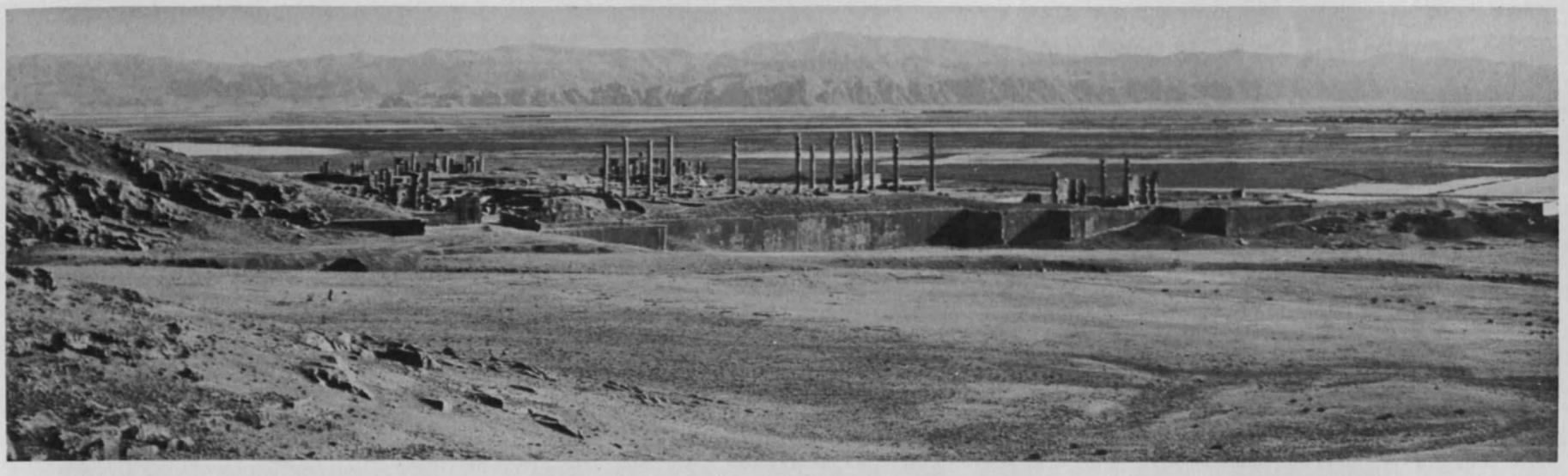
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PLATE 1

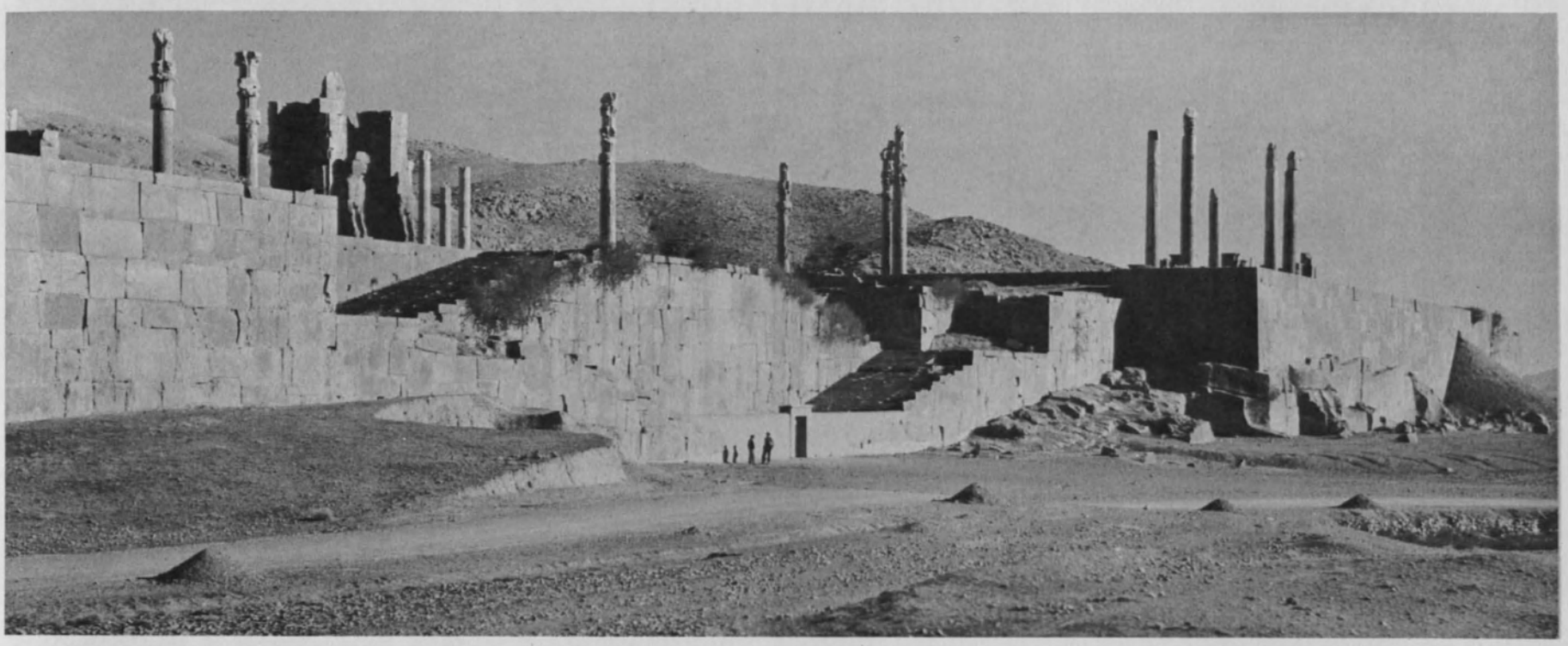


TERRACE OF PERSEPOLIS. OBLIQUE AIR VIEW (*MAY 4, 1937; 7:21 A.M.; DIRECTION, N*)

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A



B



C

TERRACE. *A.* NORTH FACE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*). *B.* WEST FACE AND STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSE*). *C.* SOUTHERN PART OF WEST FACE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, APPROXIMATELY N*)

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TERRACE. OBLIQUE AIR VIEW (*MAY 19, 1937; 6:56 A.M.; DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY NW*)

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PLATE 4



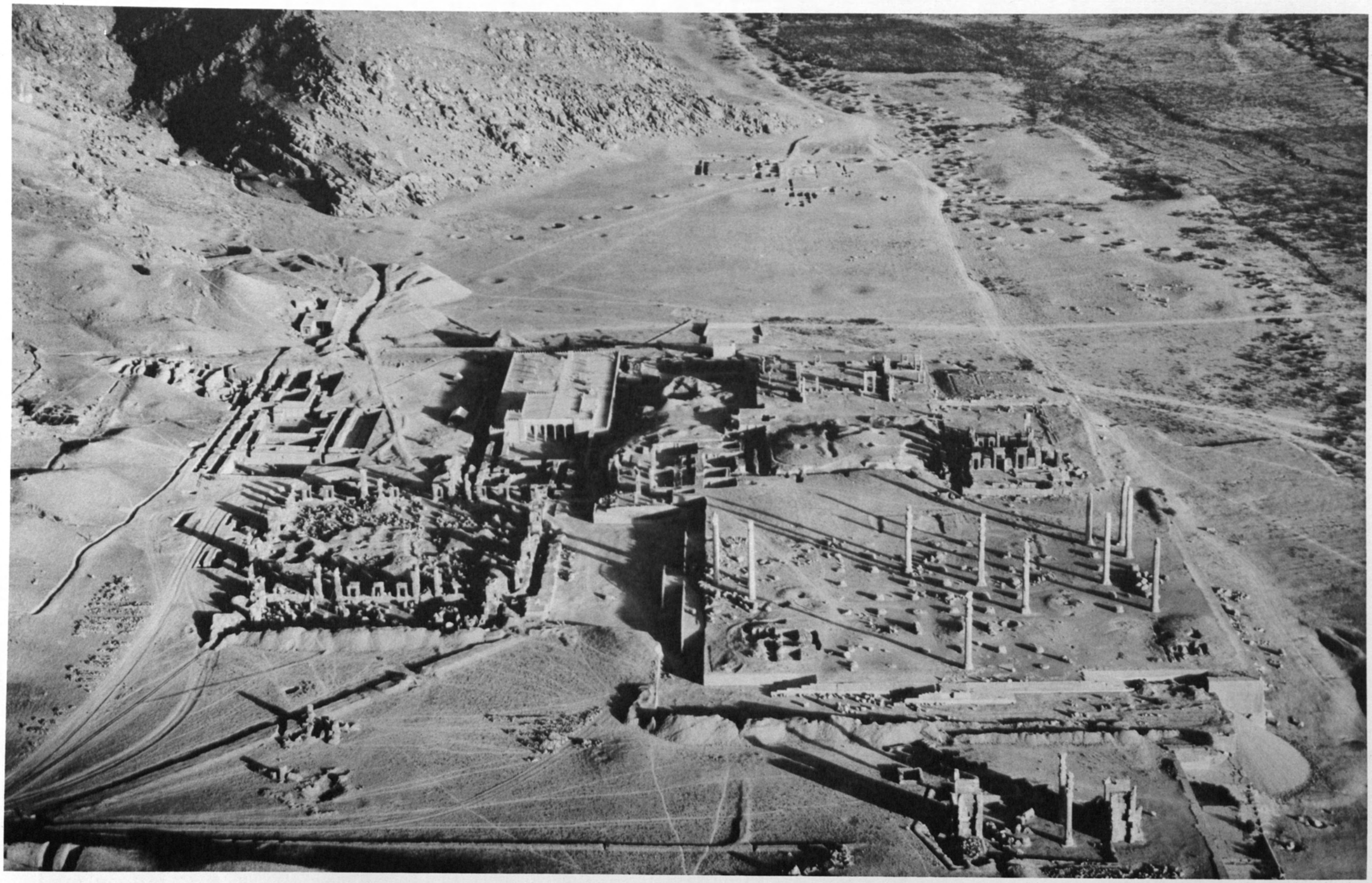
TERRACE AND ENVIRONS. VERTICAL AIR VIEW (*APRIL 2, 1936; 7:32 A.M.*)

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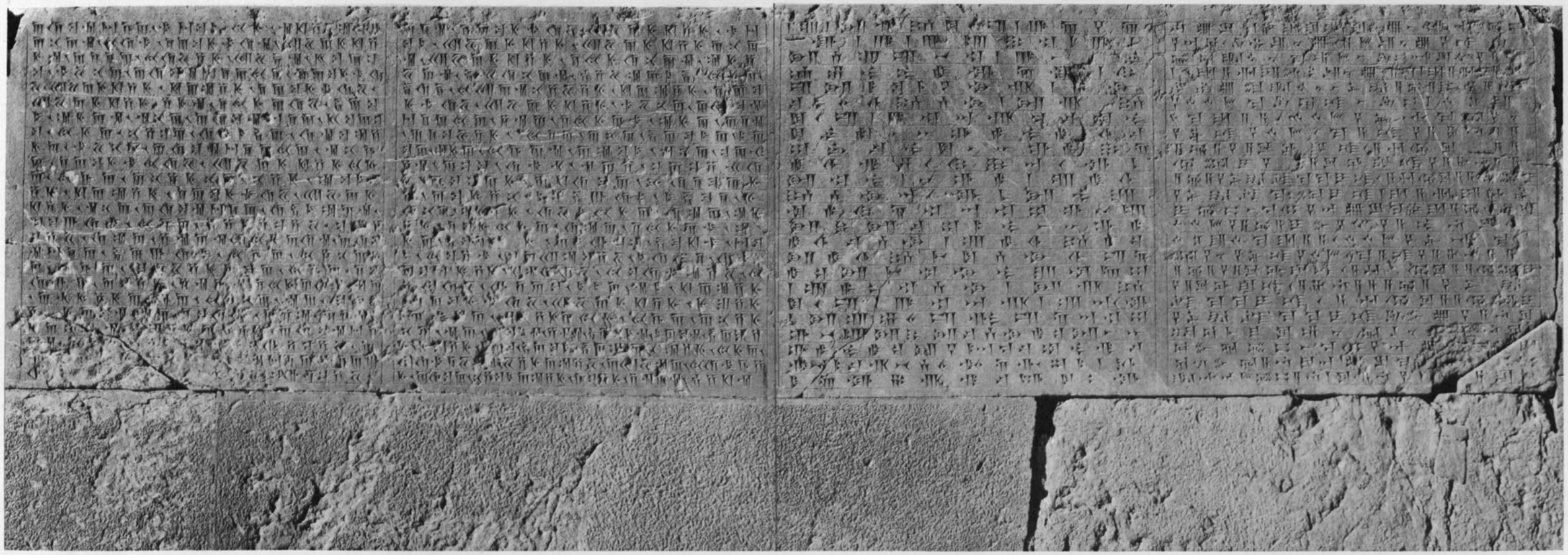
TERRACE. VERTICAL AIR VIEW (*MAY 19, 1937; 7:18 A.M.*)

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TERRACE. OBLIQUE AIR VIEW (*JUNE 11, 1937; 6:10 P.M.; DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY SSE*)

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A *B* *C* *D*

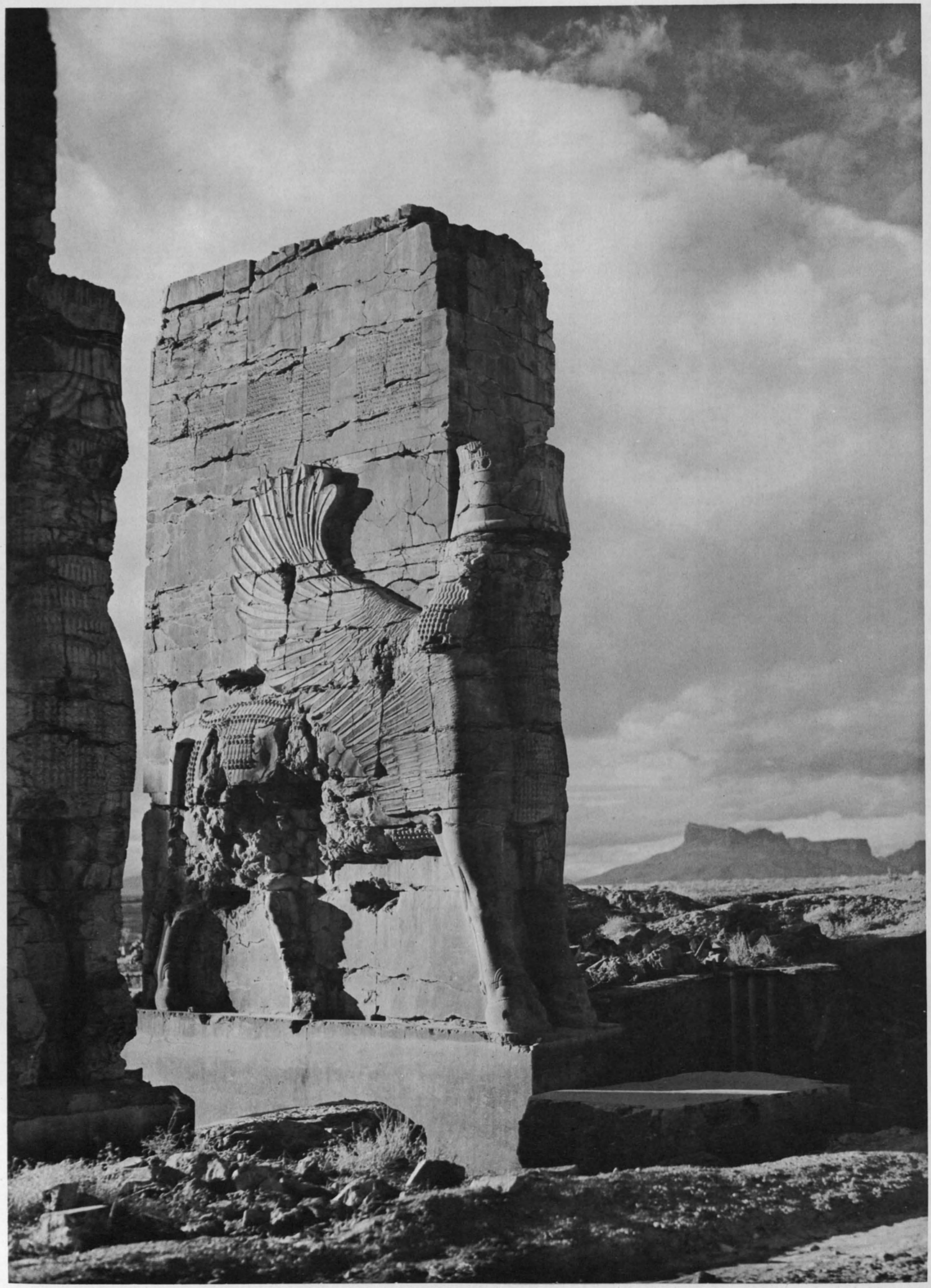
TERRACE. FOUNDATION INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS I ON SOUTH FACE. SCALE, ABOUT 1:21. *A*. DAR. PERS. d (OP). *B*. DAR. PERS. e (OP). *C*. DAR. PERS. f (EL.). *D*. DAR. PERS. g (BAB.)

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TERRACE STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*)

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GATE OF XERXES. GUARDIAN MAN-BULL AND INSCRIPTION ON NORTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY
(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW*)

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PLATE 10



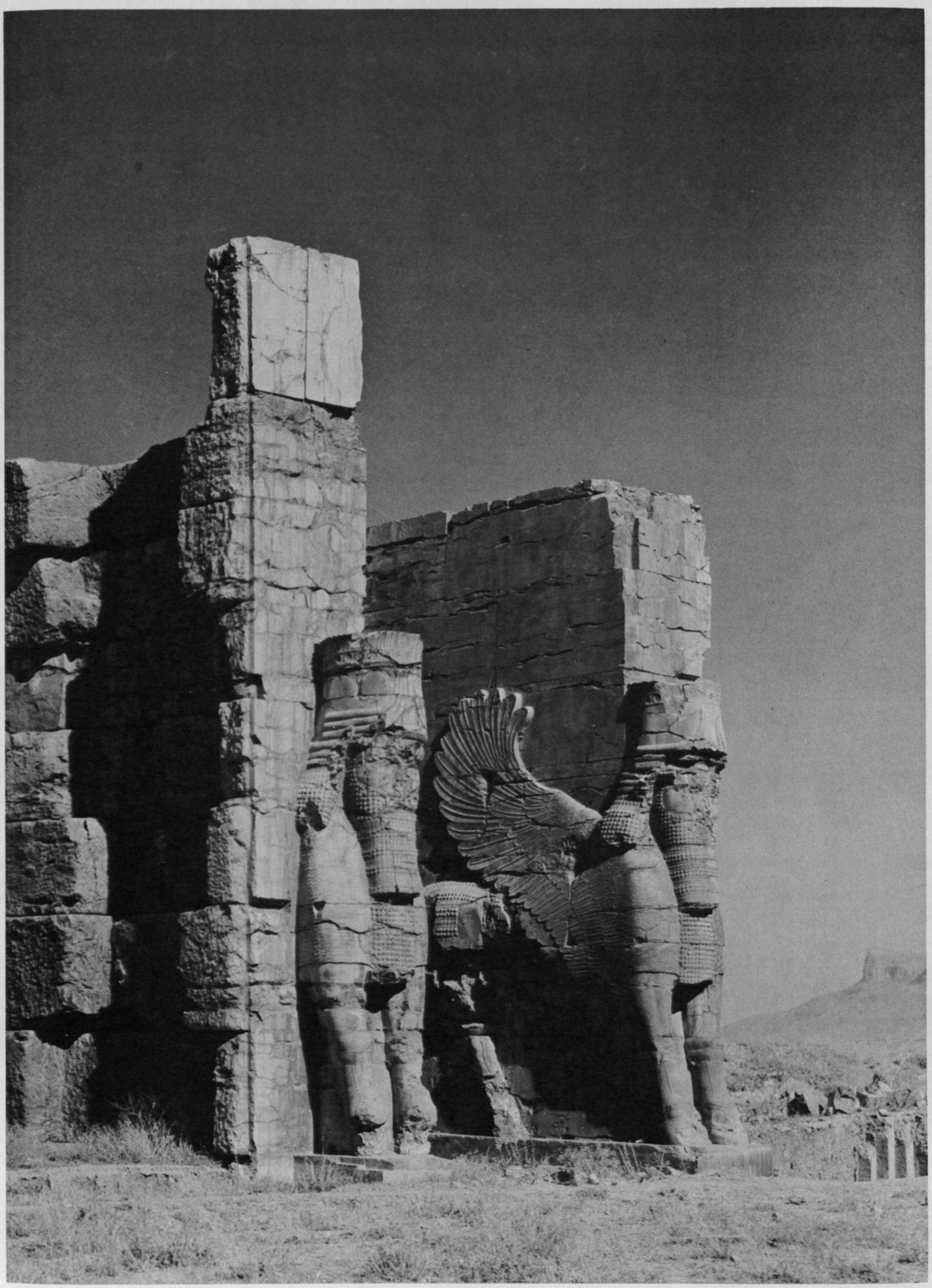
A



B

GATE OF XERXES. *A*. GUARDIAN BULLS OF WESTERN DOORWAY, WITH TOP LANDING OF TERRACE STAIRS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*). *B*. GUARDIAN BULLS AND TWO COLUMNS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NE*)

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GATE OF XERXES. GUARDIAN MAN-BULLS OF EASTERN DOORWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW*)

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PLATE 12



A



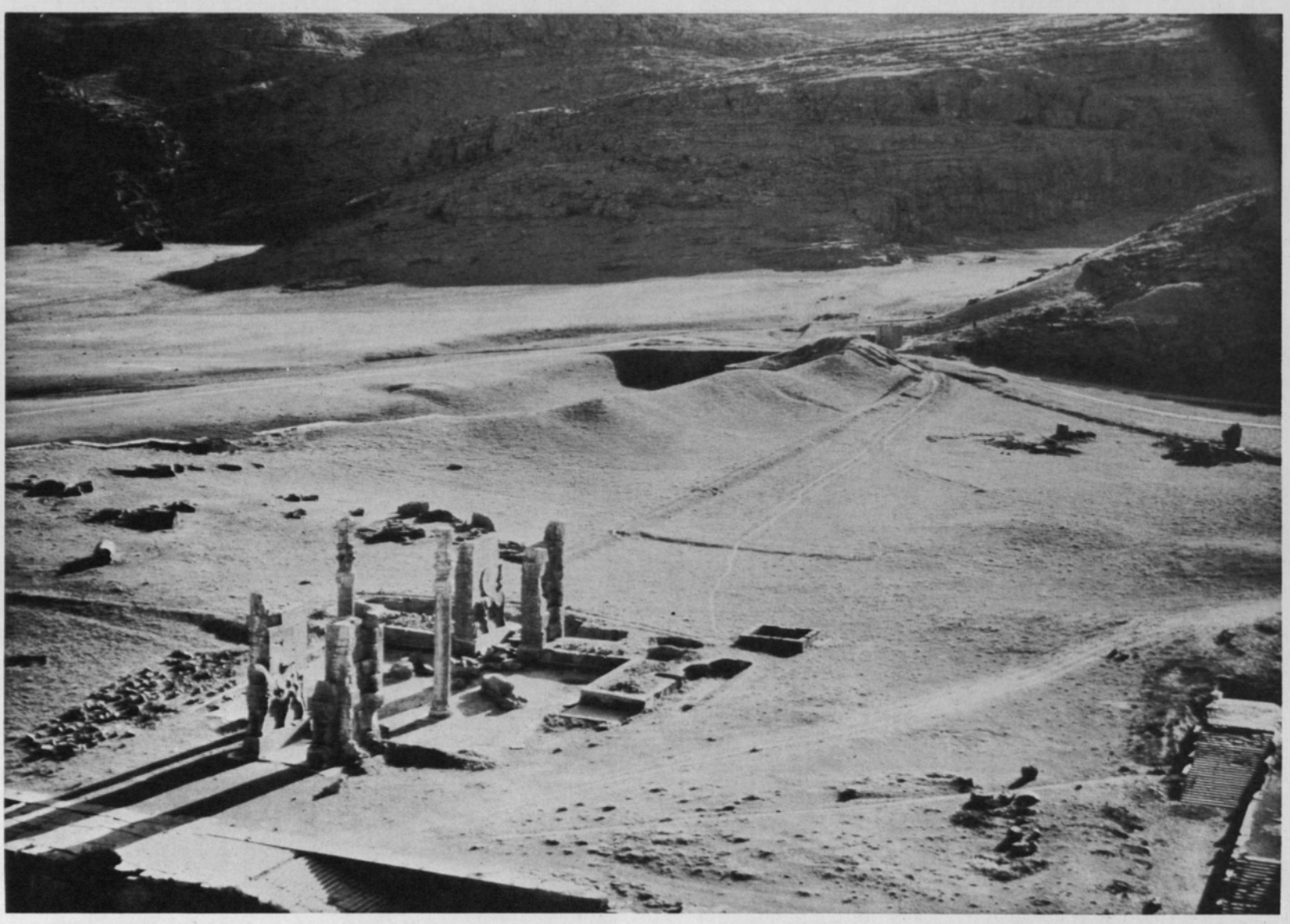
B

GATE OF XERXES. *A*. GUARDIAN BULL AT SOUTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*).
B. GENERAL VIEW, WITH TANK IN CENTER FOREGROUND (*DIRECTION, WNW*)

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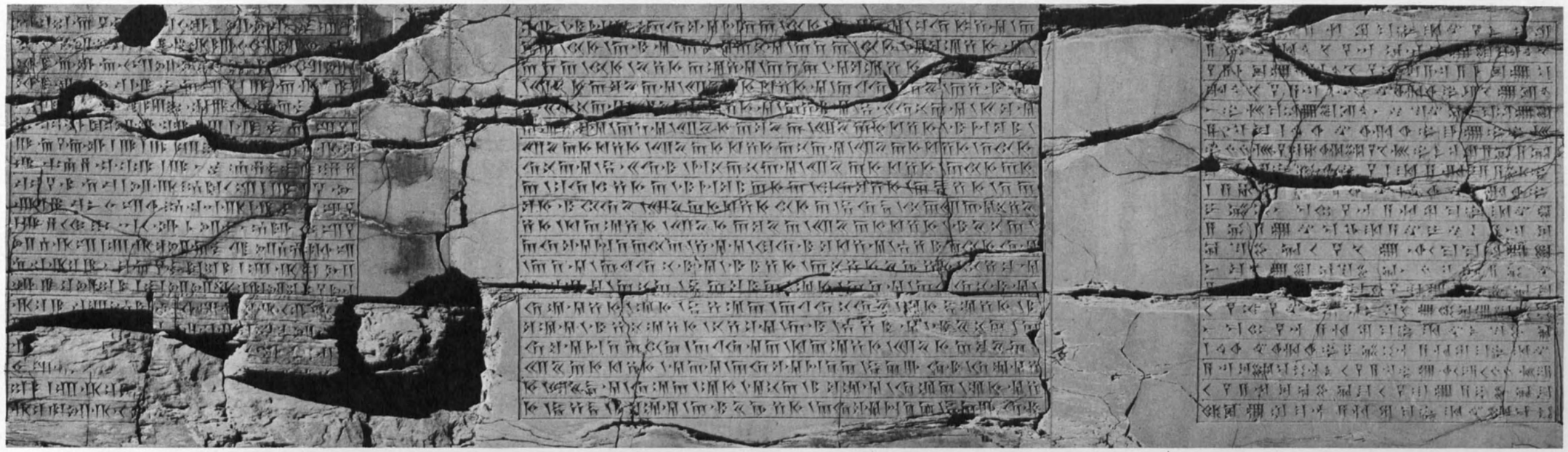
A



B

GATE OF XERXES. *A*. REMNANTS OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, S*). *B*. AIR VIEW, WITH NORTHERN SECTION OF TERRACE (*MAY 8, 1936; 6:40 A.M.; DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY NE*)

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A



B

GATE OF XERXES. TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION (XERX. PERS. a). *A*. NORTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY.
B. NORTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY

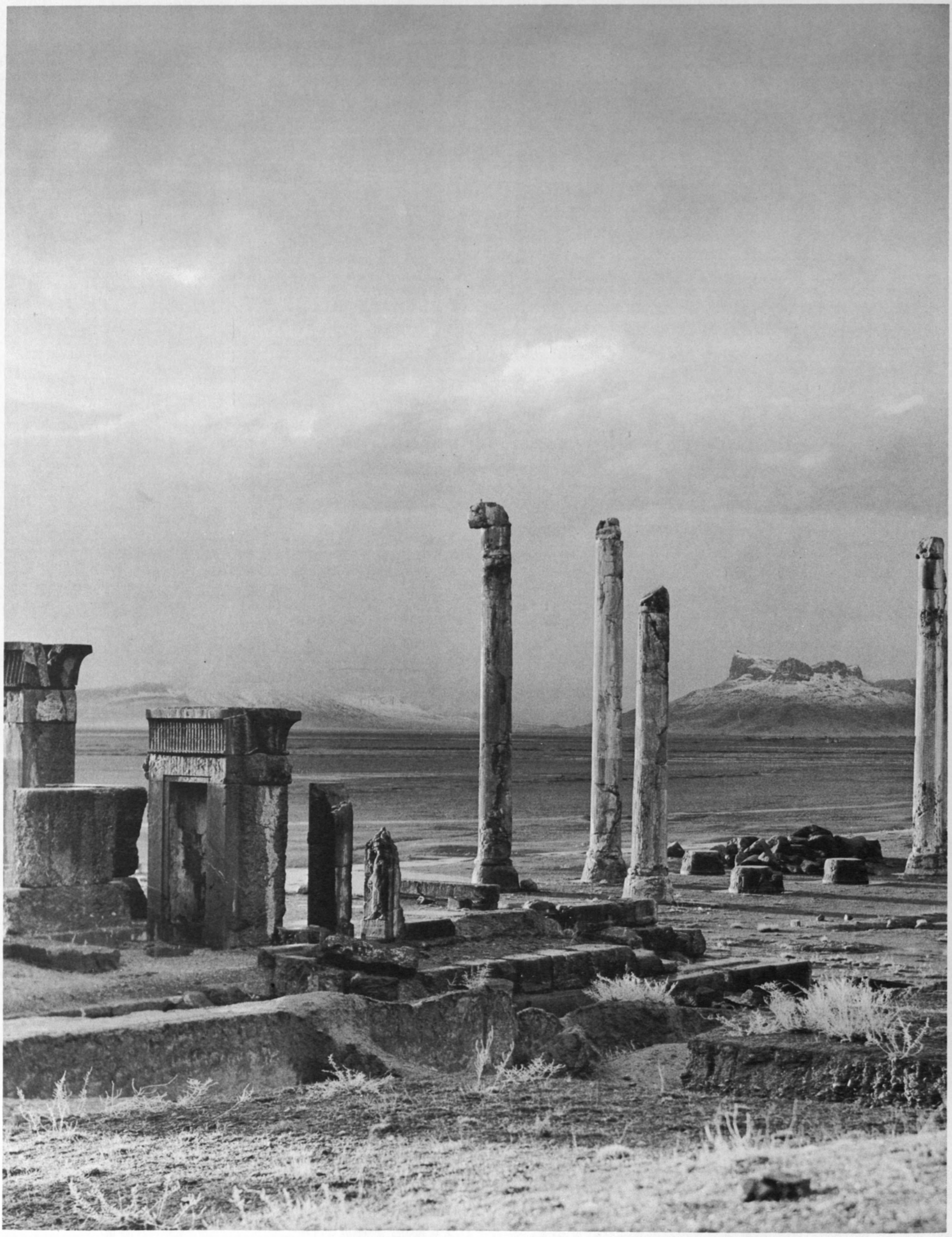
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THE APADANA

PLATES 15–61

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PLATE 15

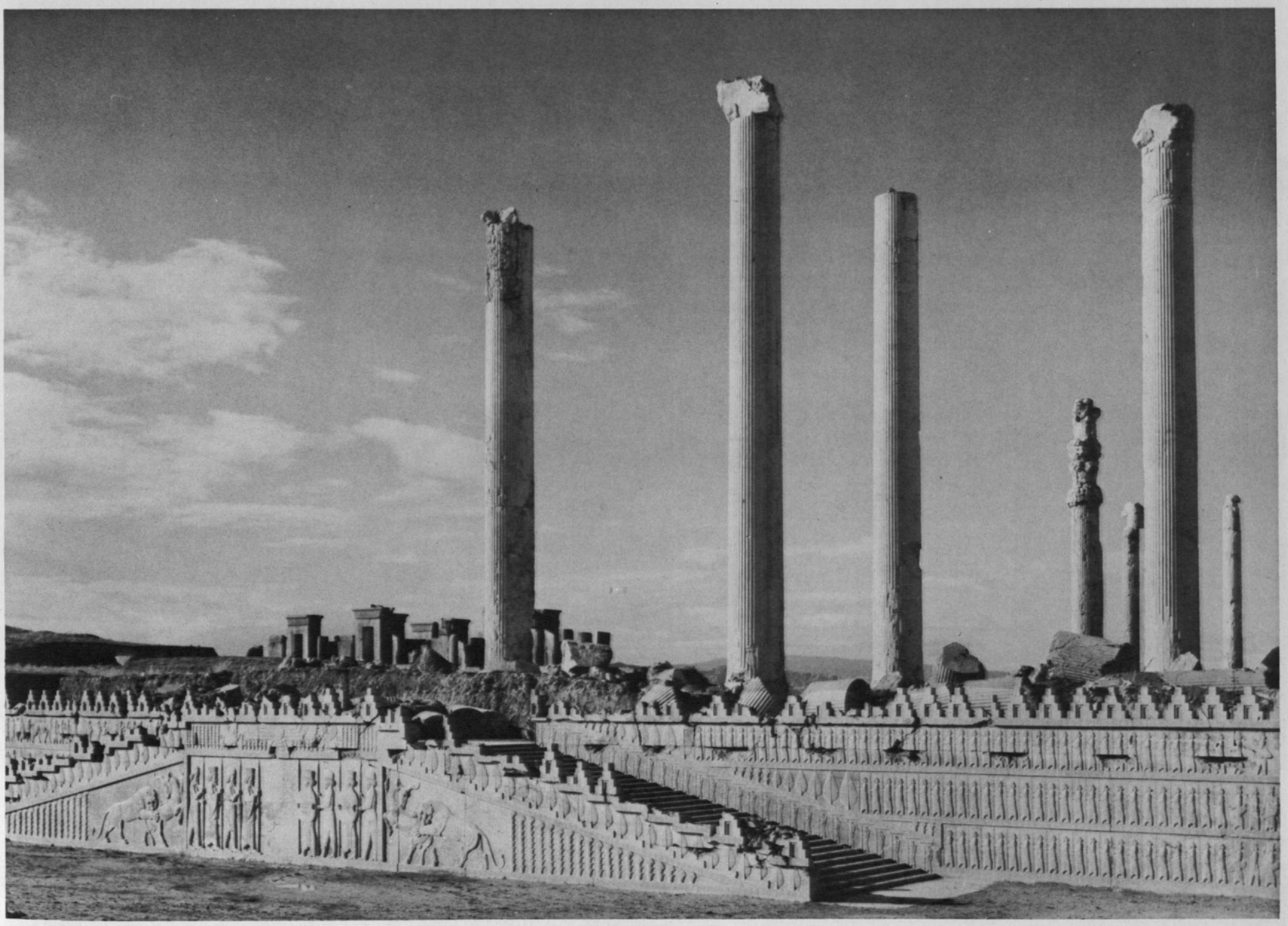


APADANA. COLUMNS OF WESTERN PORTICO, WITH REMNANTS OF DARIUS' PALACE AT LEFT (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW*)

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A

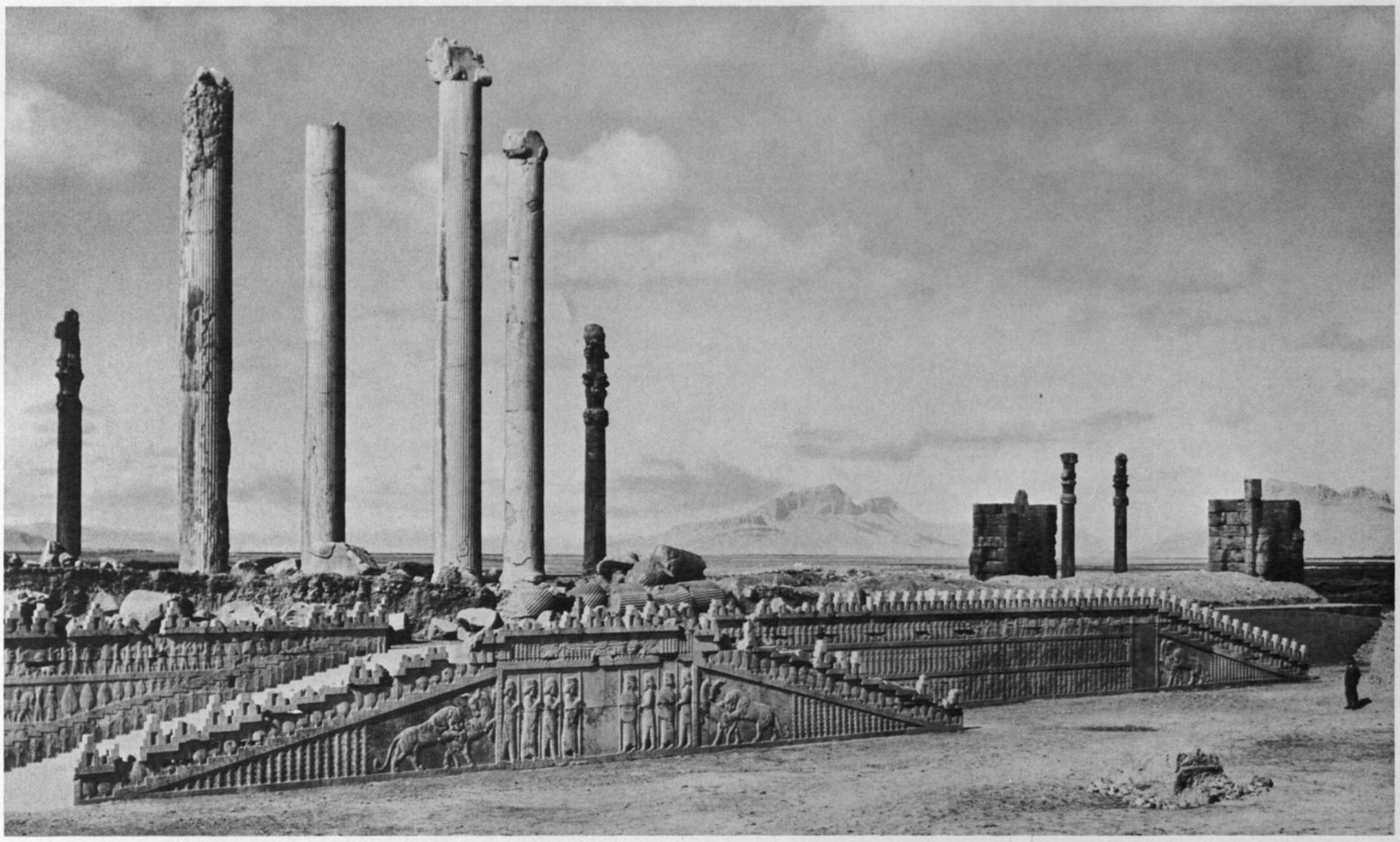


B

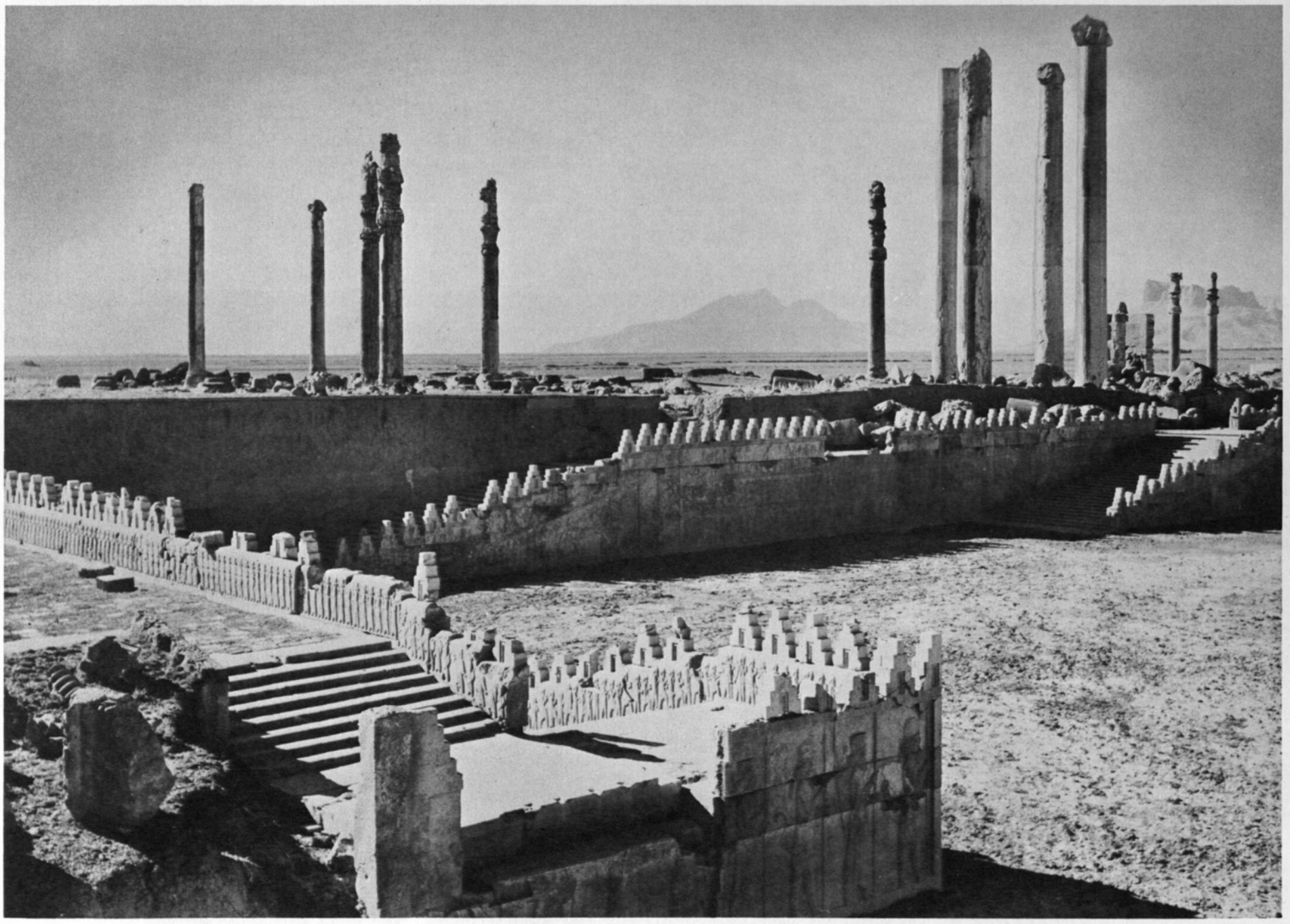
APADANA. *A*. GENERAL VIEW, WITH CREW AT WORK IN SOUTHERN SECTION AND GATE OF XERXES AT RIGHT (*DIRECTION, S*). *B*. PART OF EASTERN STAIRWAY, WITH DARIUS' PALACE IN BACKGROUND (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*)

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PLATE 17



A



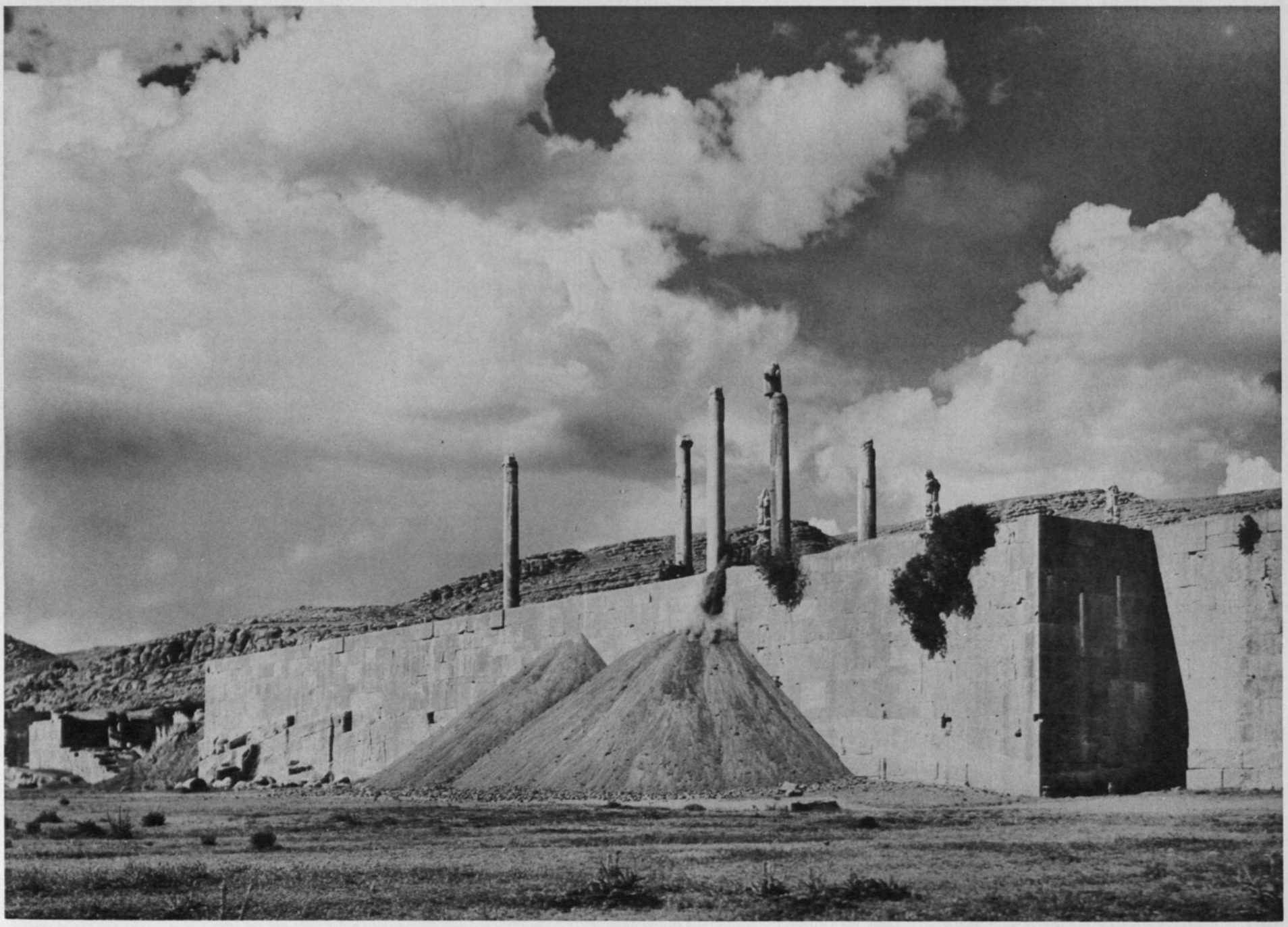
B

APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN PARTS, WITH GATE OF XERXES AT RIGHT (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW*). *B*. SOUTH WING, WITH COUNCIL HALL IN FOREGROUND (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

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A



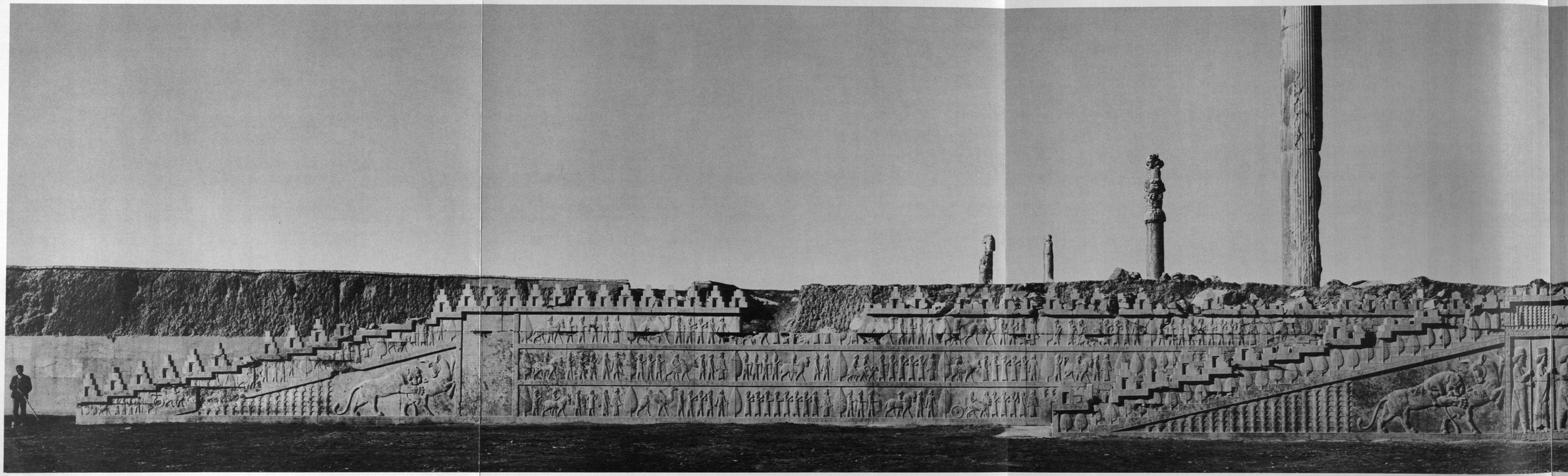
B

APADANA. *A*. GENERAL VIEW, WITH UNFINISHED GATE OF THRONE HALL IN FOREGROUND (*DIRECTION, SW*).
B. COLUMNS ABOVE WESTERN FACE OF TERRACE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NE*)

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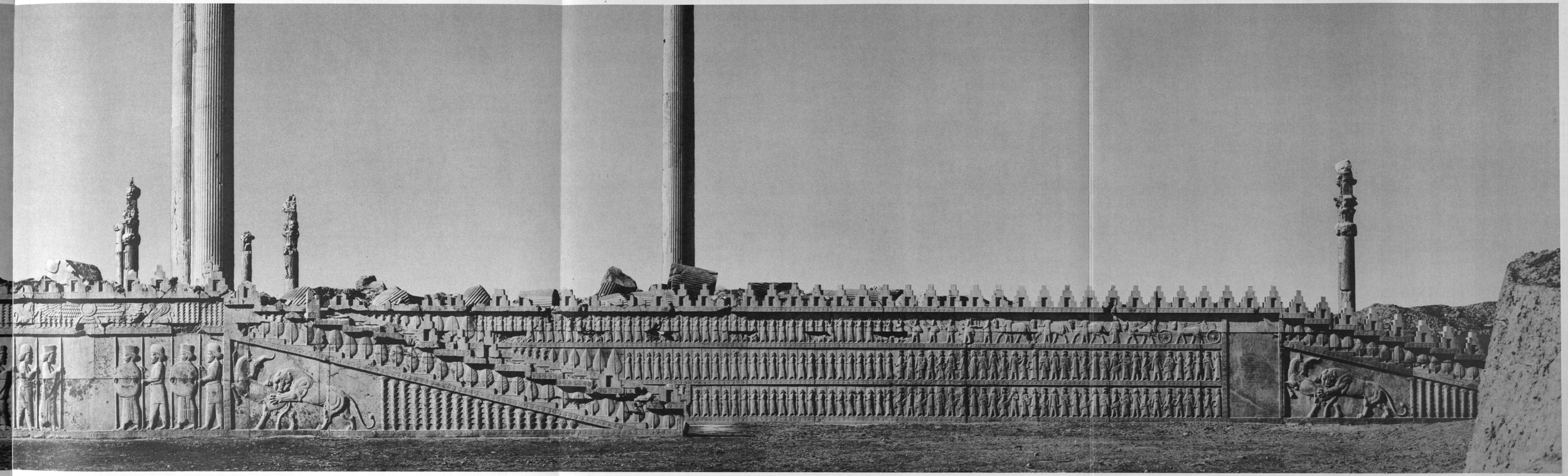
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APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY

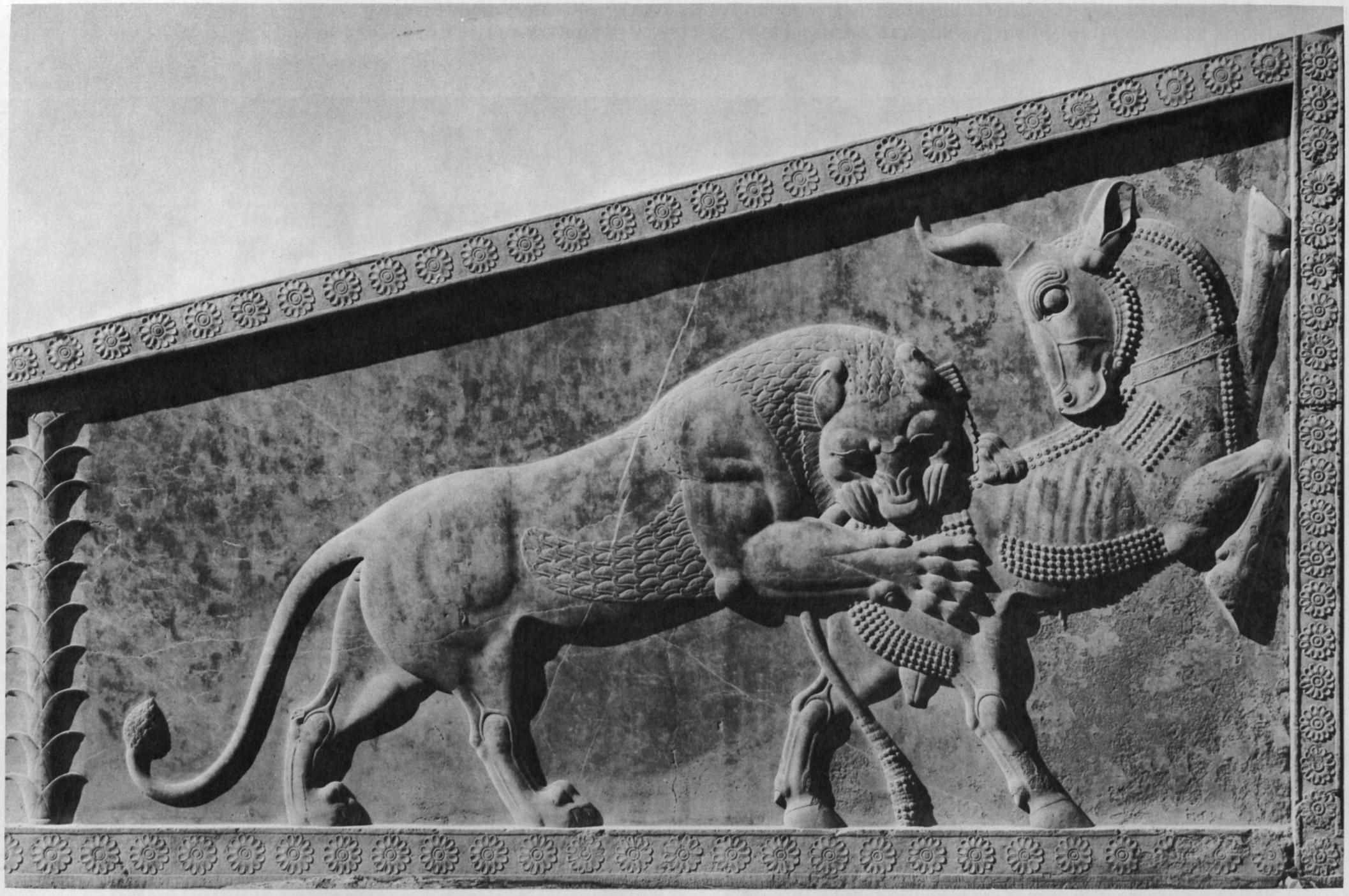
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(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WSW*). SCALE, ABOUT 1:50

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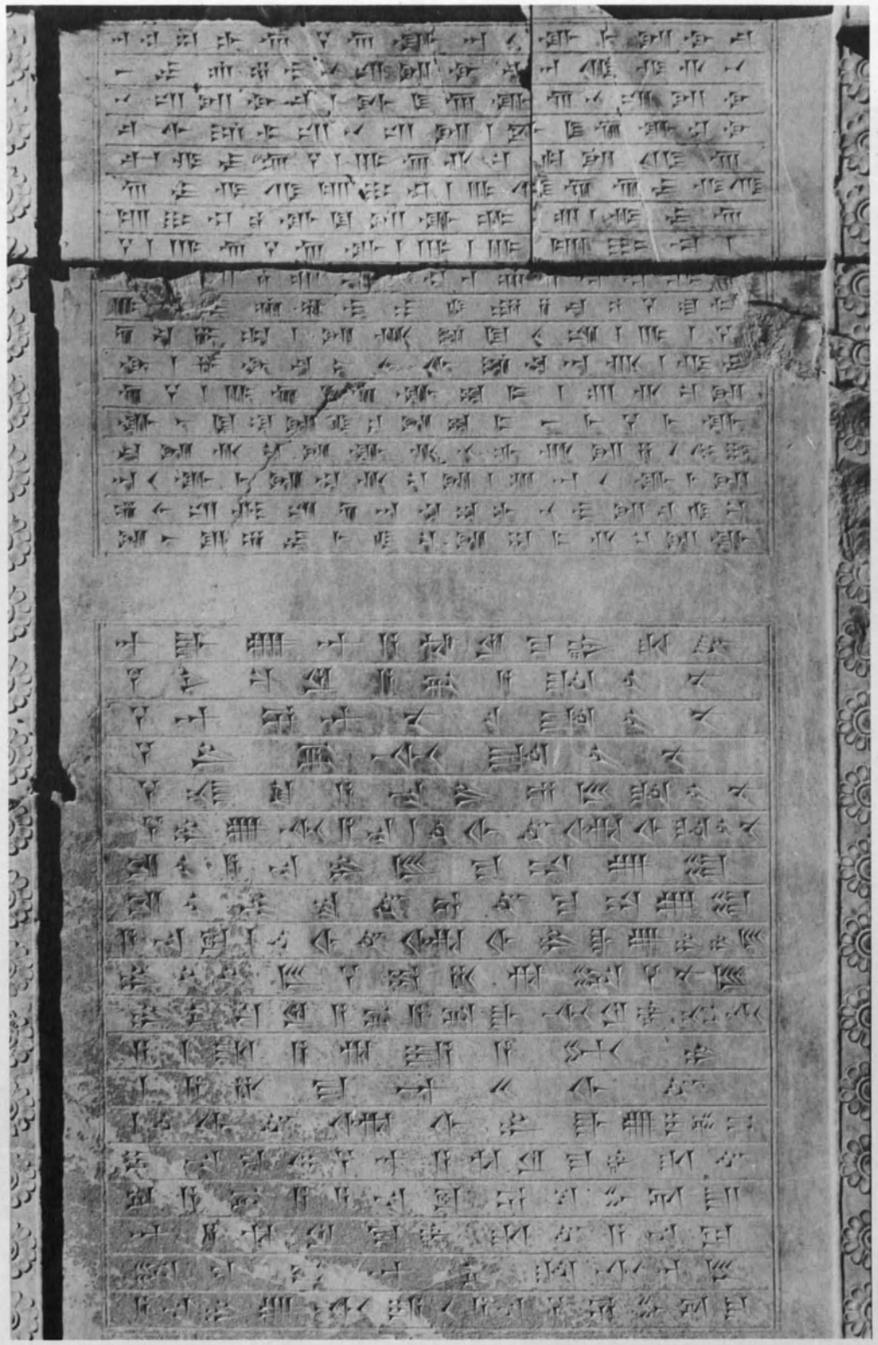


APADANA. LION-AND-BULL PANEL ON SOUTHERN SECTION OF CENTRAL FAÇADE OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12

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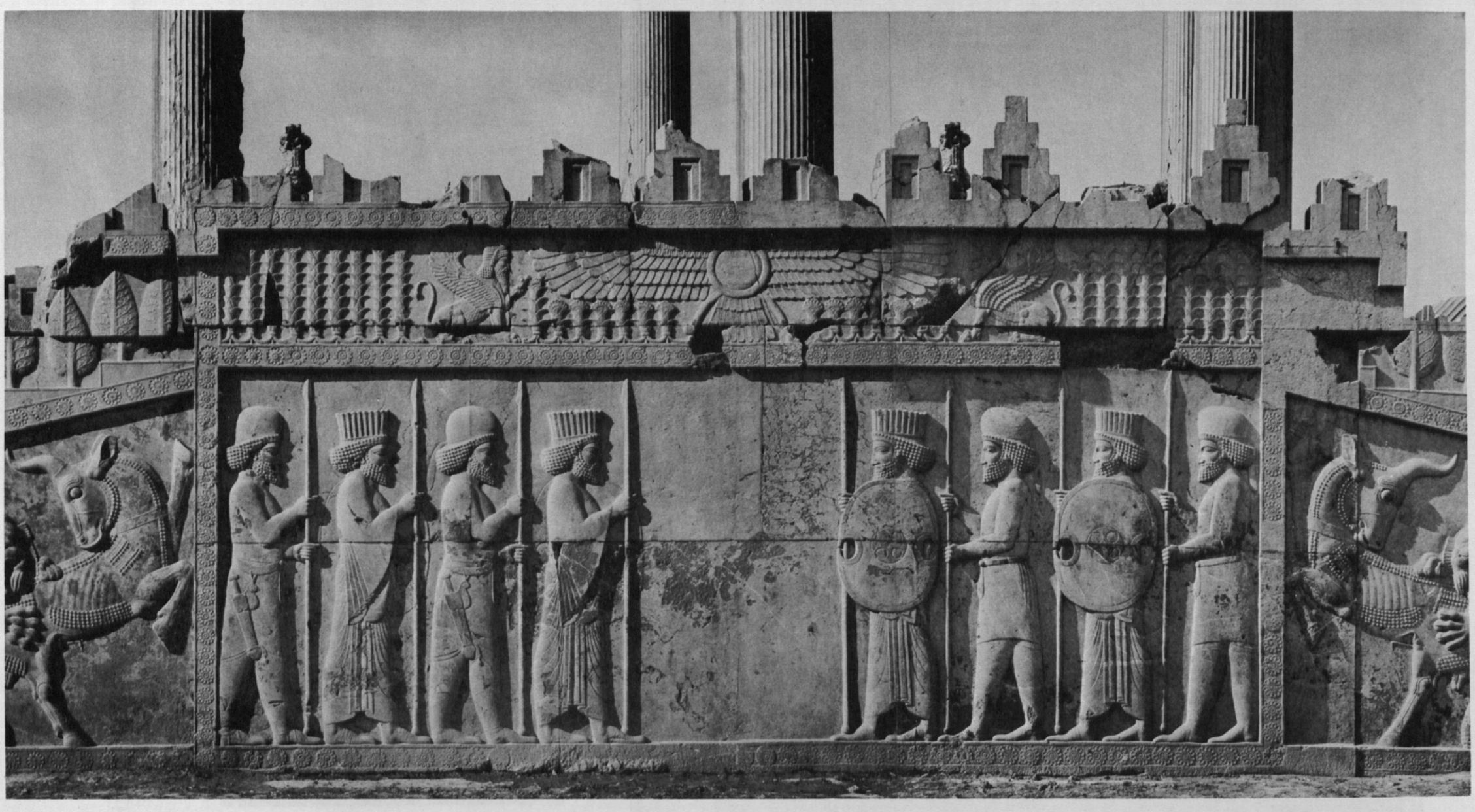
A



B

APADANA. INSCRIPTION OF XERXES ON EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A*. OLD PERSIAN TEXT ON FAÇADE OF SOUTHERN INNER FLIGHT. *B*. ELAMITE AND BABYLONIAN TEXTS ON FAÇADE OF NORTHERN INNER FLIGHT

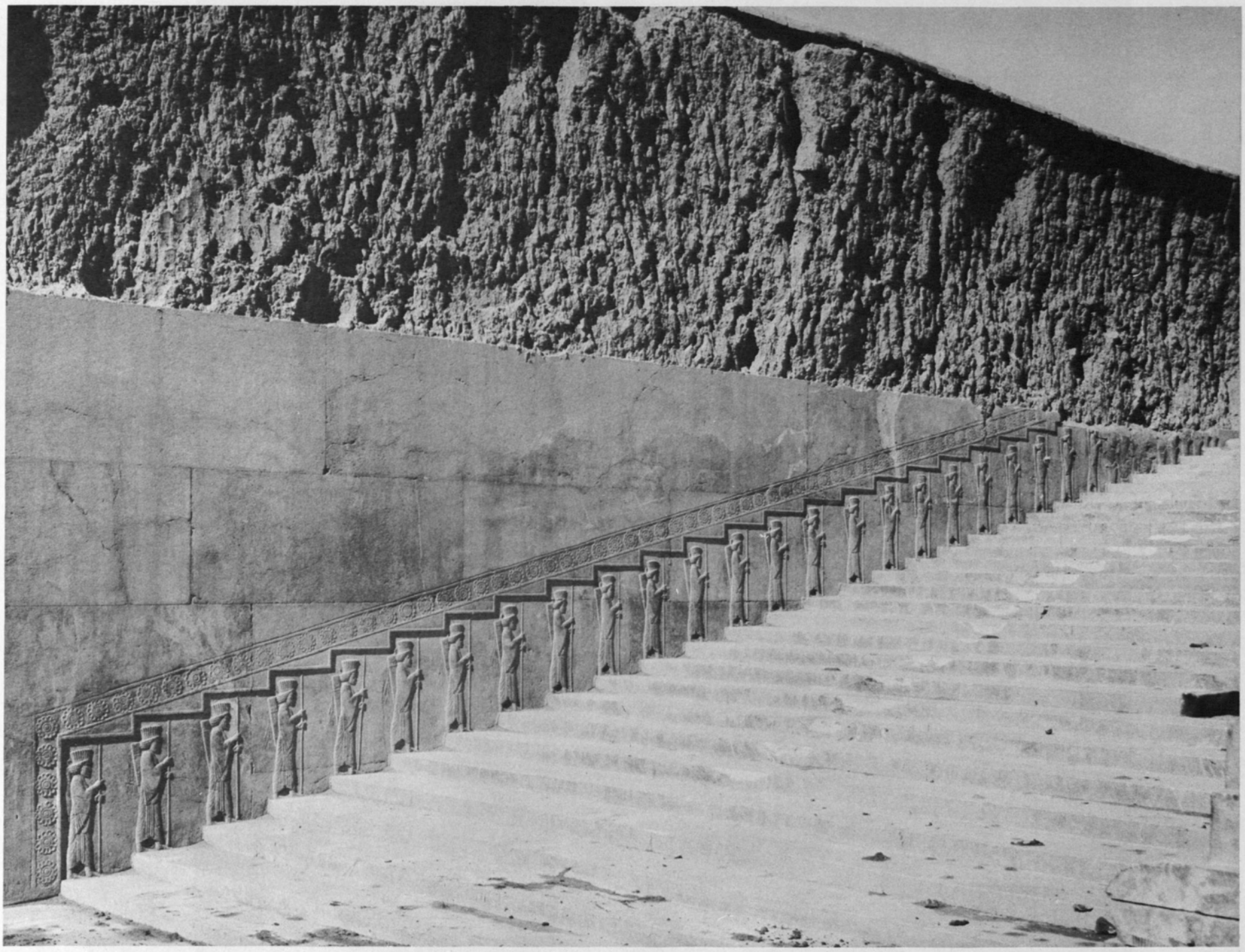
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APADANA. CENTRAL SCENE ON FAÇADE OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:25

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PLATE 23



A



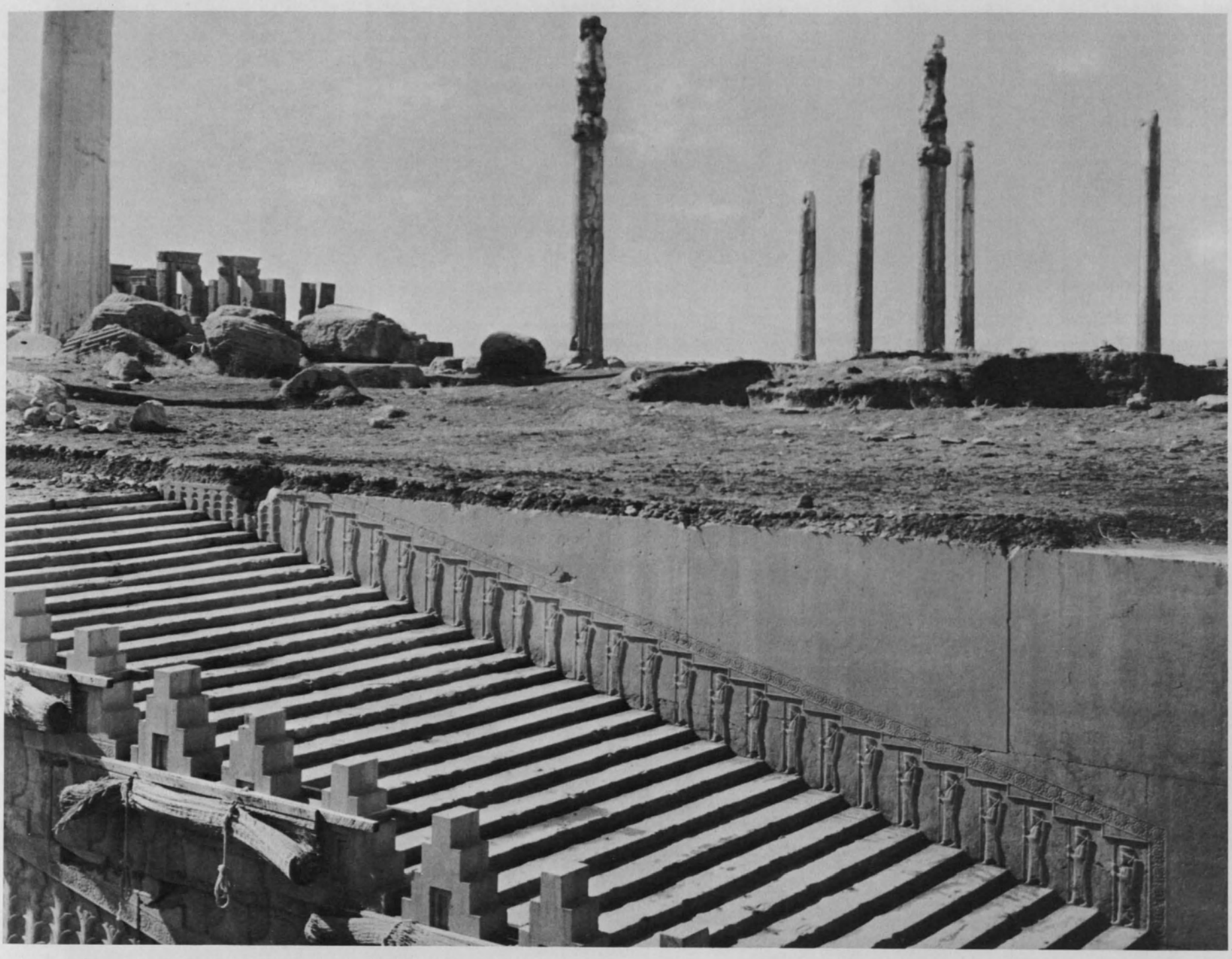
B



C

APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. FILE OF PERSIAN GUARDS ON WEST FACE OF SOUTHERN INNER FLIGHT. *B–C*. PAIRS OF PERSIAN GUARDS ON NEWELS OF SOUTHERN INNER AND OUTER FLIGHTS. SCALE, 1:12

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A



B

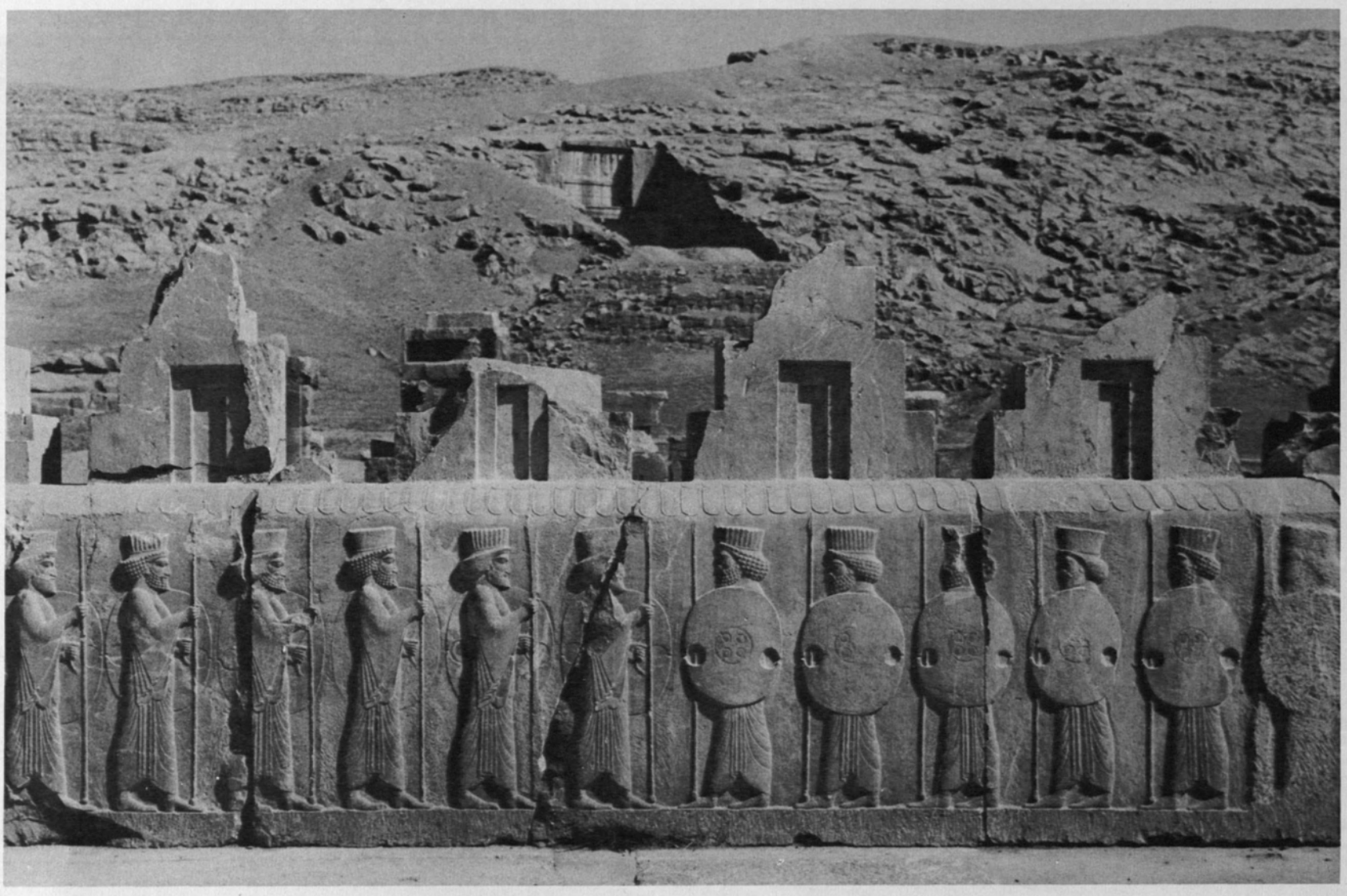


C

APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. FILE OF PERSIAN GUARDS ON WEST FACE OF NORTHERN INNER FLIGHT. *B–C*. PAIRS OF PERSIAN GUARDS ON NEWELS OF NORTHERN OUTER AND INNER FLIGHTS. SCALE, 1:12

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PLATE 25



A



B



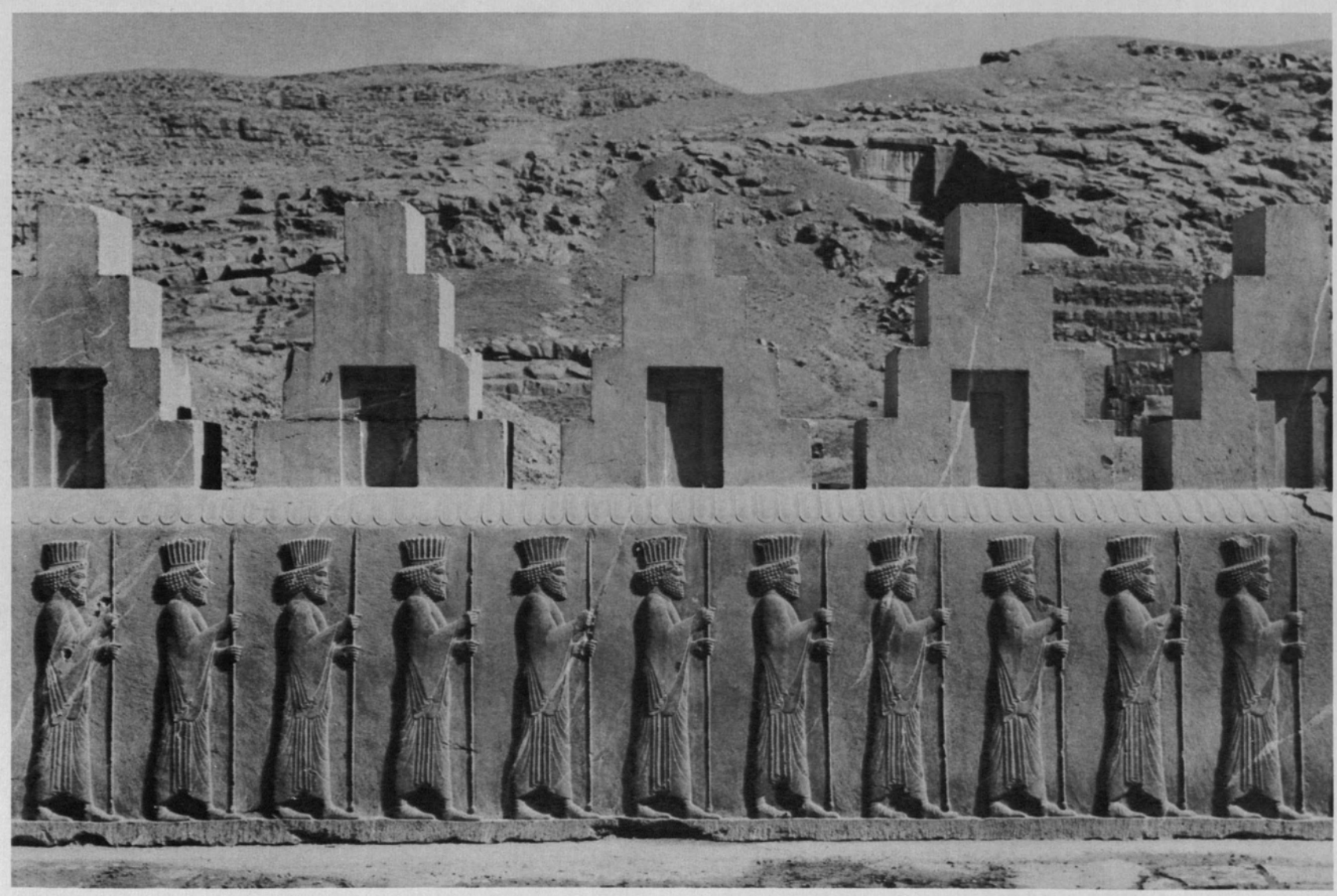
C

APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A*. ANTITHETIC FILES OF PERSIAN GUARDS IN CENTER OF WEST (INNER) FACE OF PARAPET BORDERING CENTRAL LANDING. *B–C*. PAIRS OF PERSIAN USHERS ON ENDS OF PARAPETS FLANKING OUTER LANDING ON NORTH AND SOUTH

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A



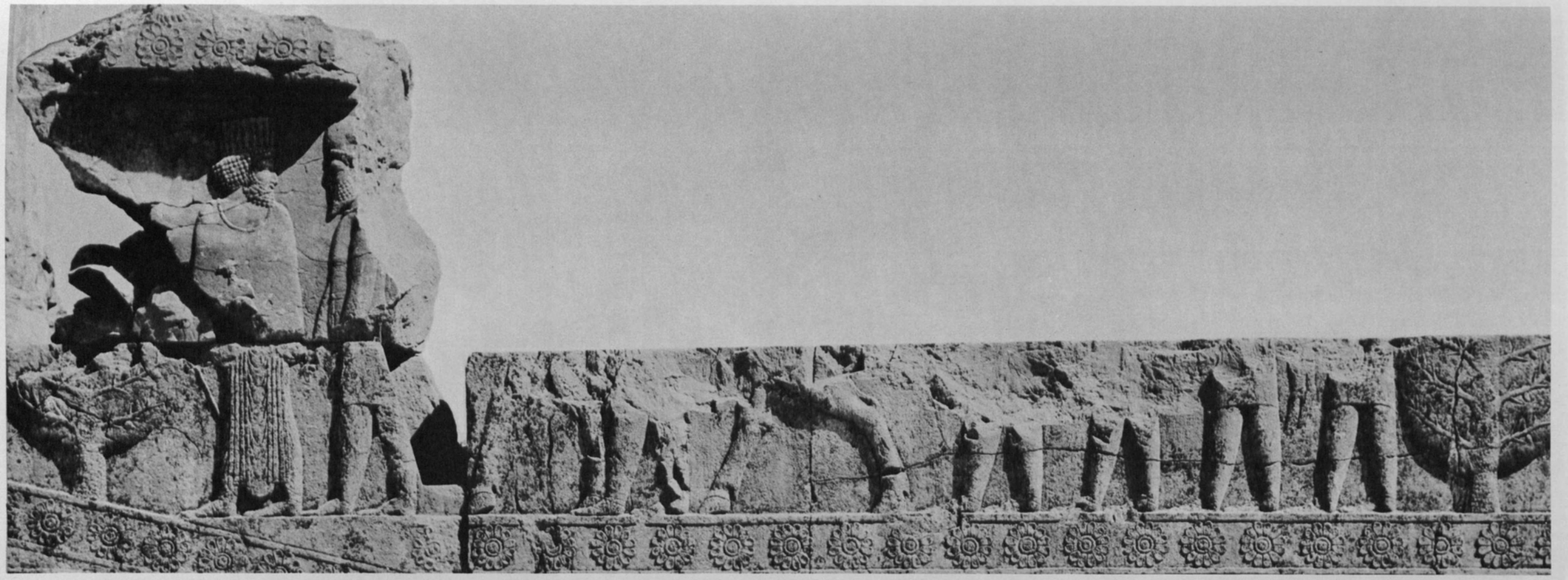
B

APADANA. EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A*. FILE OF PERSIAN GUARDS ON WEST FACE OF NORTHERN PARAPET OF INNER LANDING. *B*. PERSIAN GUARDS NORTH OF PRECEDING SCENE

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A



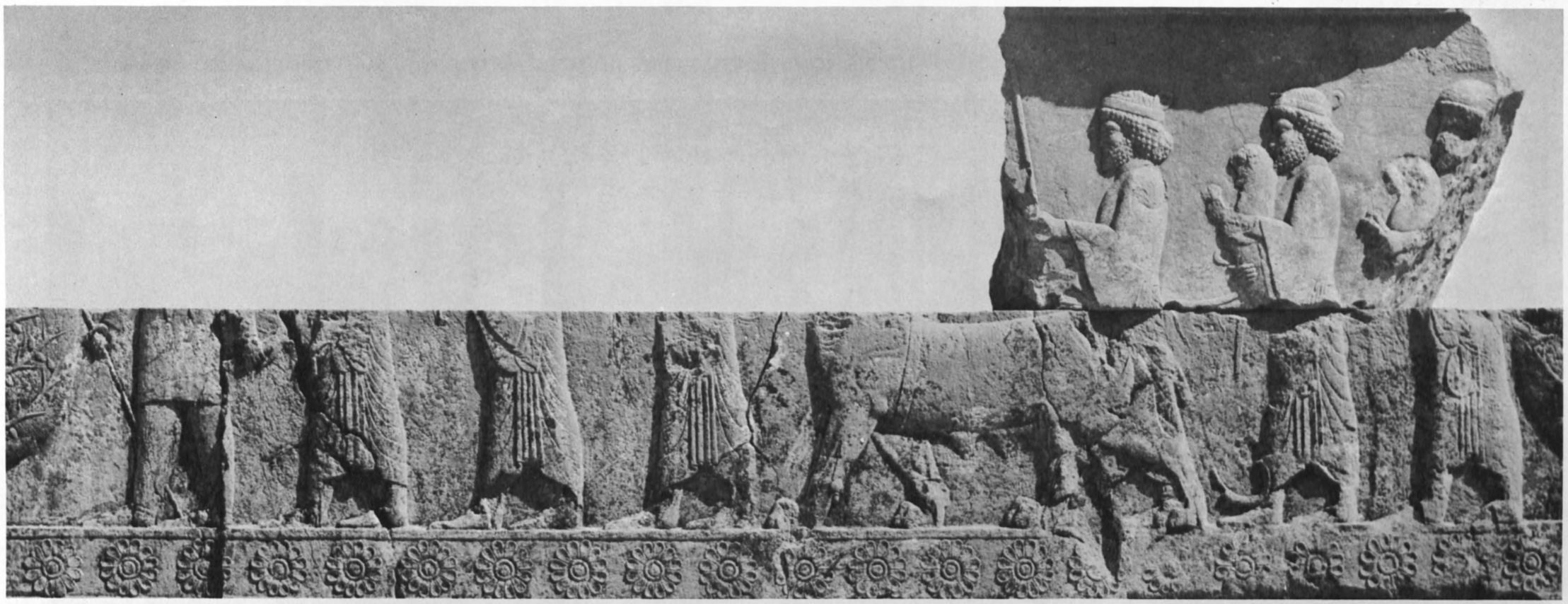
B



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 1: THE MEDES (SEE MĀDA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:10. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



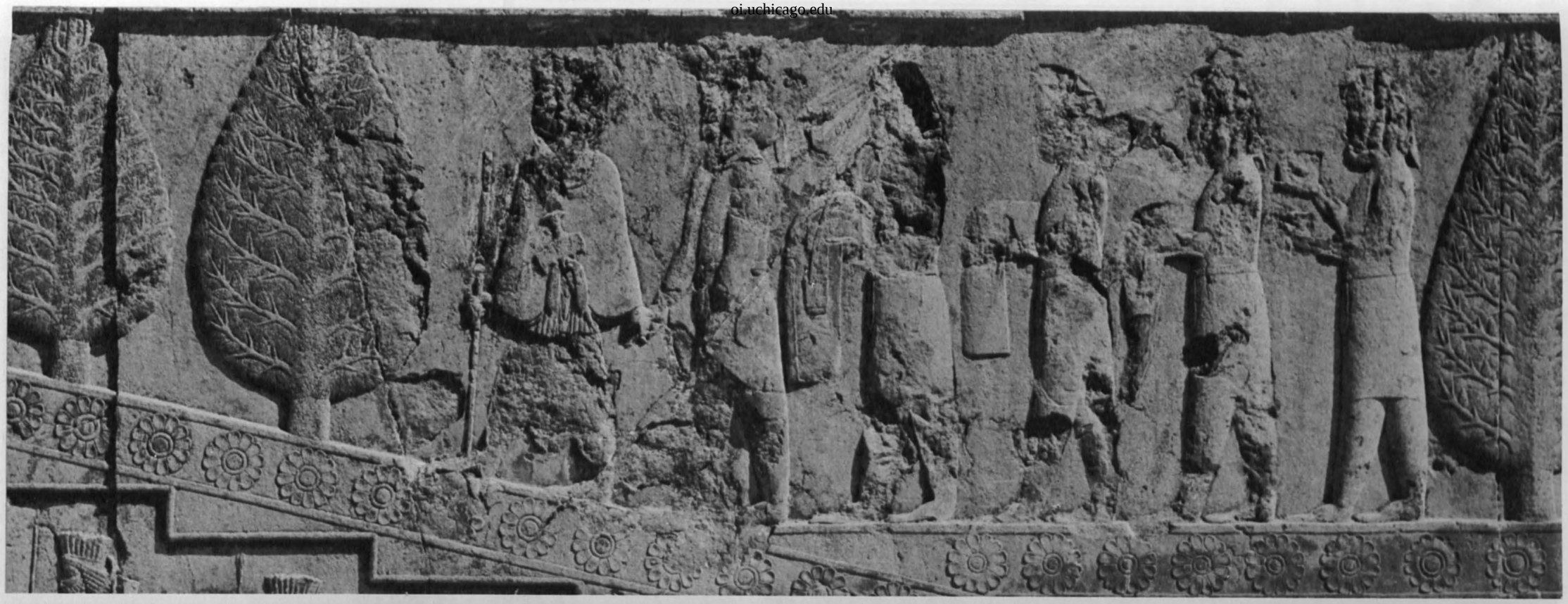
B



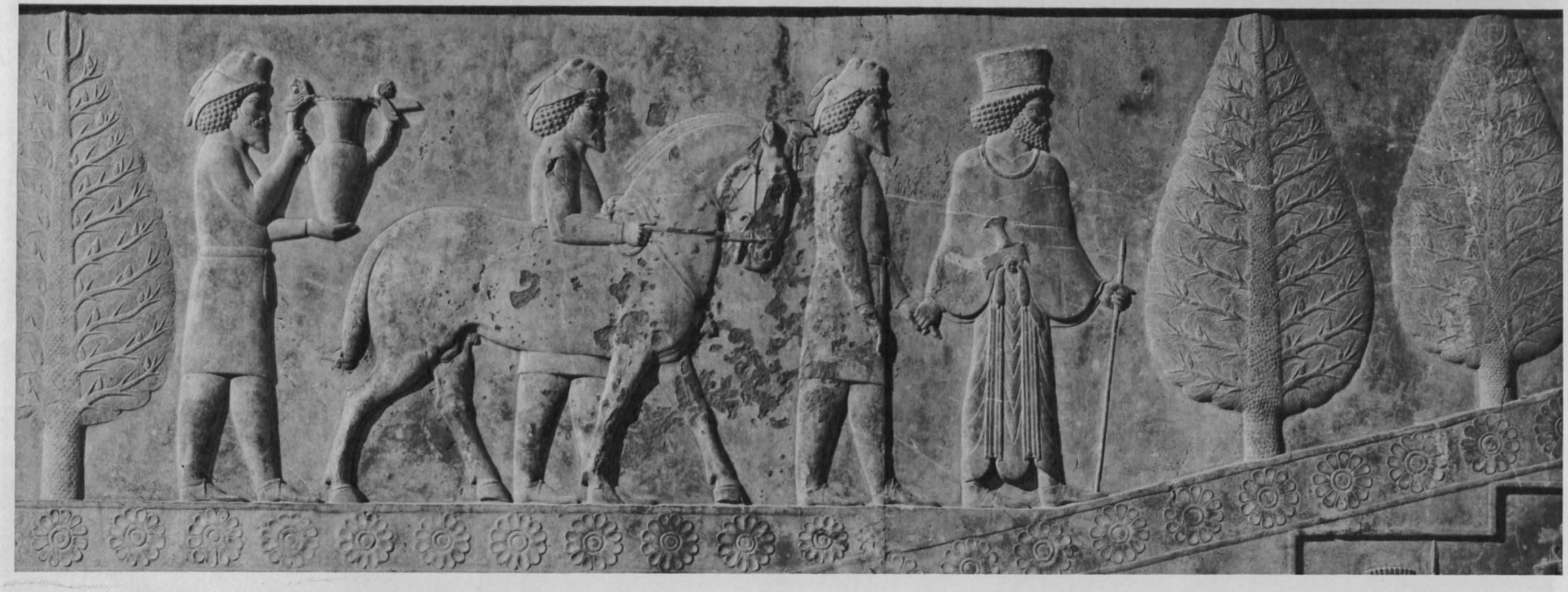
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 2: THE SUSIANS (SEE ŪVJA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A

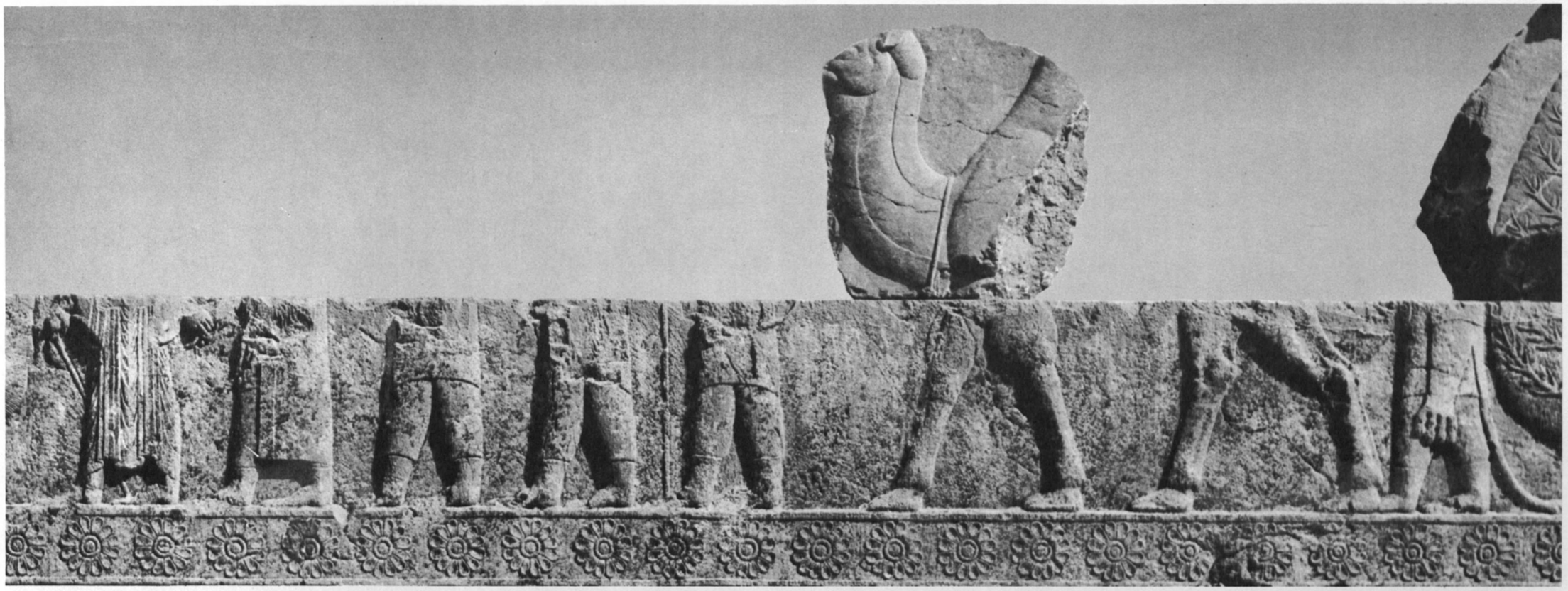


B

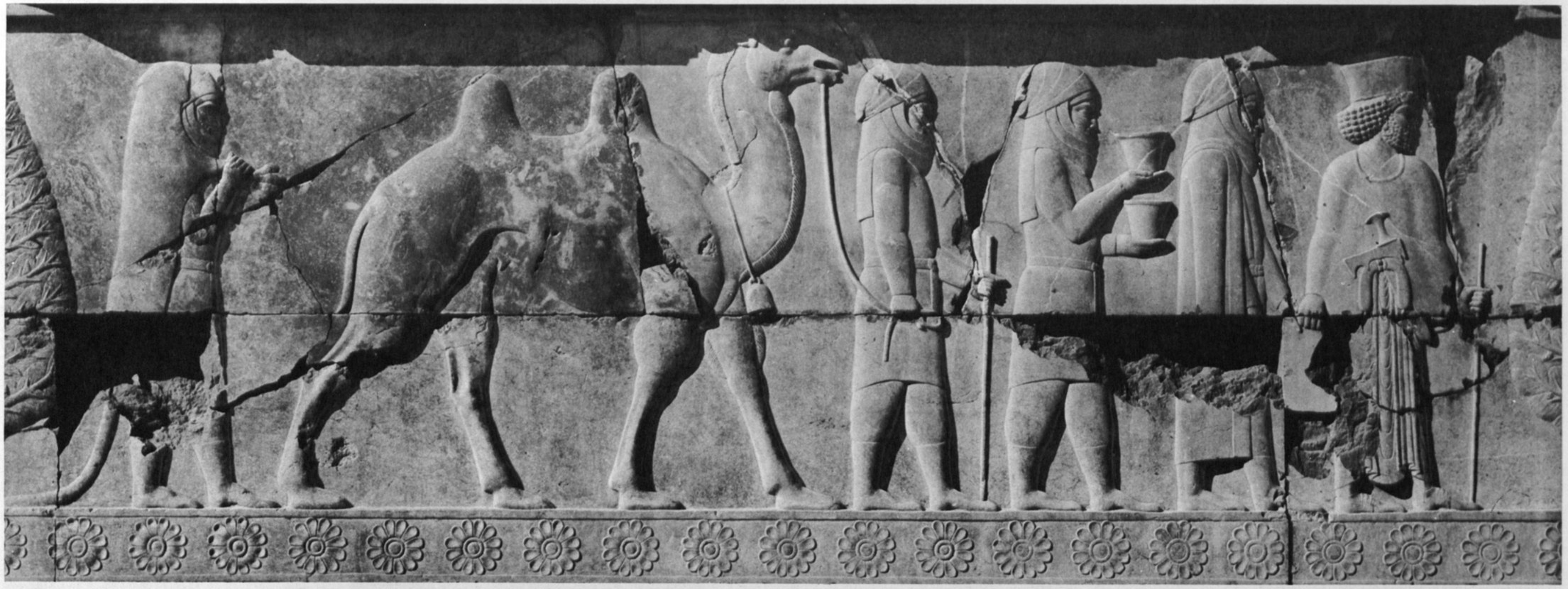


APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 3: THE ARMENIANS? (SEE ARMINA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 4: THE ARIANS? (SEE HARAIVA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A





B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 5: THE BABYLONIANS (SEE BĀBIRUŠ ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



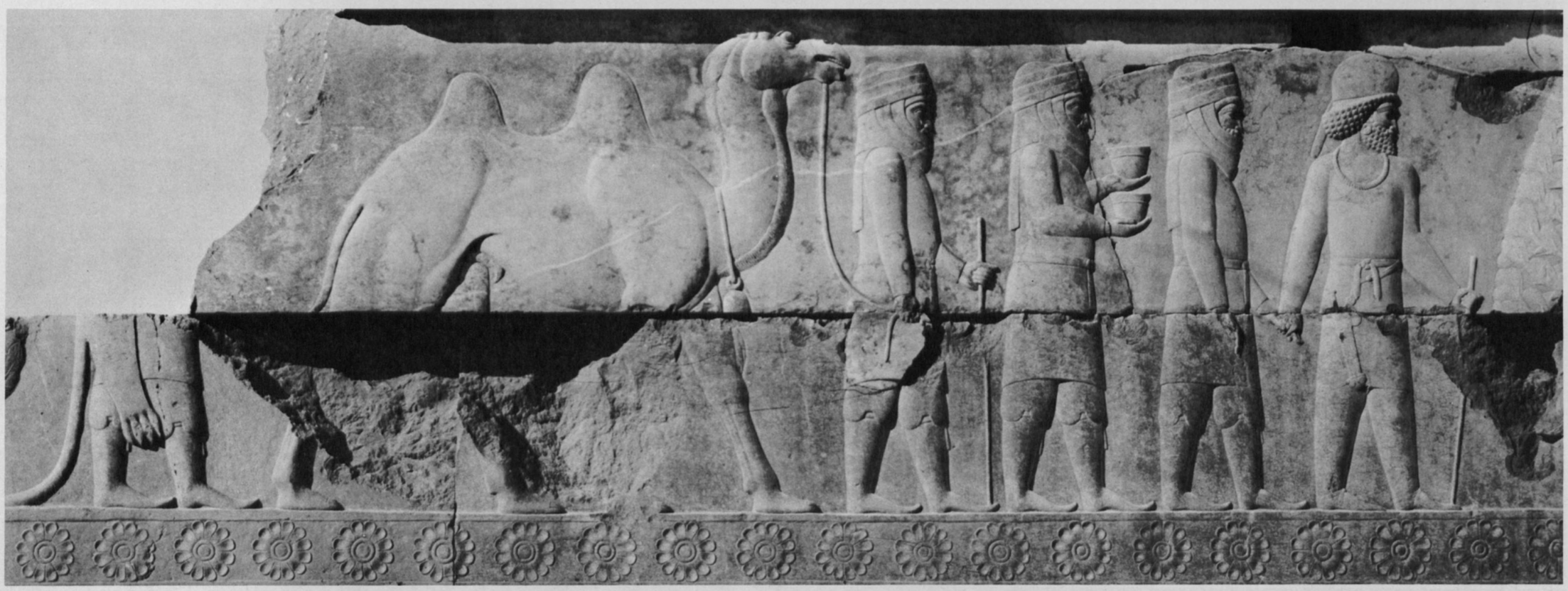


B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 6: THE SYRIANS. SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 7: THE ARACHOSIANS? (SEE HARAUVATIŠ ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A

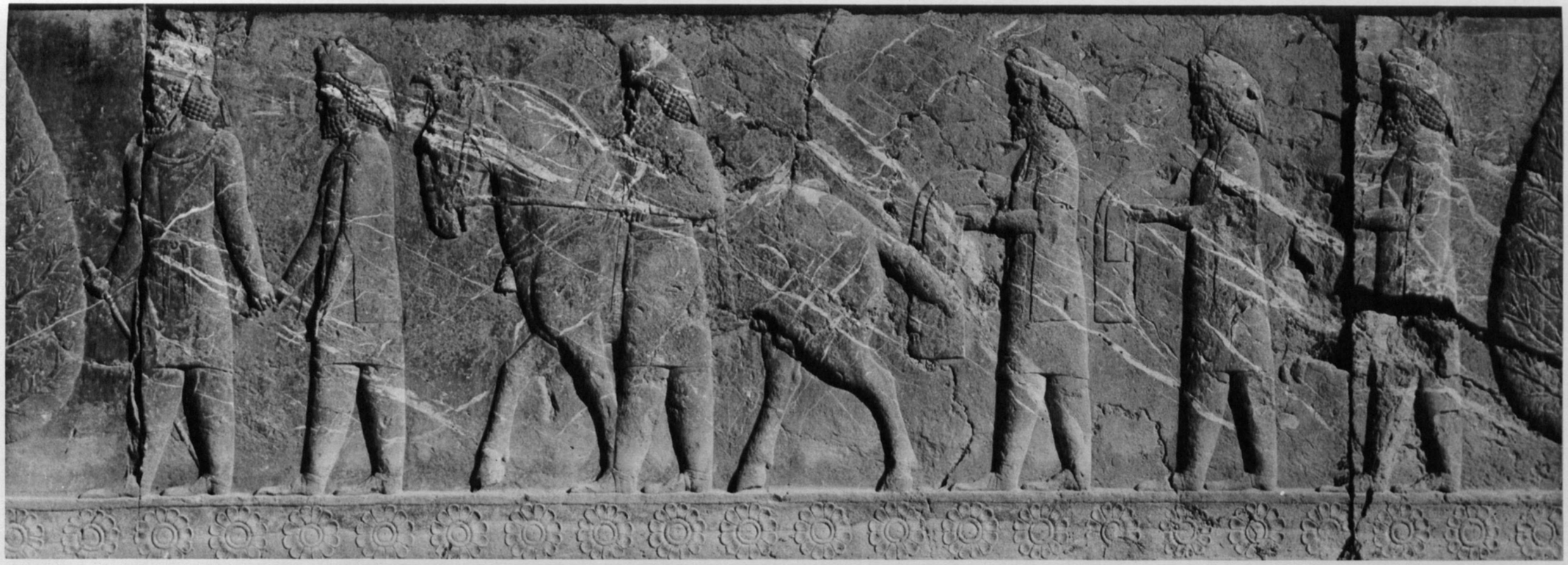


B

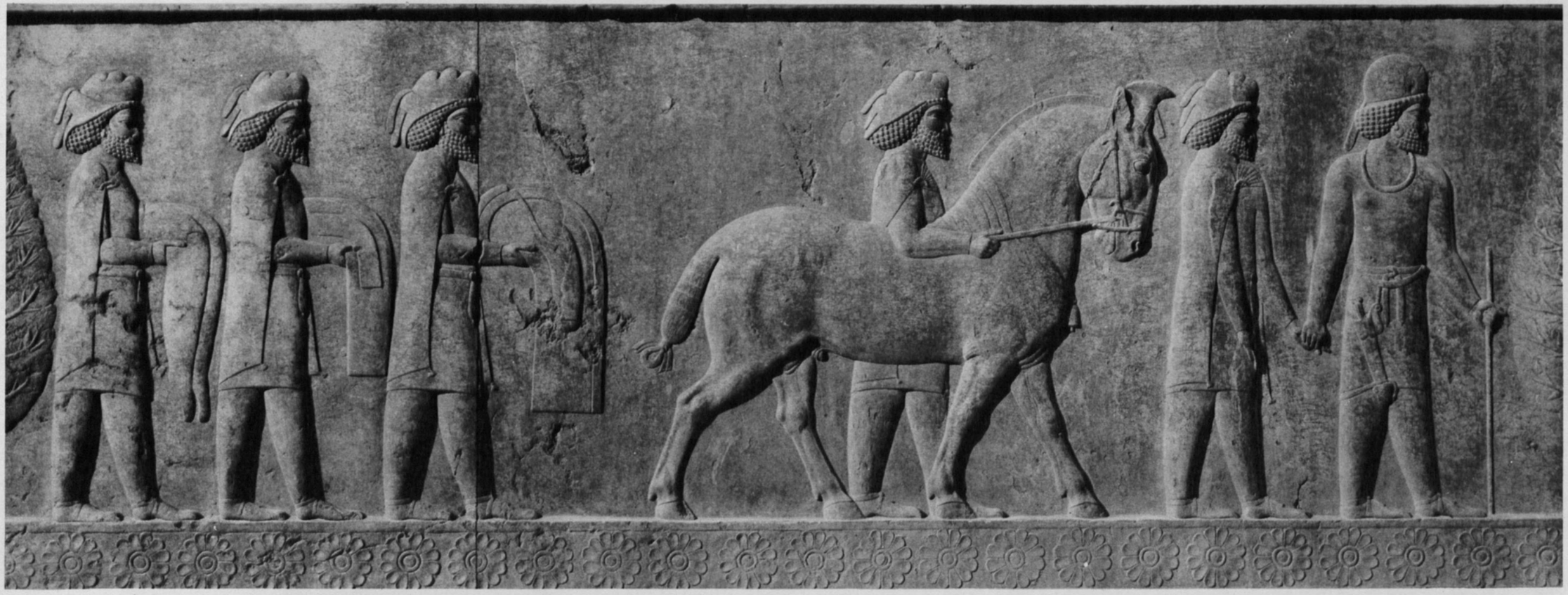
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 8: THE CILICIANS? (SEE FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



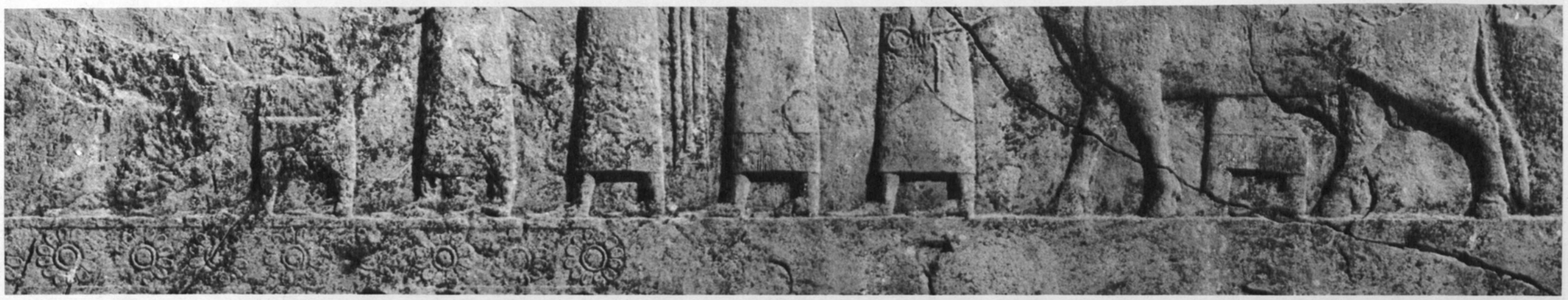
B



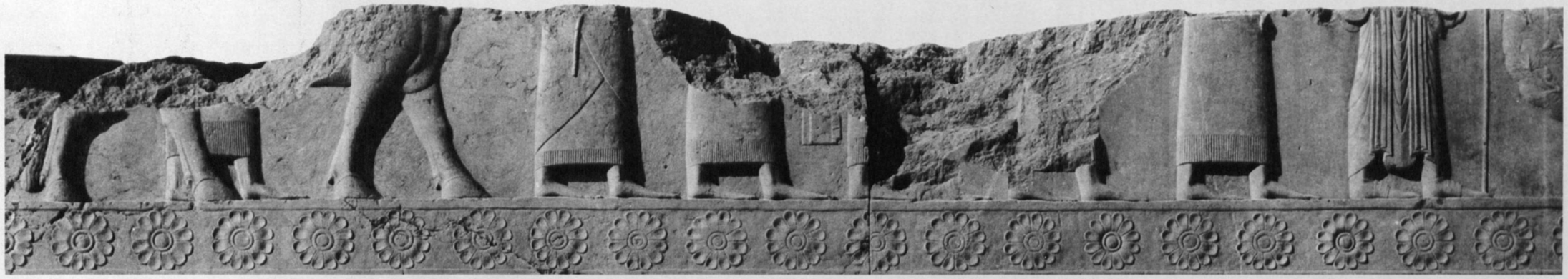
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 9: THE CAPPADOCIANS? (SEE KATPATUKA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



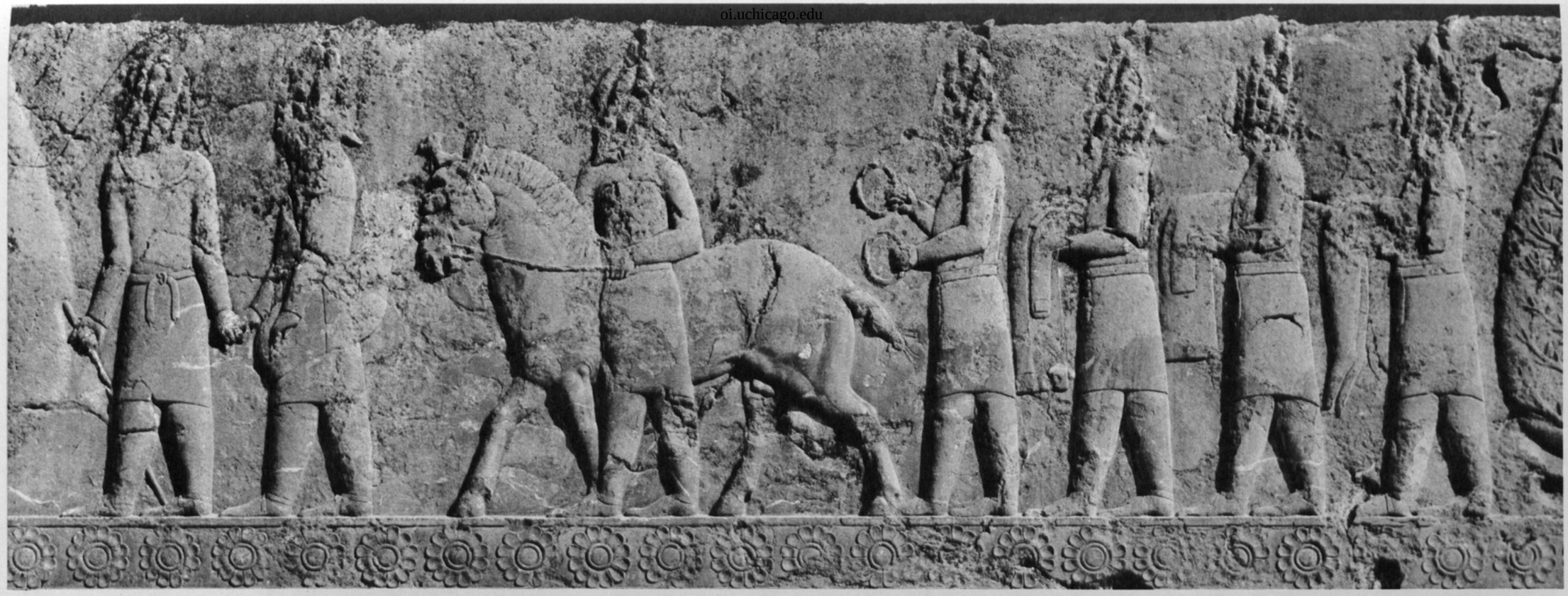
B



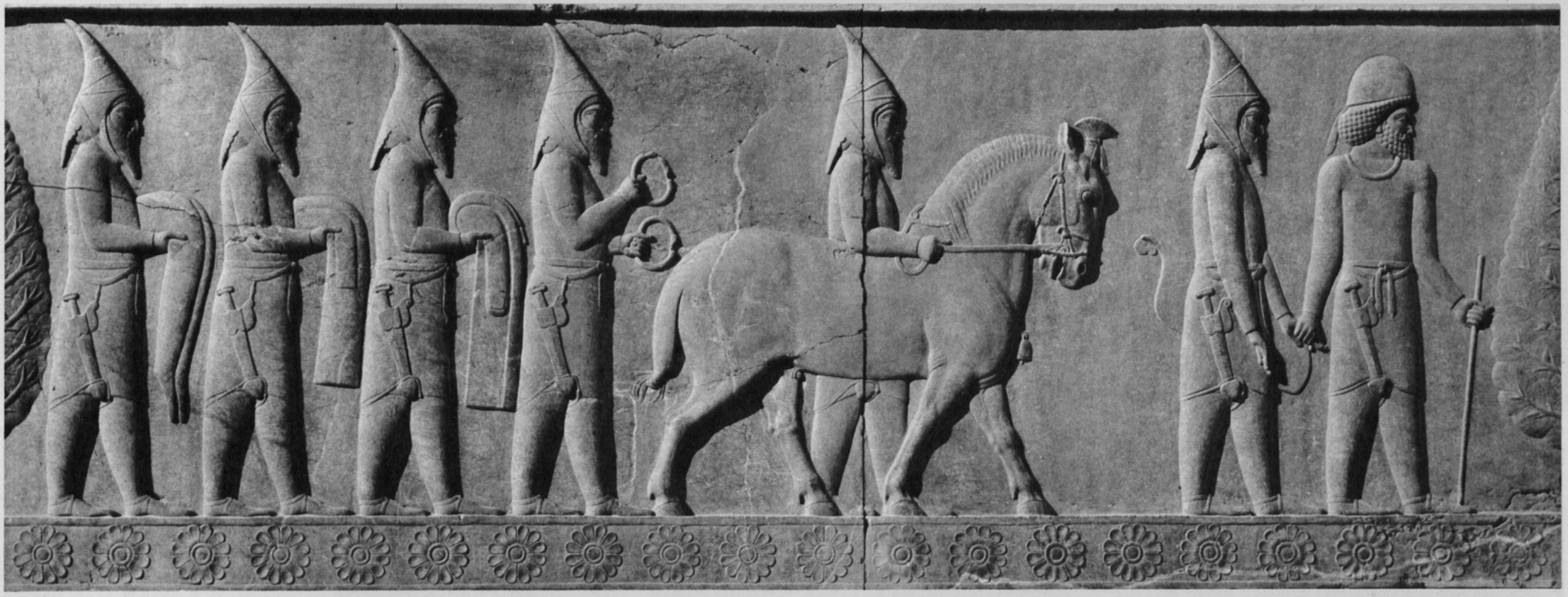
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 10: THE EGYPTIANS (SEE MUDRĀYA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



B



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 11: THE SAKA TIGRAXAUDA (SEE FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



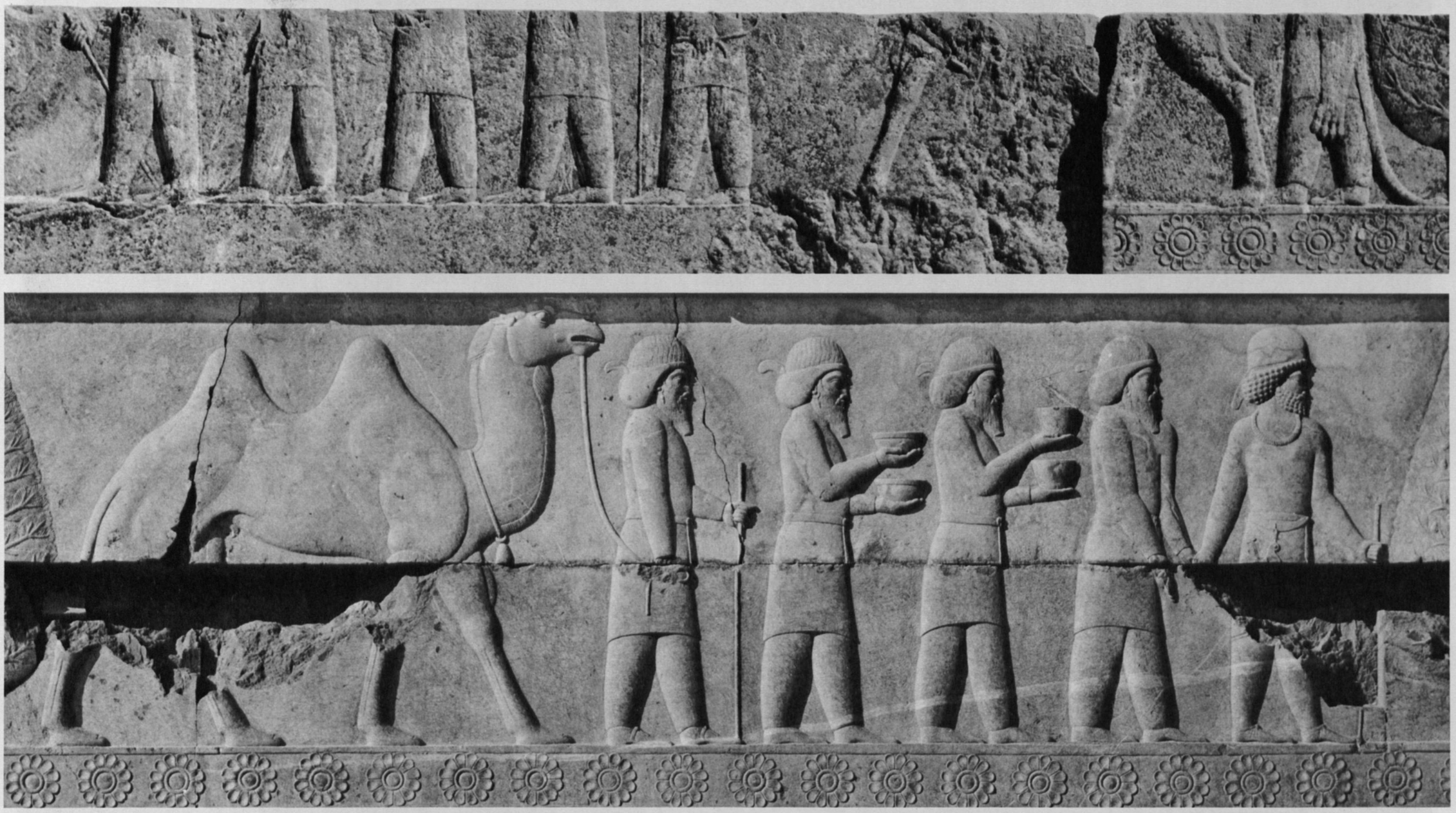
B



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 12: THE IONIANS? (SEE YAUNĀ ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A

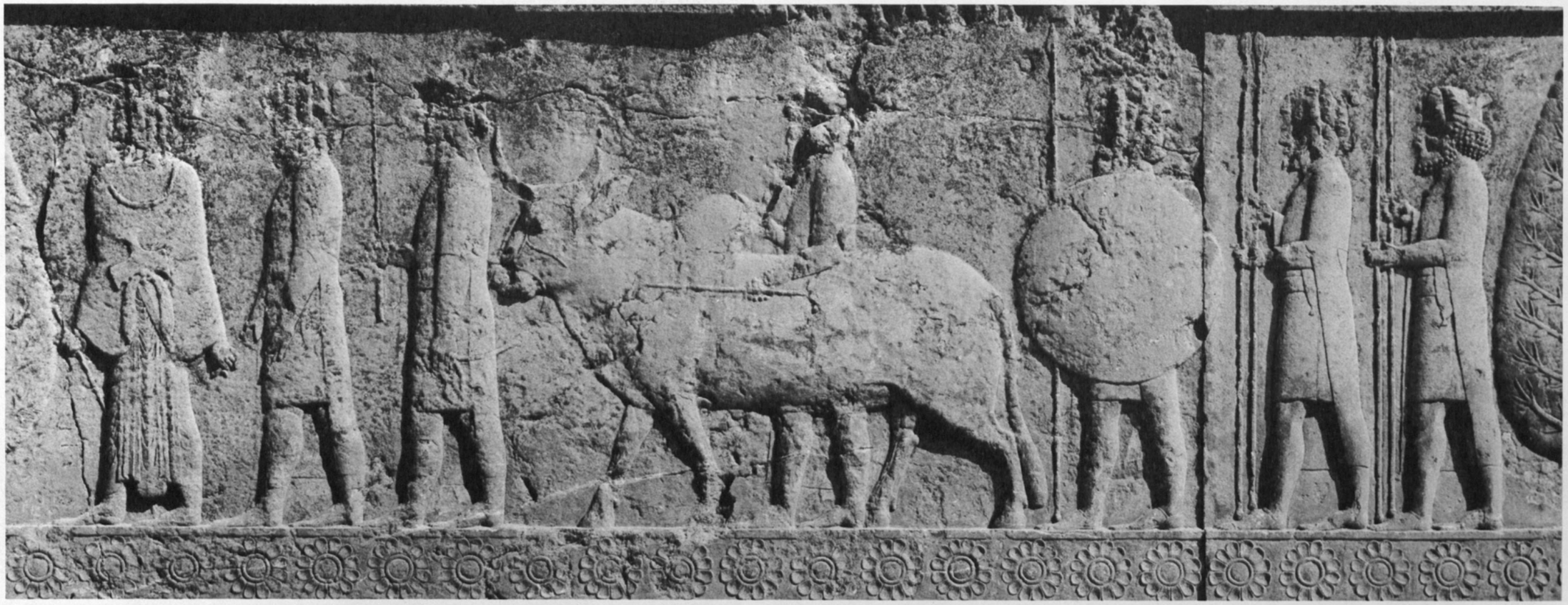


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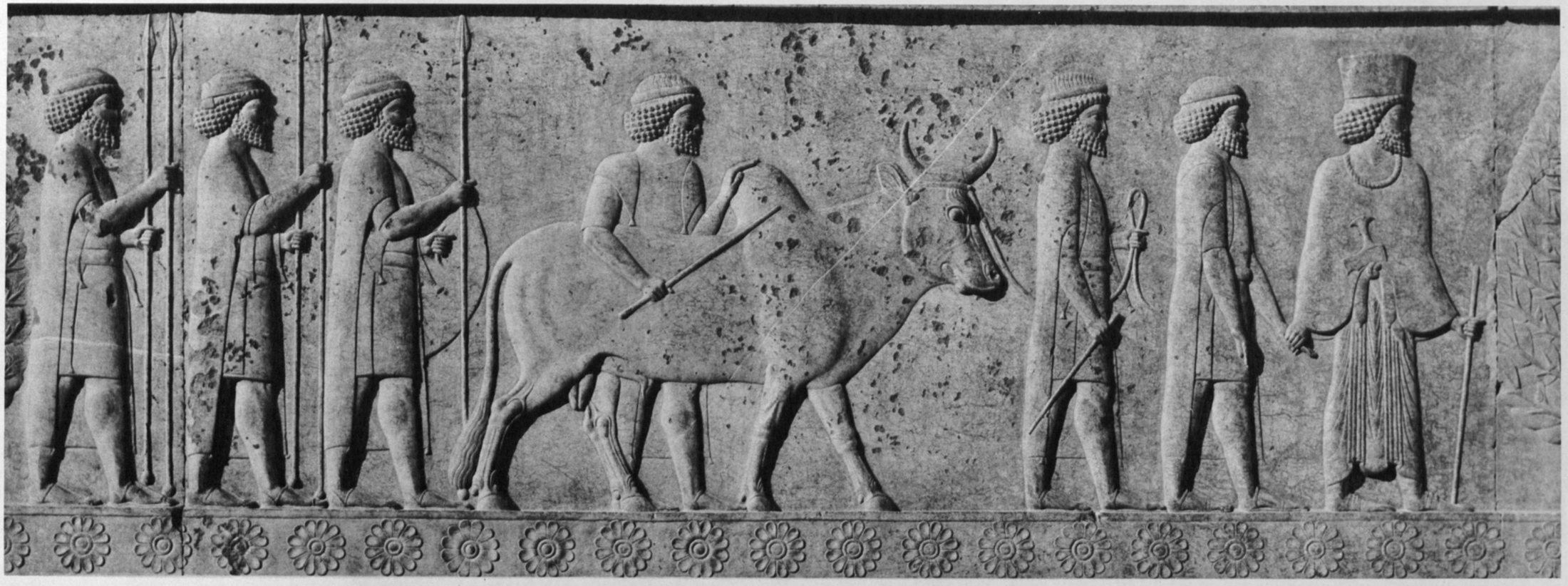
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 13: THE PARTHIANS? (SEE PARTHAVA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



B



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 14: THE GANDARIANS? (SEE GANDĀRA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



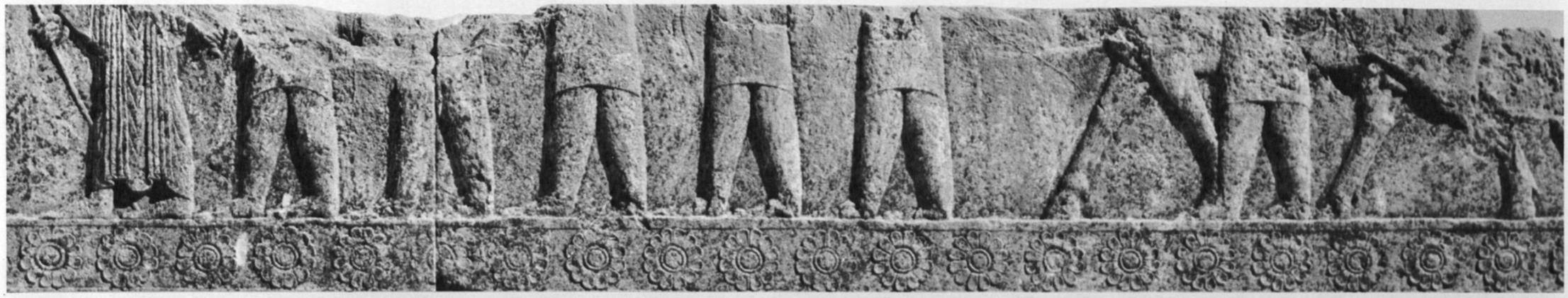
B

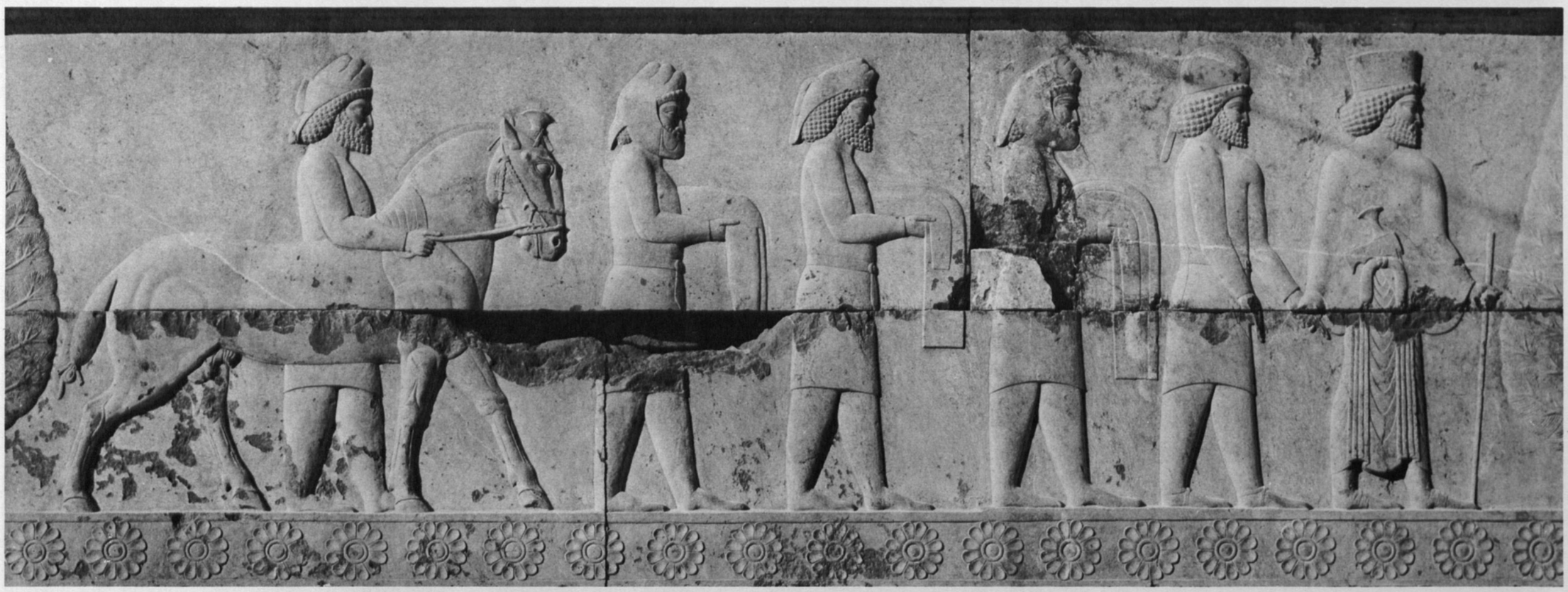


APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 15: THE BACTRIANS? (SEE BĀXTRIŠ ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



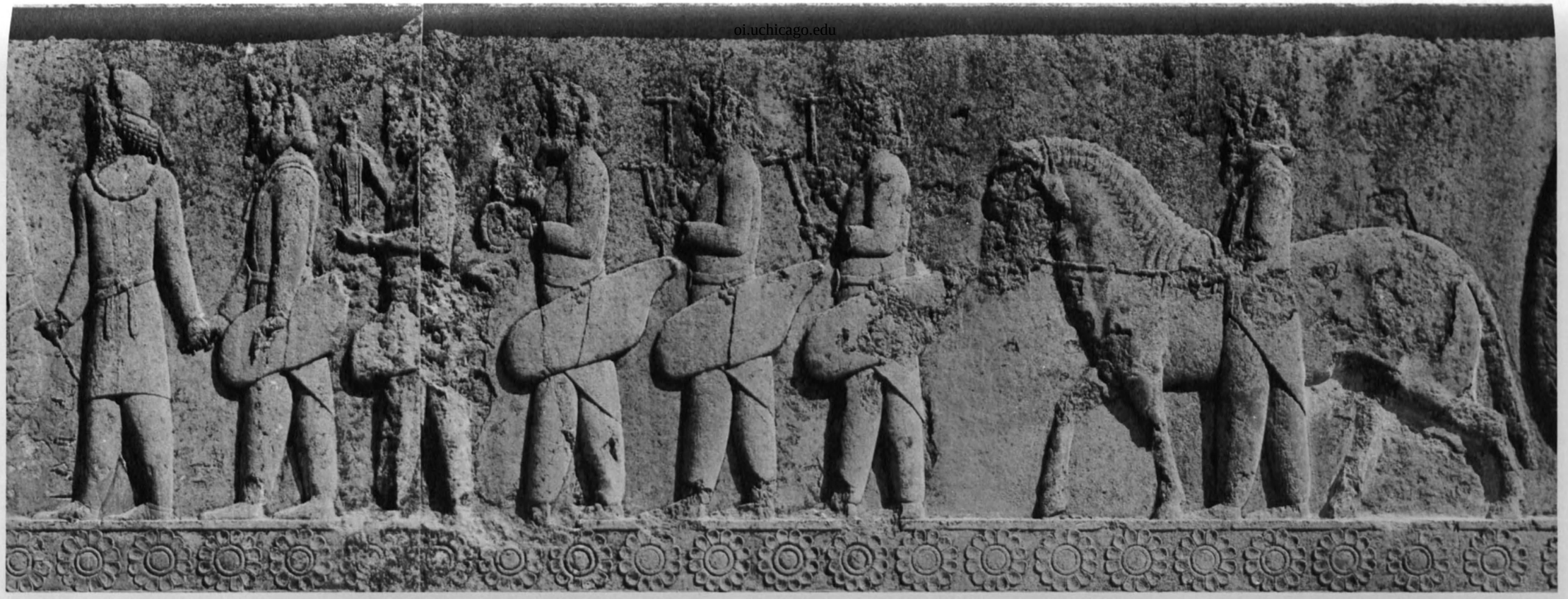


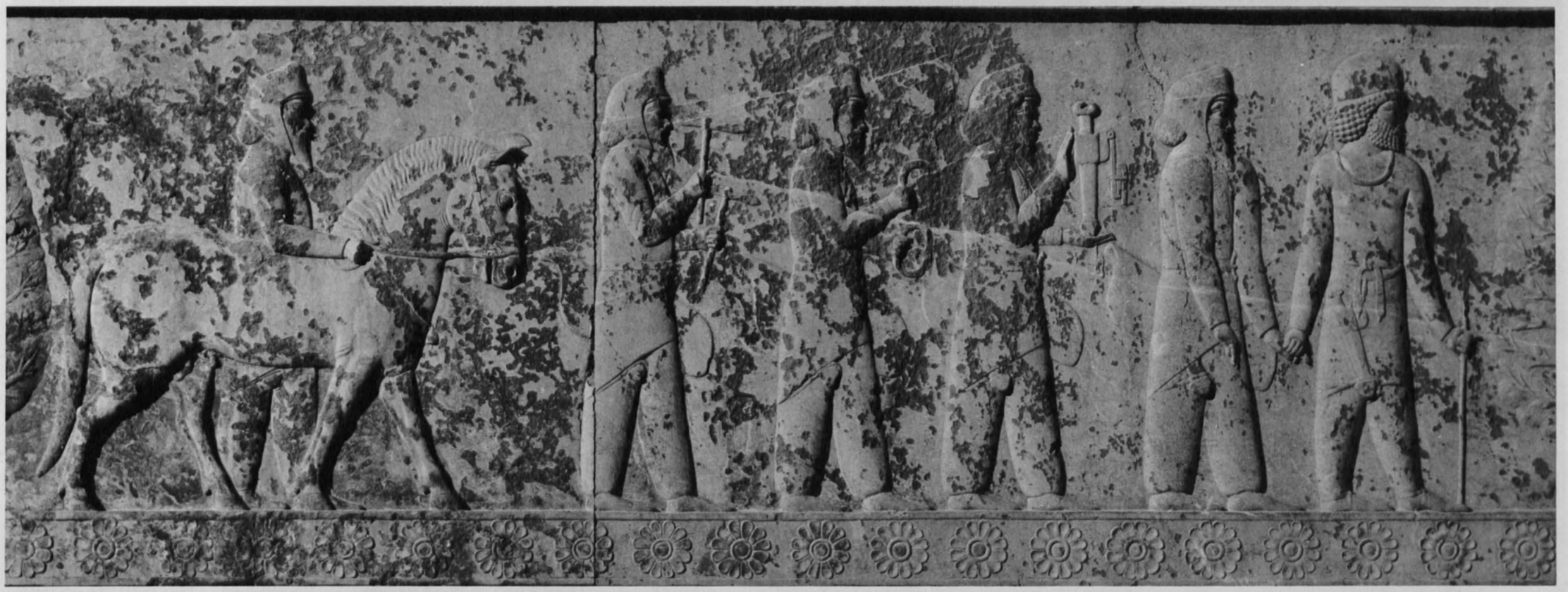
B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 16: THE SAGARTIANS? (SEE ASAGARTA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A



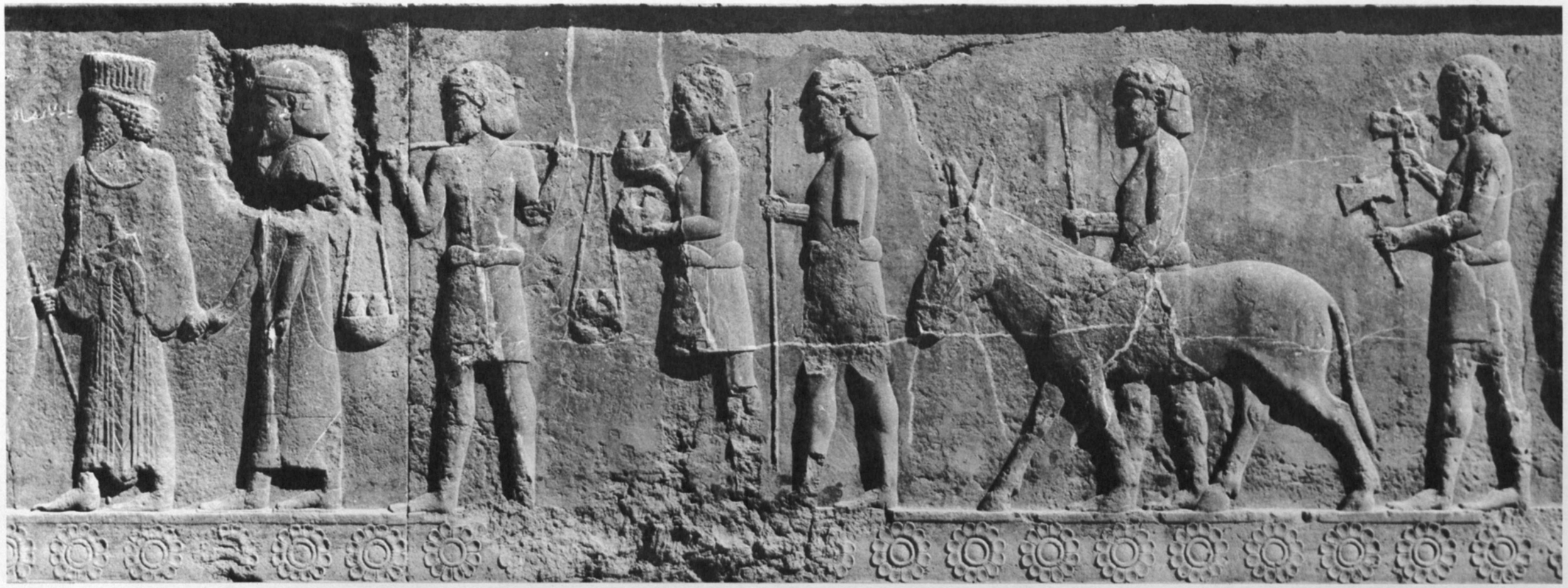


B

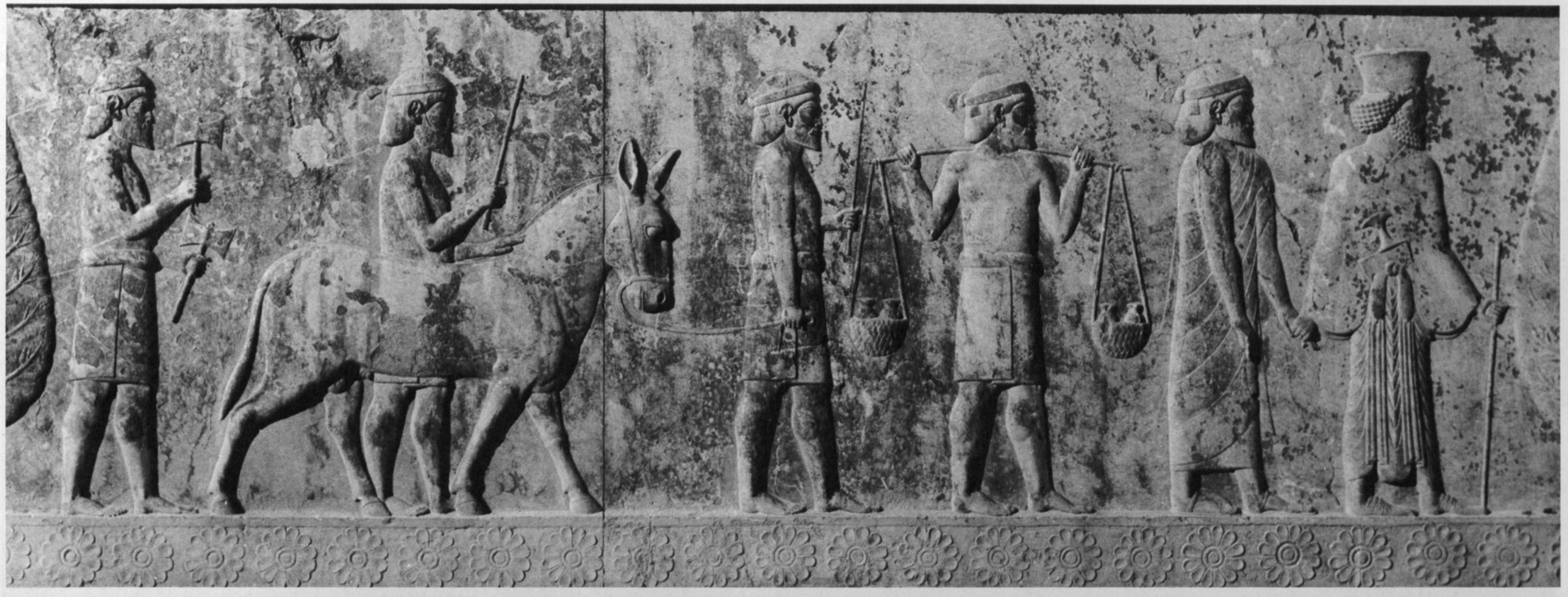
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 17: THE SOGDIANS? (SEE SUGDA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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A

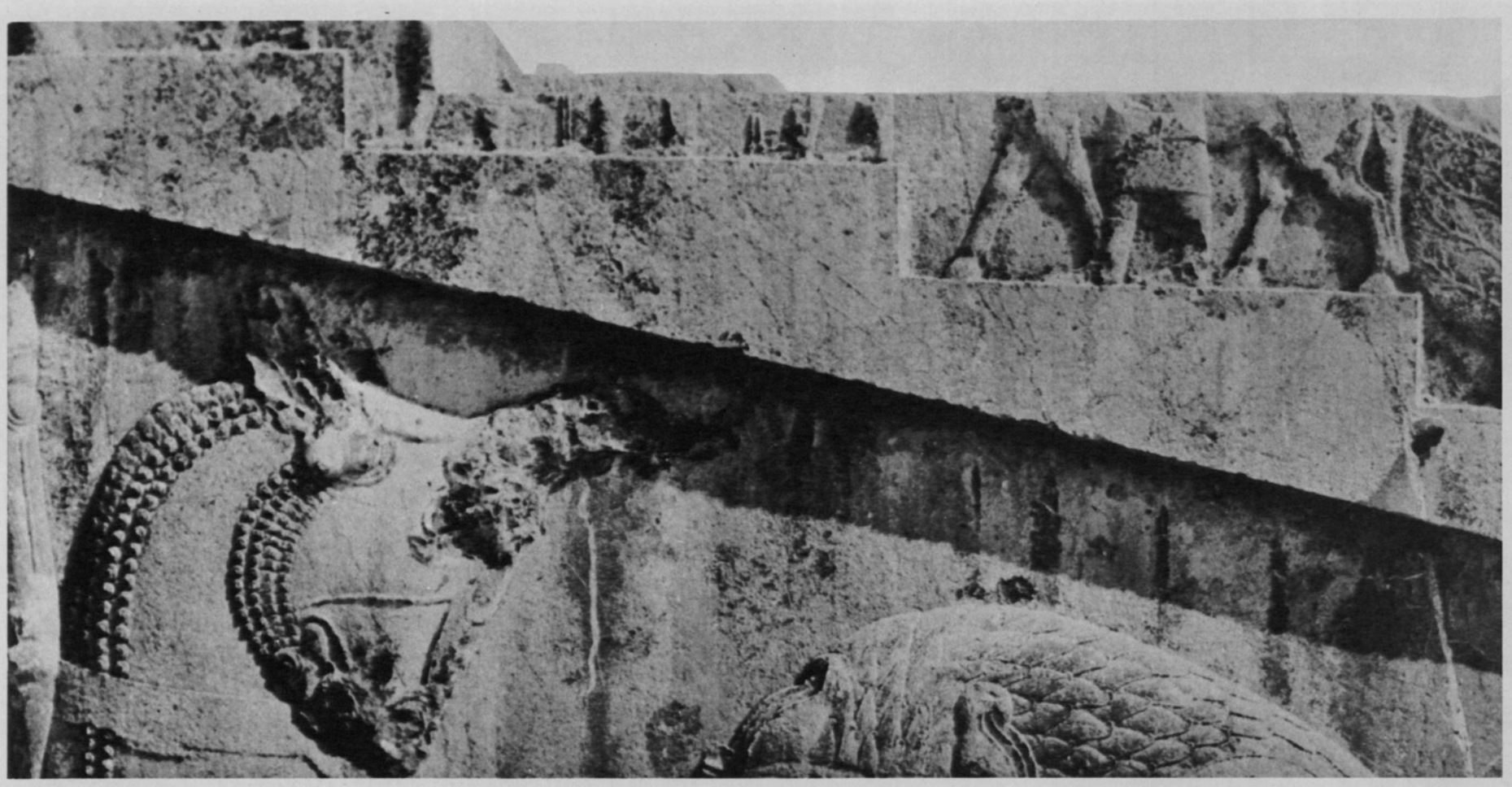


B



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 18: THE INDIANS (SEE HINDUŠ ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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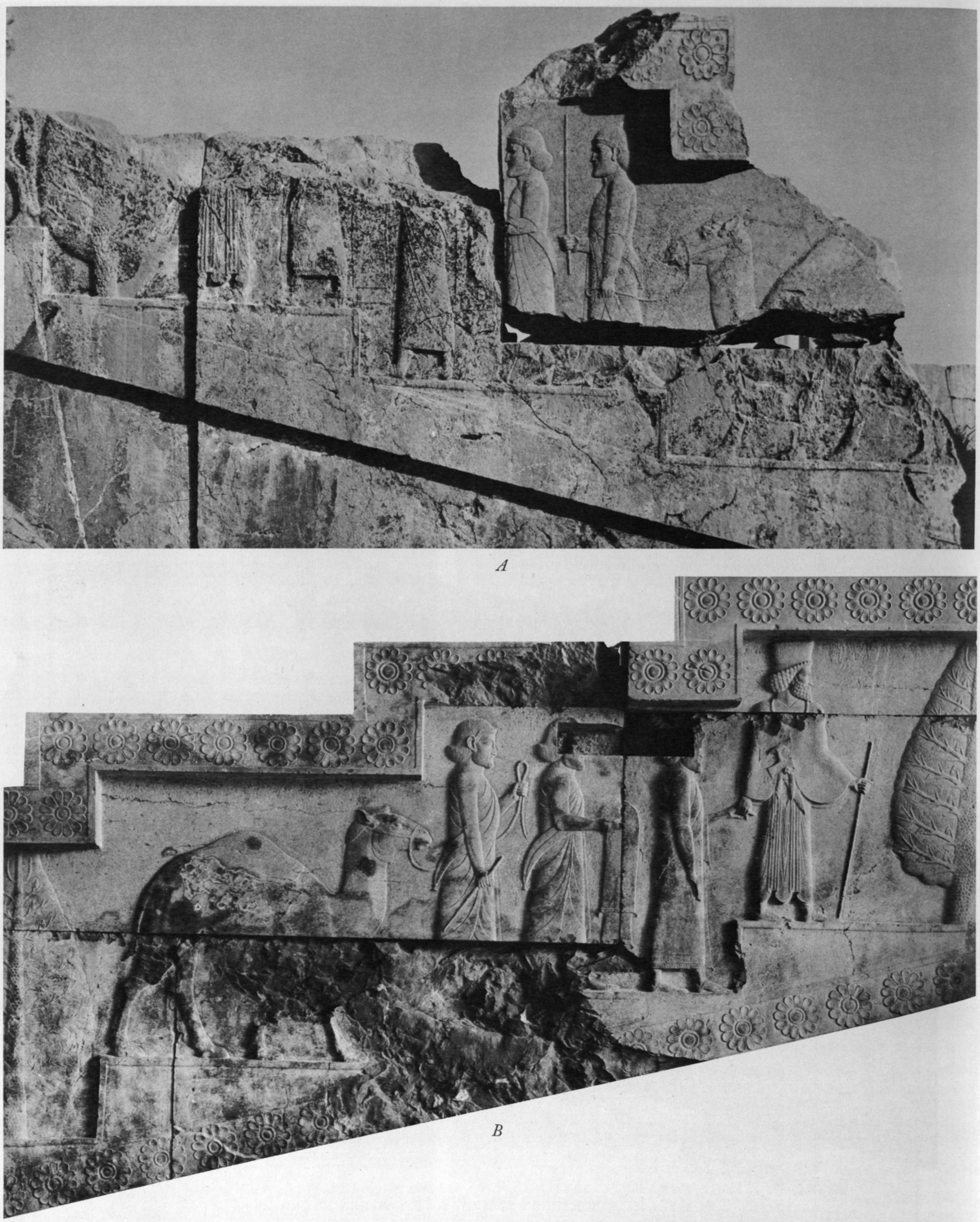
A



B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 19: THE SKUDRIANS? (SEE SKUDRA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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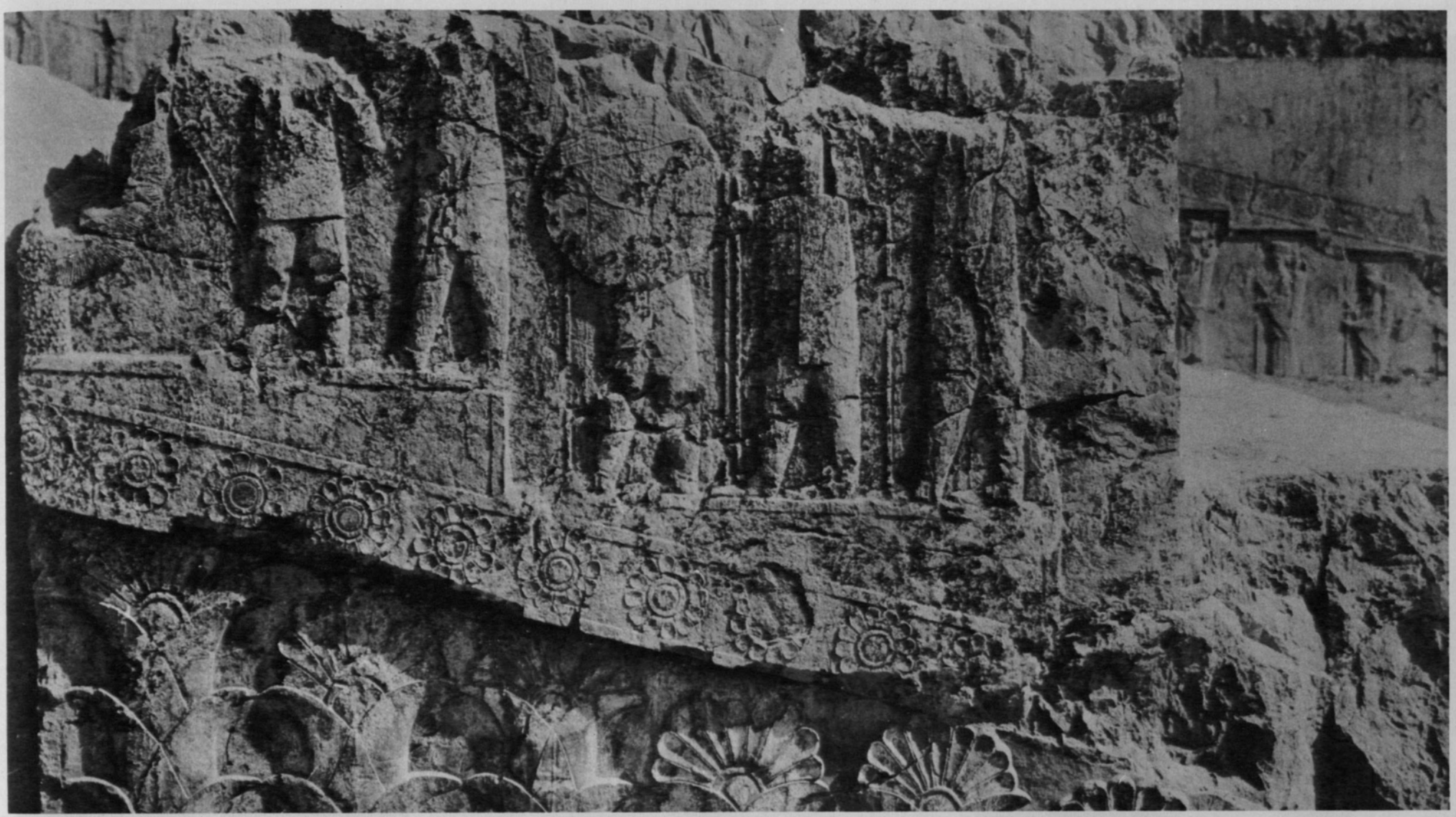


A

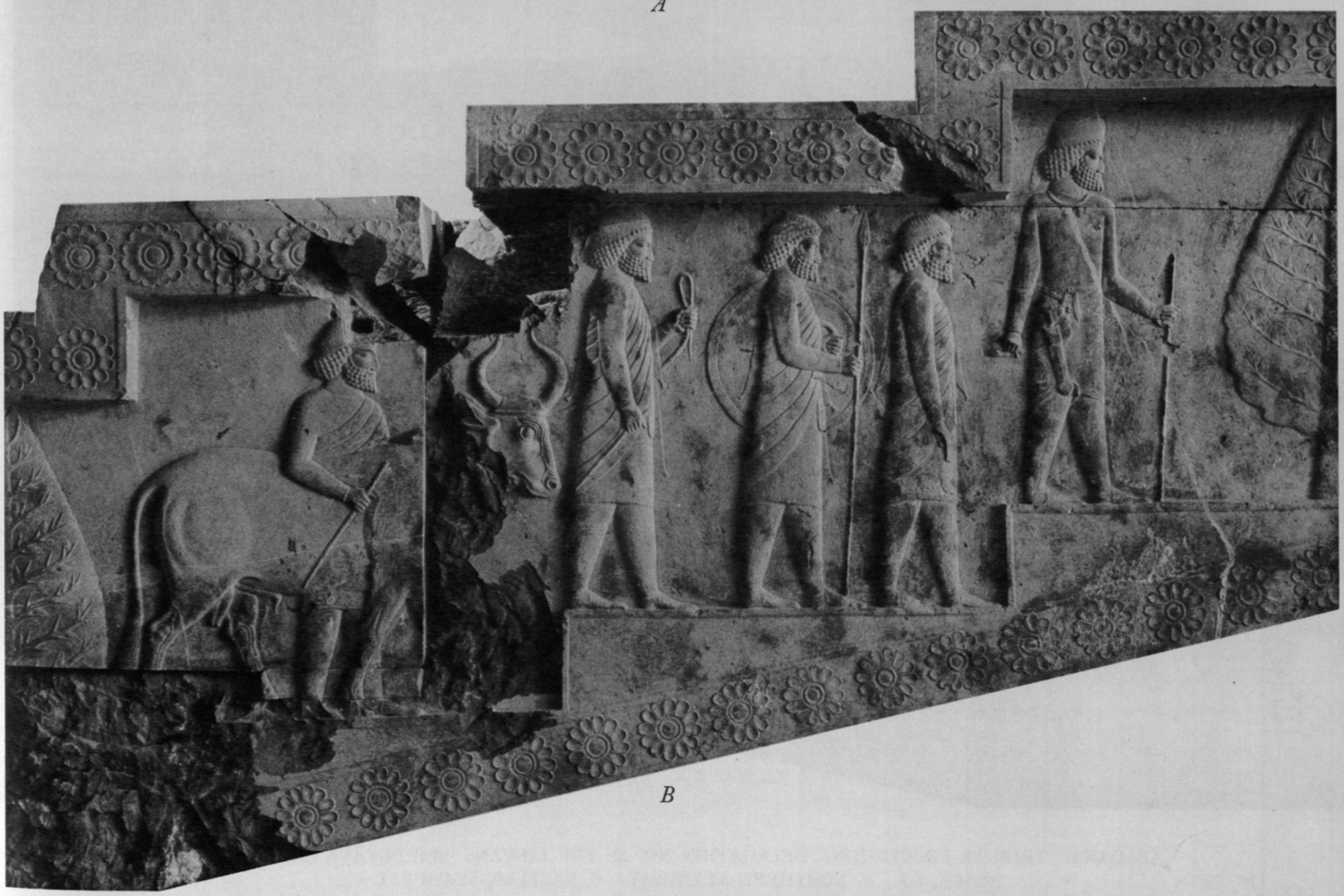
B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 20: THE ARABIANS? (SEE ARABĀYA ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8 *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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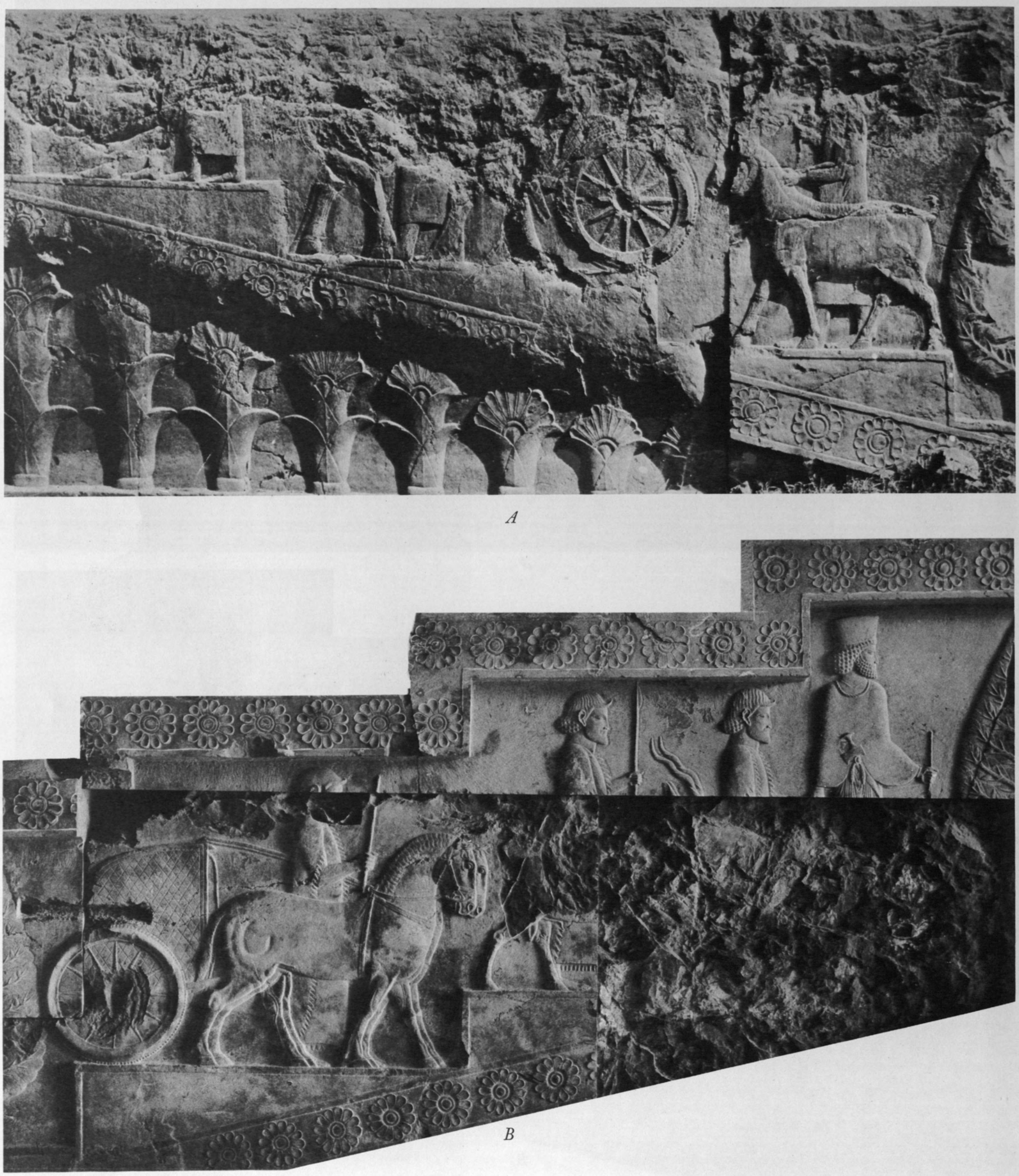
A



B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 21: THE DRANGIANIANS? (SEE ZRANKA ON FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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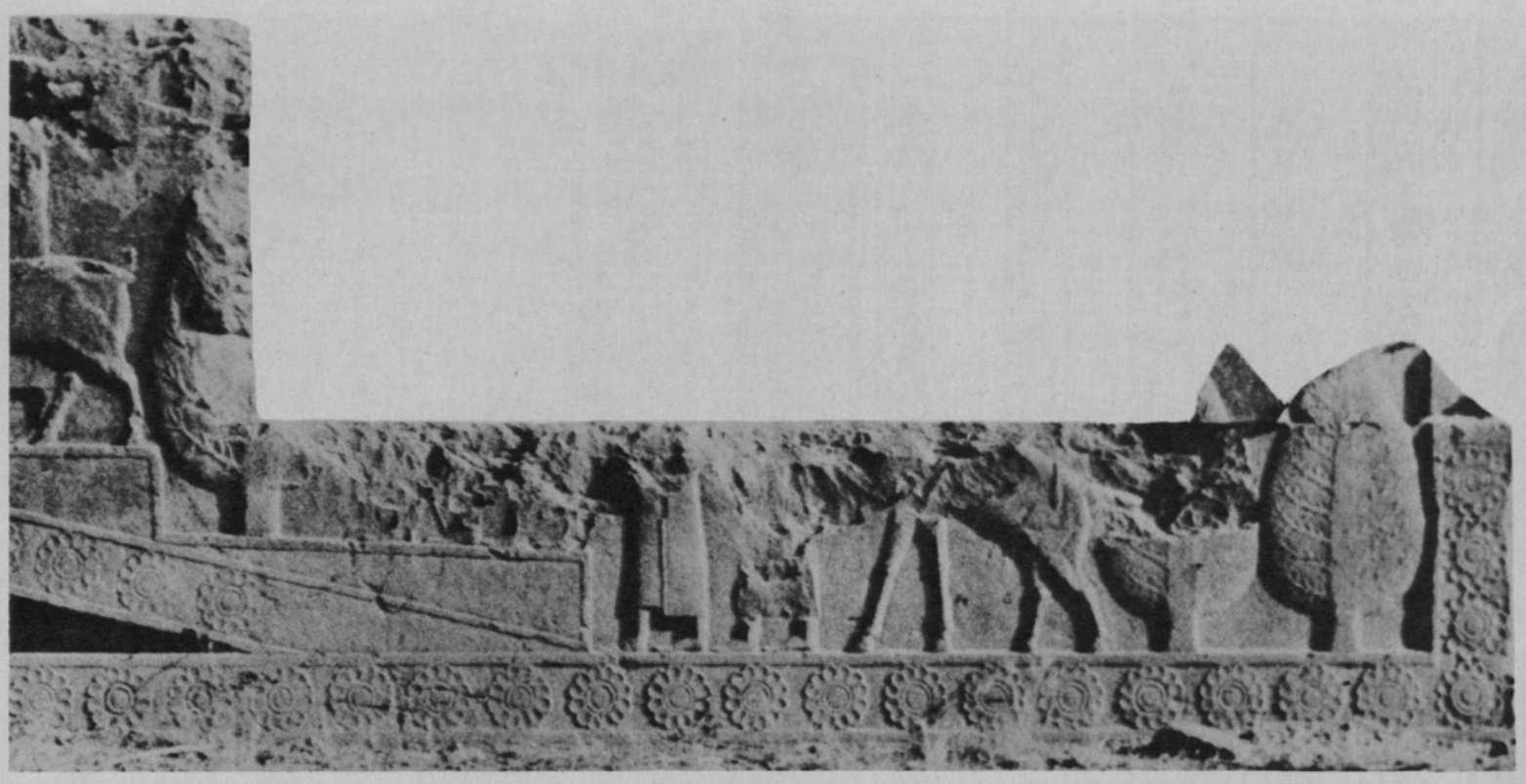


A

B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 22: THE LIBYANS (SEE PUTĀYĀ ON FIG. 2).
SCALE, 1:8. *A*. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY

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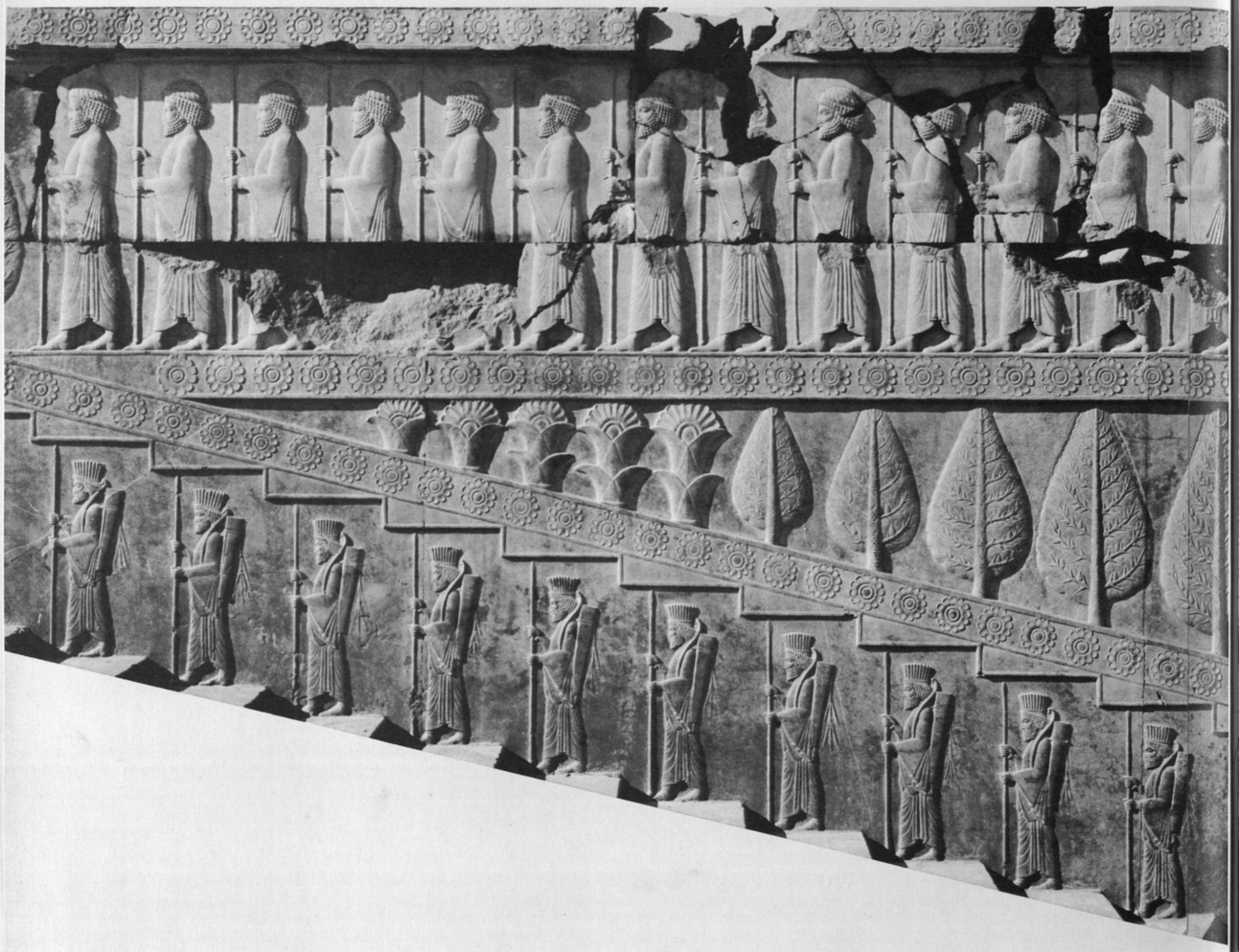
A



B

APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 23: THE ETHIOPIANS (SEE KŪŠIYĀ ON FIG. 2).
A. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *B*. EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:8

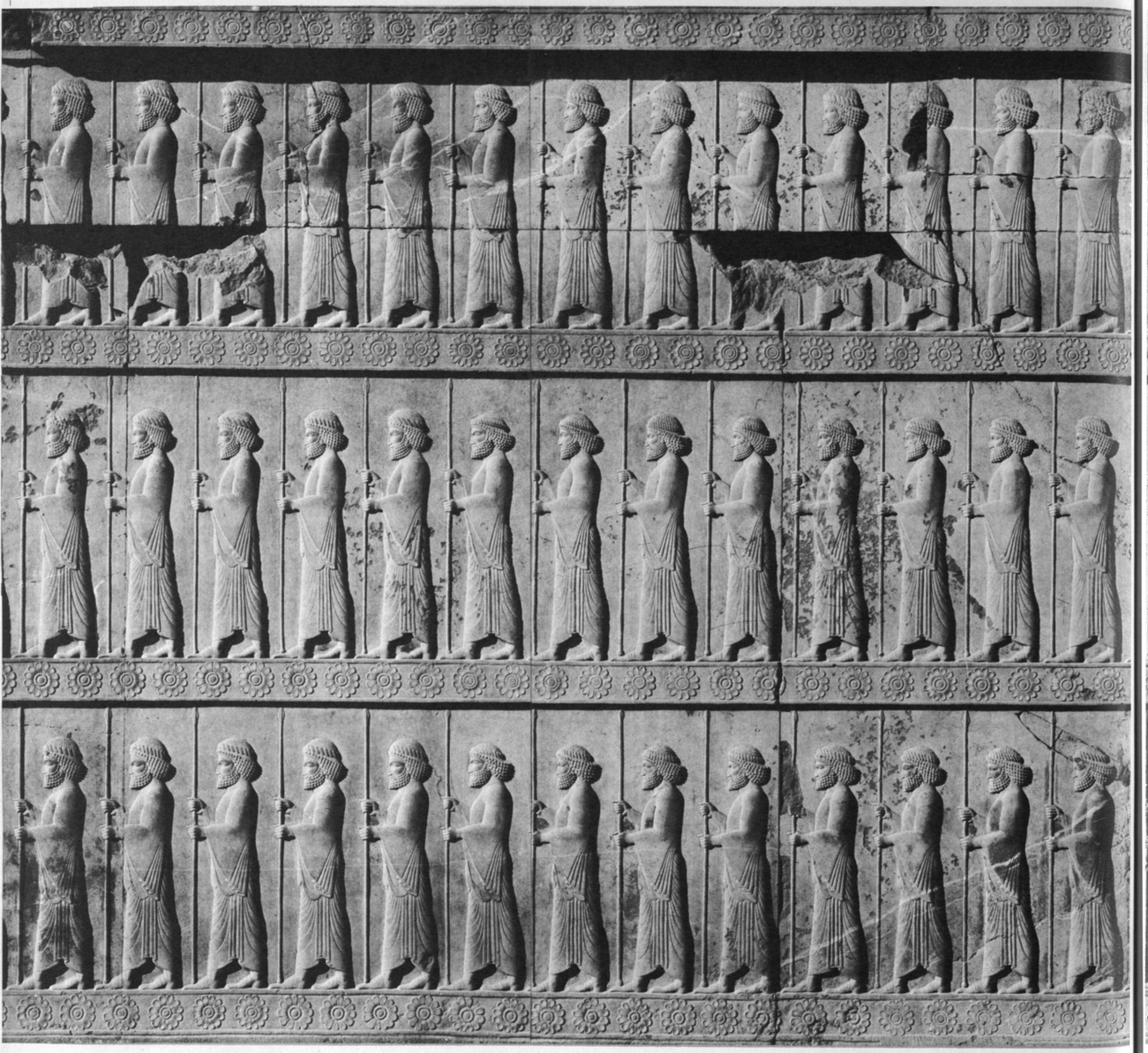
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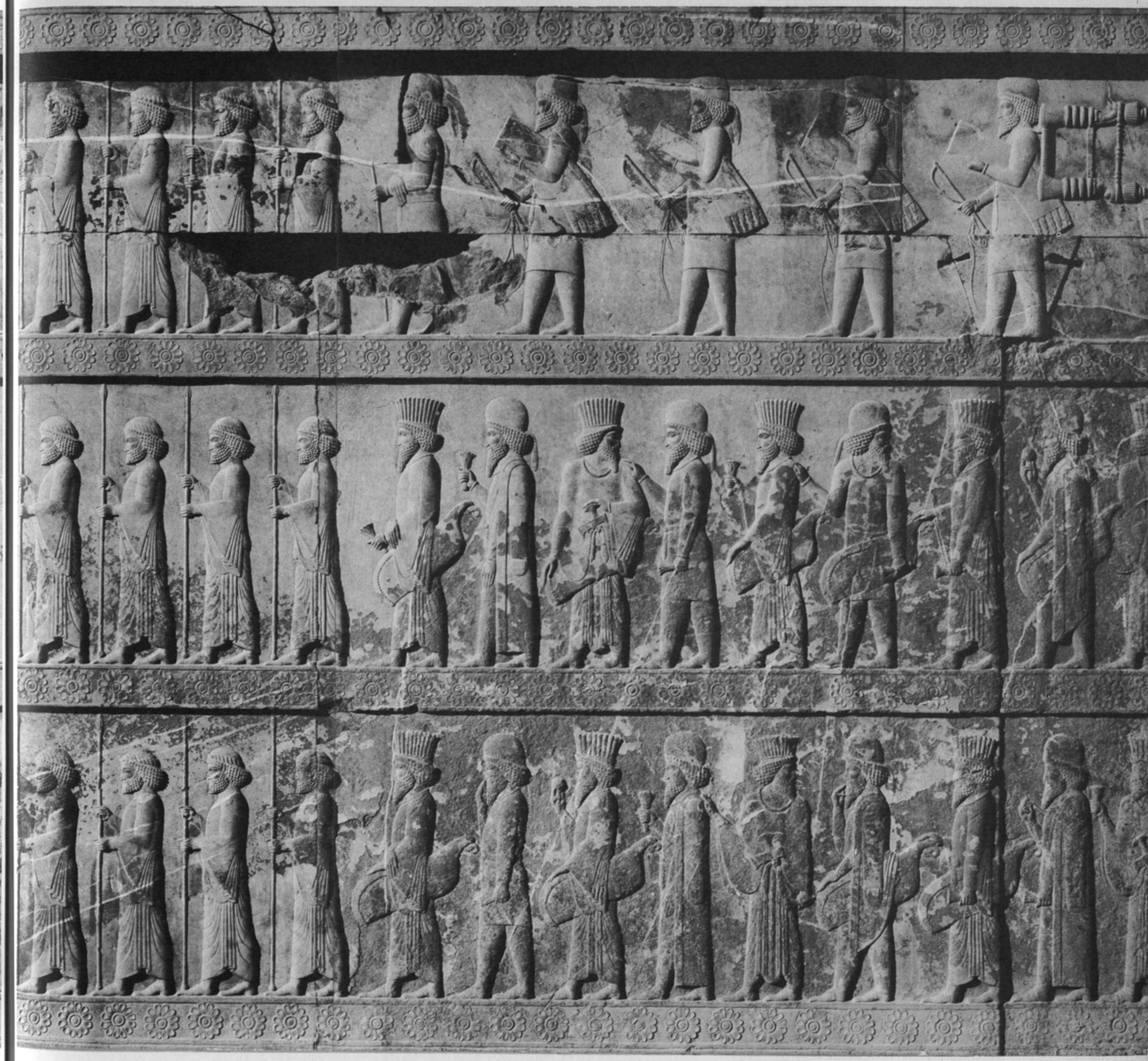


APADANA. SUSIAN AND PERSIAN GUARDS ON WEST FACE OF OUTER FLIGHT OF NORTH WING OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12



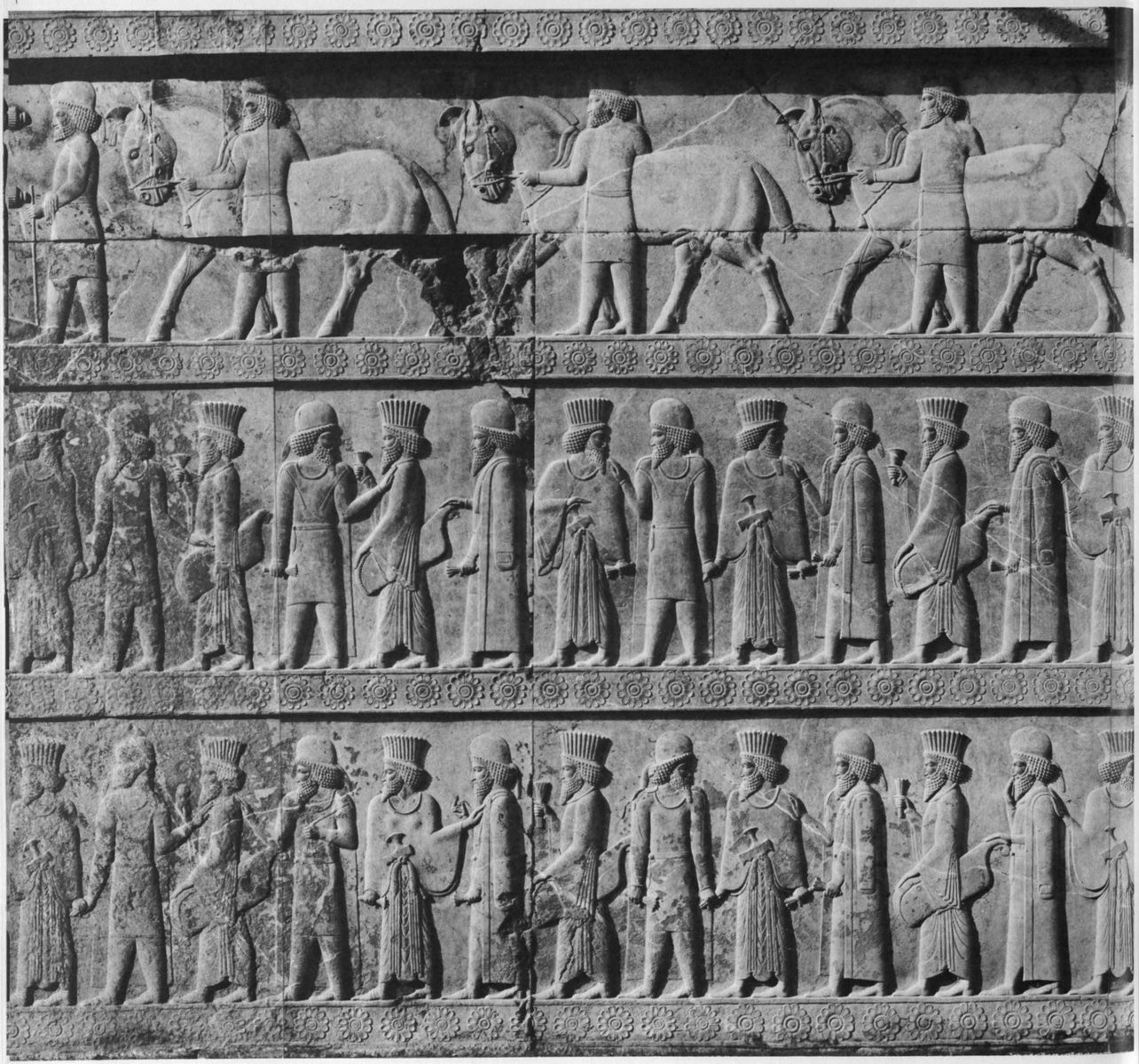
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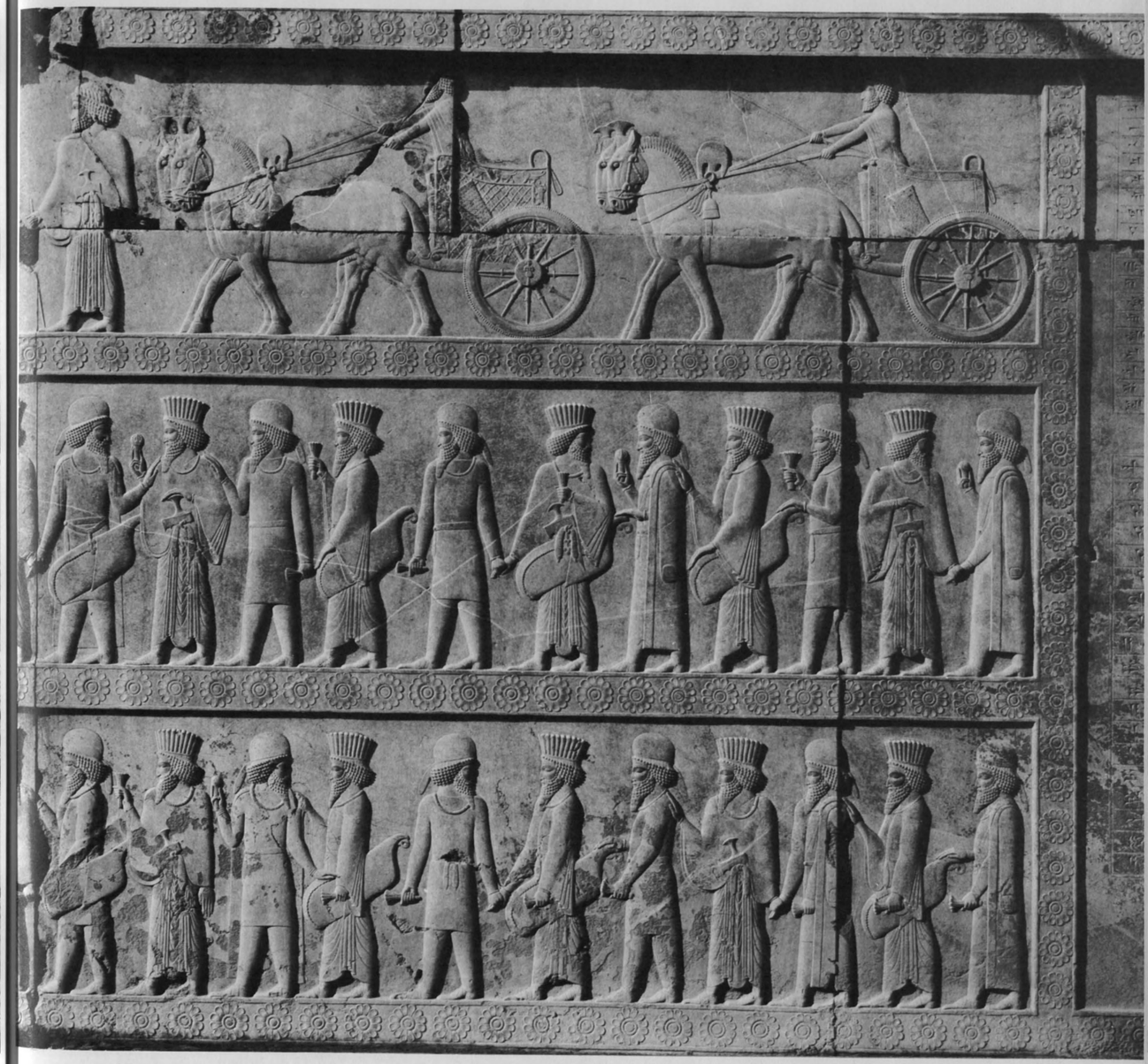


CONTINUATION (*TOWARD NORTH*) OF PRECEDING SCENE. SUSIAN GUARDS, KING'S GROOMS (*RIGHT END OF UPPER REGISTER*), PERSIAN AND MEDIAN DIGNITARIES (*RIGHT ENDS OF TWO LOWER REGISTERS*). SCALE, 1:12

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CONTINUATION (*TOWARD NORTH*) OF PRECEDING SCENE. KING'S HORSES, CHARIOTS, PERSIAN AND MEDIAN DIGNITARIES. SCALE, 1:12



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APADANA. CENTRAL FAÇADE OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, S*)

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A

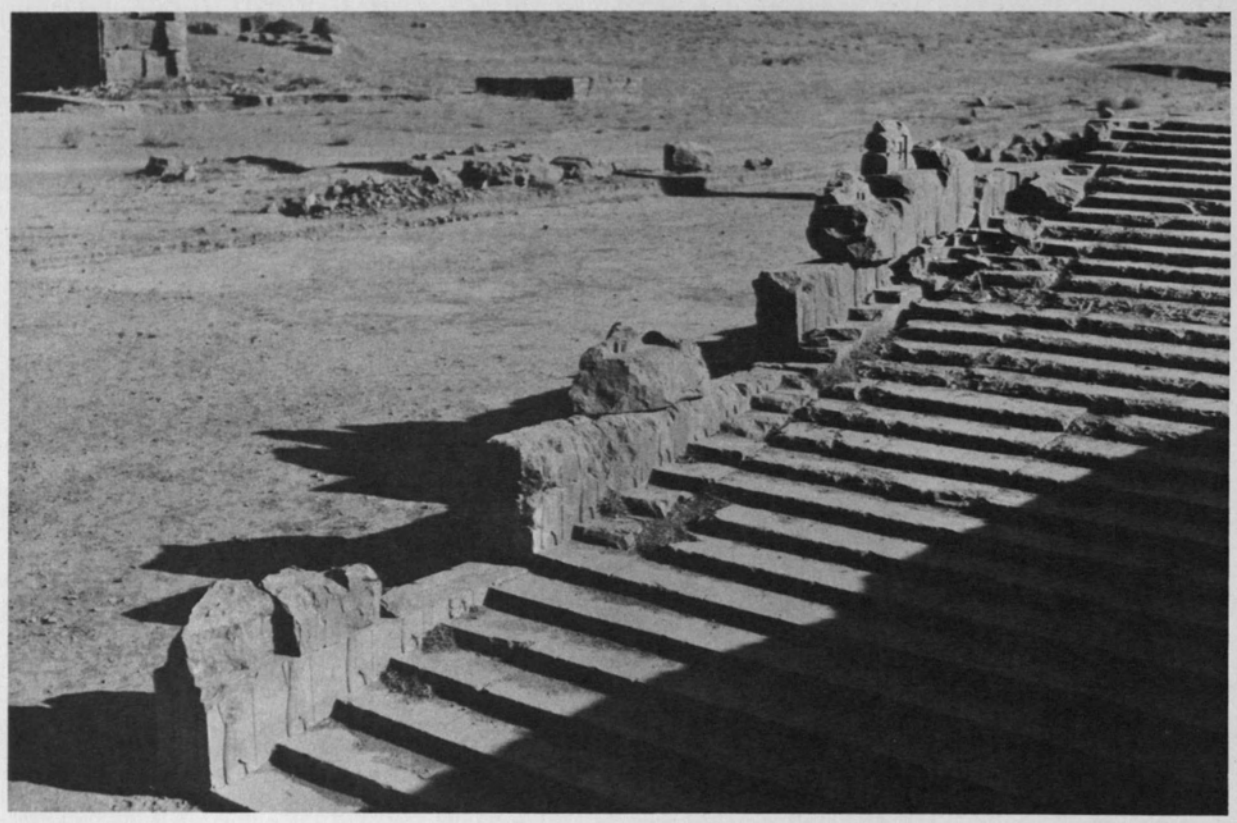
B

APADANA. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. EAST WING (CF. PLS. 57–59), WITH BULL CAPITAL FROM A NORTHERN PORTICO COLUMN IN FOREGROUND. *B*. EASTERN INNER FLIGHT, SHOWING PERSIAN GUARDS ON SOUTH FACE

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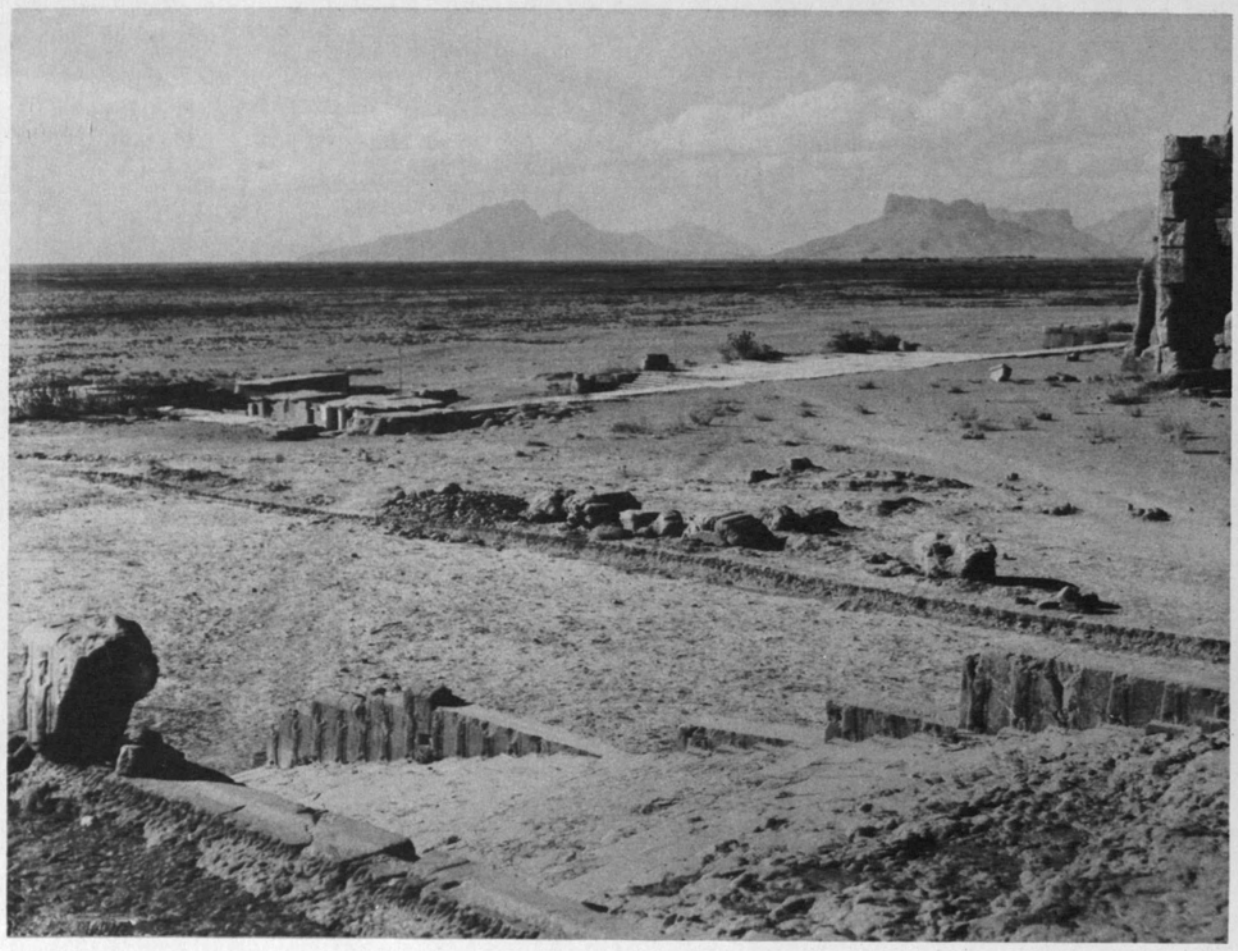
A



B



C



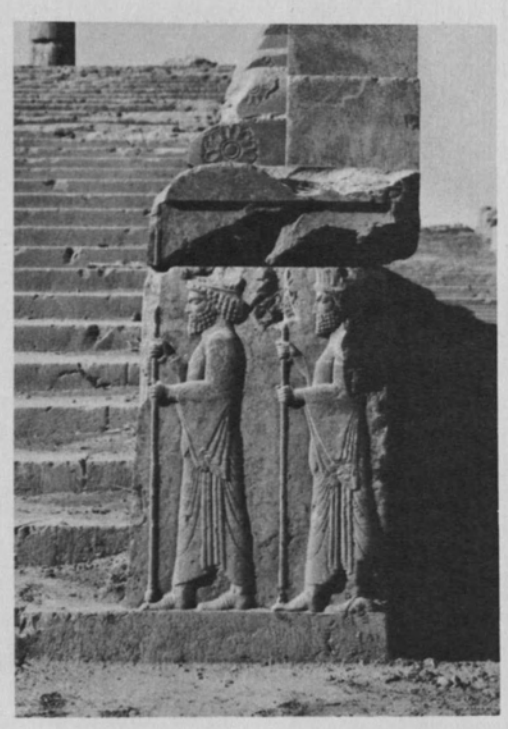
D

APADANA. PERSIAN GUARDS ON WEST WING OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. NEWEL OF INNER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:12. *B*. SOUTH FACE OF PARAPET OF INNER FLIGHT. *C*. NEWEL OF OUTER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:12. *D*. SOUTH FACE OF PARAPET OF OUTER FLIGHT

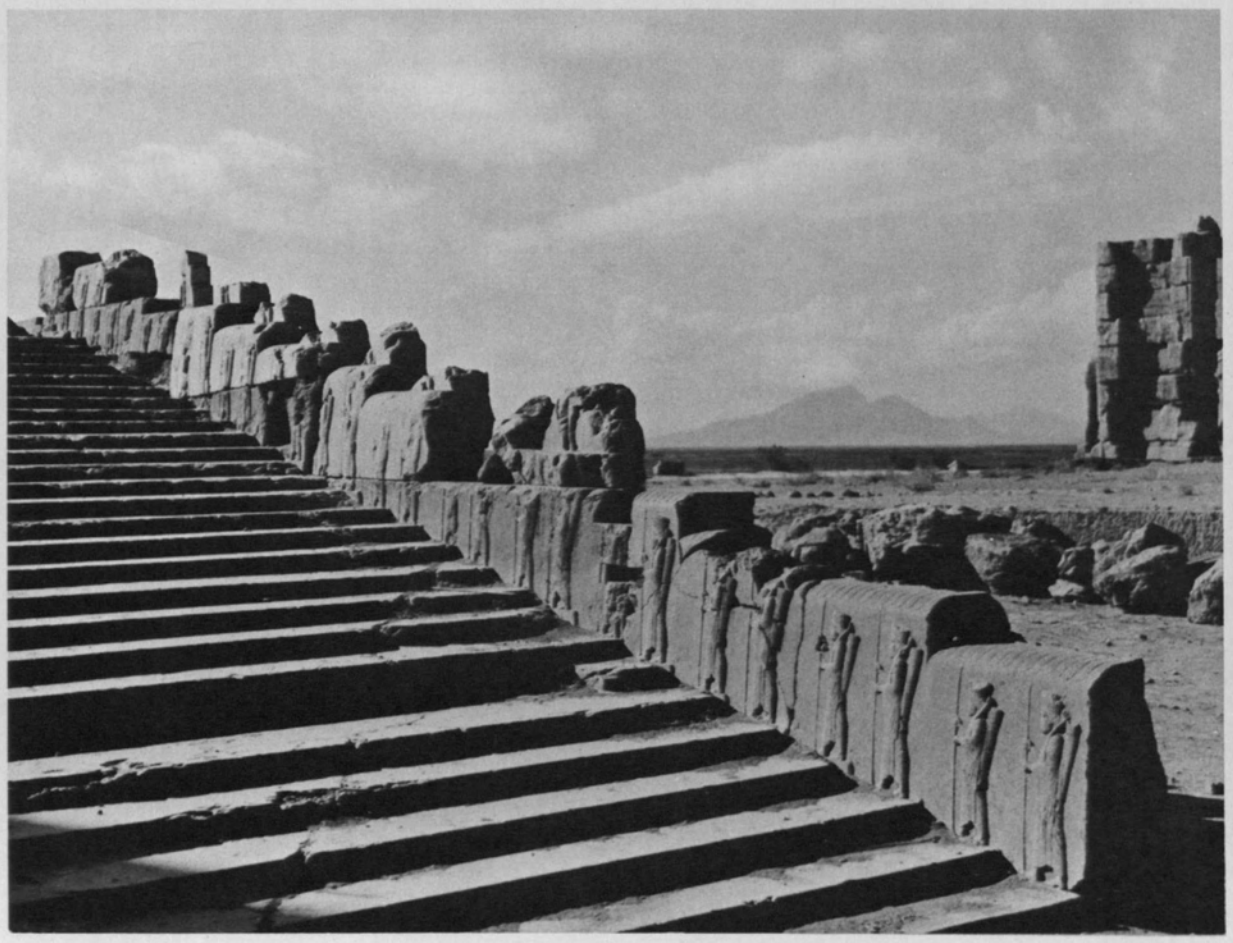
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A



B



C

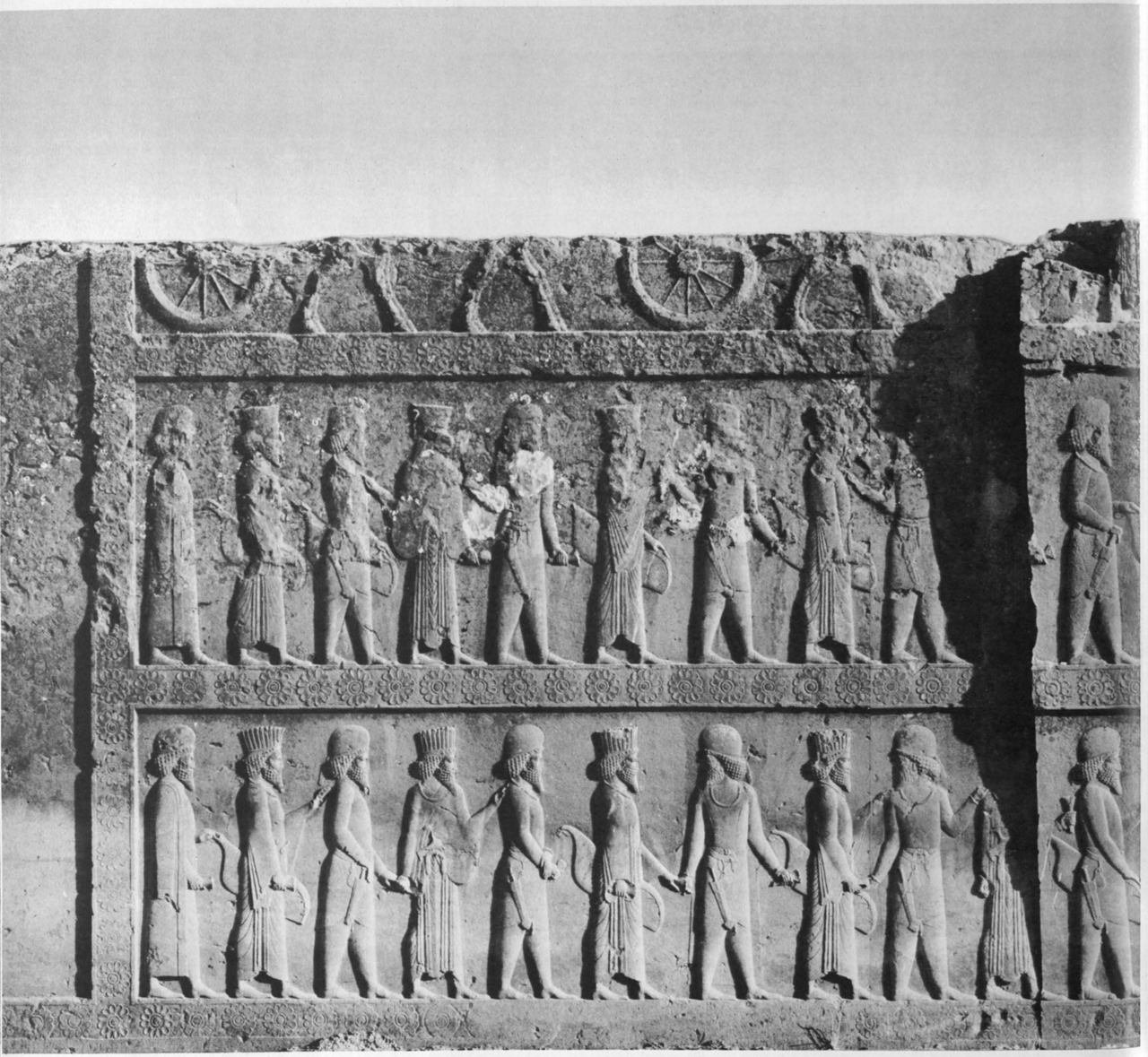


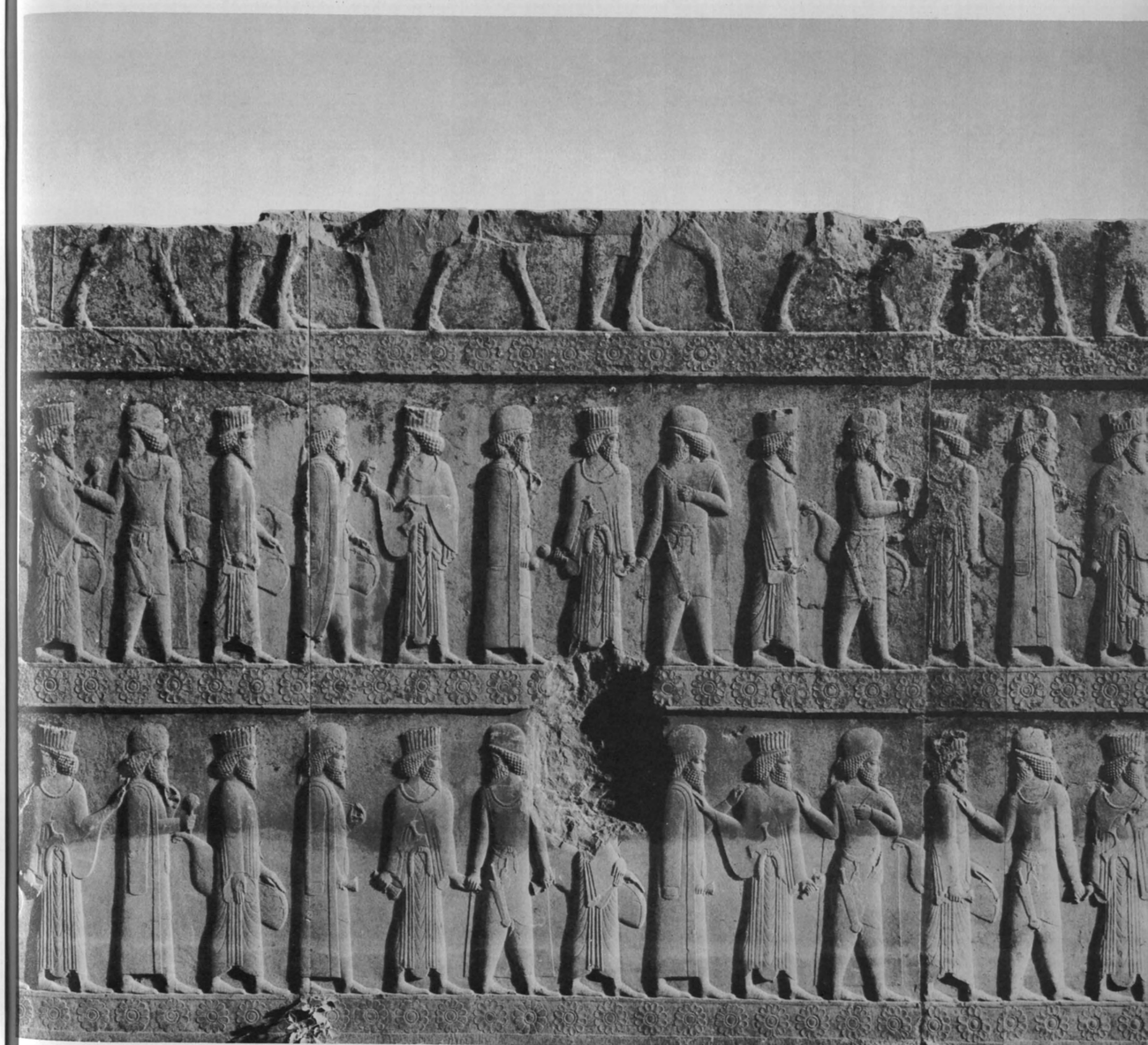
D

APADANA. PERSIAN GUARDS ON EAST WING OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. SOUTH FACE OF PARAPET OF INNER FLIGHT. *B*. NEWEL OF INNER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:12. *C*. SOUTH FACE OF PARAPET OF OUTER FLIGHT. *D*. NEWEL OF OUTER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:12

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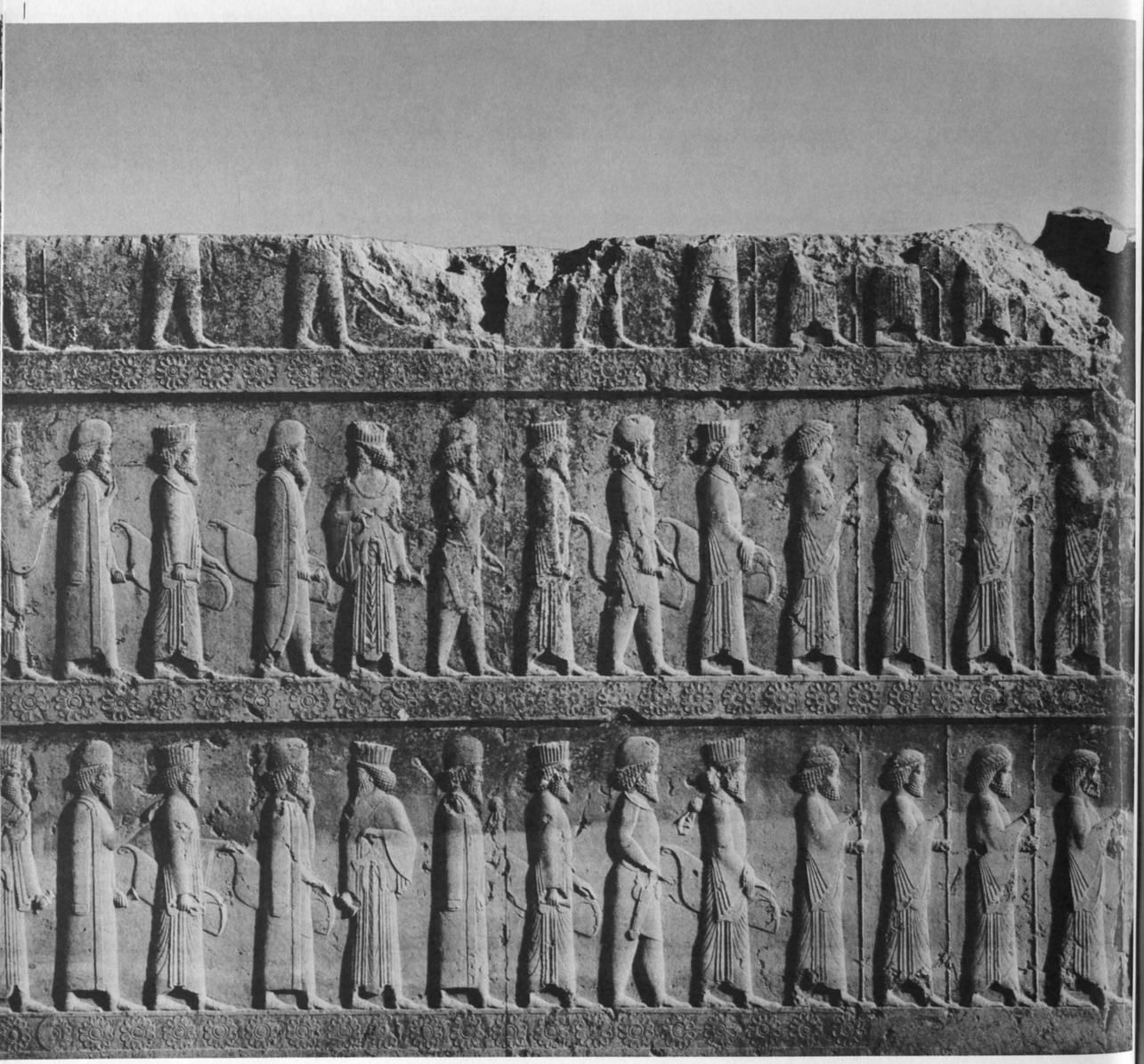
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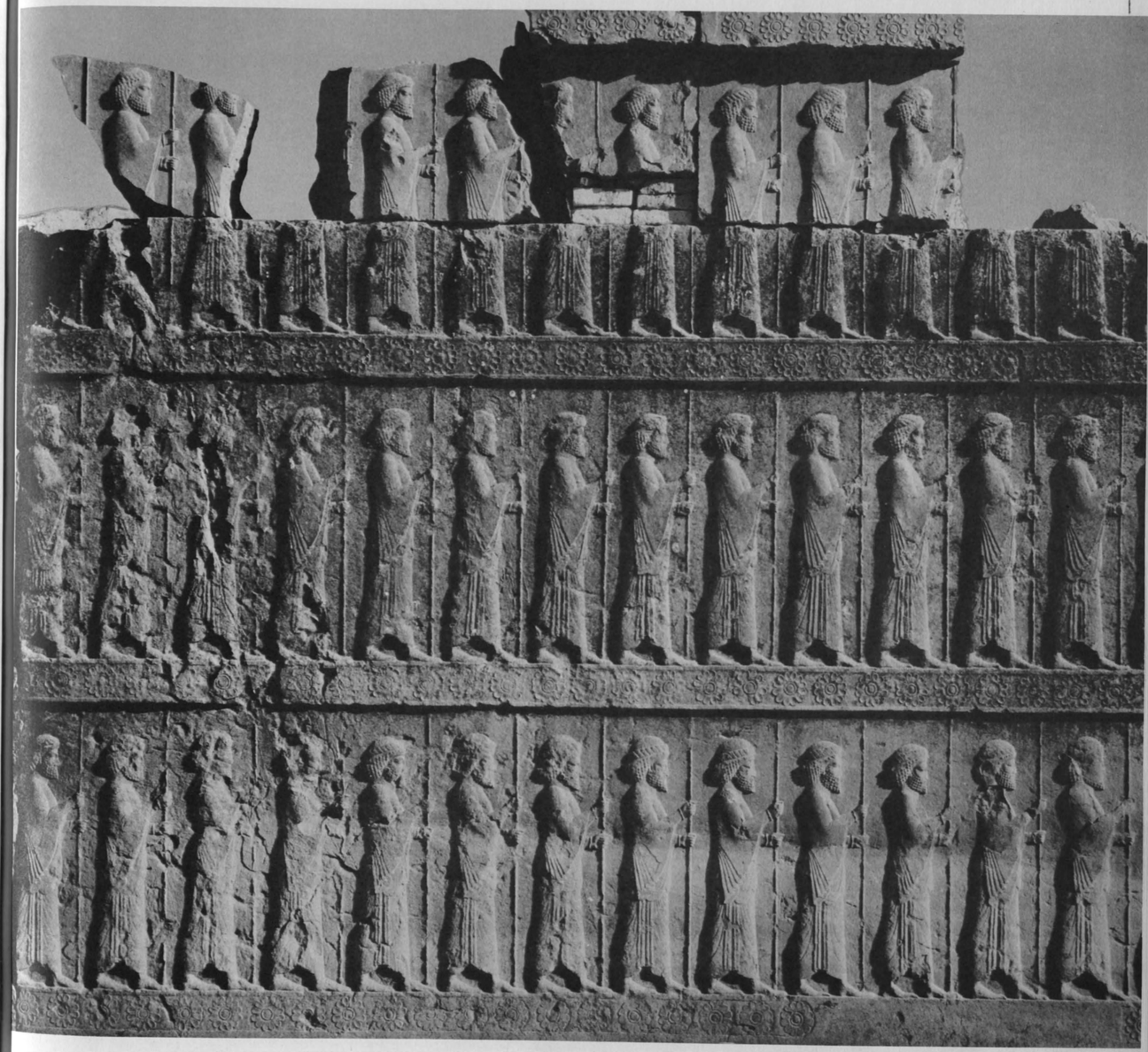




APADANA. KING'S HORSES, CHARIOTS, PERSIAN AND MEDIAN DIGNITARIES ON EAST WING OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12

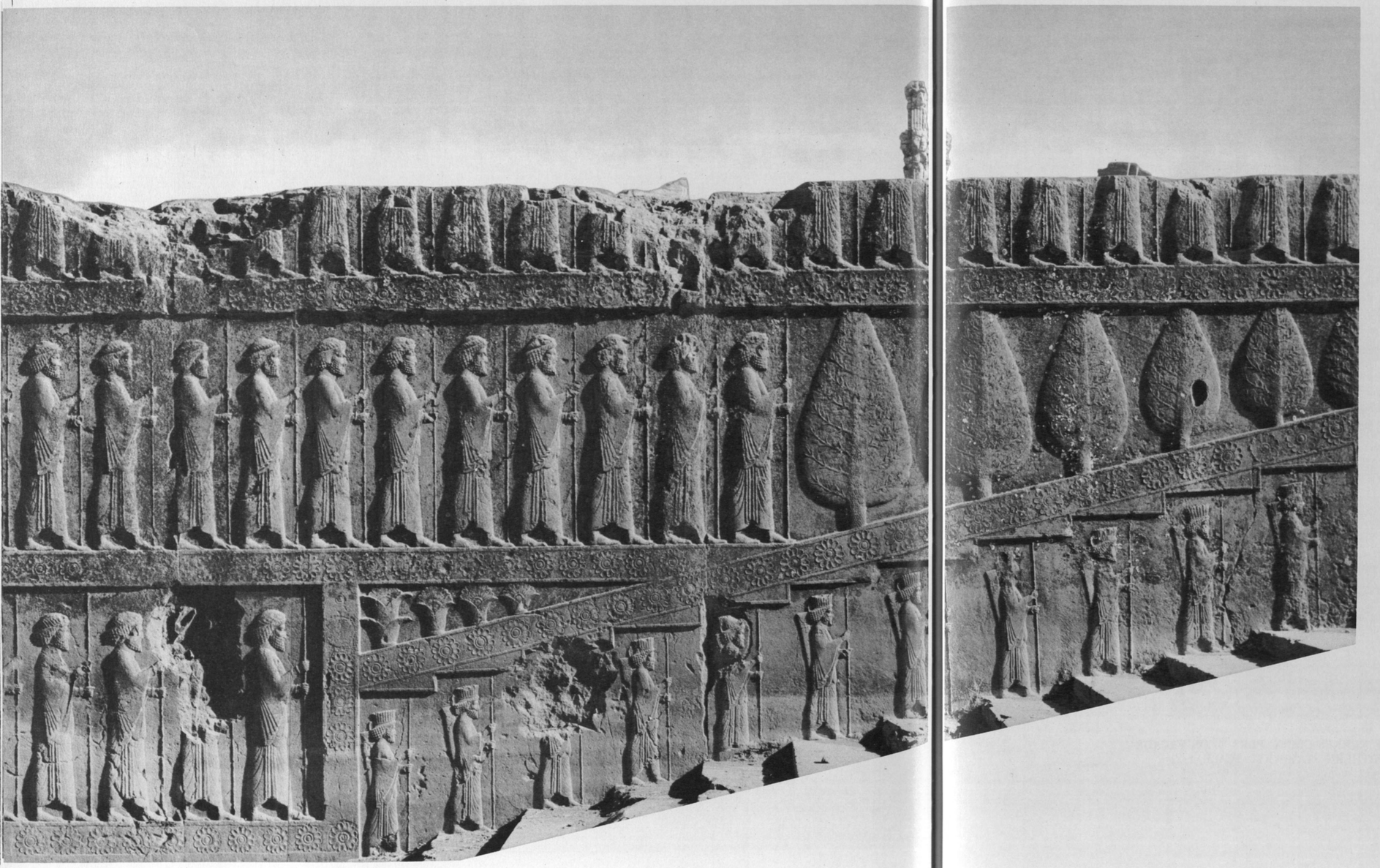
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CONTINUATION OF PRECEDING SCENE. KING'S GROOMS (*LEFT END OF UPPER REGISTER*), PERSIAN AND MEDIAN DIGNITARIES, SUSIAN GUARDS. SCALE, 1:12

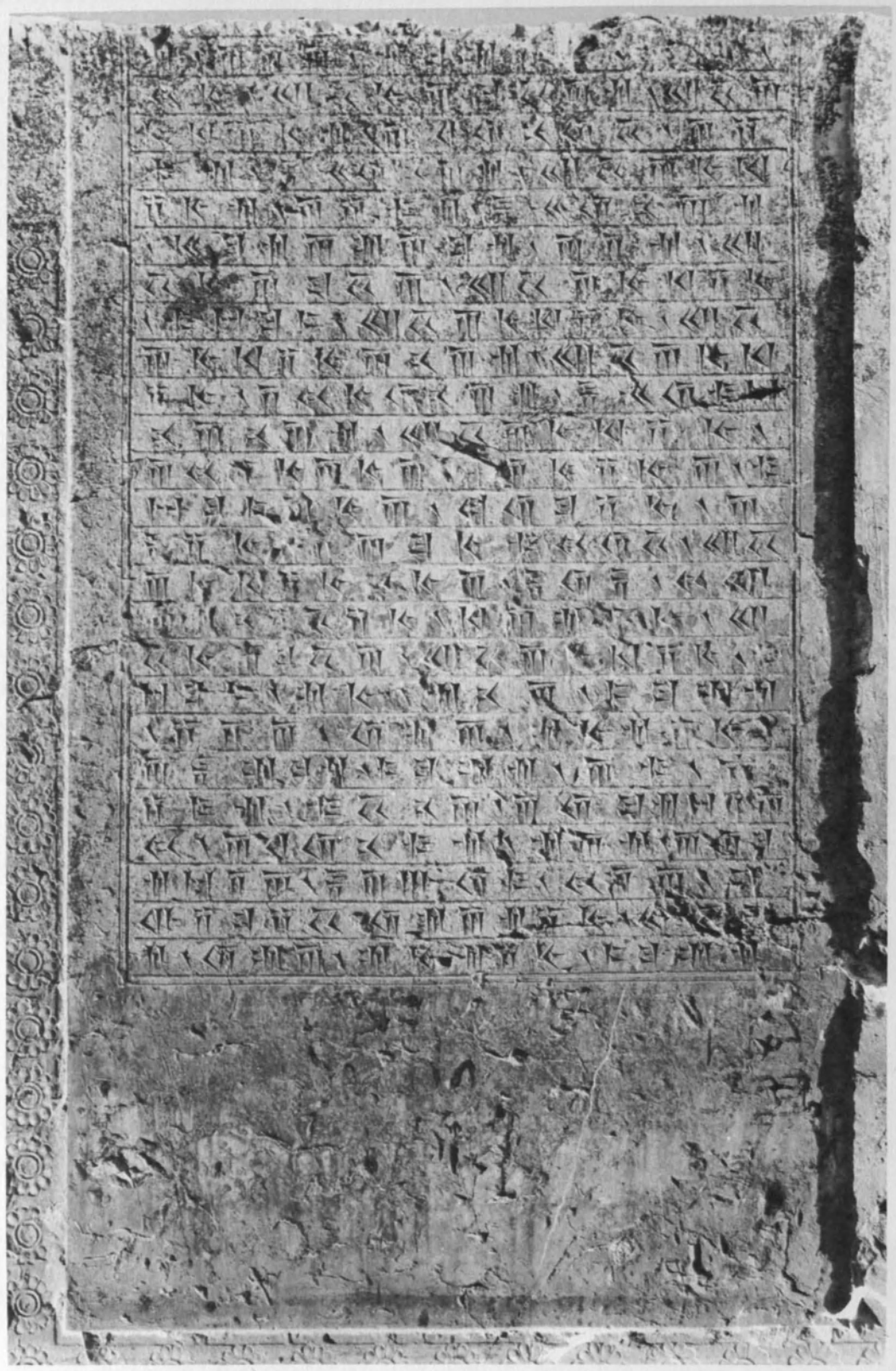
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CONTINUATION OF PRECEDING SCENE. SUSIAN AND PERSIAN GUARDS ON SOUTH FACE OF OUTER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:12

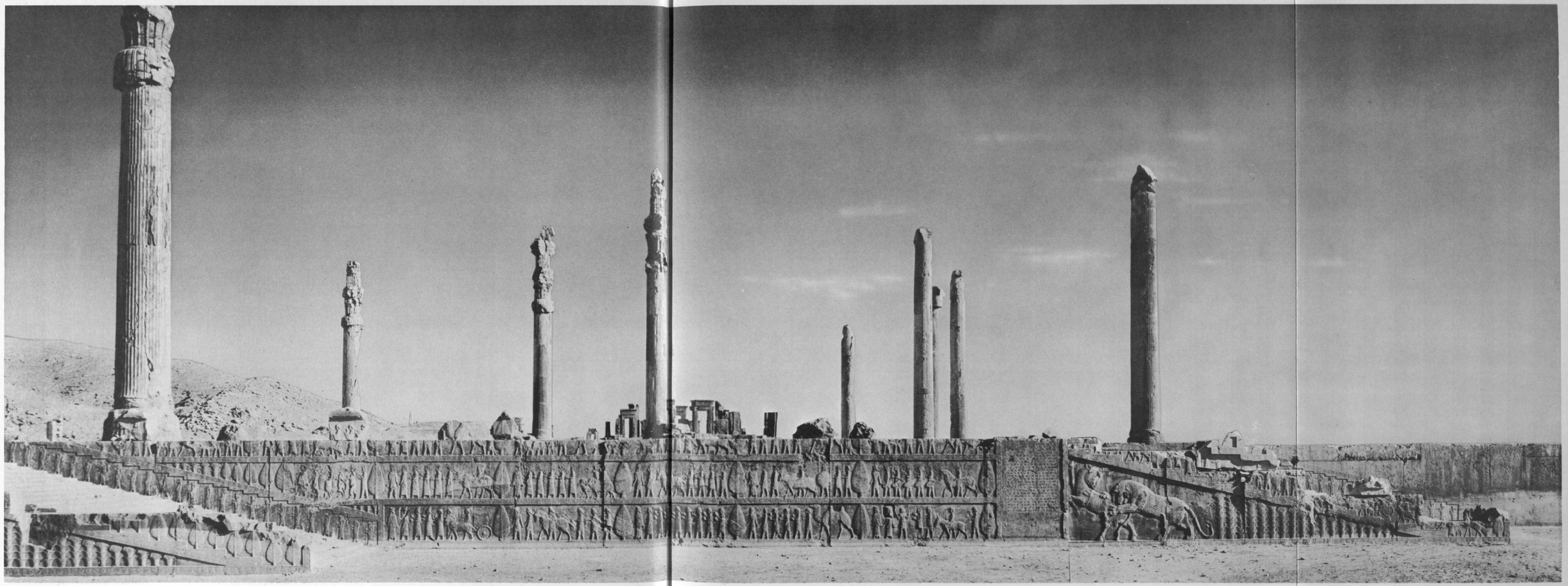
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PLATE 60



APADANA. OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF XERXES (XERX. PERS. b) ON FAÇADE OF WESTERN INNER FLIGHT OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12

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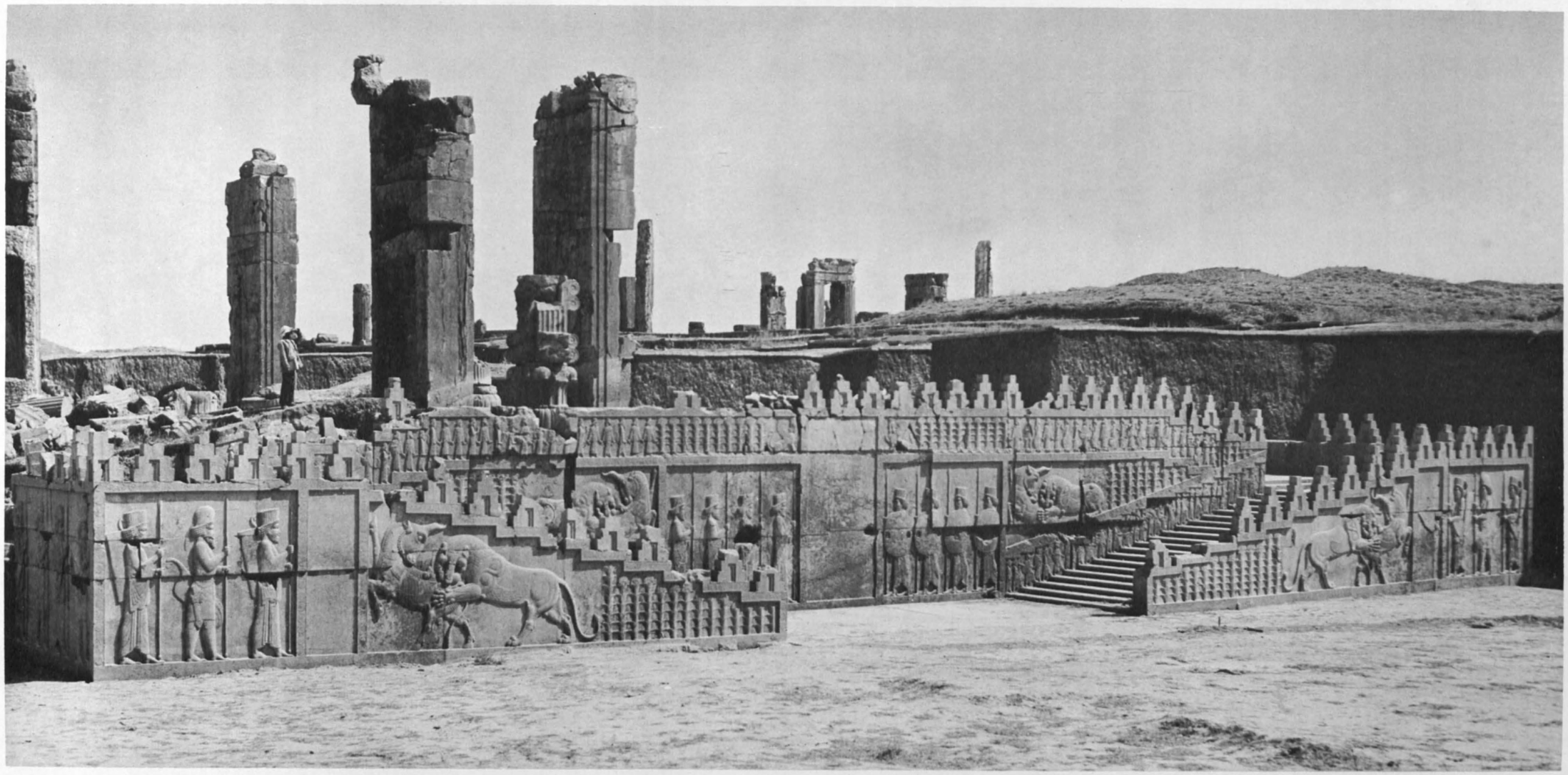
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION ON WEST WING OF NORTHERN STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSE*). SCALE, ABOUT 1:50

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THE COUNCIL HALL

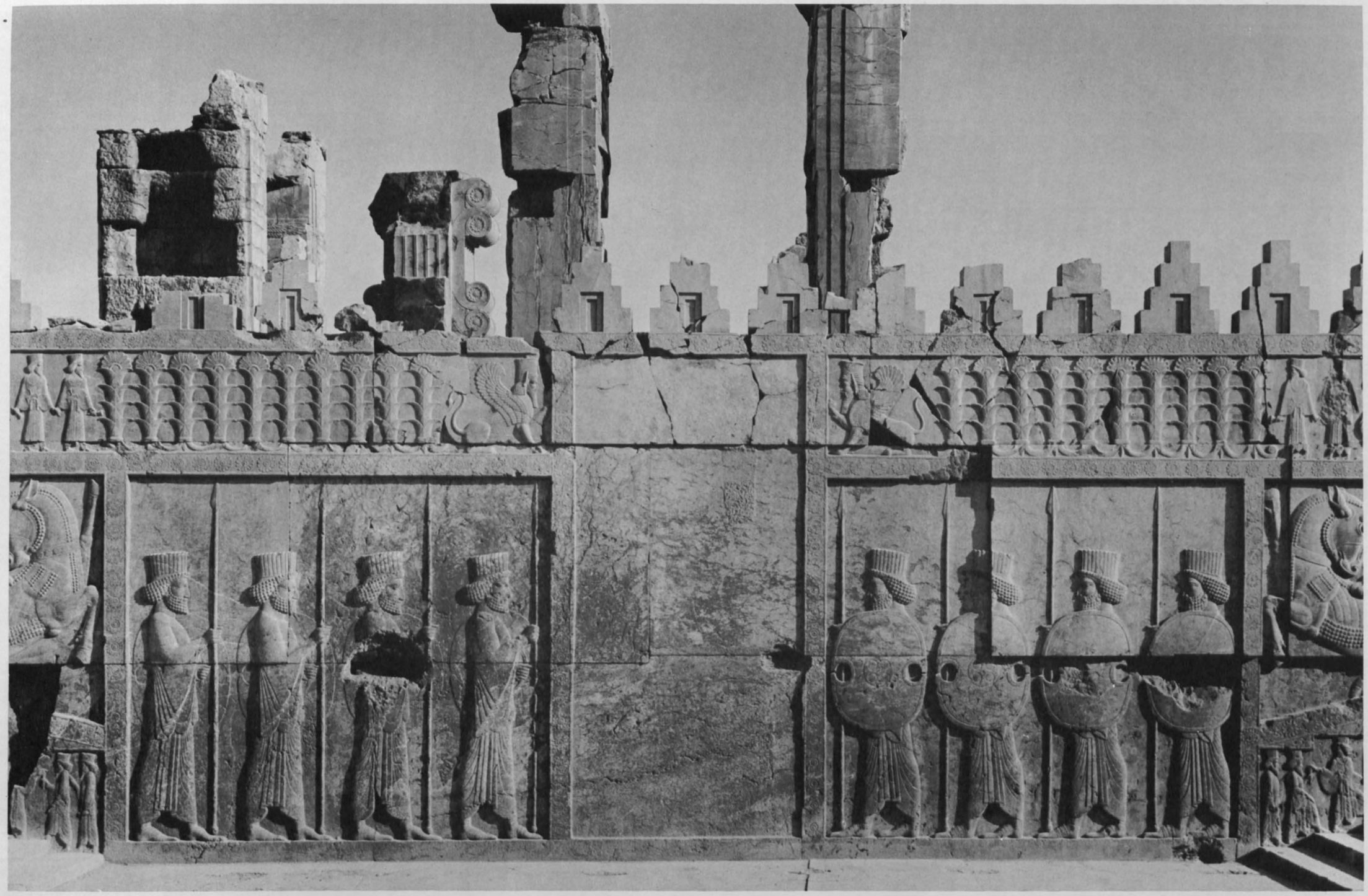
PLATES 62–87

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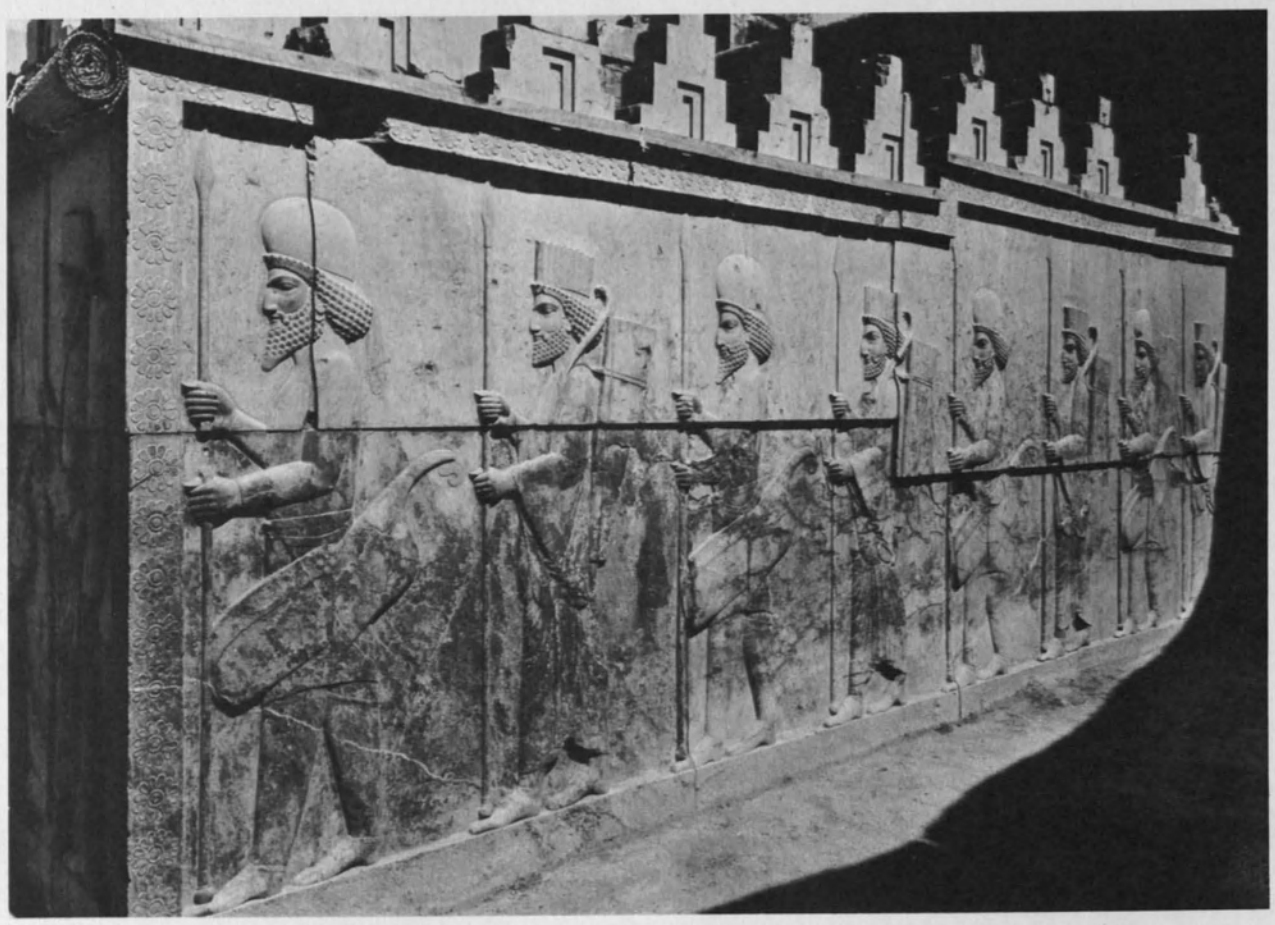
COUNCIL HALL. GENERAL VIEW OF MAIN STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION, S*)

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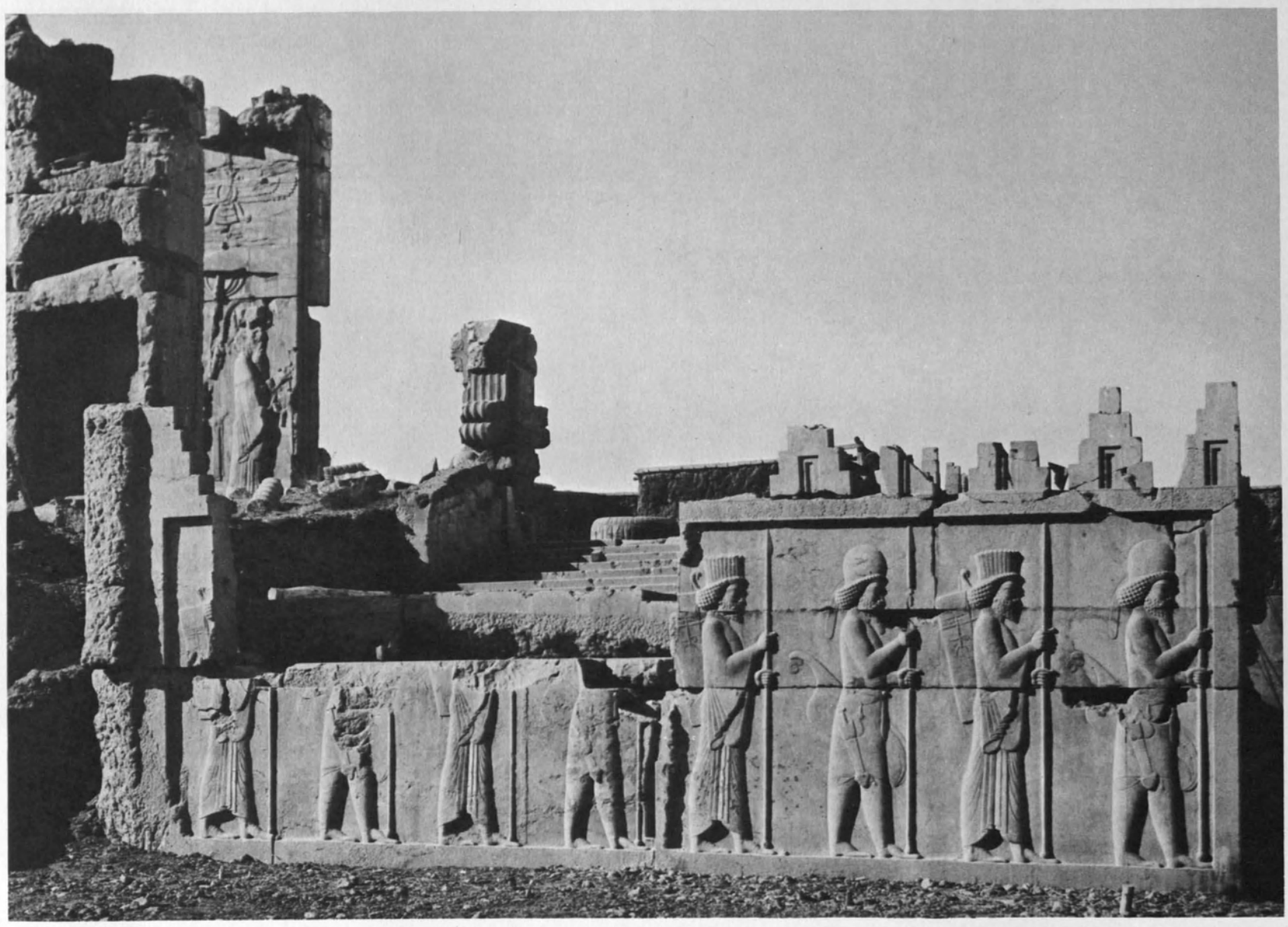


COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN GUARDS, SPHINXES, AND BLANK INSCRIPTION PANEL ON CENTRAL FAÇADE OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:25

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A



B

COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN AND MEDIAN GUARDS ON MAIN STAIRWAY. *A*. WEST FACE OF WEST WING. *B*. EAST FACE OF EAST WING

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A



B



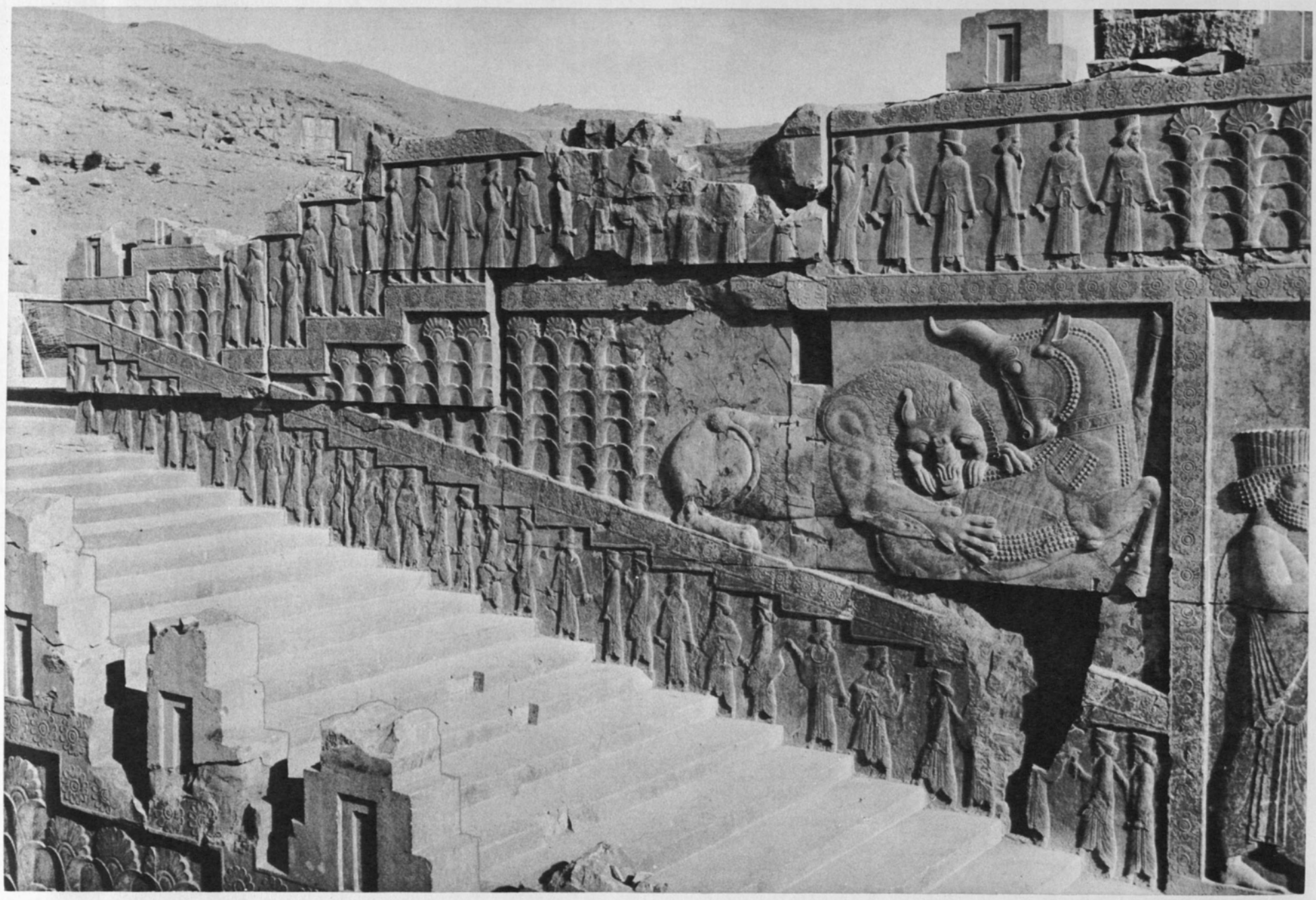
C



D

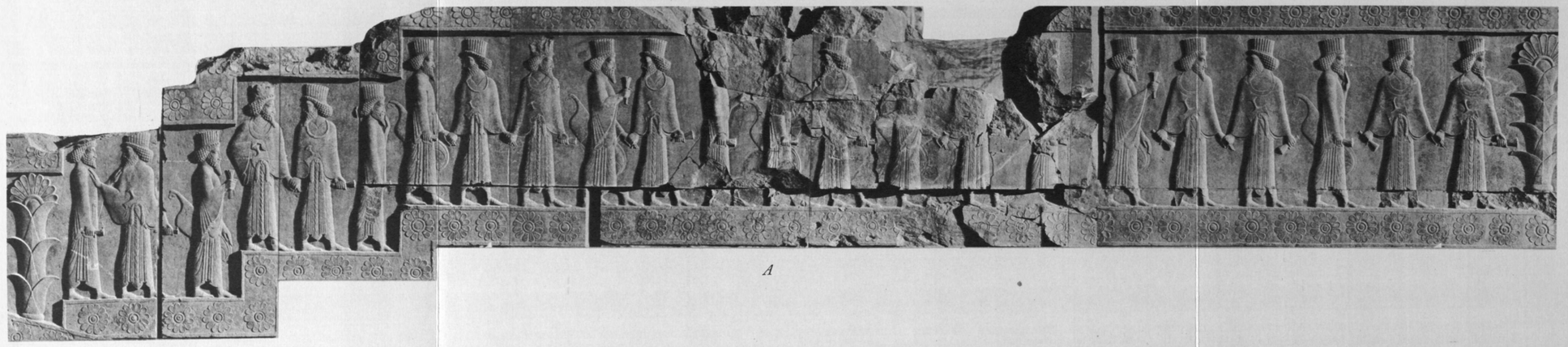
COUNCIL HALL. EAST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. *A–B*. SCABBARD TIPS OF MEDIAN GUARD ON NORTH FACE (SEE PL. 62) AND THIRD GUARD (MEDIAN) FROM RIGHT ON EAST FACE (SEE PL. 64 *B*). SCALE, 1:2. *C*. COMPLETE VIEW OF MEDE (CF. *B*) AND PRECEDING PERSIAN. SCALE, 1:16. *D*. COMPLETE VIEW OF MEDE'S SWORD (CF. *C*). SCALE, 1:4

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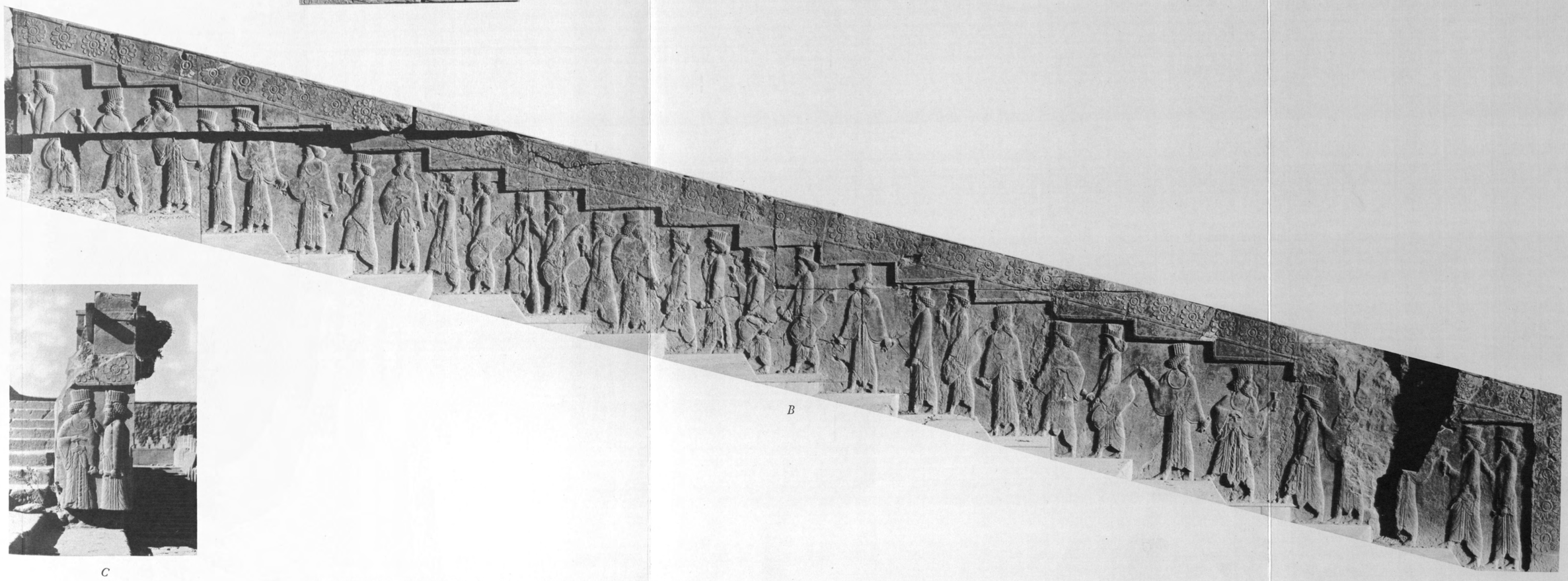


COUNCIL HALL. EAST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF LOWER FLIGHT (SEE PL. 67)

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A



B

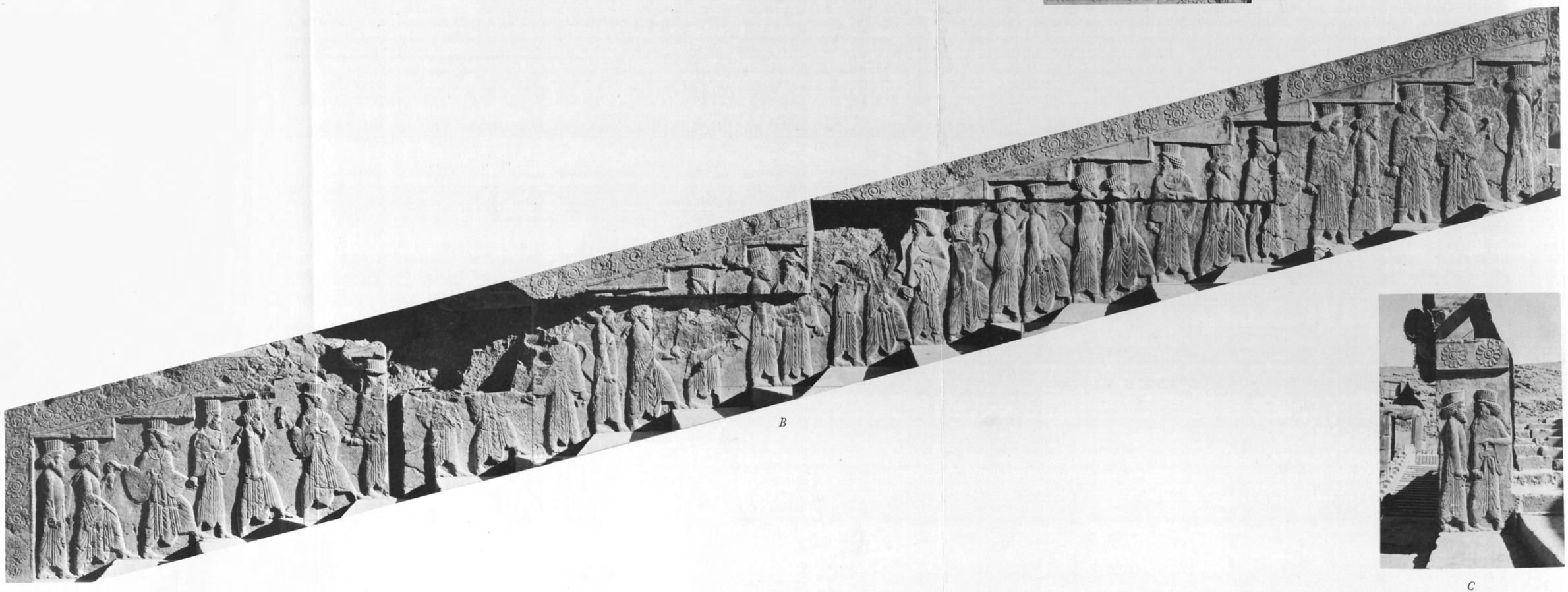
C

COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN DIGNITARIES ON EAST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A–B*. SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF LOWER FLIGHT. *C*. NEWEL OF INTERMEDIATE LANDING

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A

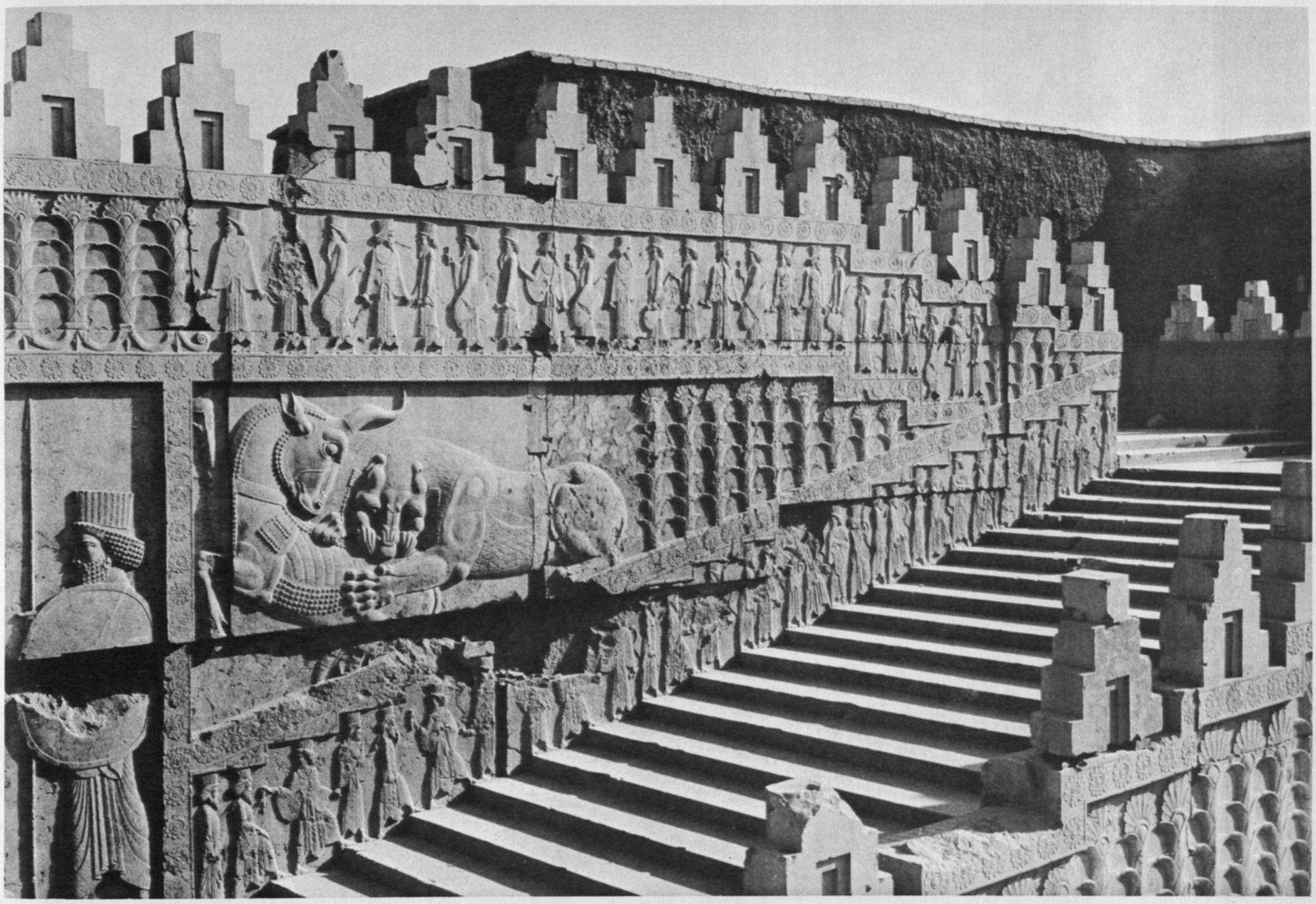


B

C

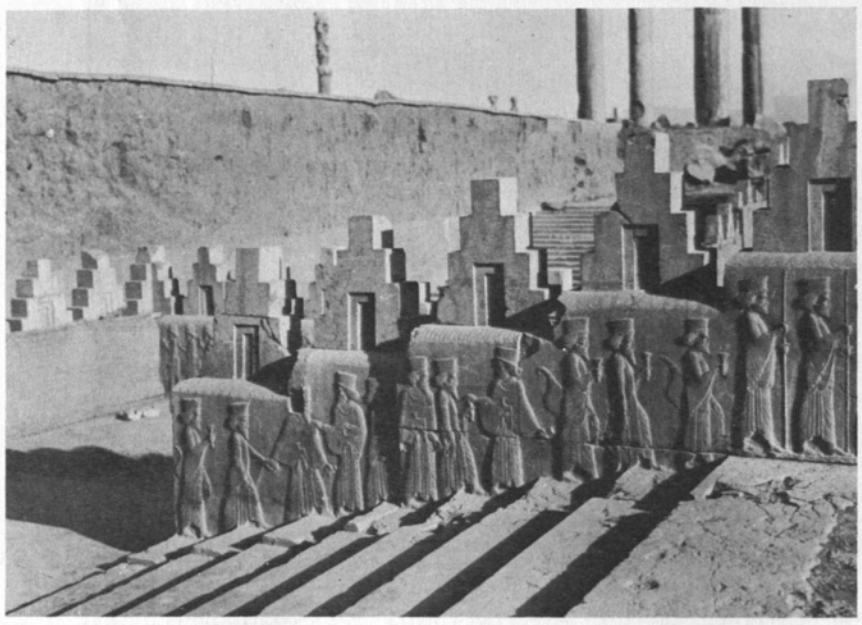
COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN DIGNITARIES ON WEST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A–B*. SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF LOWER FLIGHT. *C*. NEWEL OF INTERMEDIATE LANDING

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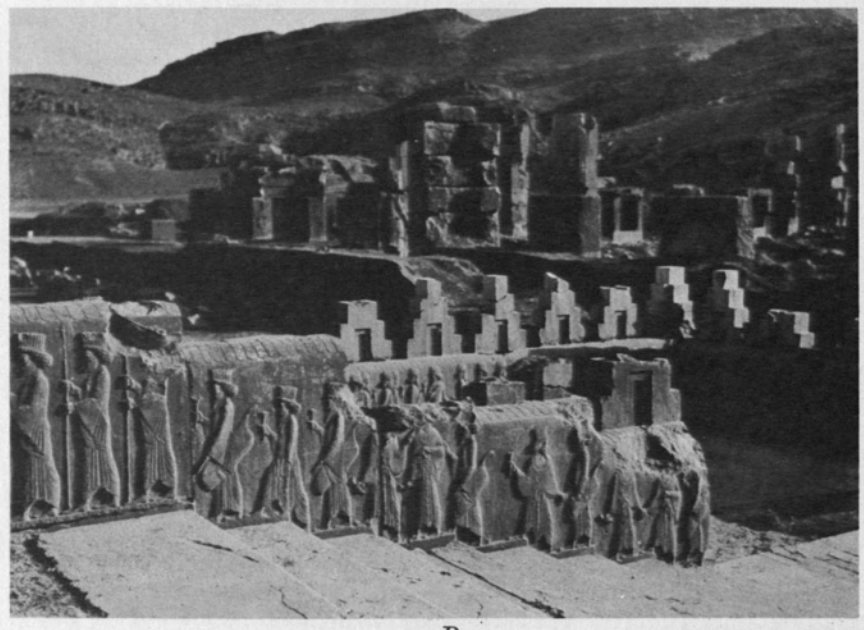


COUNCIL HALL. WEST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SOUTHERN FAÇADE OF LOWER FLIGHT (SEE PL. 68)

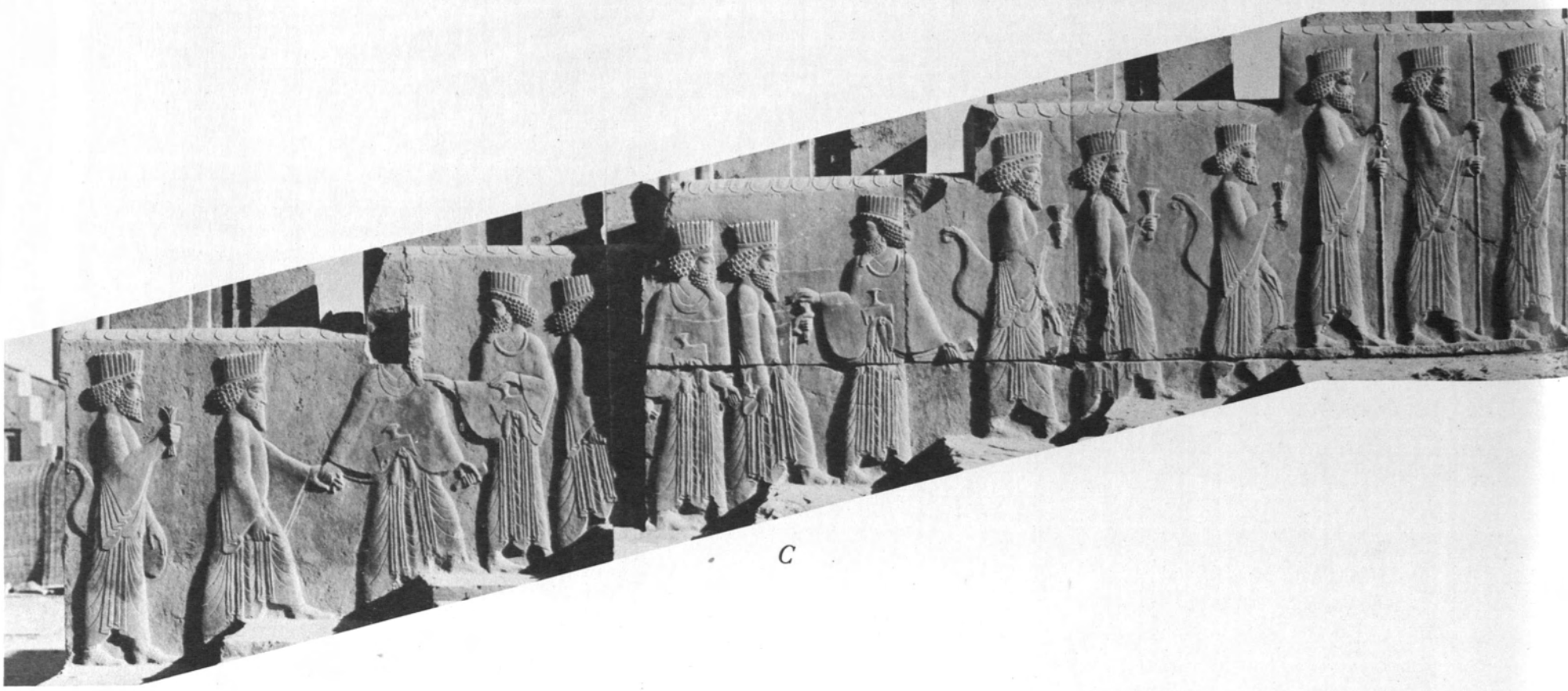
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A



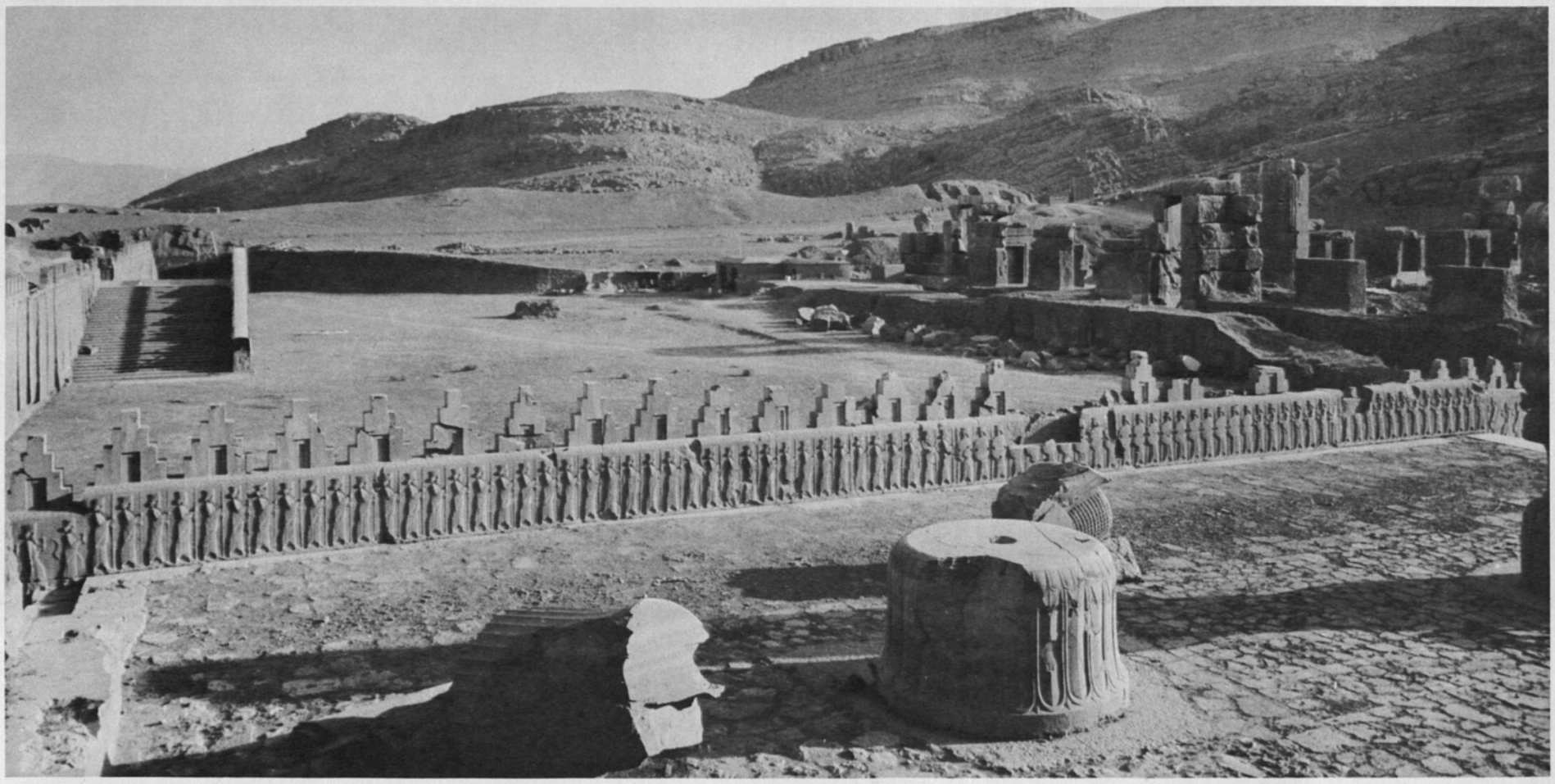
B



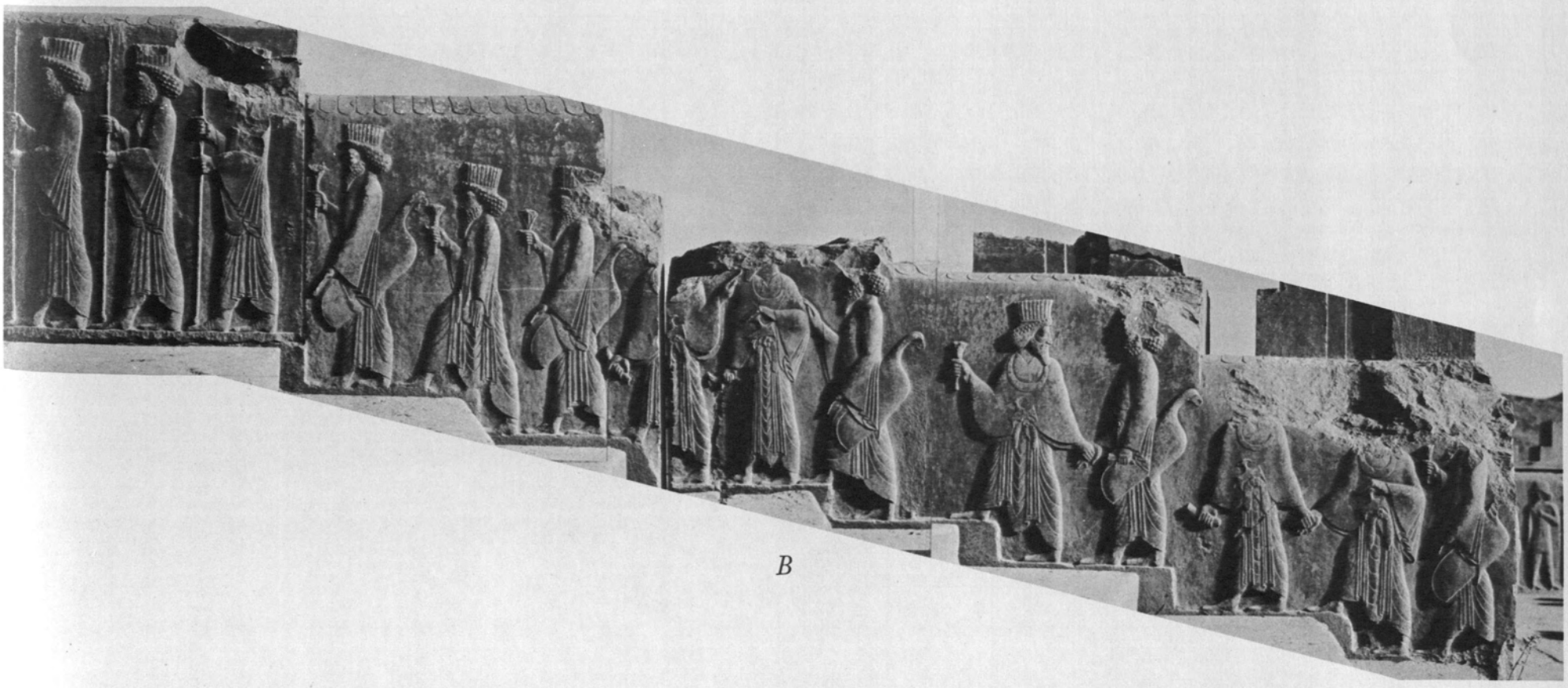
C

COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN DIGNITARIES ON MAIN STAIRWAY. *A*, *C*. NORTHERN PARAPET OF WESTERN UPPER FLIGHT. SCALE OF *C*, 1:12. *B*. NORTHERN PARAPET OF EASTERN UPPER FLIGHT

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A

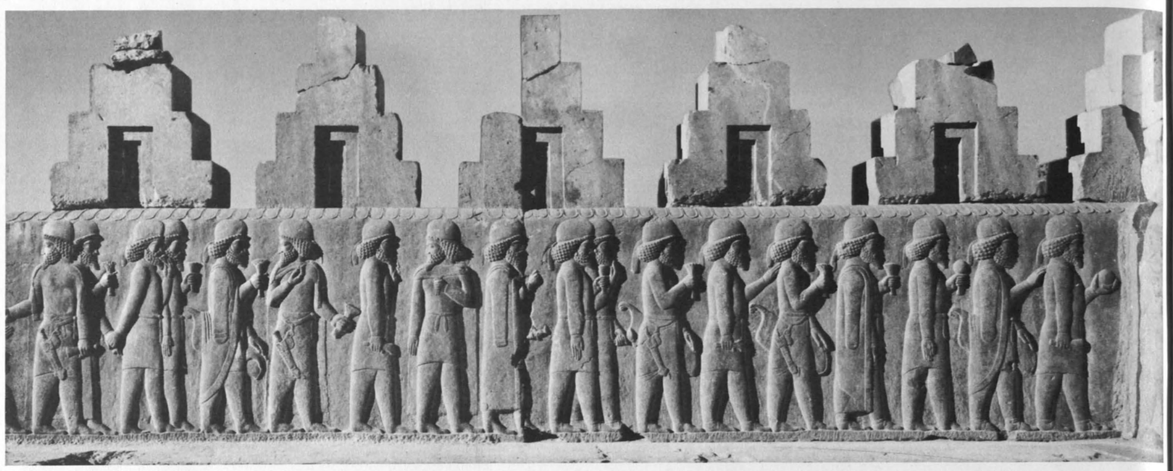


B

COUNCIL HALL. MAIN STAIRWAY. *A*. PERSIAN GUARDS ON INNER FACE OF PORTICO PARAPET.
B. PERSIAN DIGNITARIES SHOWN ON PL. 70 *B*. SCALE, 1:12

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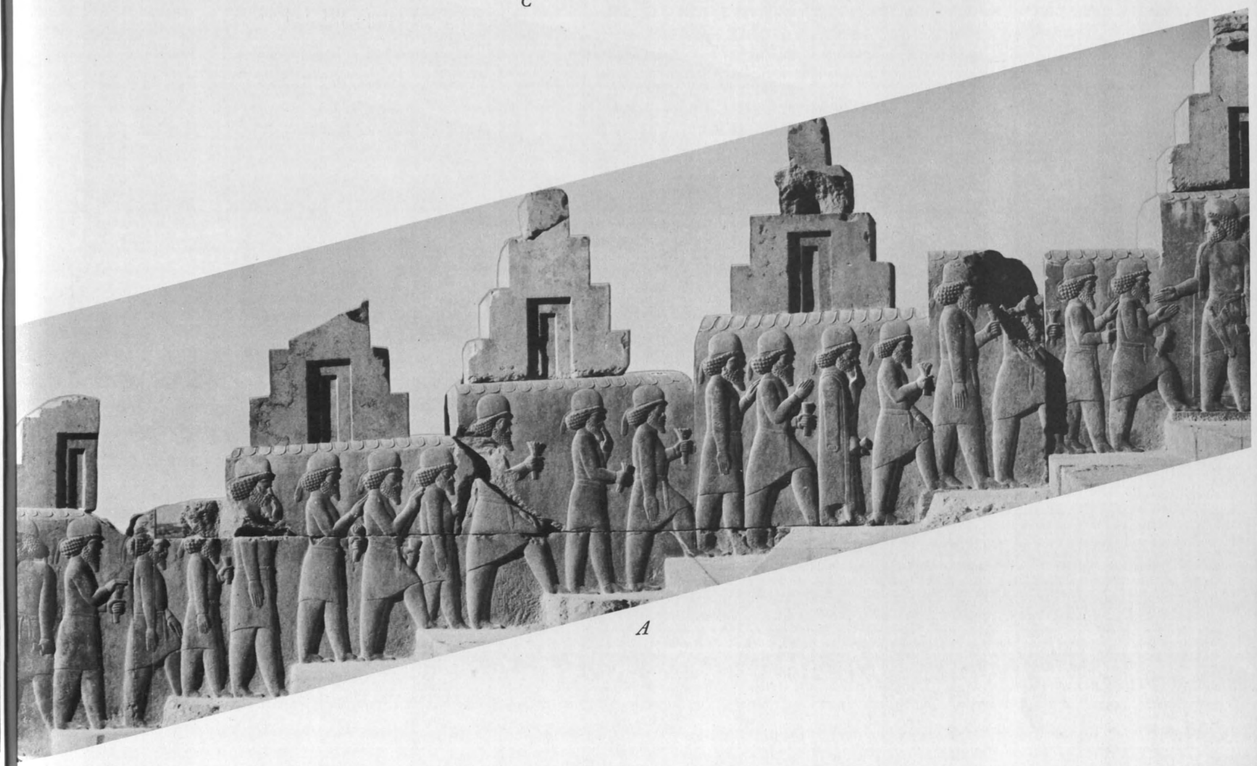
B



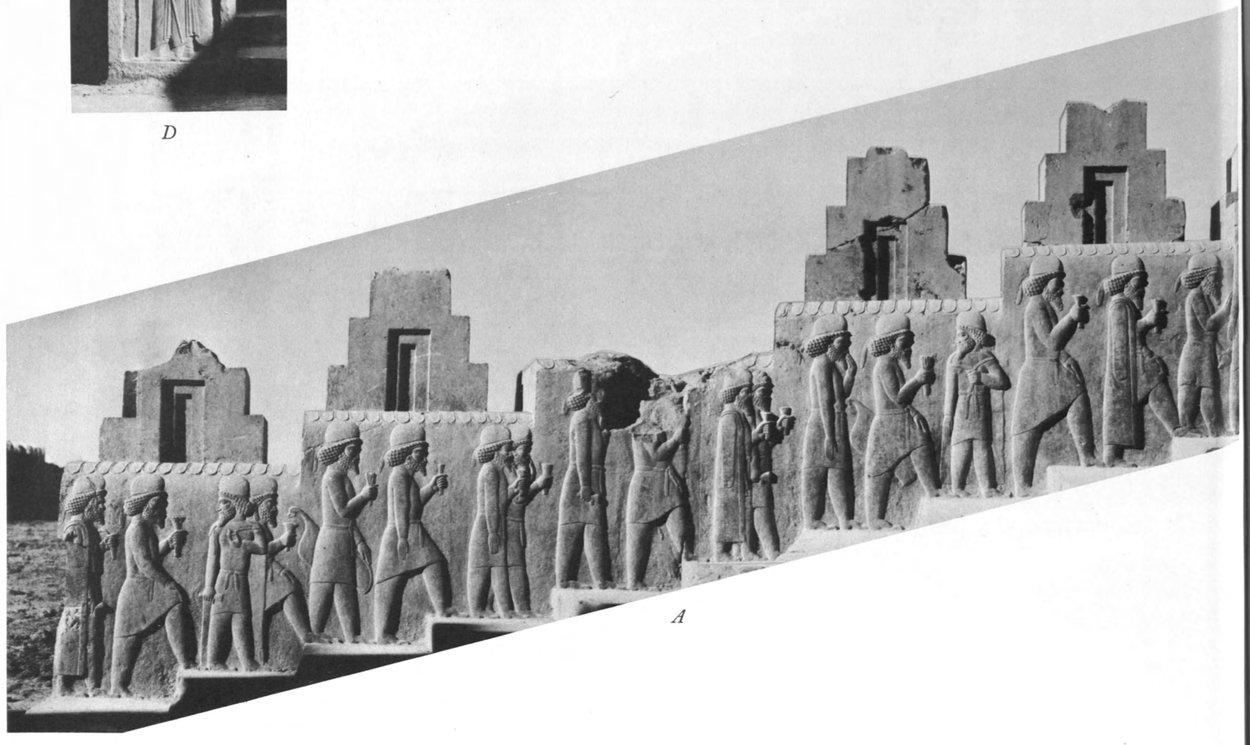
C



D



A

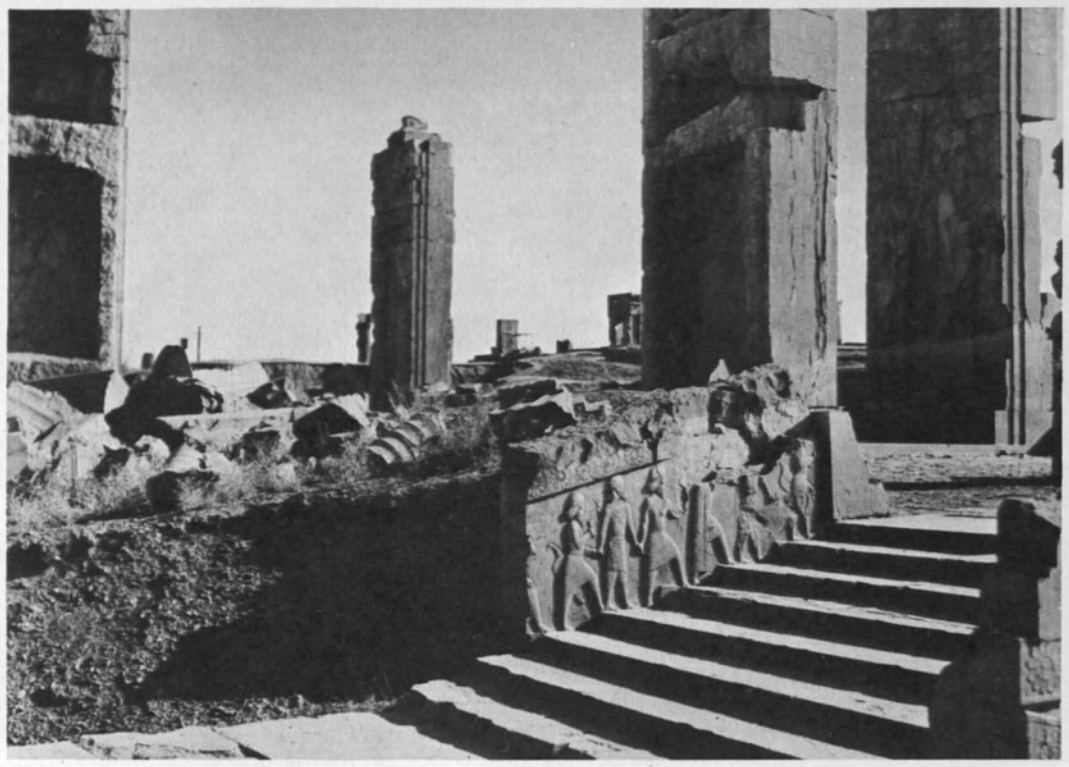


A

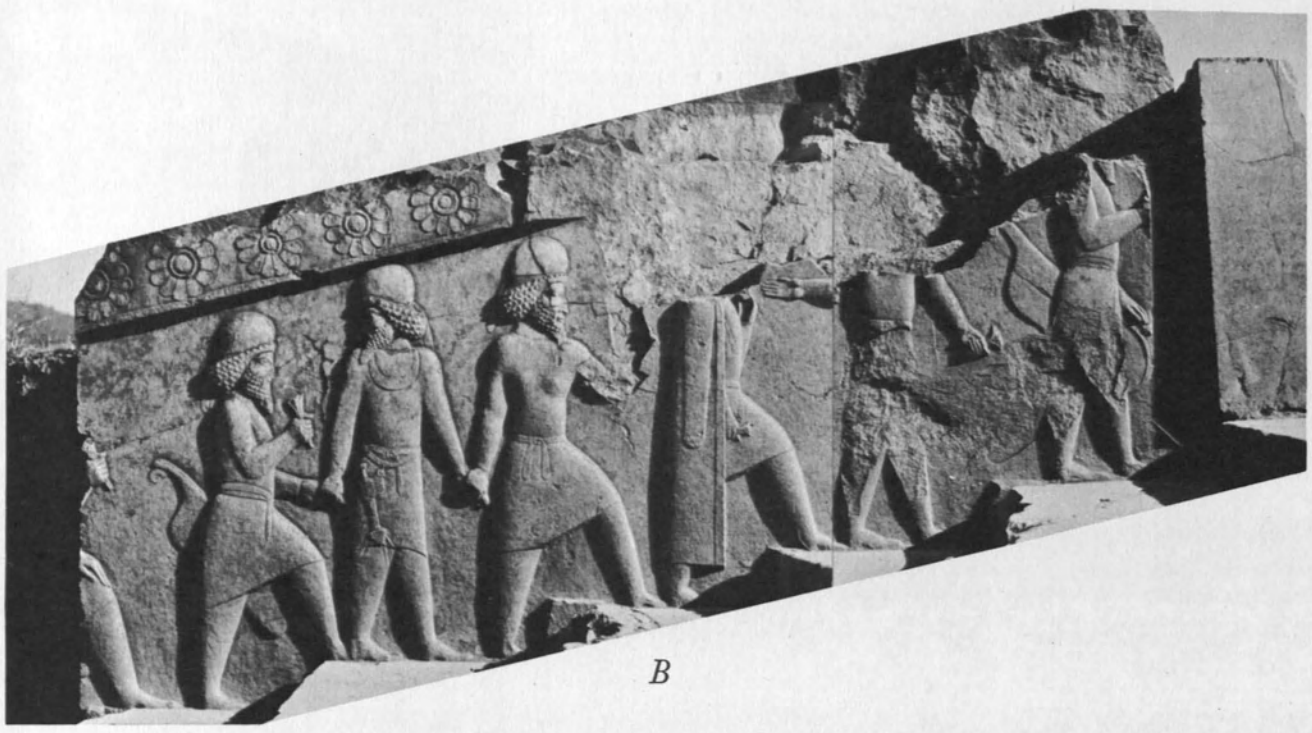
COUNCIL HALL. EAST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12. *A*. MEDIAN DIGNITARIES ON NORTHERN PARAPET OF LOWER FLIGHT. *B–C*. MEDIAN DIGNITARIES ON NORTHERN AND EASTERN PARAPETS OF INTERMEDIATE LANDING. *D*. TWO PERSIAN USHERS ON LOWER NEWEL

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PLATE 73



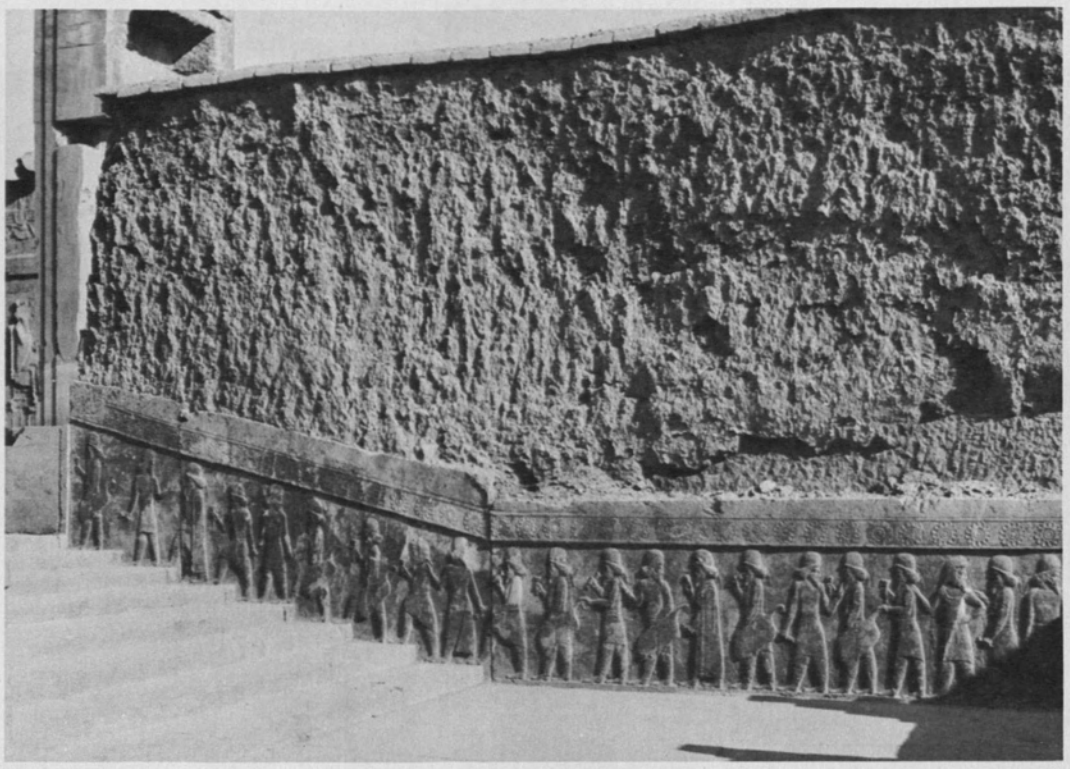
A



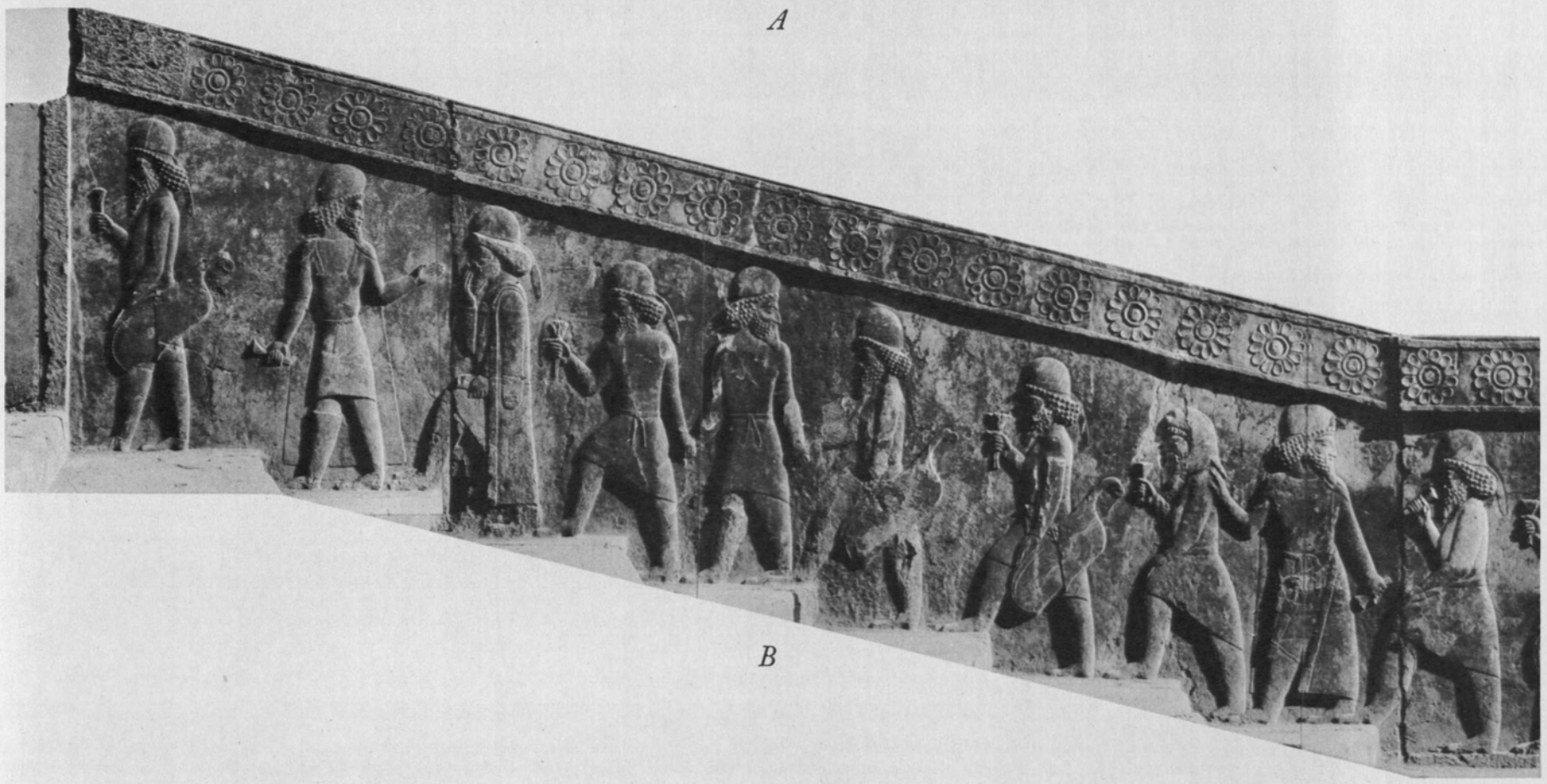
B

COUNCIL HALL. EAST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. MEDIAN DIGNITARIES ON SOUTHERN WALL OF UPPER FLIGHT. SCALE OF *B*, 1:12

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A



B

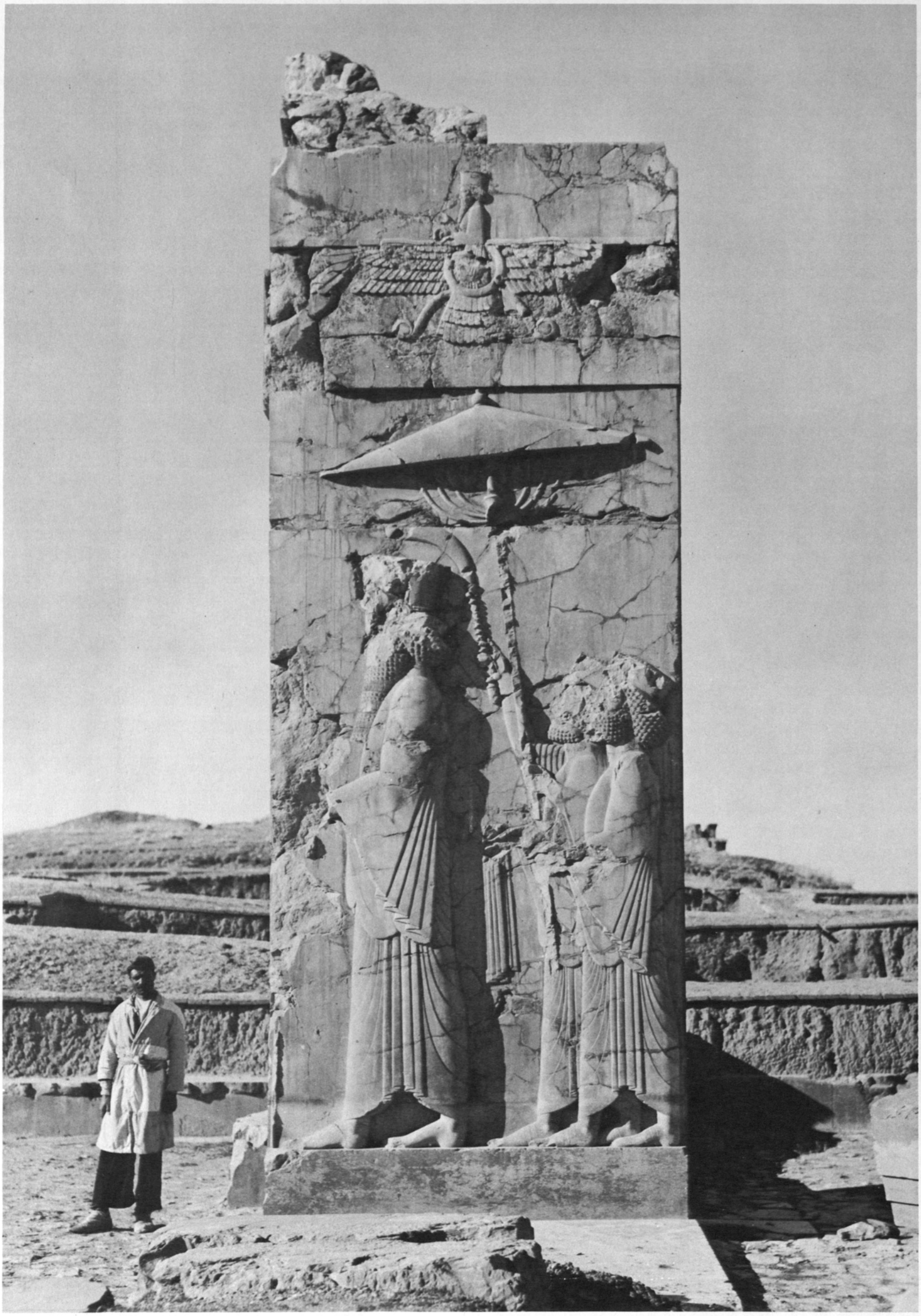


C

COUNCIL HALL. WEST WING OF MAIN STAIRWAY. MEDIAN DIGNITARIES ON SOUTHERN WALL OF UPPER FLIGHT AND OF INTERMEDIATE LANDING. SCALE OF *B–C*, 1:12

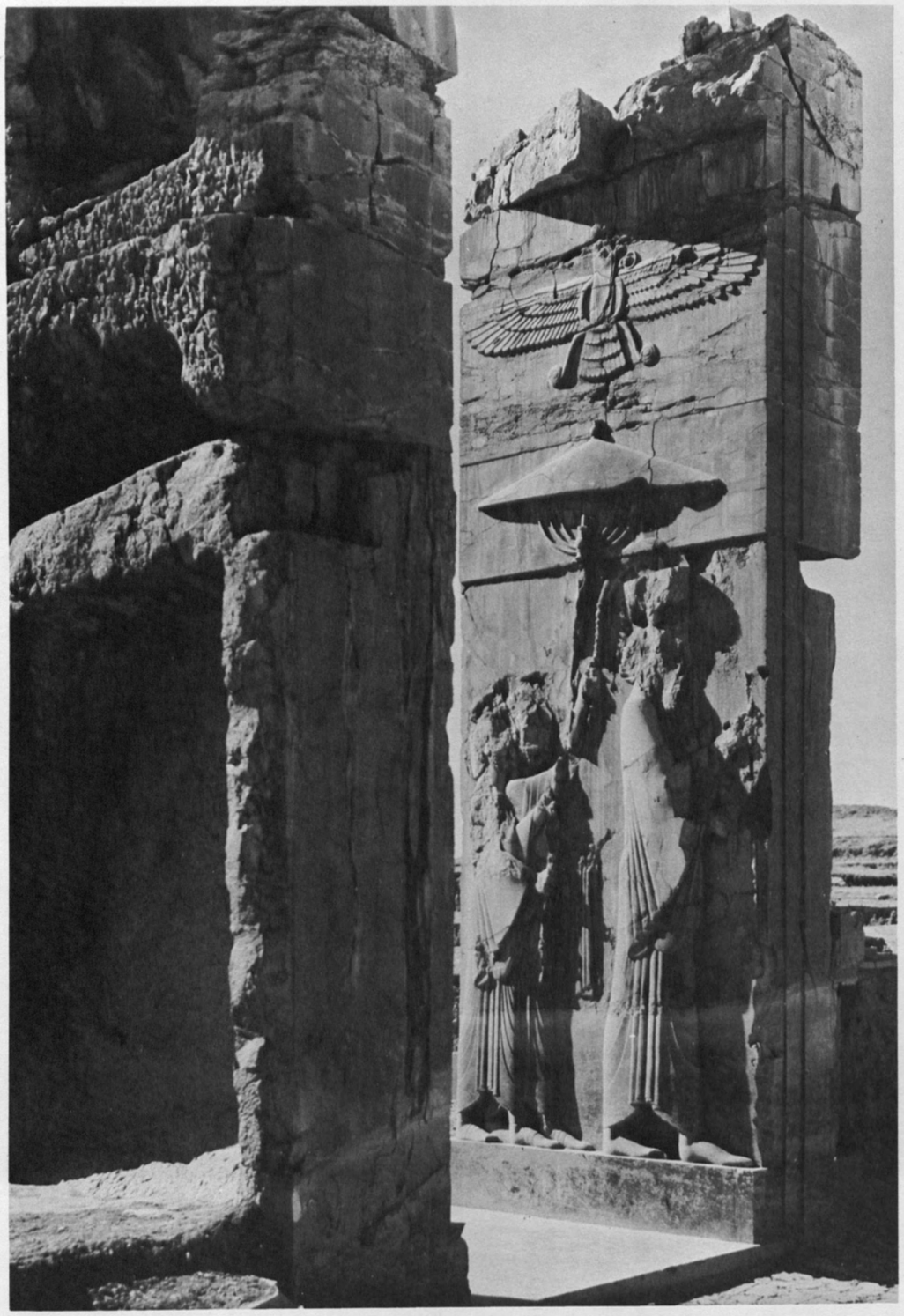
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PLATE 75



COUNCIL HALL. KING, TWO ATTENDANTS, AND AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ON WEST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WSW*)

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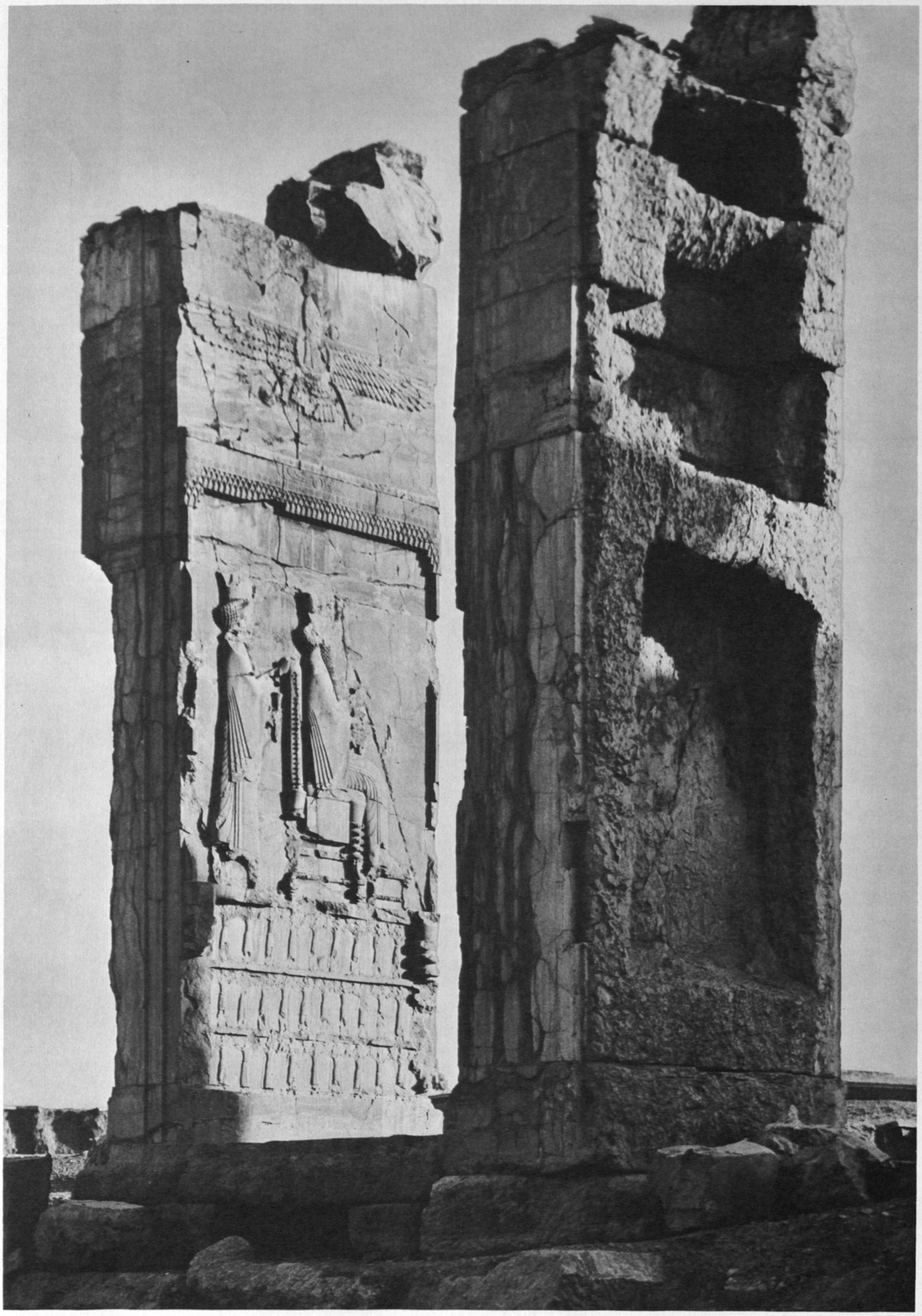
A



B

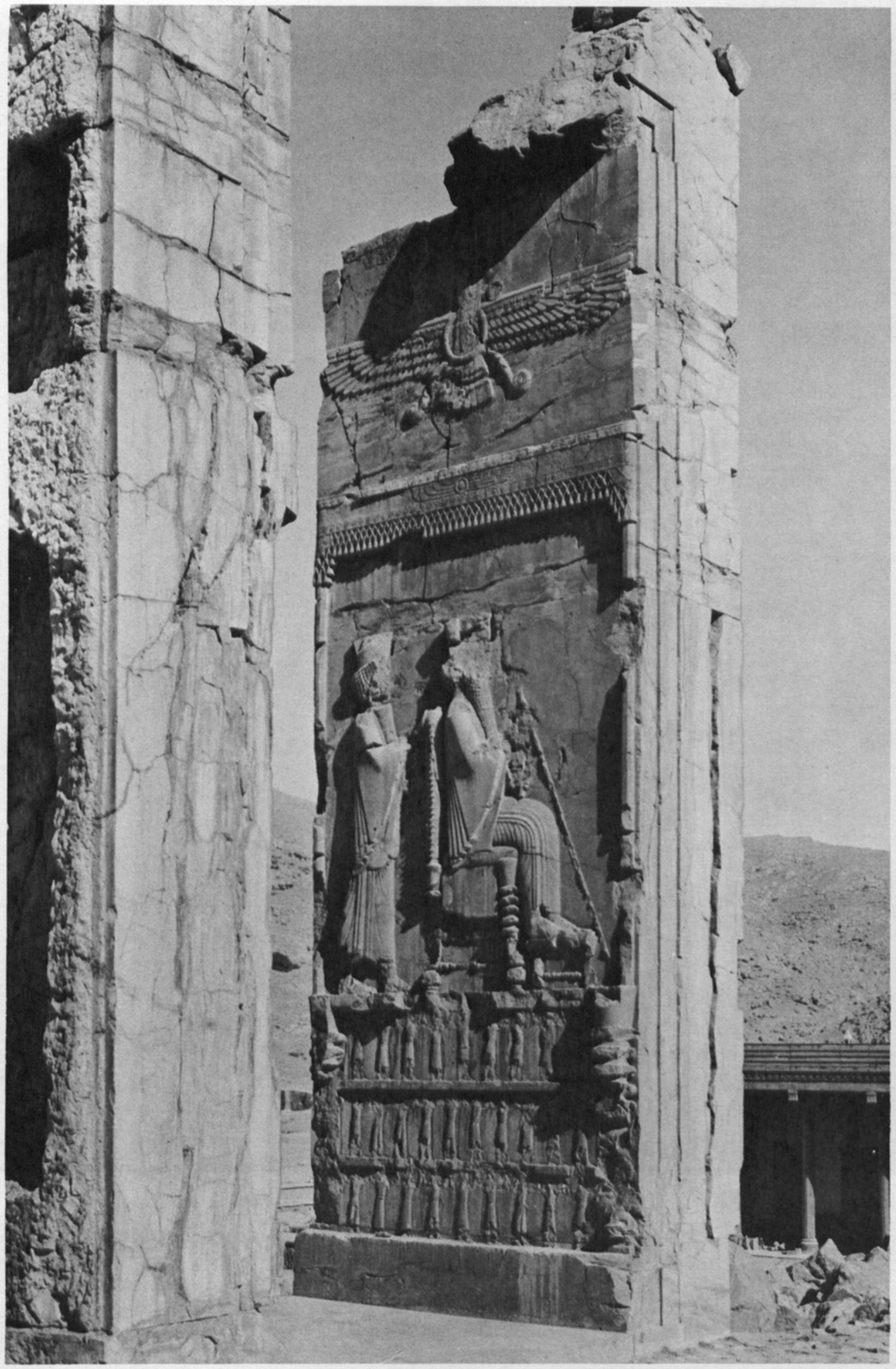
COUNCIL HALL. KING, TWO ATTENDANTS, AND AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ON WEST (*A*) AND EAST (*B*) JAMBS OF NORTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEWS, SW AND SE RESPECTIVELY*)

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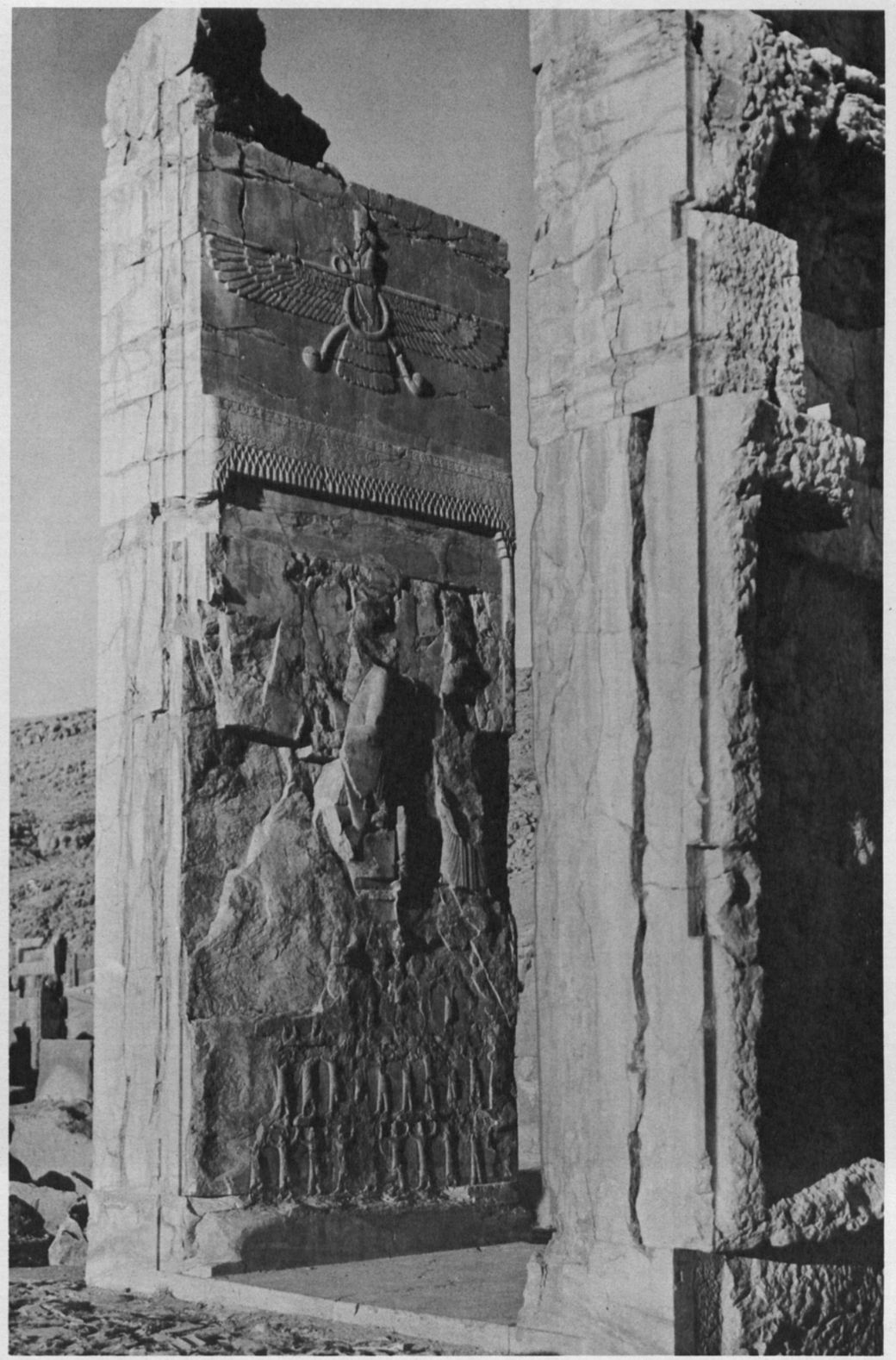


COUNCIL HALL. DARIUS ENTHRONED AND XERXES BENEATH BALDACHIN, THRONE-BEARERS, AND AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ON SOUTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*)

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A



B

COUNCIL HALL. DARIUS ENTHRONED AND XERXES BENEATH BALDACHIN, THRONE-BEARERS, AND AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ON SOUTH (*A*) AND NORTH (*B*) JAMBS OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEWS, SE AND NE RESPECTIVELY*)

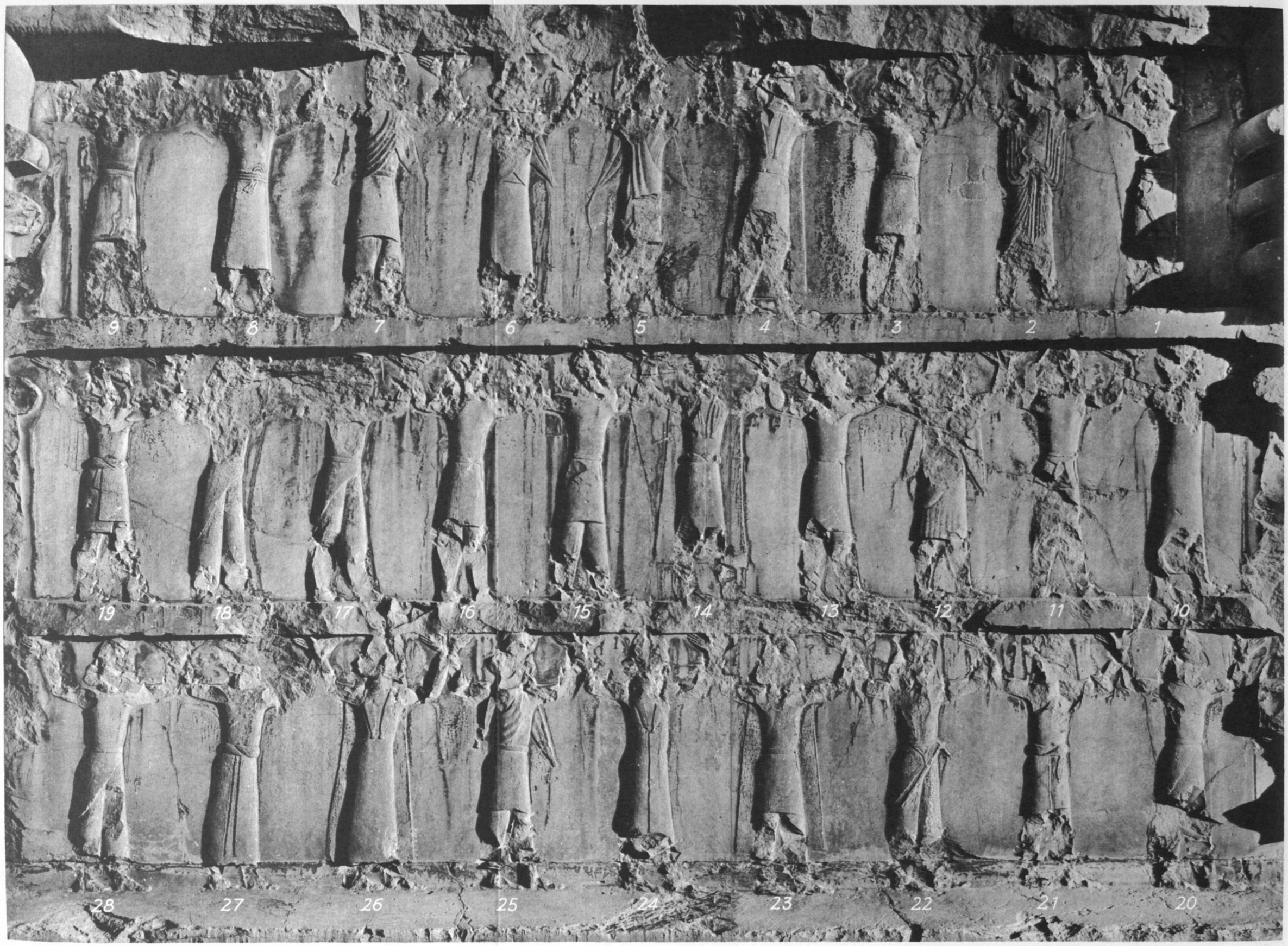
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PLATE 79



COUNCIL HALL. AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ON NORTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL

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COUNCIL HALL. THRONE-BEARERS ON SOUTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. SCALE, 1:6

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COUNCIL HALL. THRONE-BEARERS ON NORTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. SCALE, 1:6

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COUNCIL HALL. GENERAL VIEW OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY FROM COURTYARD 4 (*DIRECTION, SSW*)

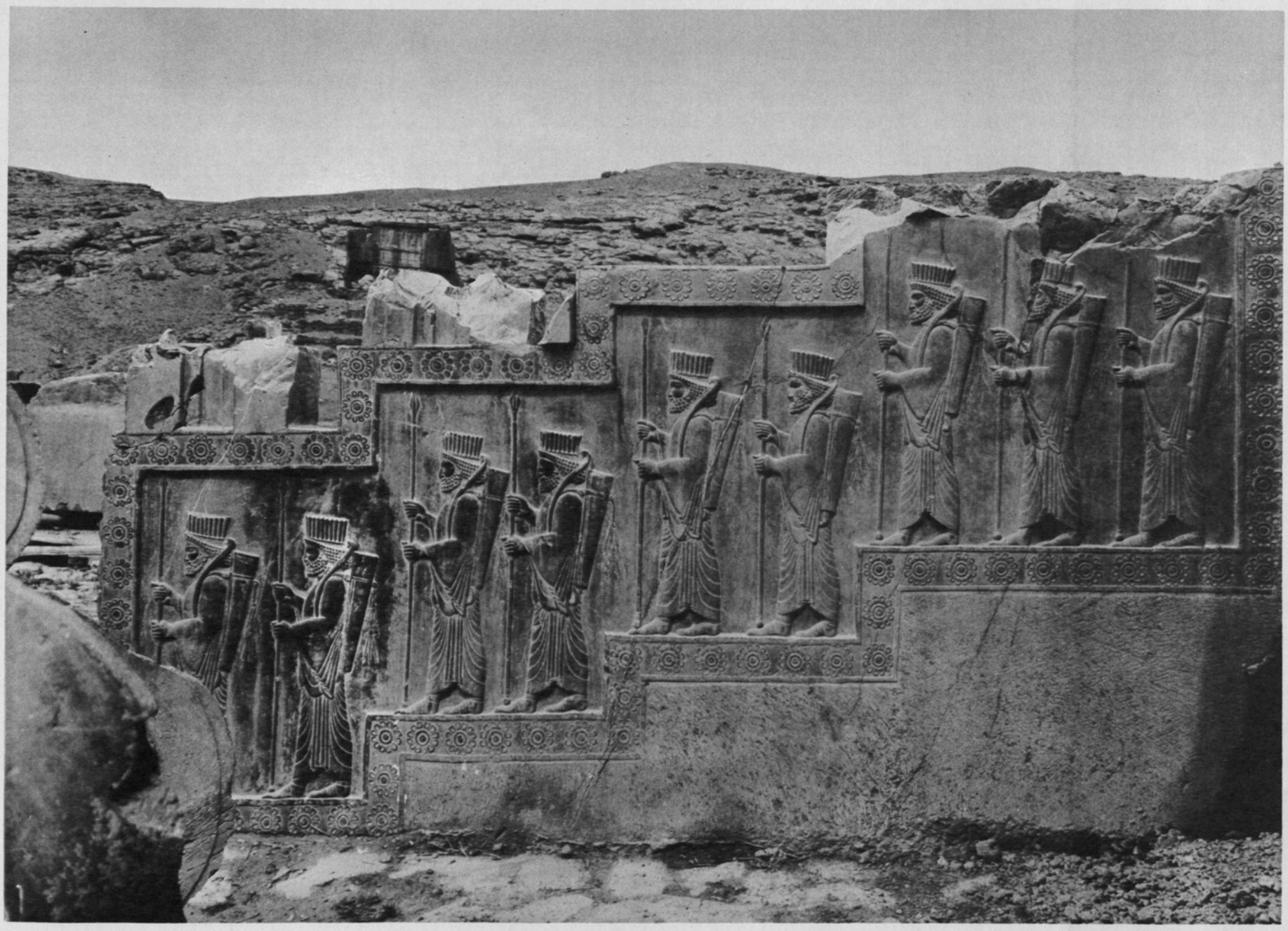
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PLATE 83



COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN GUARDS ON EASTERN FAÇADE OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, ABOUT 1:10

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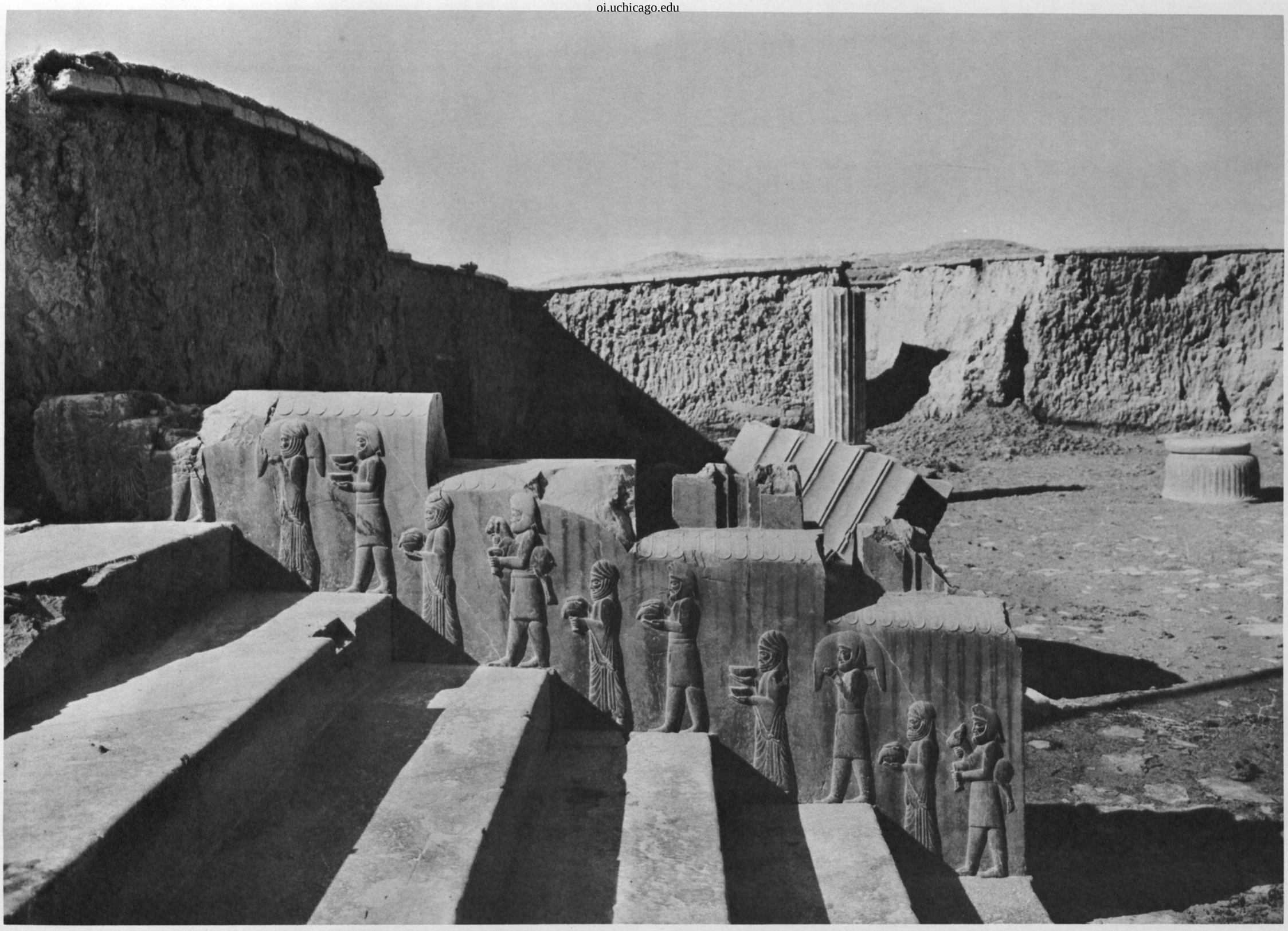
COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN GUARDS ON WESTERN FAÇADE OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, ABOUT 1:10

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COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN AND MEDIAN SERVANTS ON INNER FACE OF EASTERN PARAPET OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:8

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COUNCIL HALL. PERSIAN AND MEDIAN SERVANTS ON INNER FACE OF WESTERN PARAPET OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:8

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PLATE 87



A



B



C

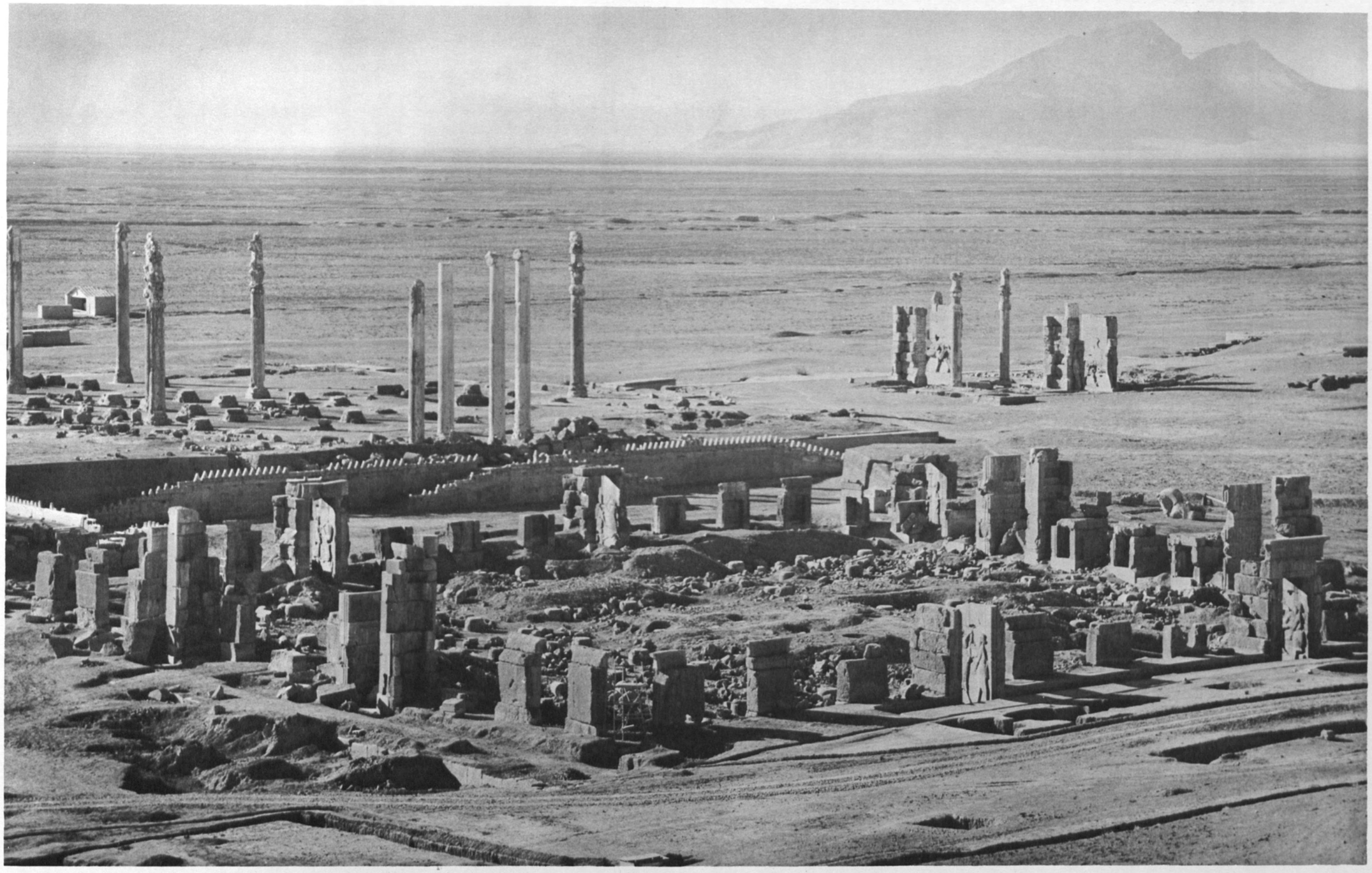
COUNCIL HALL. SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:5. *A*. TWO PERSIAN GUARDS ON WESTERN FAÇADE (SEE PL. 84). *B–C*. PAIRS OF PERSIAN USHERS ON EASTERN AND WESTERN NEWELS

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THE THRONE HALL

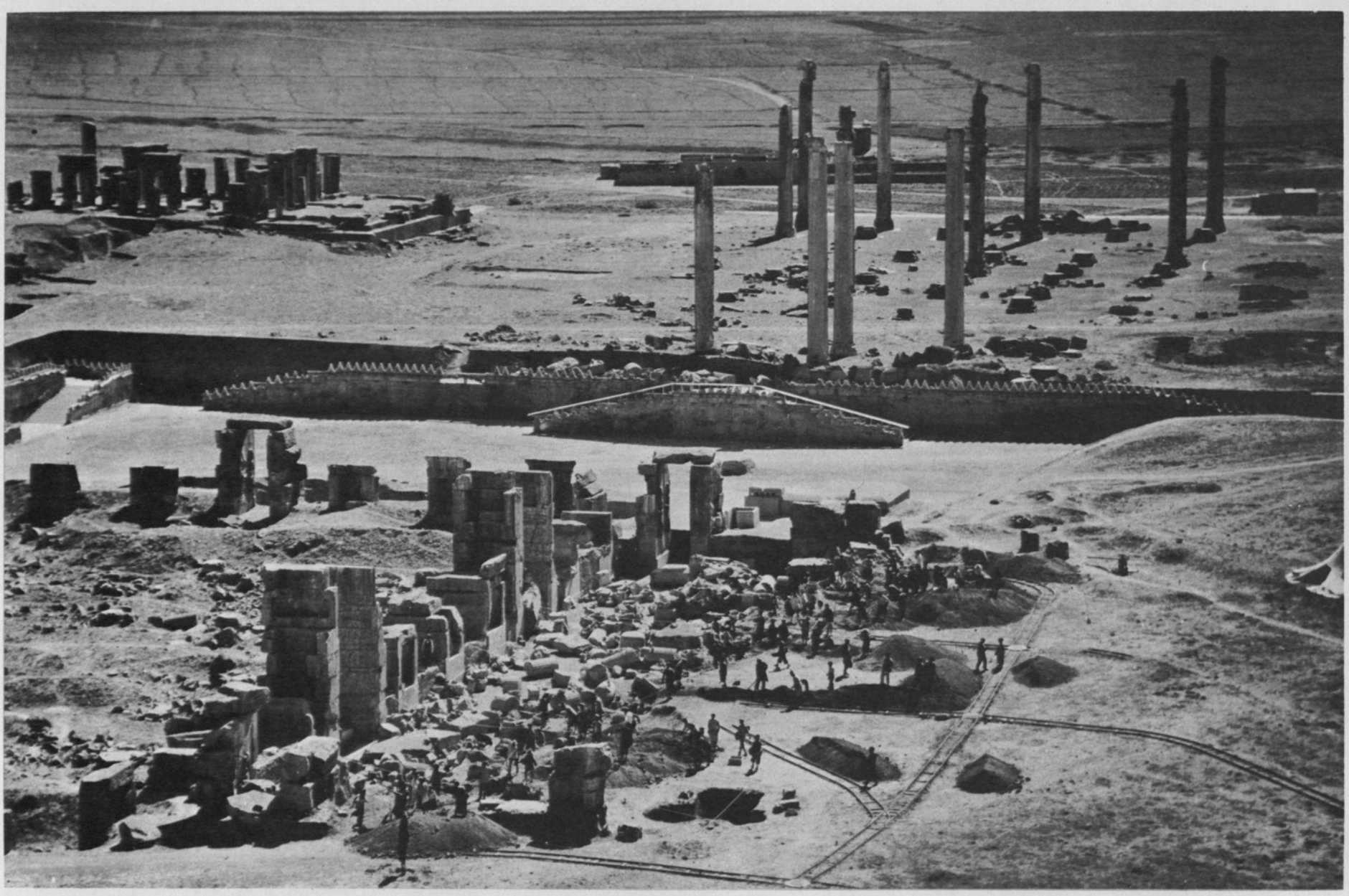
PLATES 88–117

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THRONE HALL. GENERAL VIEW, WITH APADANA AND GATE OF XERXES IN BACKGROUND (*DIRECTION, WNW*)

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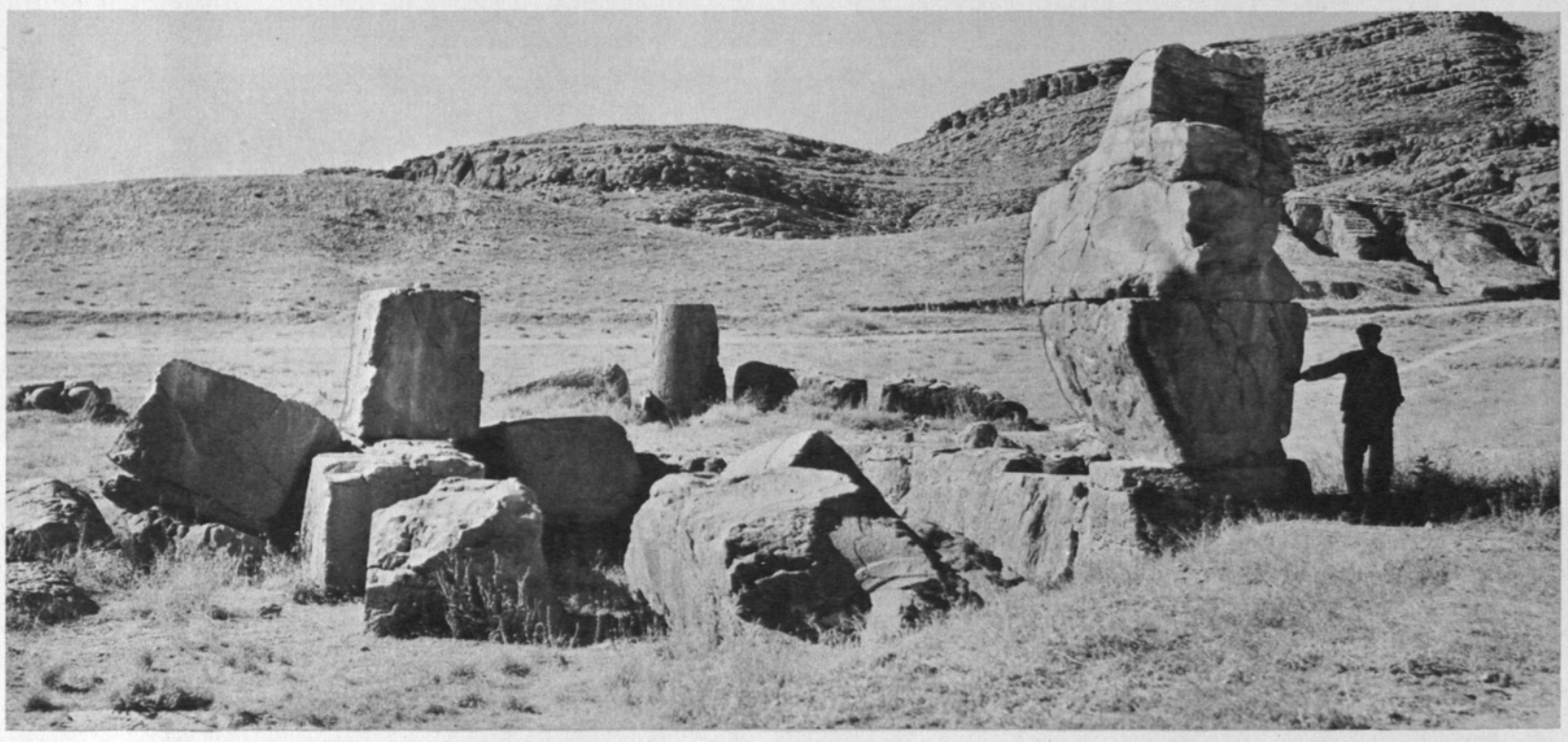
THRONE HALL. PORTICO AND NORTHERN PART, WITH DARIUS' PALACE AND APADANA IN BACKGROUND
(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WSW*)

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PLATE 90



A



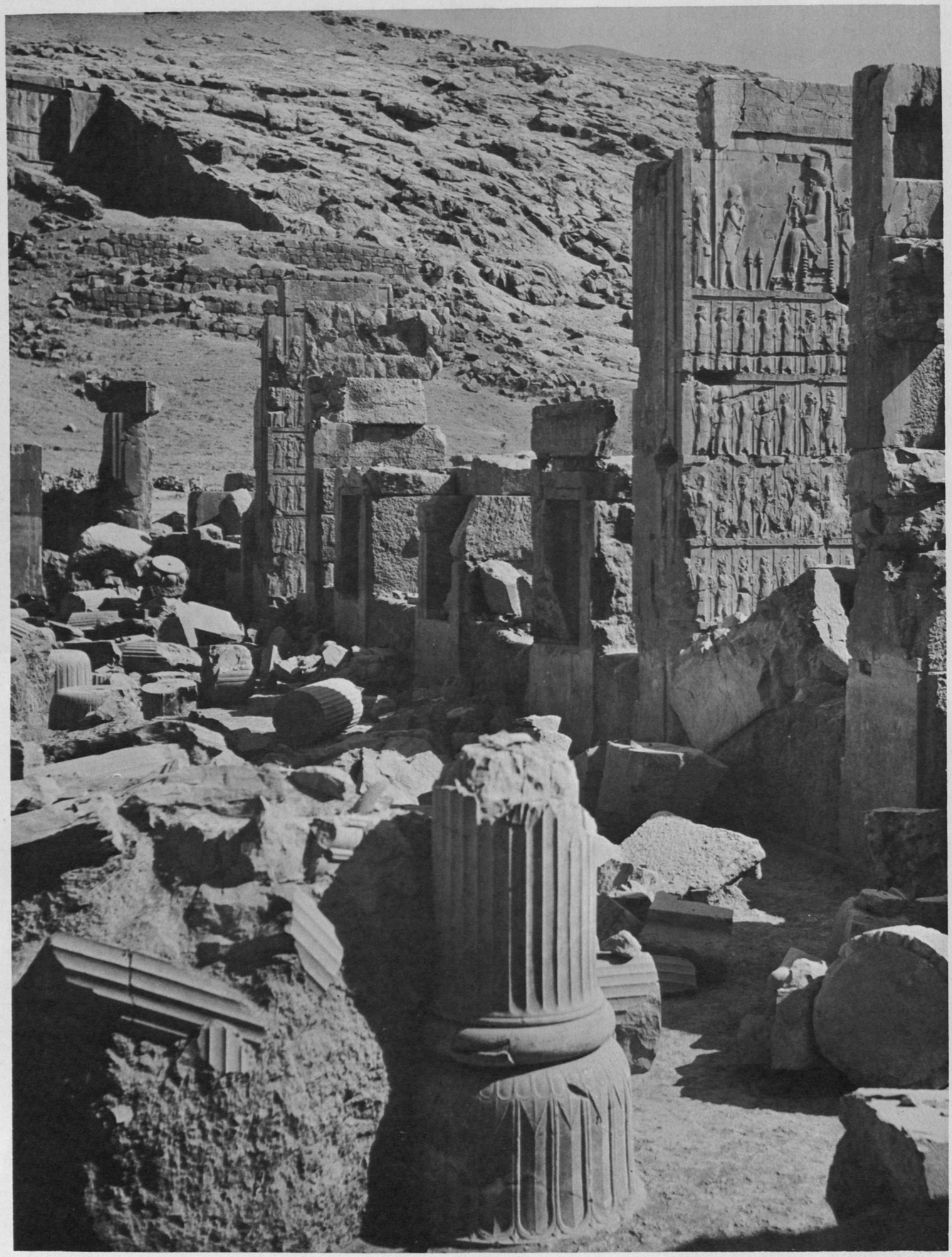
B



C

THRONE HALL. UNFINISHED GATE. *A*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, SWS*). *B*. REMNANTS OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY AND GUARDIAN BULLS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, N*).
C. FRAGMENTS, INCLUDING UNIT OF COMPOSITE CAPITAL

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THRONE HALL. DEBRIS IN PORTICO, NORTHERN DOORWAYS AND WINDOWS OF MAIN HALL, SLOPE OF MOUNTAIN OF MERCY AND NORTHERN TOMB IN BACKGROUND (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, E*)

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PLATE 92



A



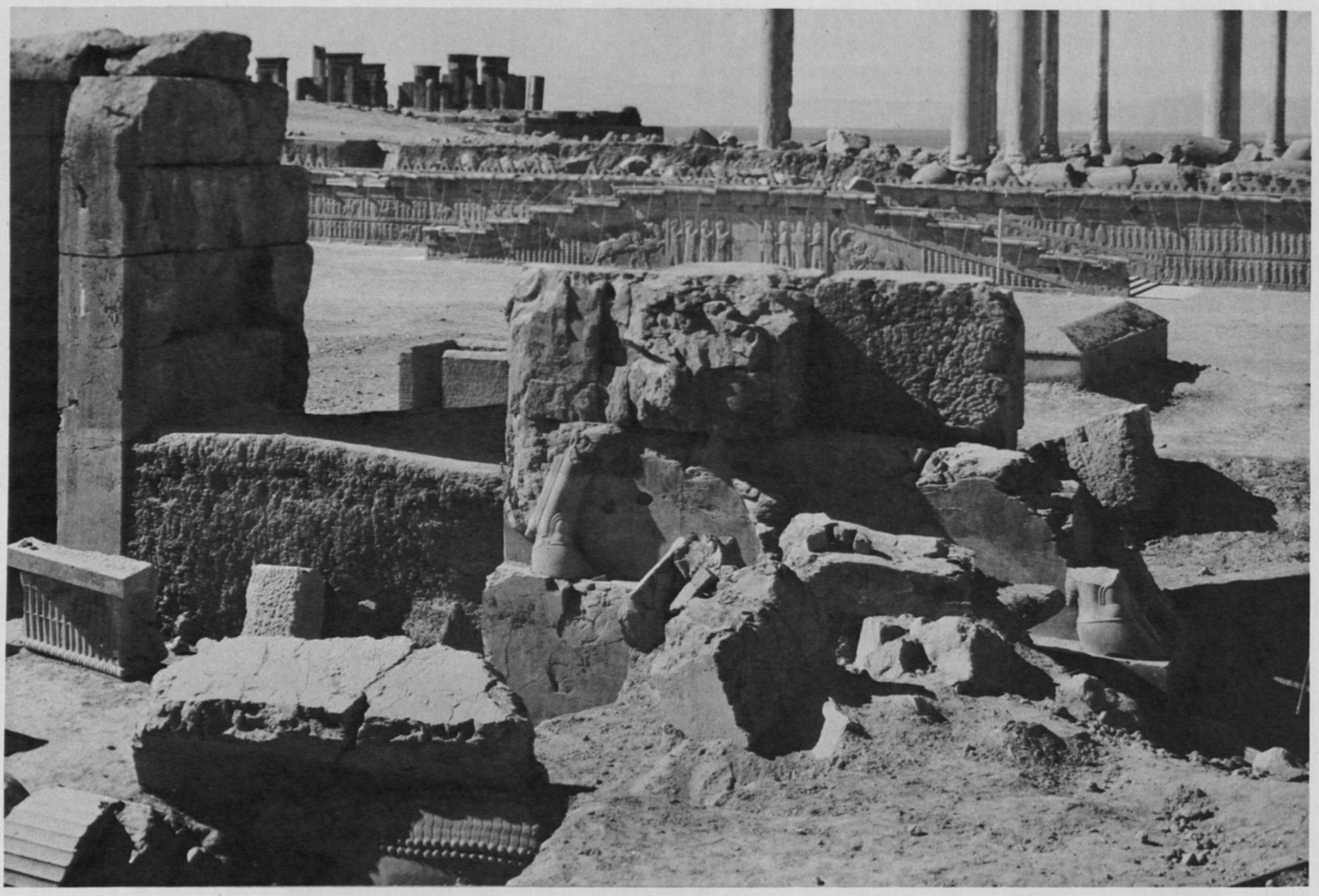
B



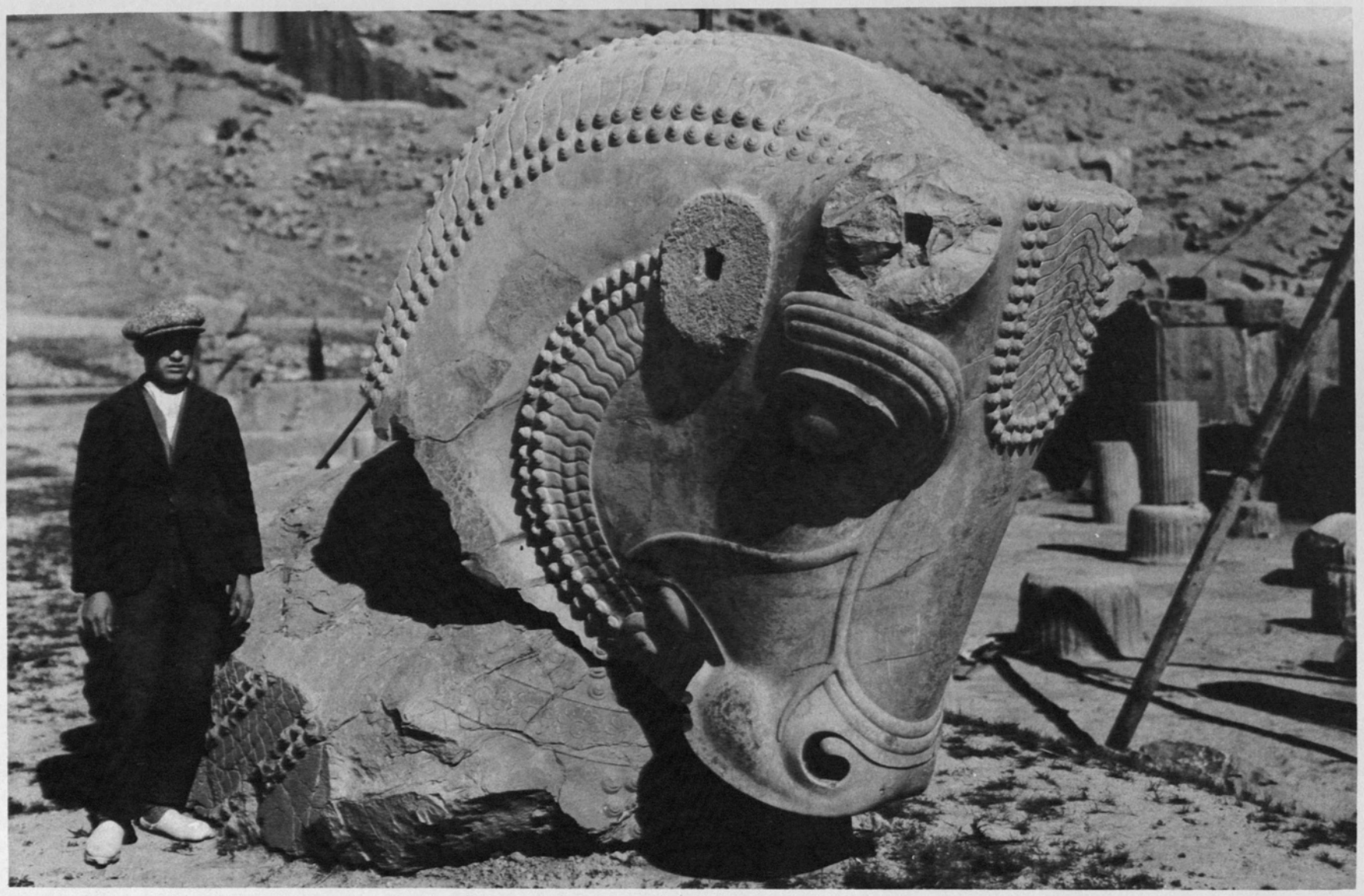
C

THRONE HALL. EASTERN GUARDIAN BULL OF PORTICO. *A*. REMNANT *IN SITU* (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *B–C*. SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS OF RESTORED HEAD (NOW IN ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM)

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A

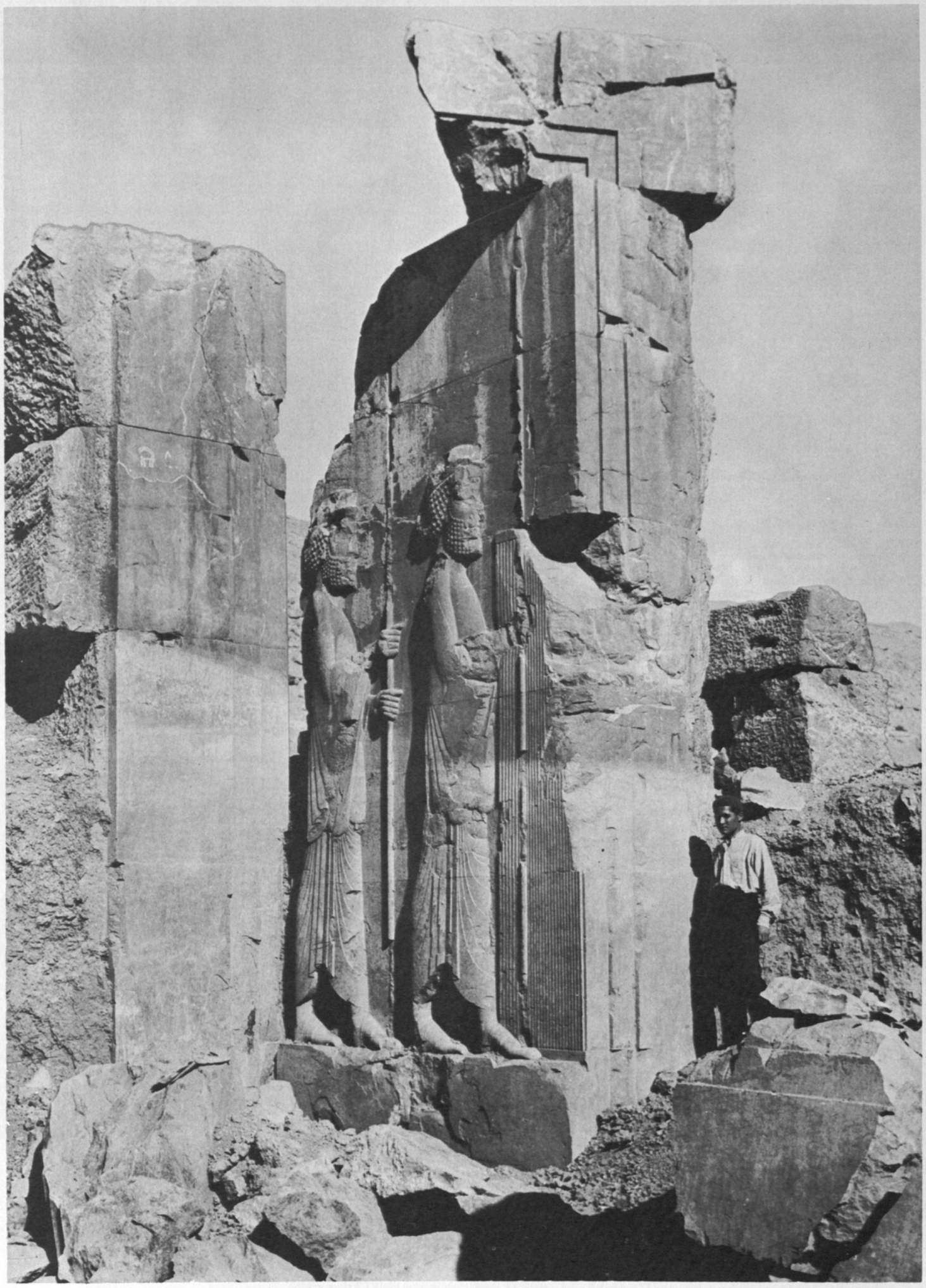


B

THRONE HALL. WESTERN GUARDIAN BULL OF PORTICO. *A*. REMNANT *IN SITU* (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WSW*). *B*. HEAD NEAR FIND-SPOT

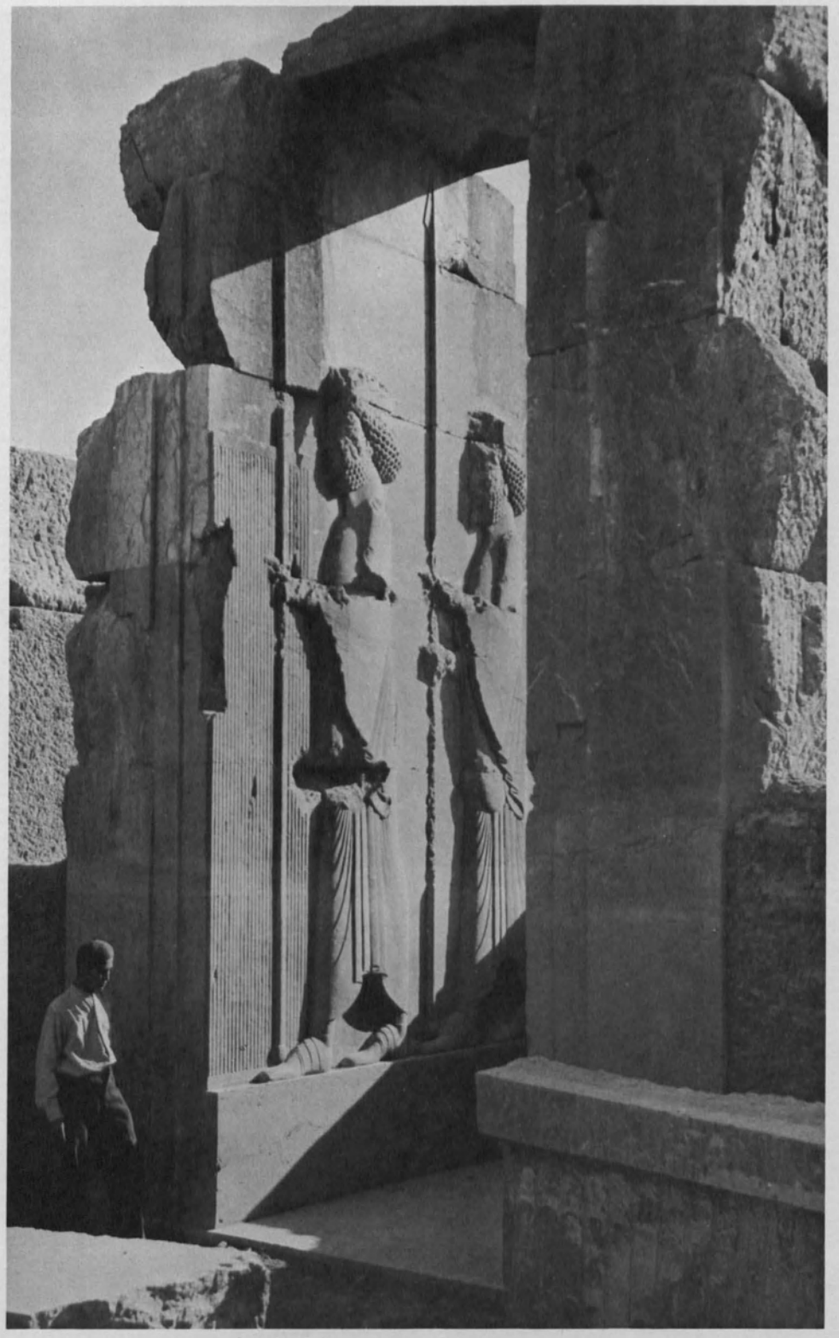
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PLATE 94

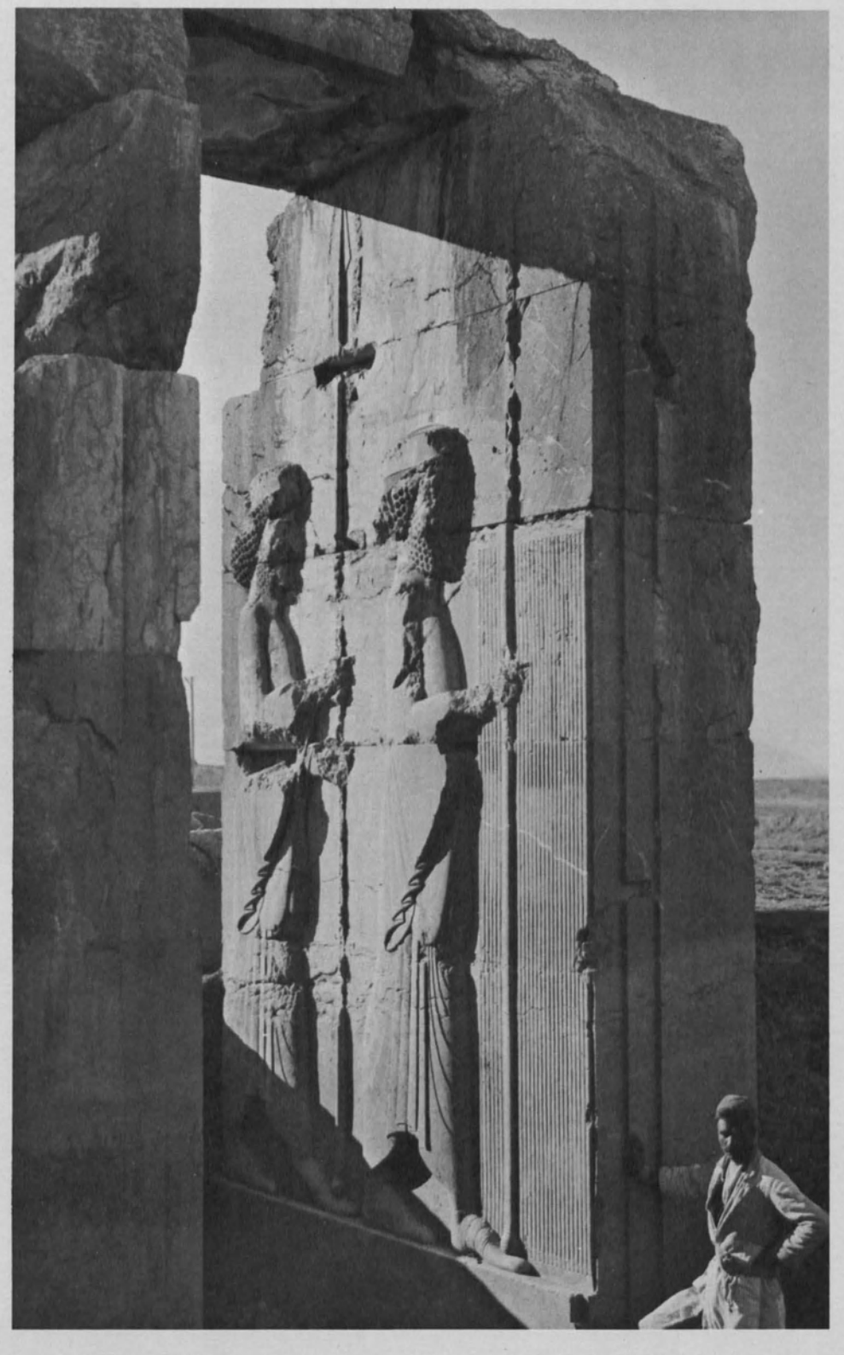


THRONE HALL. GUARD RELIEF ON SOUTH JAMB OF DOORWAY TO EASTERN GUARDROOMS
(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*)

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A



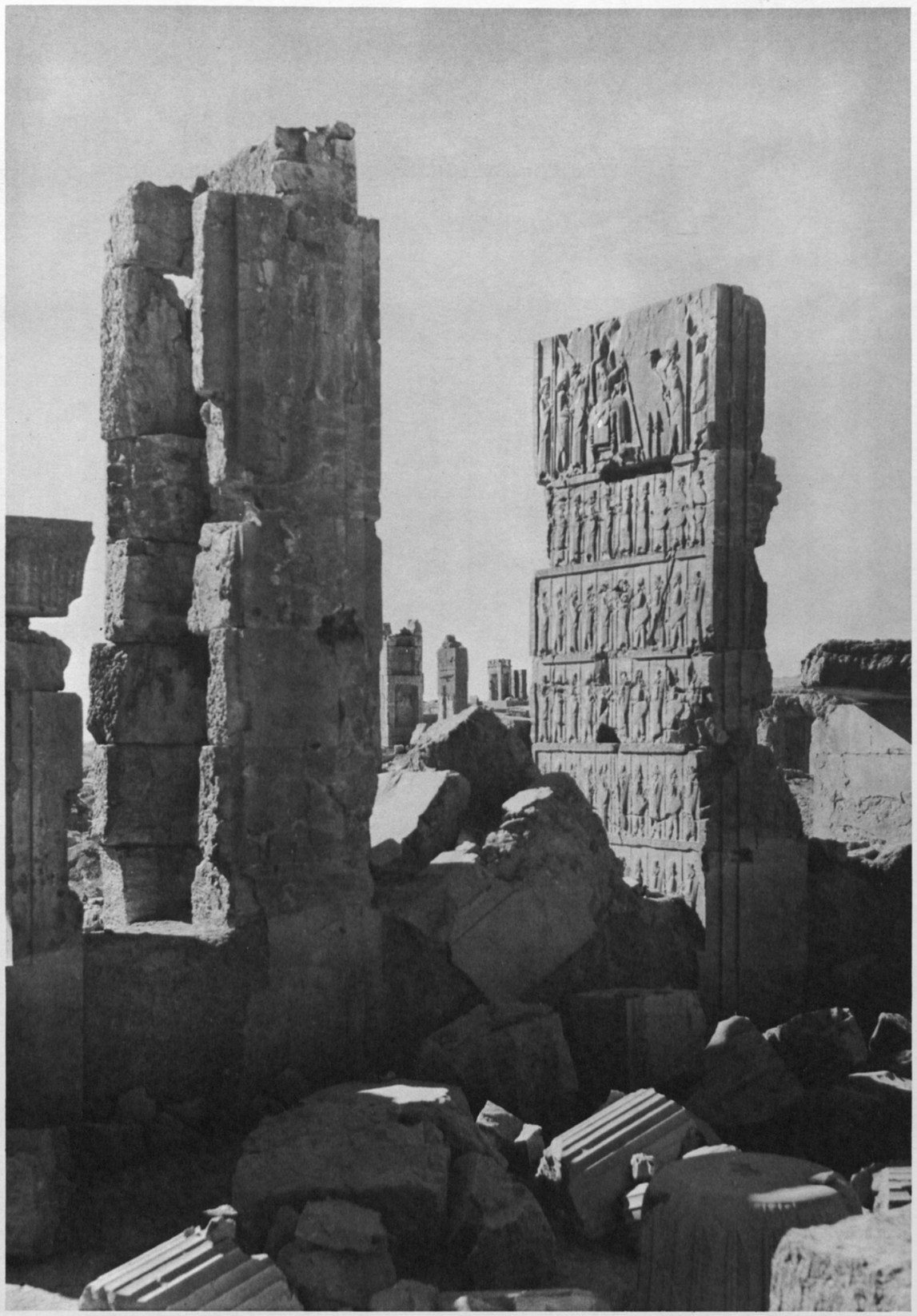
B

THRONE HALL. GUARD RELIEFS ON DOORWAY TO WESTERN GUARDROOMS. *A*. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

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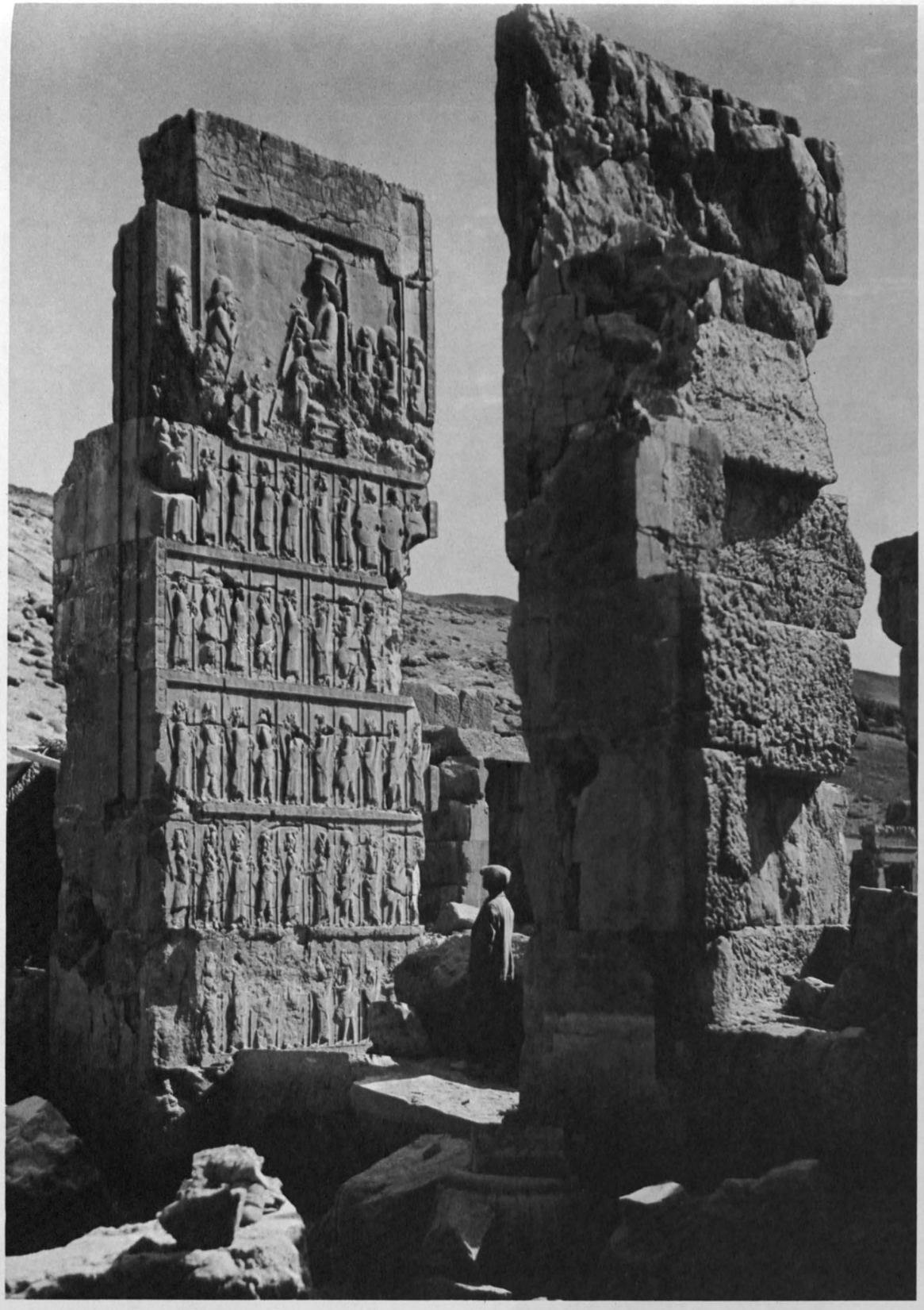
A



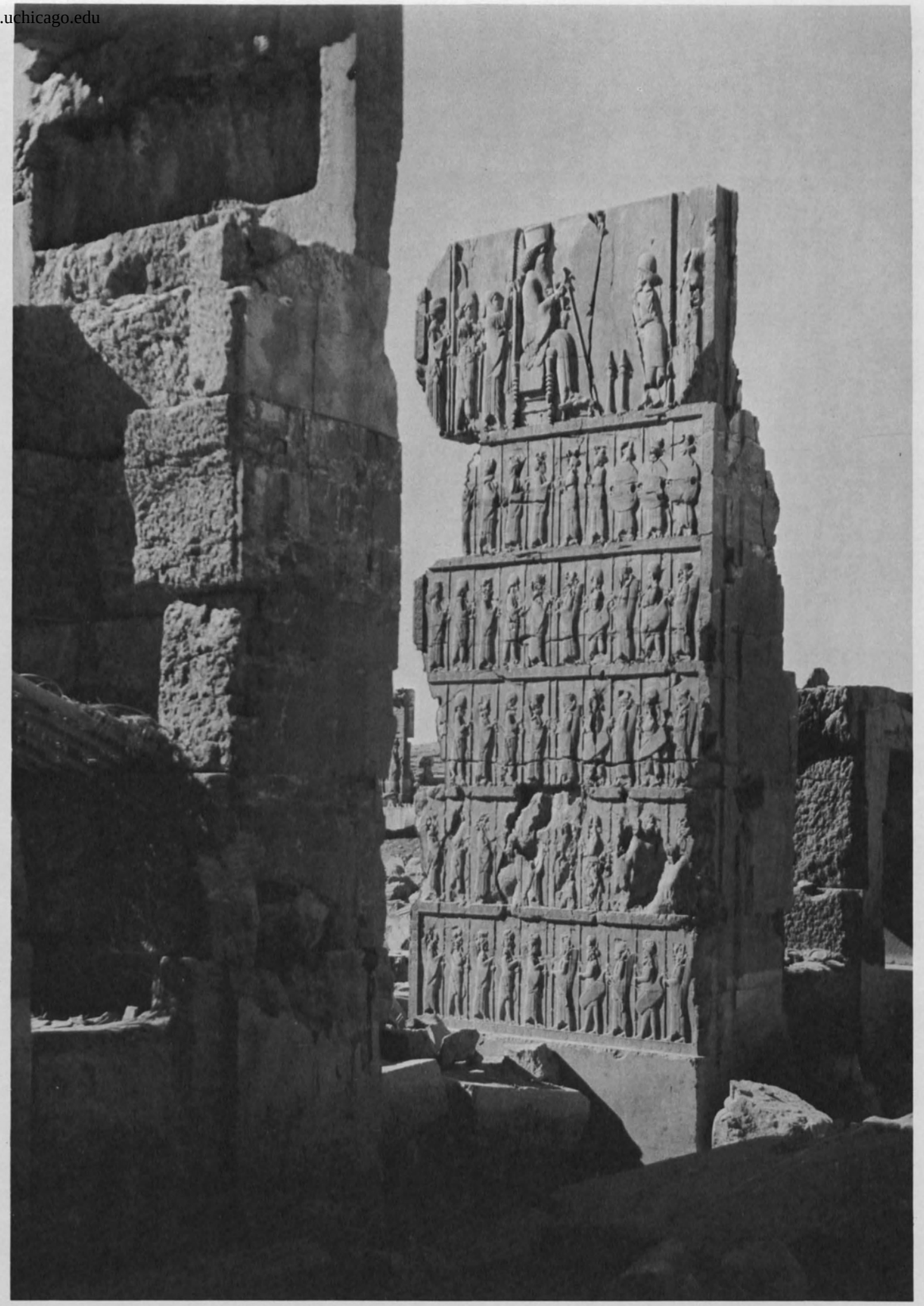
B

THRONE HALL. AUDIENCE SCENE AND GUARDS ON WESTERN DOORWAY IN NORTHERN WALL. *A*. EAST JAMB. *B*. WEST JAMB

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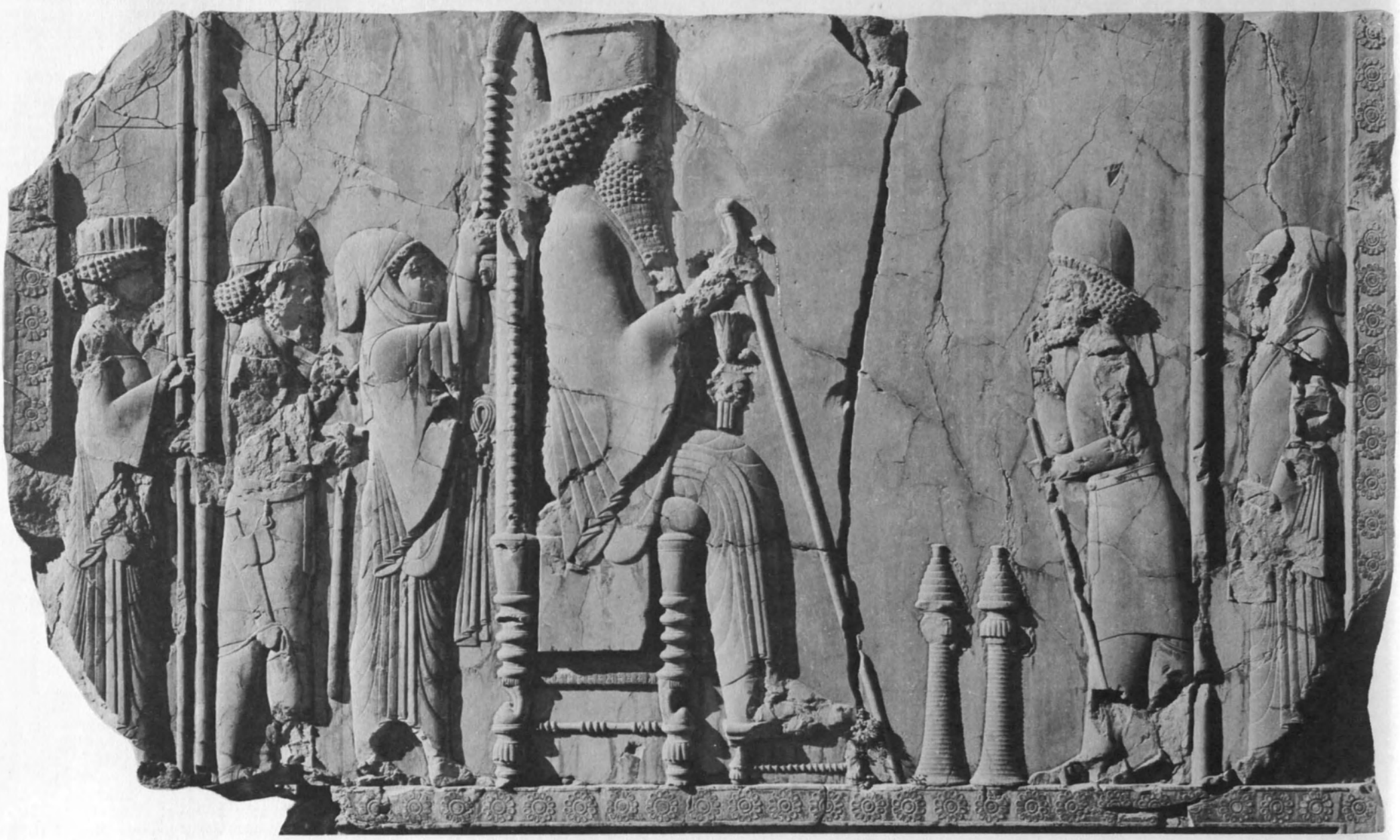
A



B

THRONE HALL. AUDIENCE SCENE AND GUARDS ON EASTERN DOORWAY IN NORTHERN WALL. *A*. EAST JAMB. *B*. WEST JAMB

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AUDIENCE SCENE IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 97 *B*. SCALE, 1:12

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AUDIENCE SCENE IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 97 *A*. SCALE, 1:12

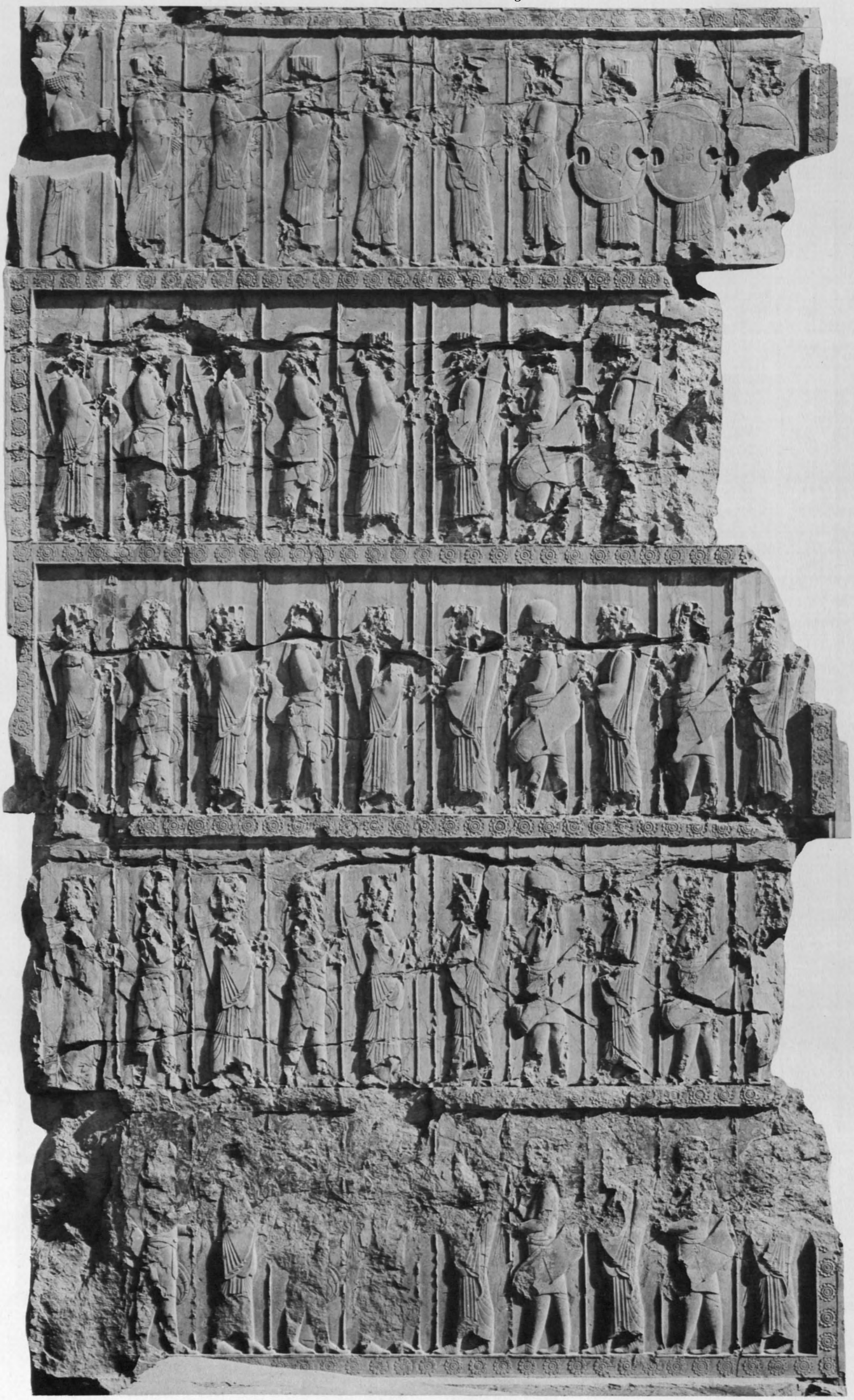
oi.uchicago.edu

PLATE 100



GUARDS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 97 *B*. SCALE, 1:15

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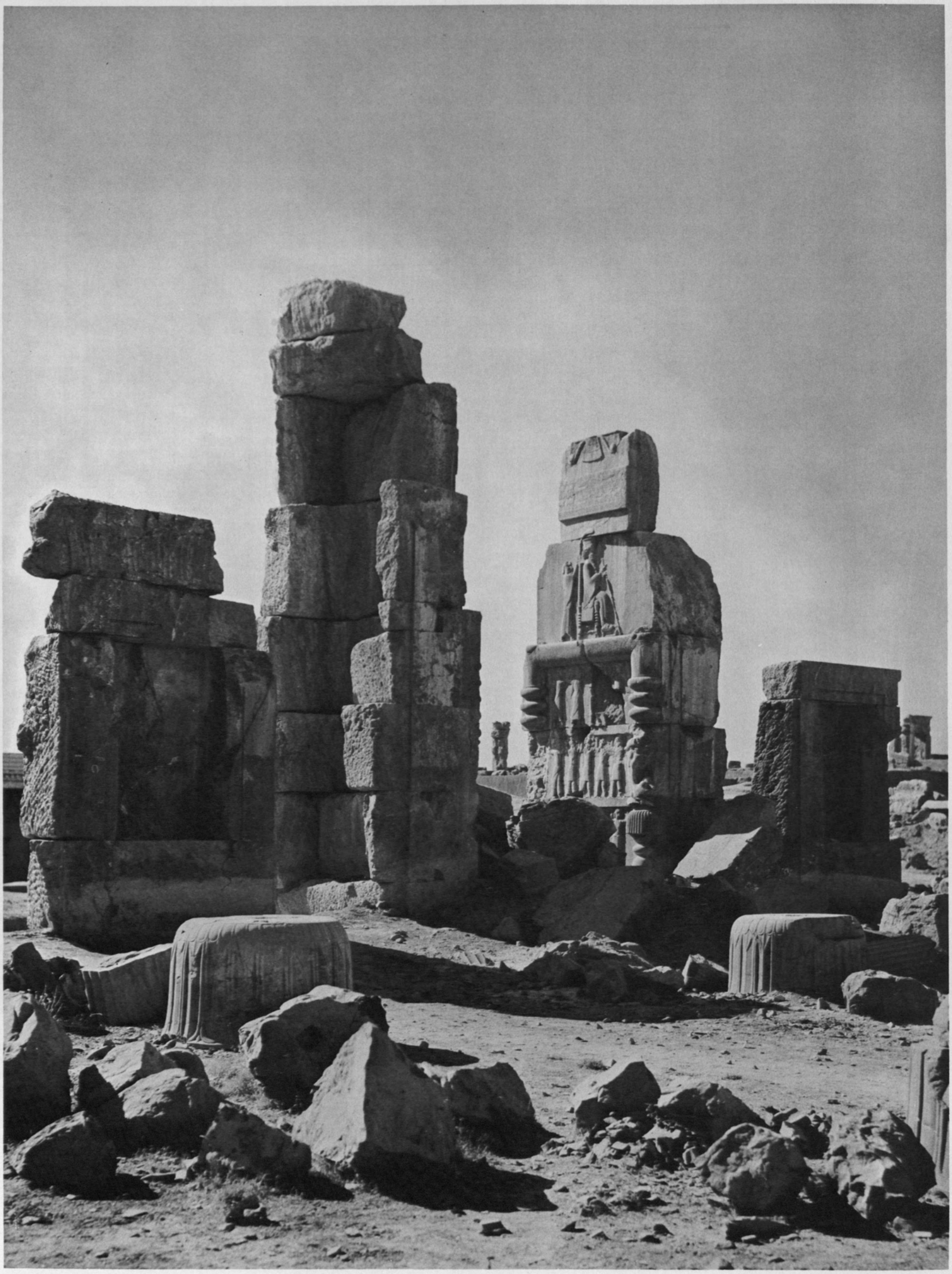
GUARDS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 97 *A*. SCALE, 1:15

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THRONE HALL. SOUTHERN DOORWAYS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SWS*)

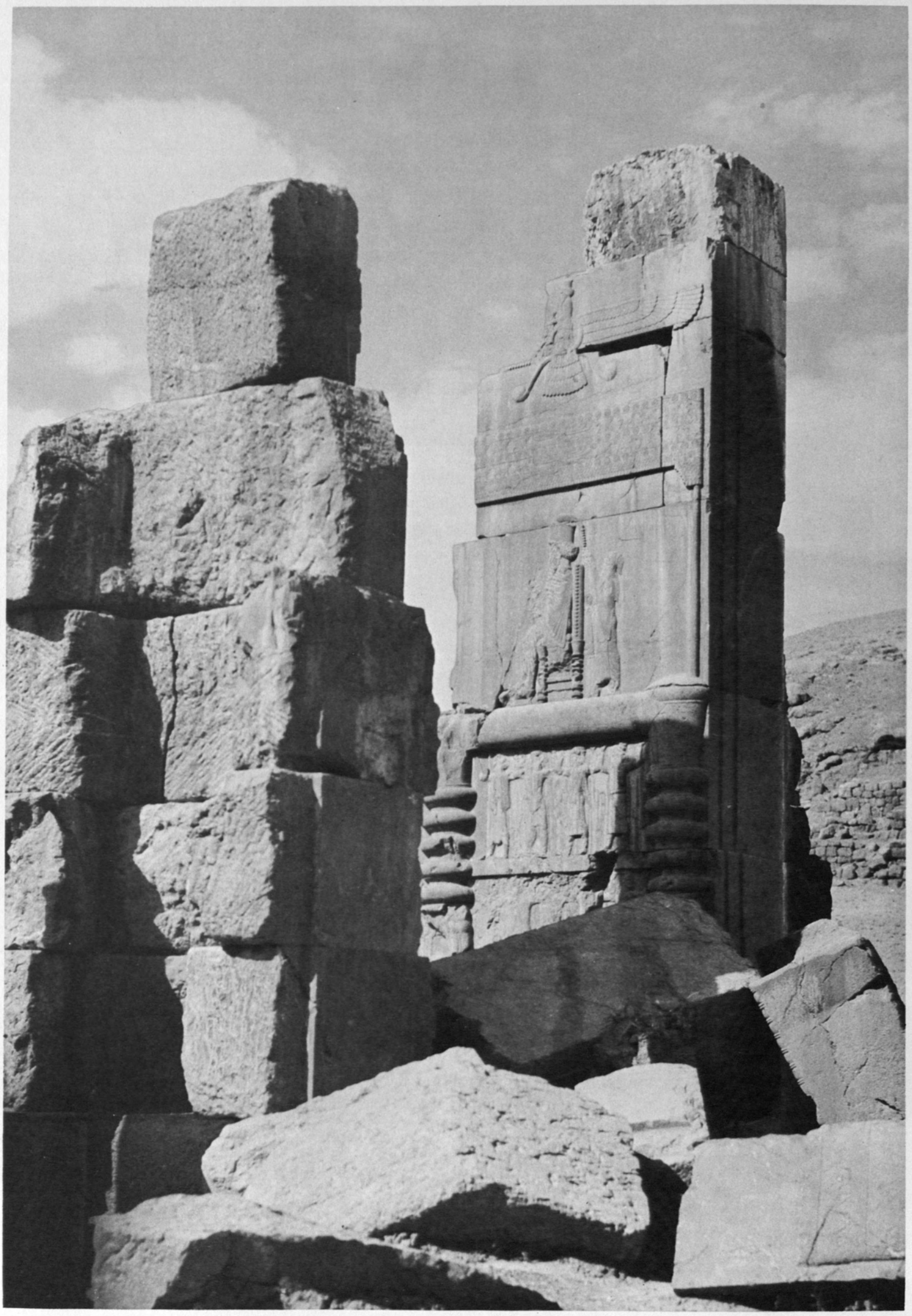
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THRONE HALL. WESTERN DOORWAY IN SOUTHERN WALL, THRONE RELIEF ON WEST JAMB, AND NEIGHBORING NICHES (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SWS*)

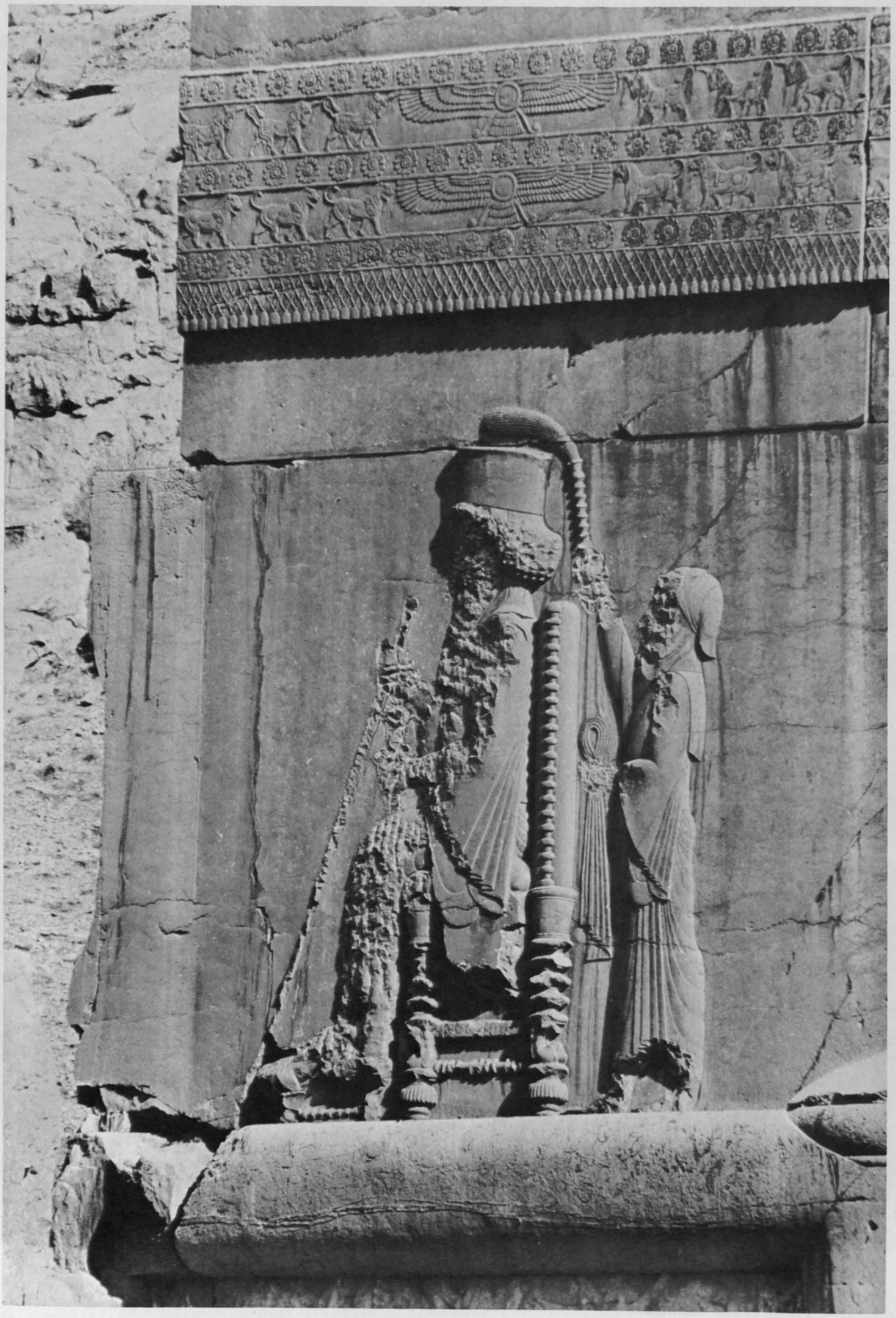
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PLATE 104



THRONE HALL. THRONE RELIEF ON EAST JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY IN SOUTHERN WALL
(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NEN*)

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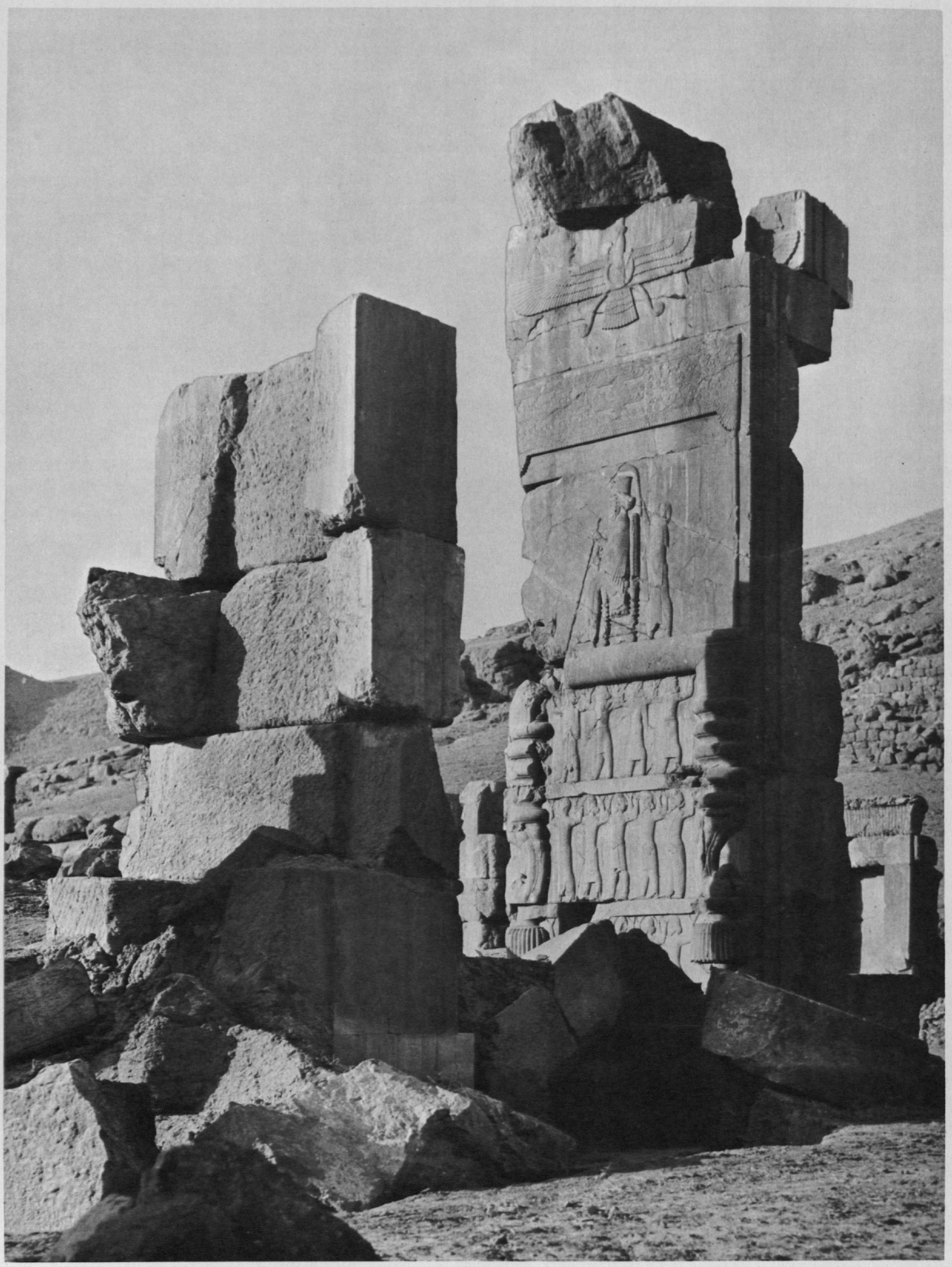
ENTHRONED KING AND ATTENDANT IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 104

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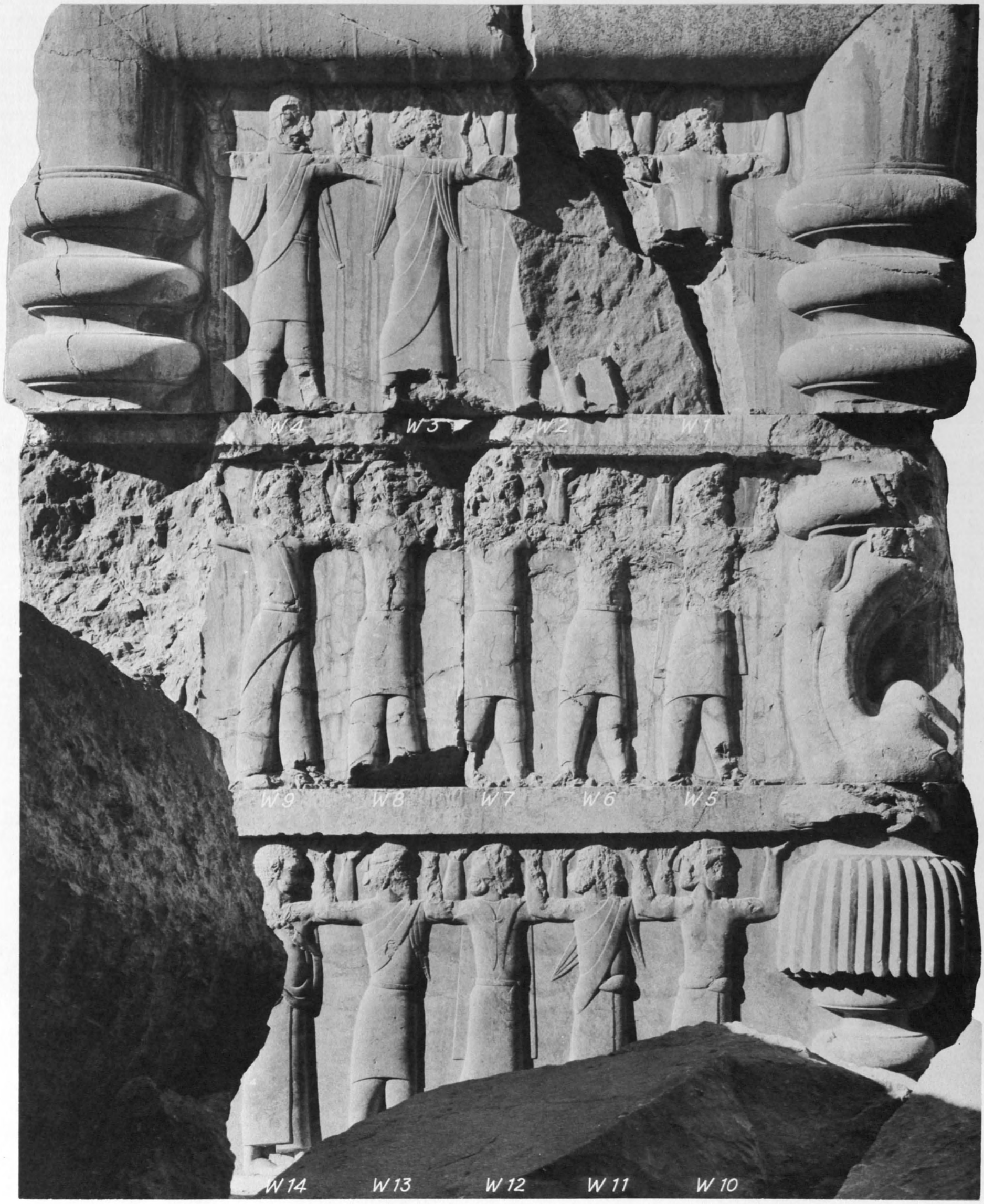
THRONE HALL. THRONE RELIEF ON WEST JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY IN SOUTHERN WALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SWS*)

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THRONE HALL. THRONE RELIEF ON EAST JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY IN SOUTHERN WALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, N*)

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THRONE-BEARERS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 103 (SEE PL. 112 *B*). SCALE, 1:12

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THRONE-BEARERS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 106 (SEE PL. 112 *A*). SCALE, 1:12

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PLATE 110



THRONE-BEARERS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 107 (SEE PL. 113 *A*). SCALE, 1:12

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THRONE-BEARERS IN RELIEF SHOWN ON PL. 104 (SEE PL. 113 *B*). SCALE, 1:12

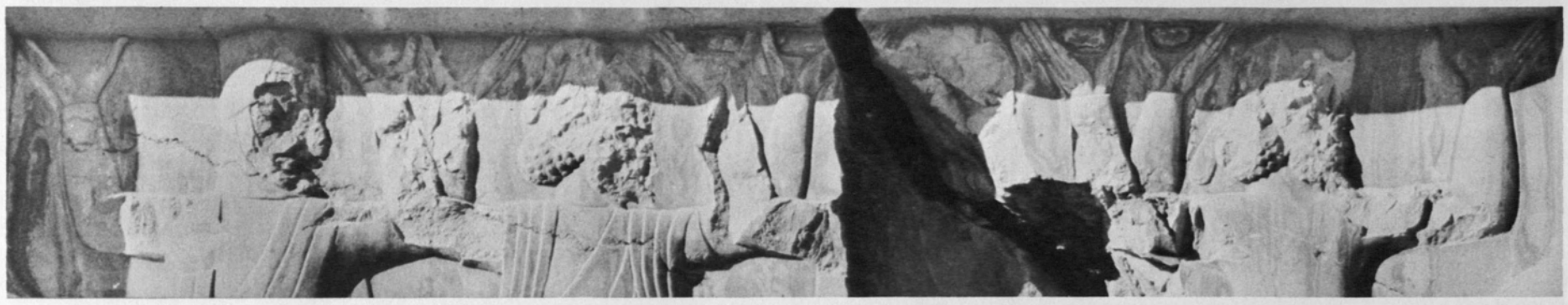
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PLATE 112

A



B

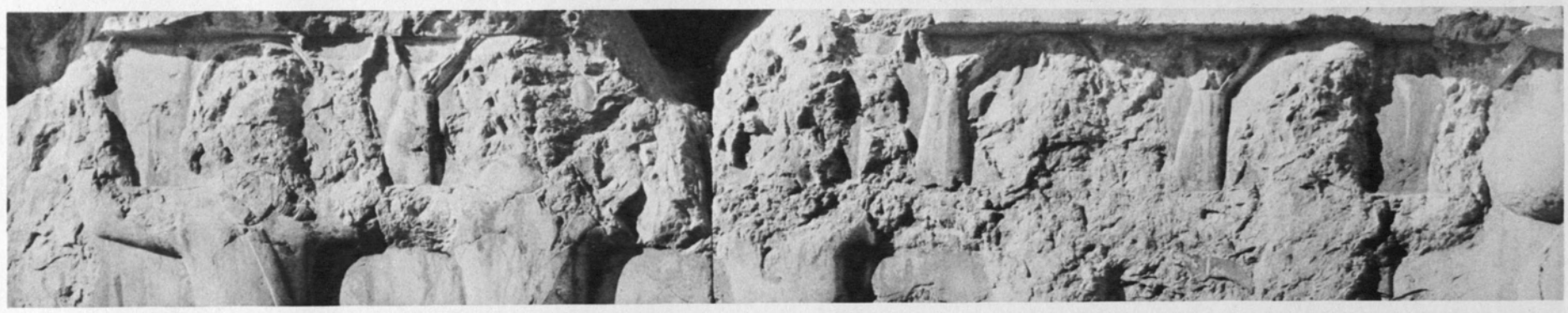


W 4 W 3 W 2 W 1

A

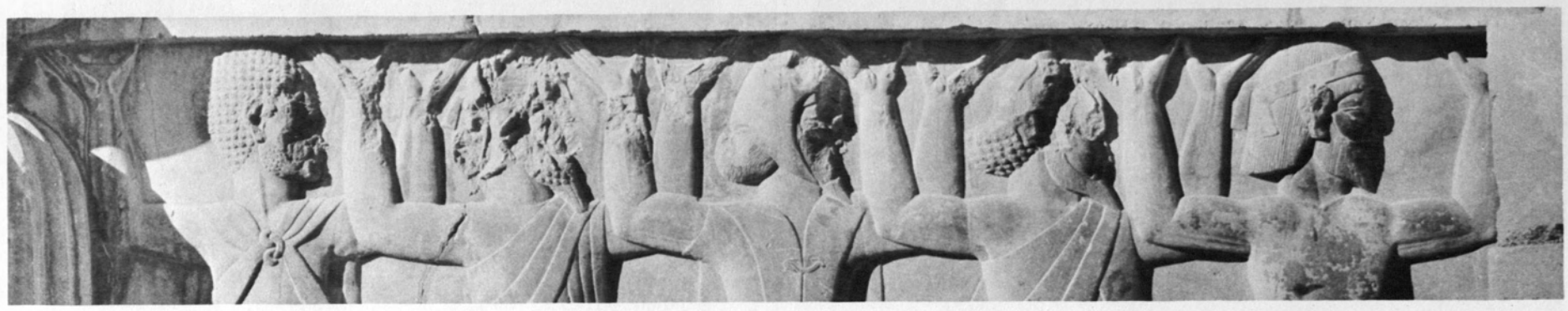


B

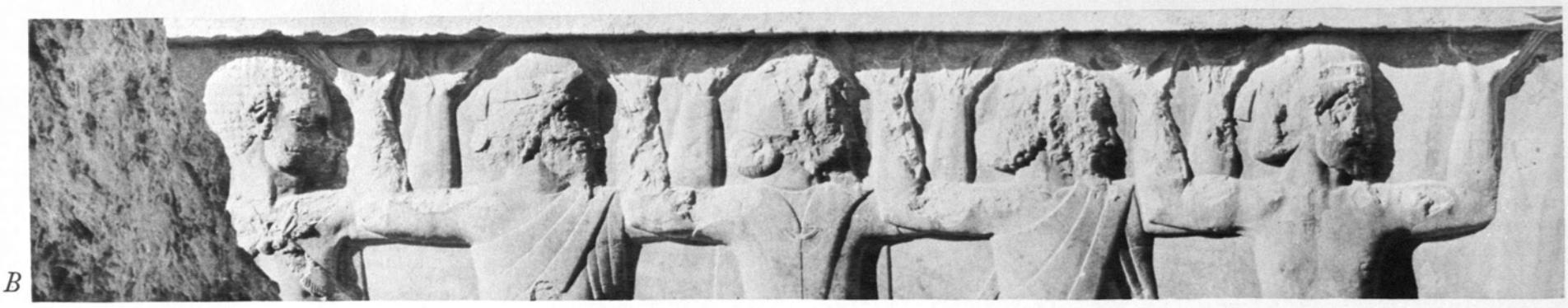


W 9 W 8 W 7 W 6 W 5

A



B



W 14 W 13 W 12 W 11 W 10

THRONE HALL. HEADS OF THRONE-BEARERS ON WEST JAMBS OF SOUTHERN DOORWAYS
(SEE PLS. 109 FOR *A* AND 108 FOR *B*)

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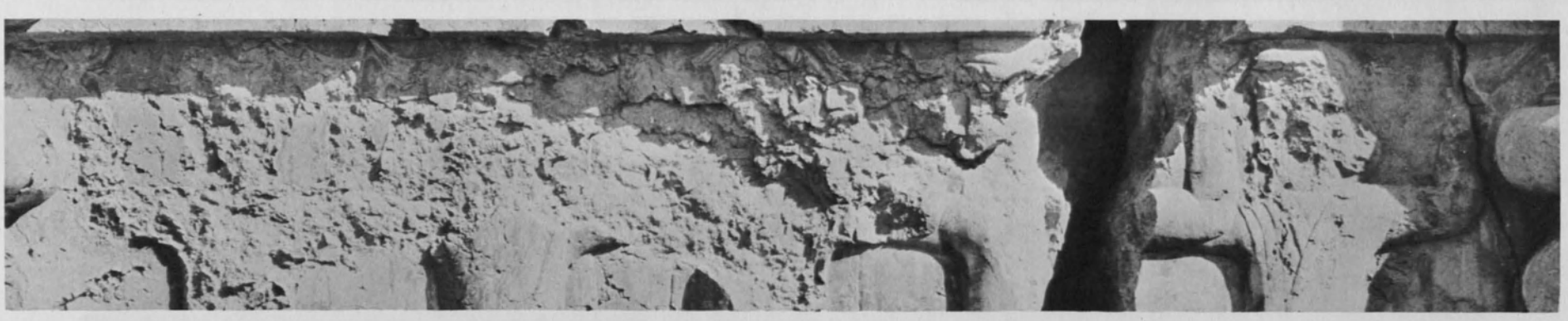
A

B

E1 E2 E3 E4



A



B

E5 E6 E7 E8 E9



A

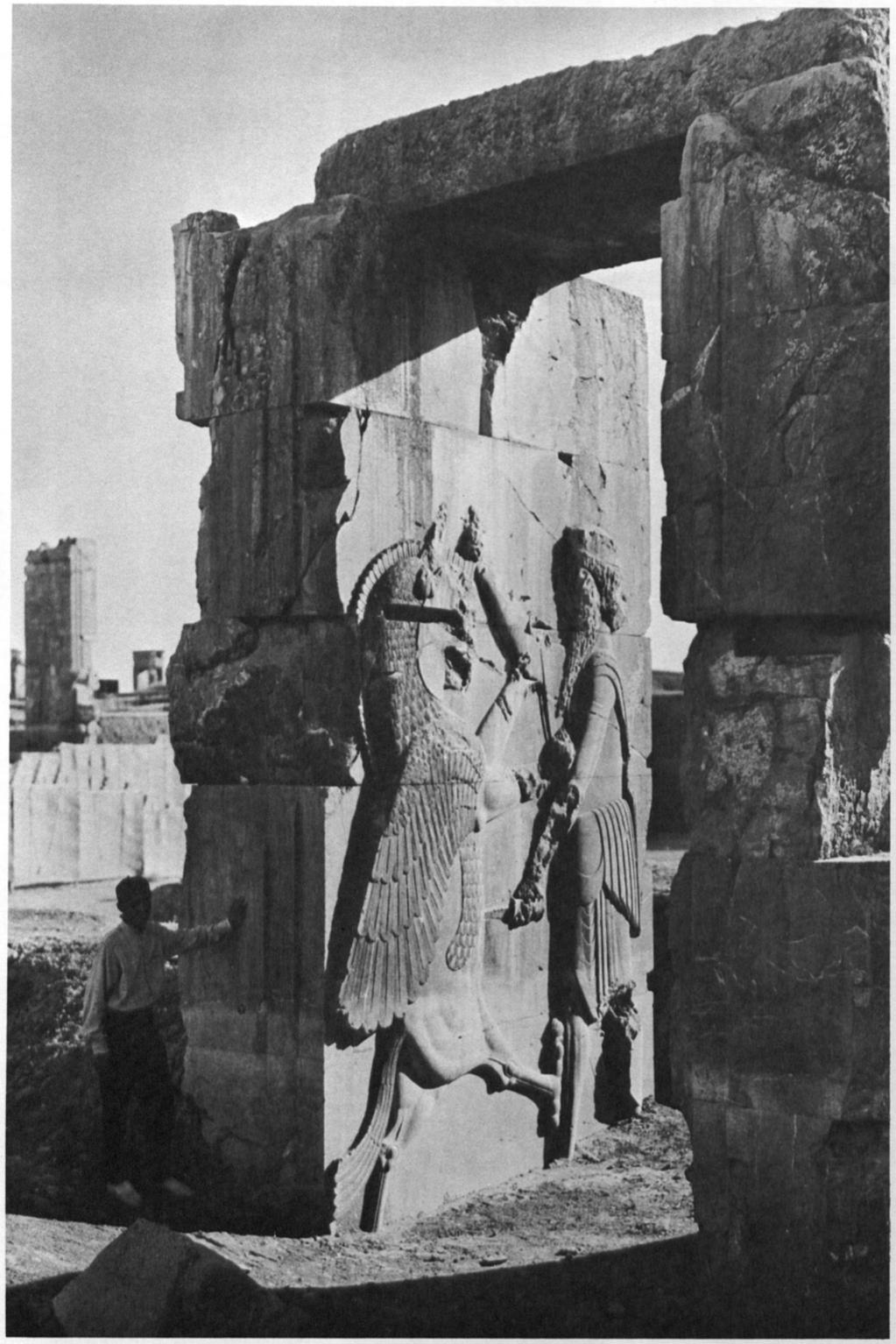


B

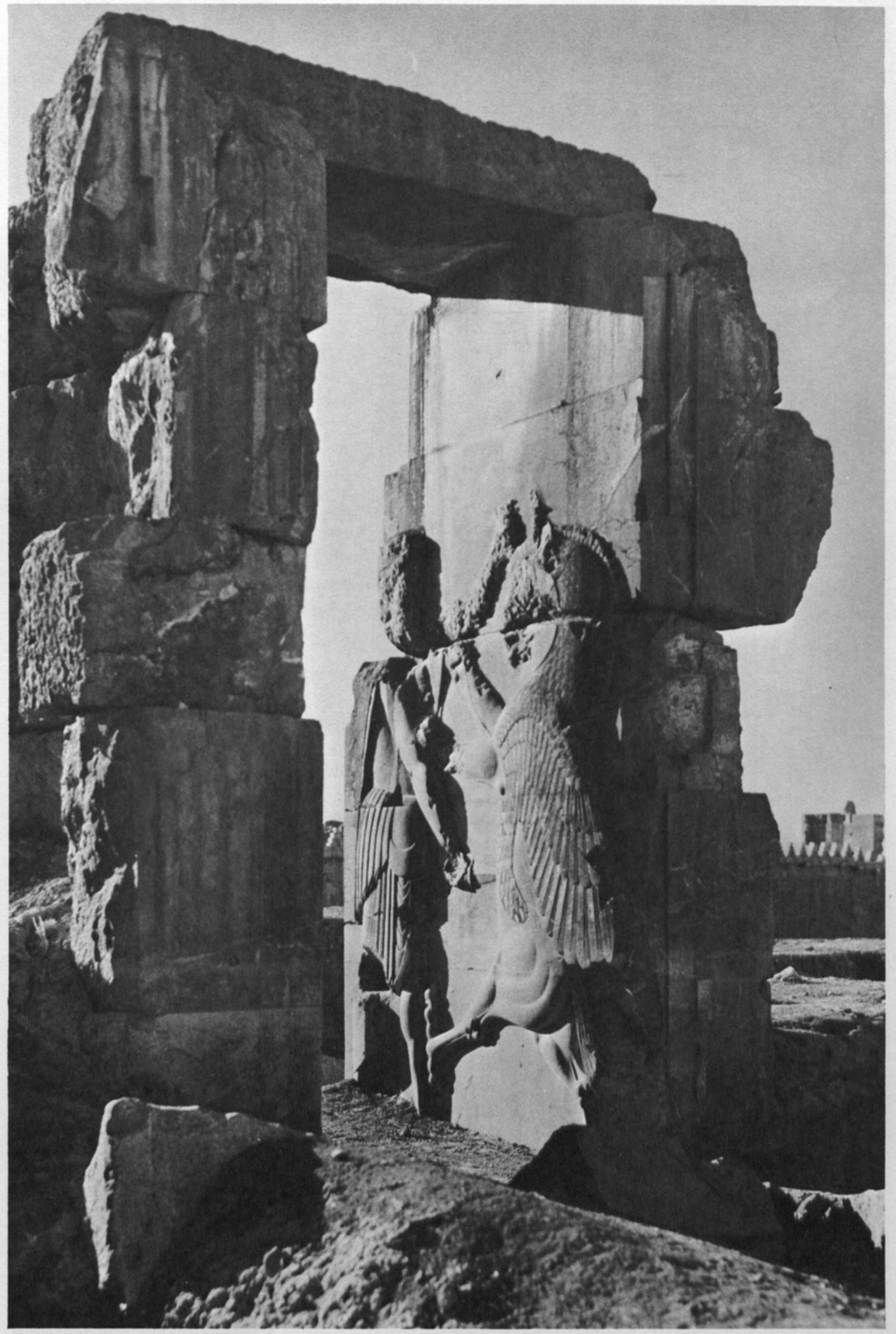
E10 E11 E12 E13 E14

THRONE HALL. HEADS OF THRONE-BEARERS ON EAST JAMBS OF SOUTHERN DOORWAYS
(SEE PLS. 110 FOR *A* AND 111 FOR *B*)

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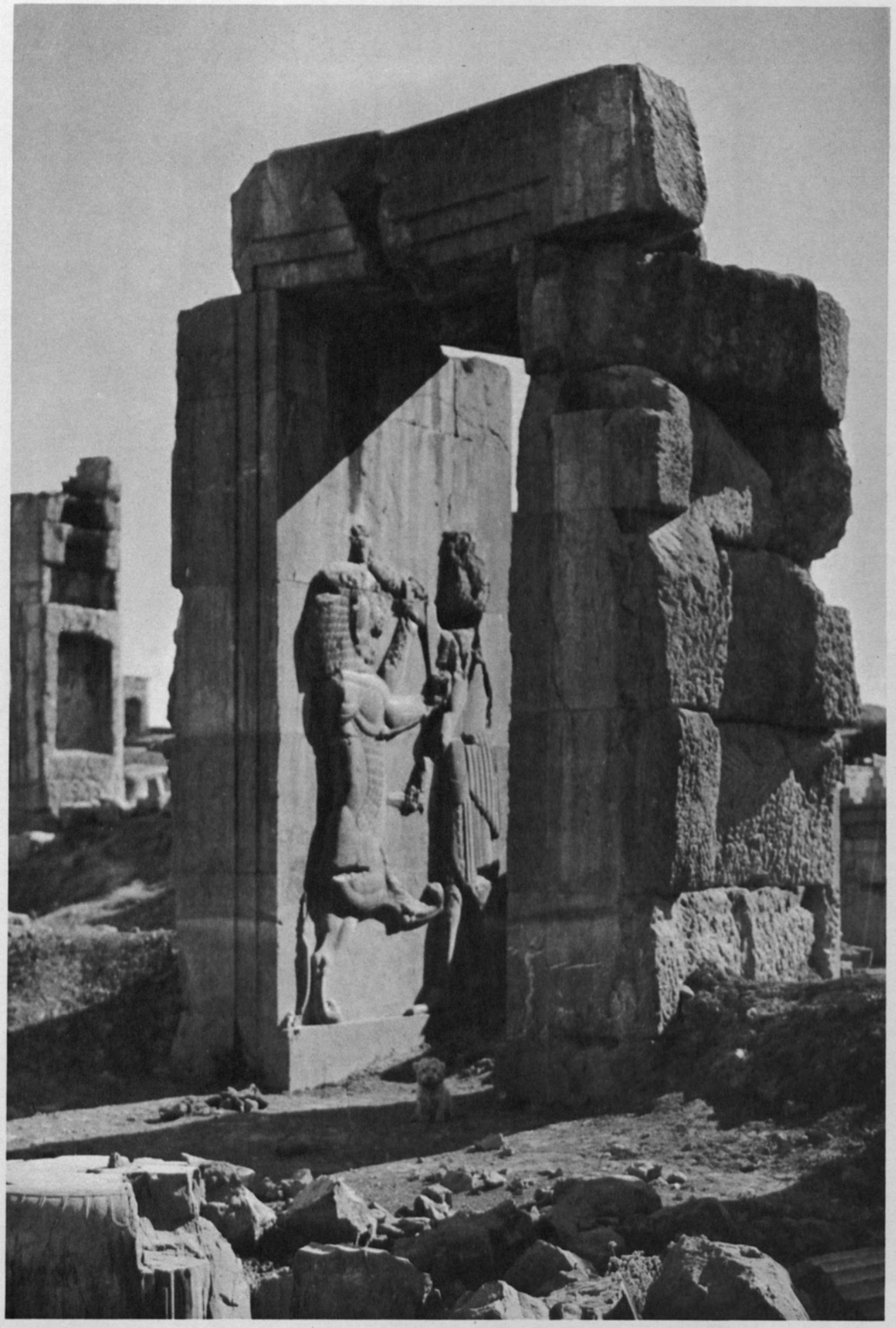
A



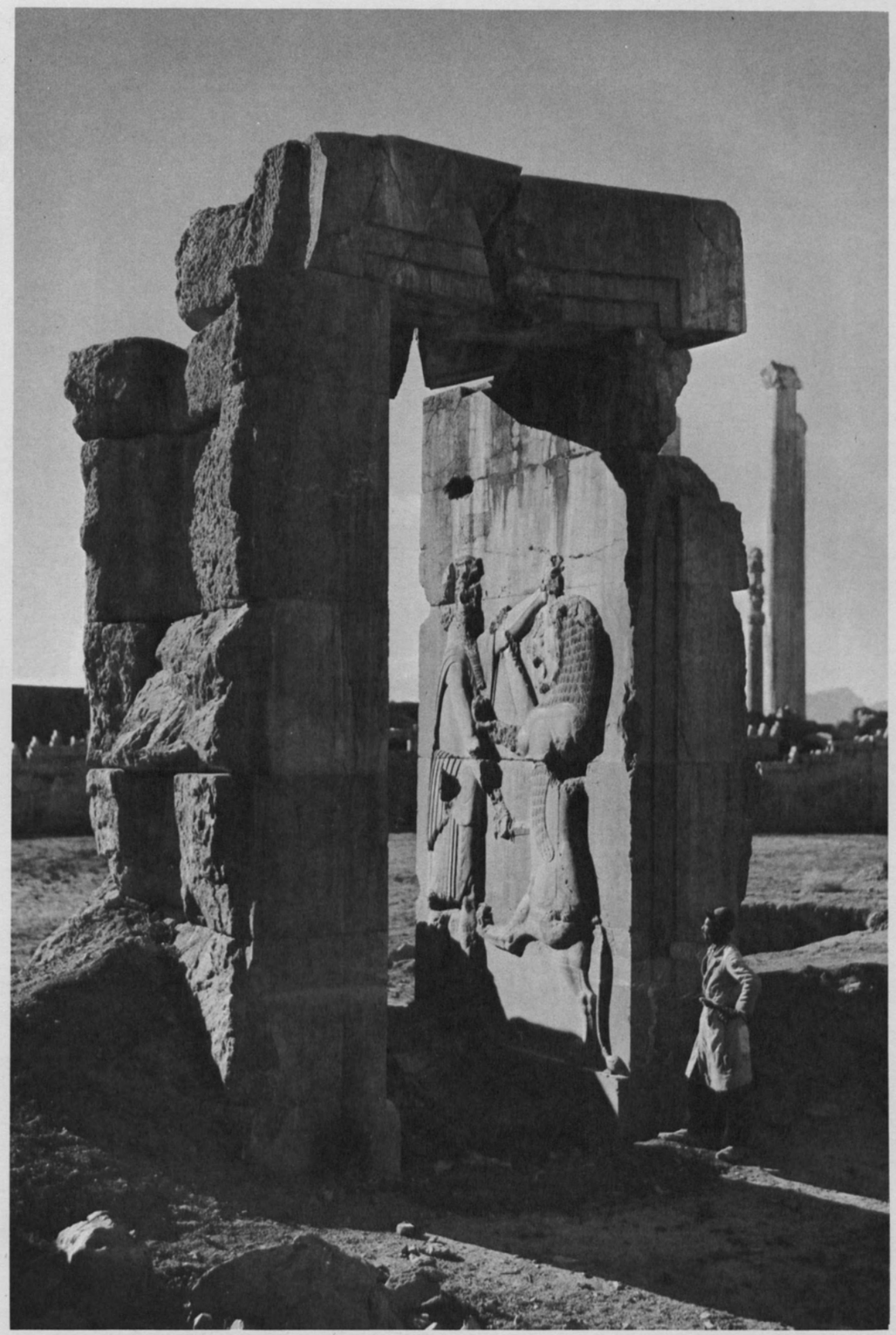
B

THRONE HALL. HERO'S COMBAT WITH BIRD-HEADED MONSTER ON NORTHERN DOORWAY IN WESTERN WALL. *A*. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

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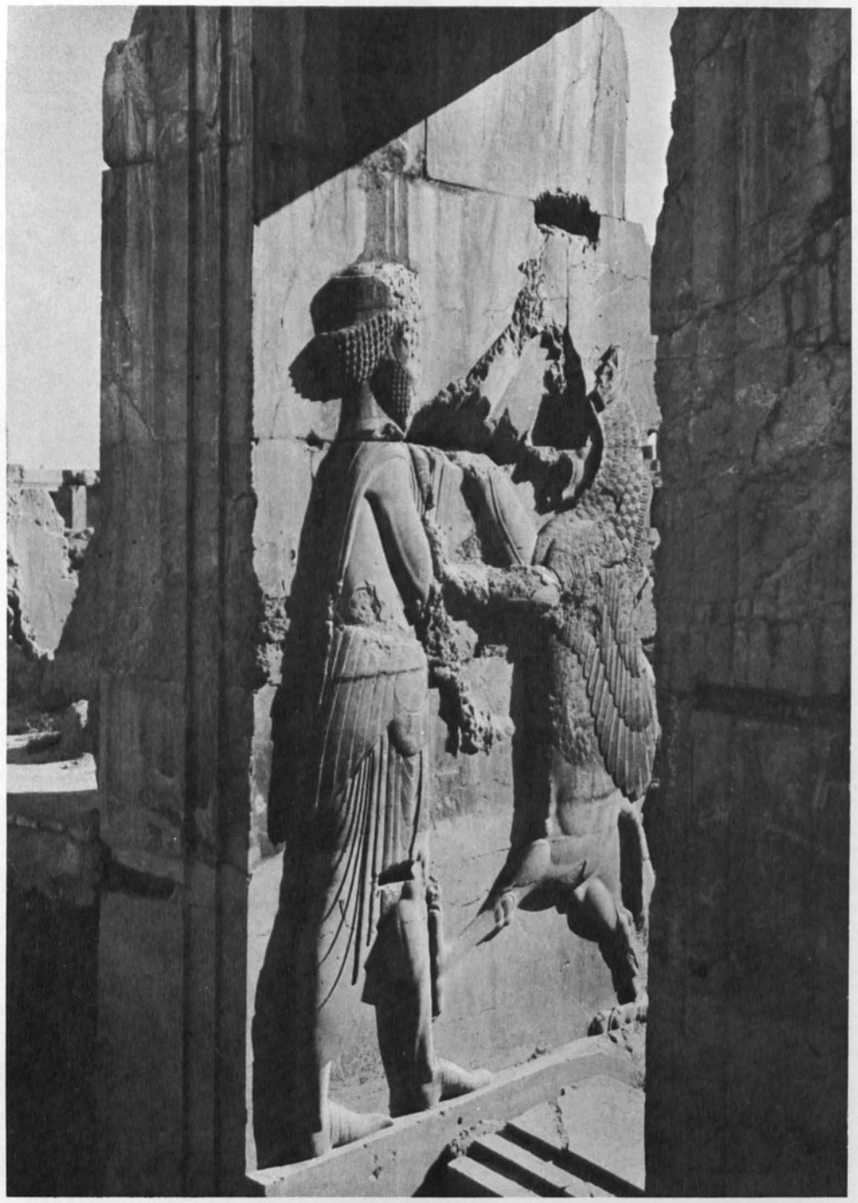
A



B

THRONE HALL. HERO'S COMBAT WITH LION ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY IN WESTERN WALL. *A*. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

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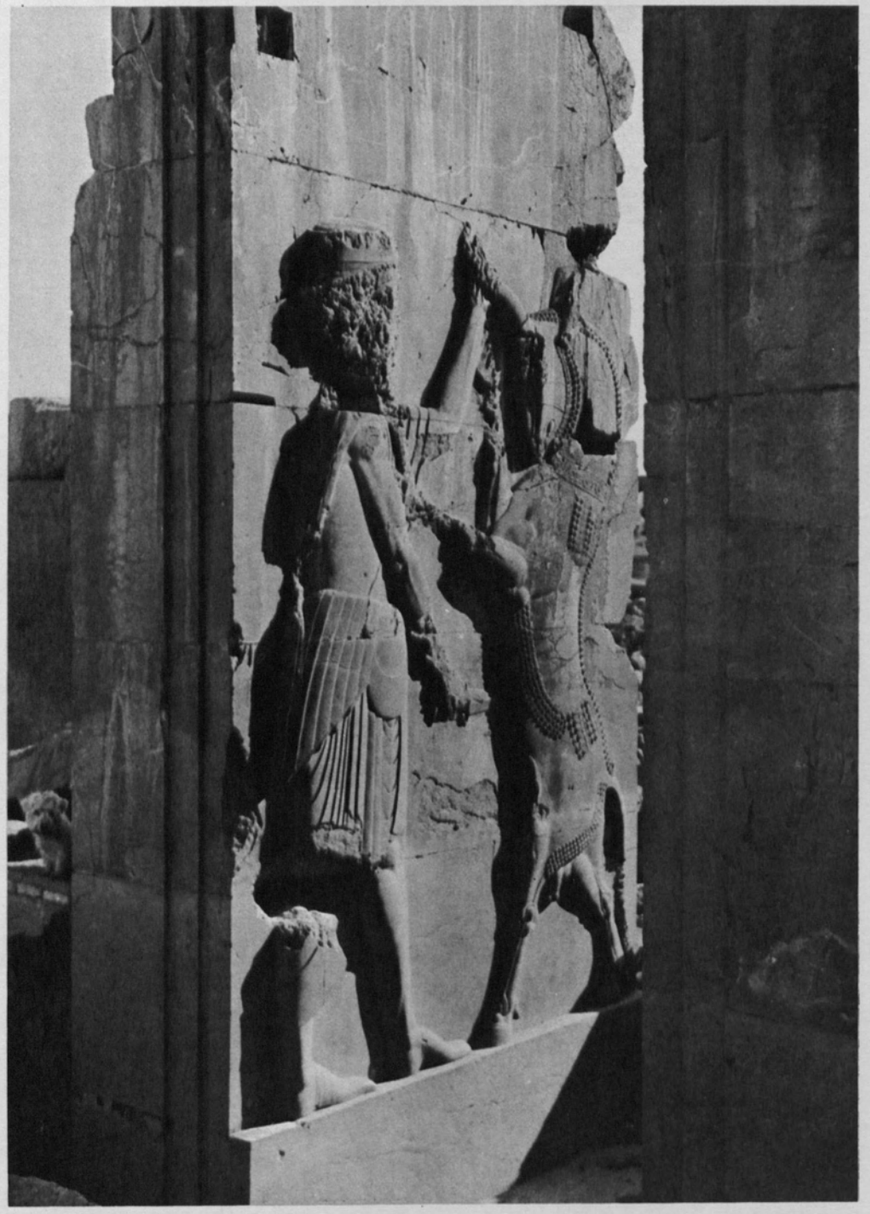
A



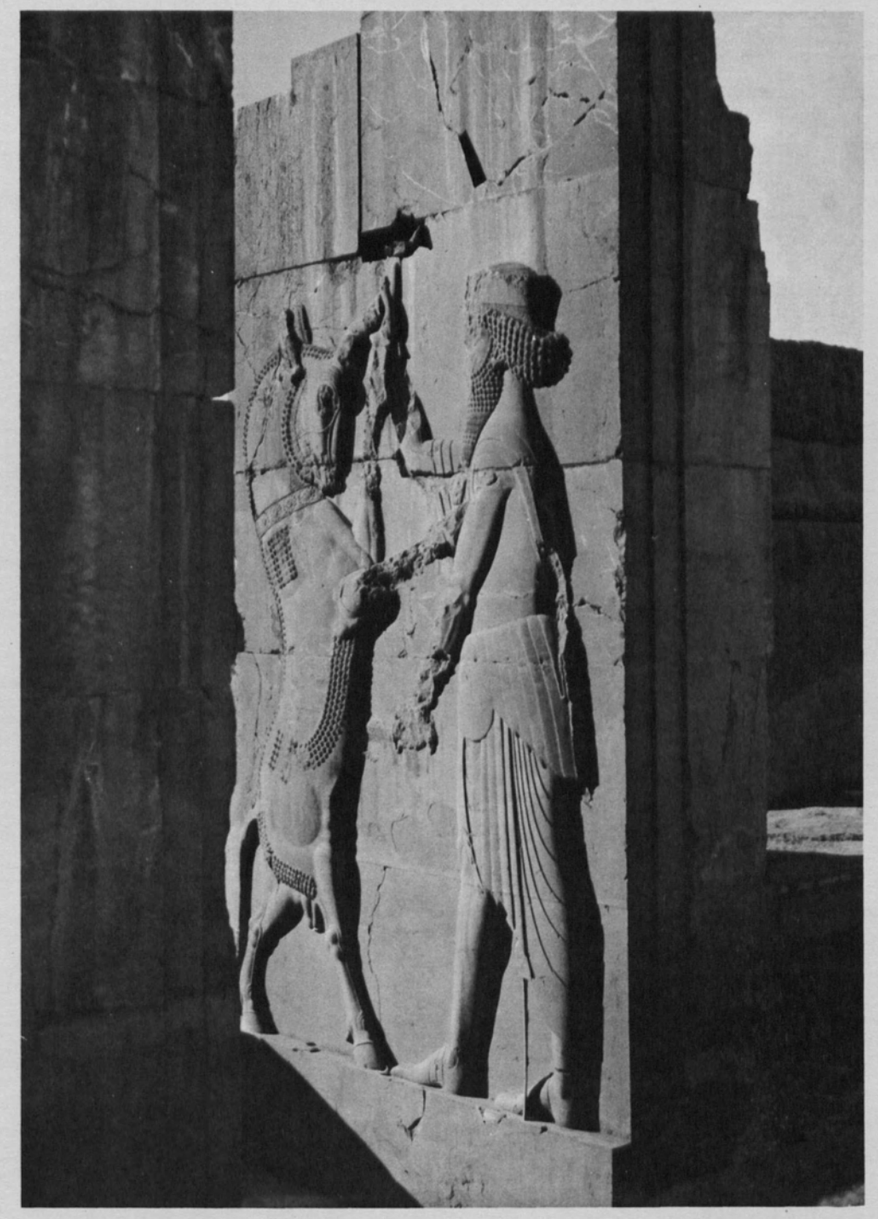
B

THRONE HALL. HERO'S COMBAT WITH HORNED LION-HEADED MONSTER ON NORTHERN DOORWAY IN EASTERN WALL.
A. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

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A



B

THRONE HALL. HERO'S COMBAT WITH BULL ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY IN EASTERN WALL. *A*. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

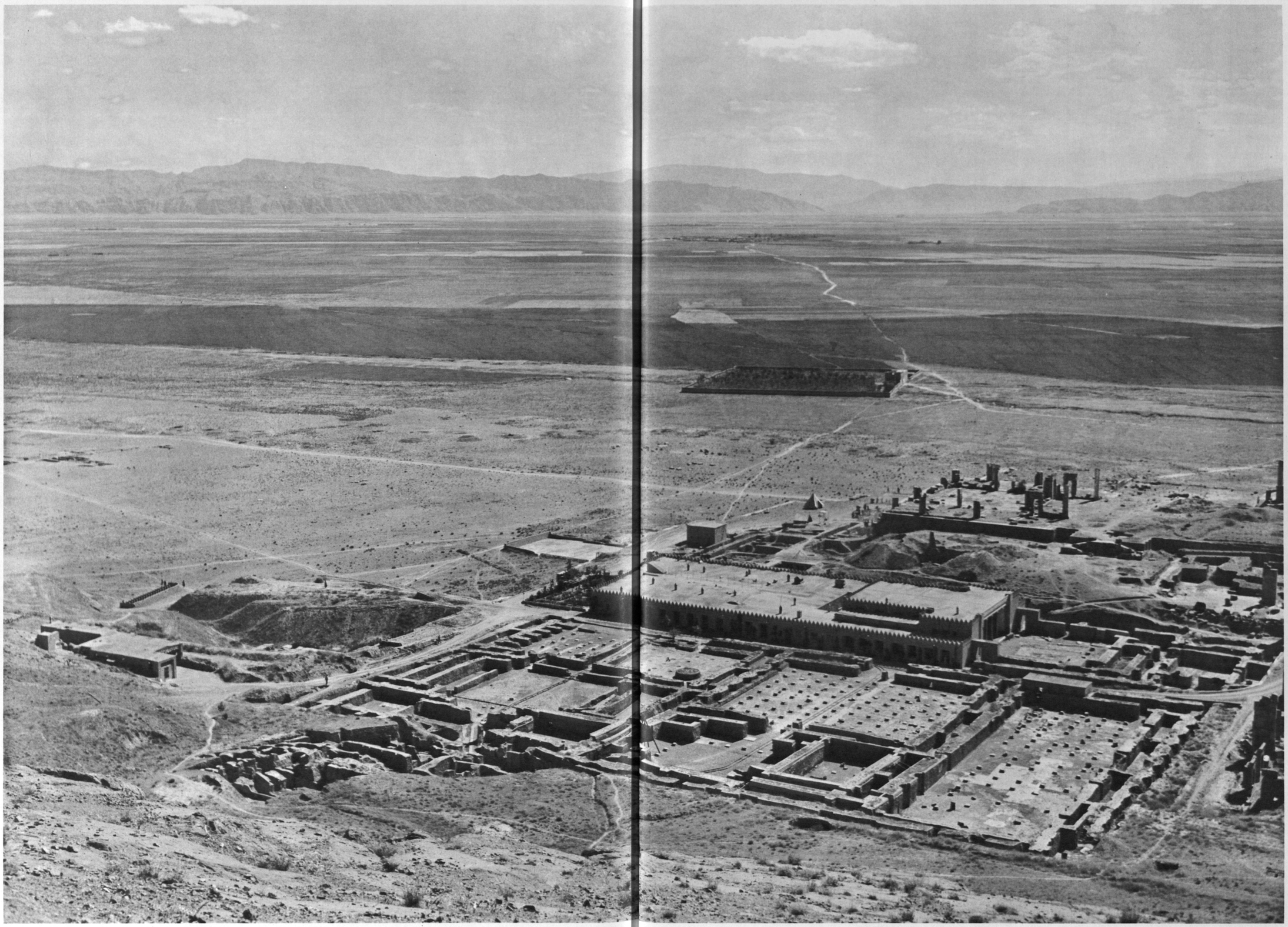
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THE TREASURY

PLATES 118–23

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GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATED TREASURY, WITH RESTORED HAREM IN BACKGROUND (*DIRECTION, SW*)

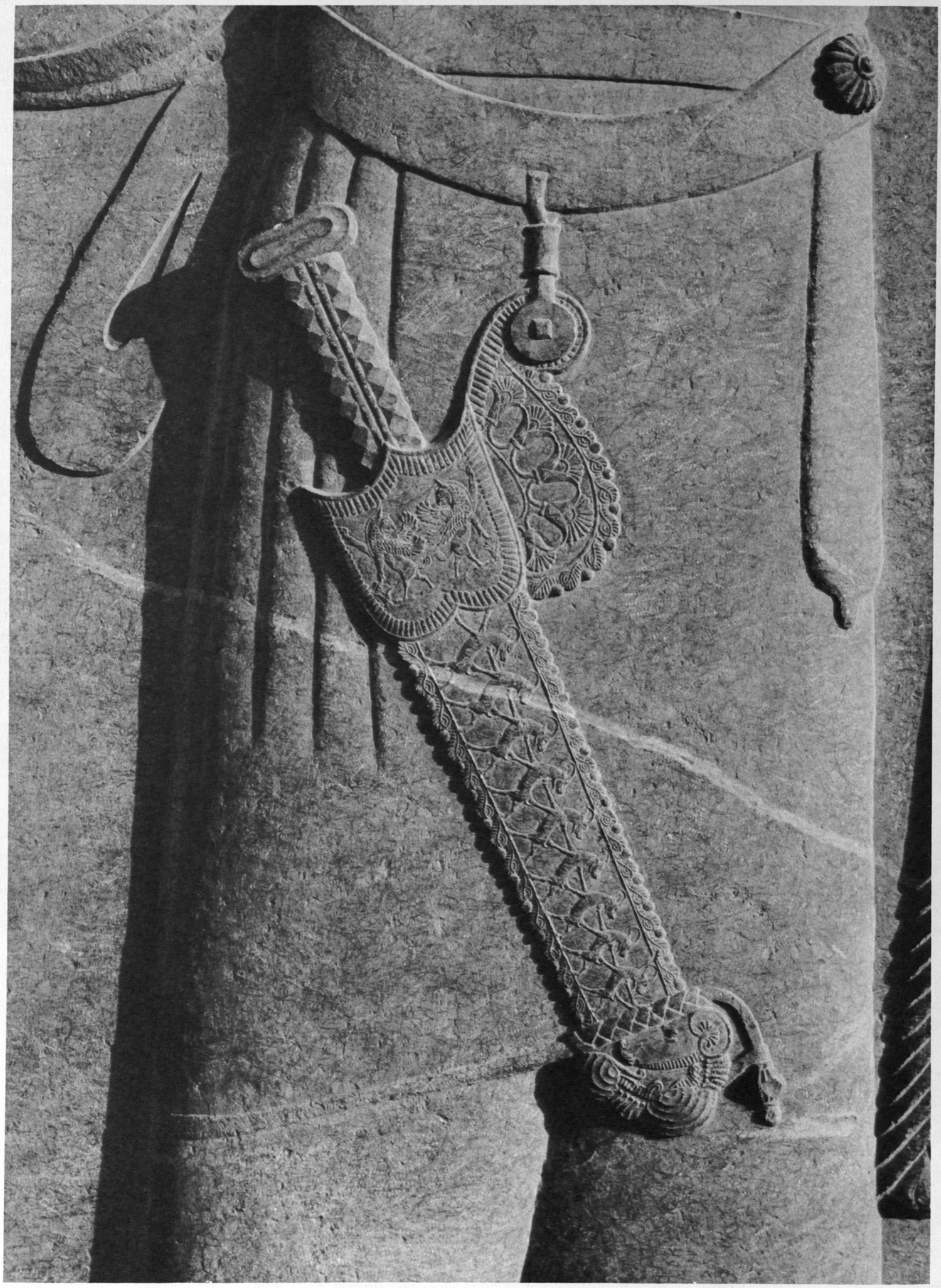
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TREASURY. RELIEF IN SOUTHERN PORTICO (21) OF COURTYARD 17 (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, S*)

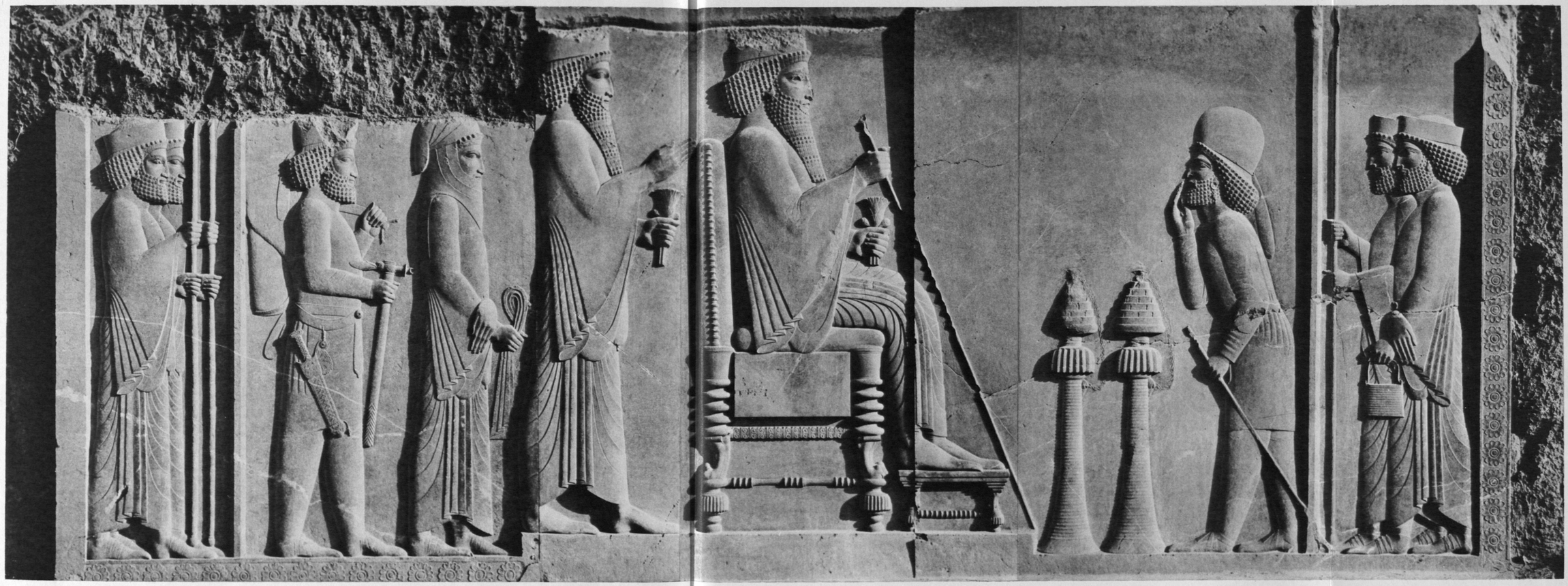
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PLATE 120



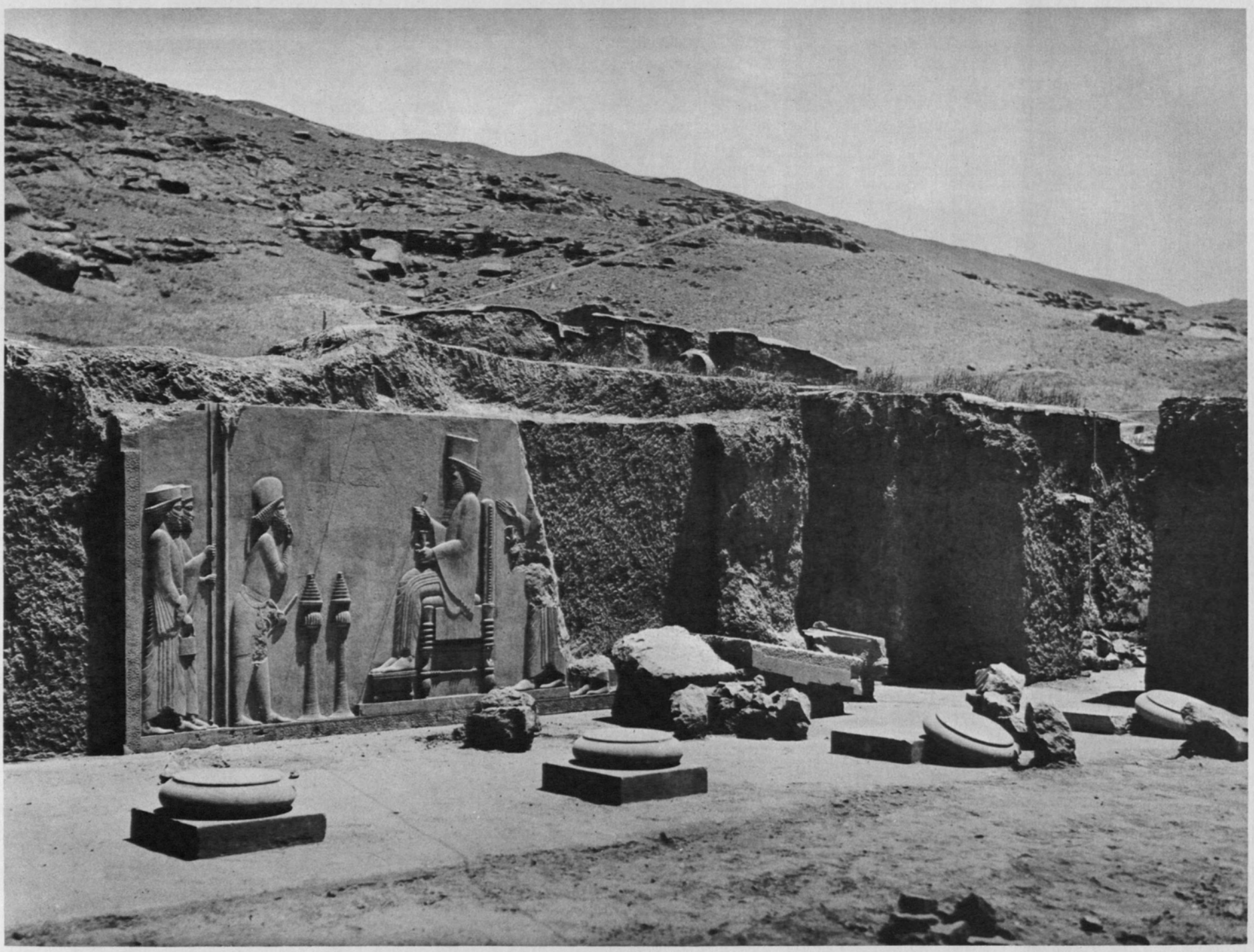
TREASURY. CLOSE-UP OF SWORD OF KING'S WEAPON-BEARER. SCALE, 1:2

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TREASURY. CLOSE-UP OF SOUTHERN RELIEF. SCALE, 1:12

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TREASURY. RELIEF IN EASTERN PORTICO (18) OF COURTYARD 17 (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *E*)

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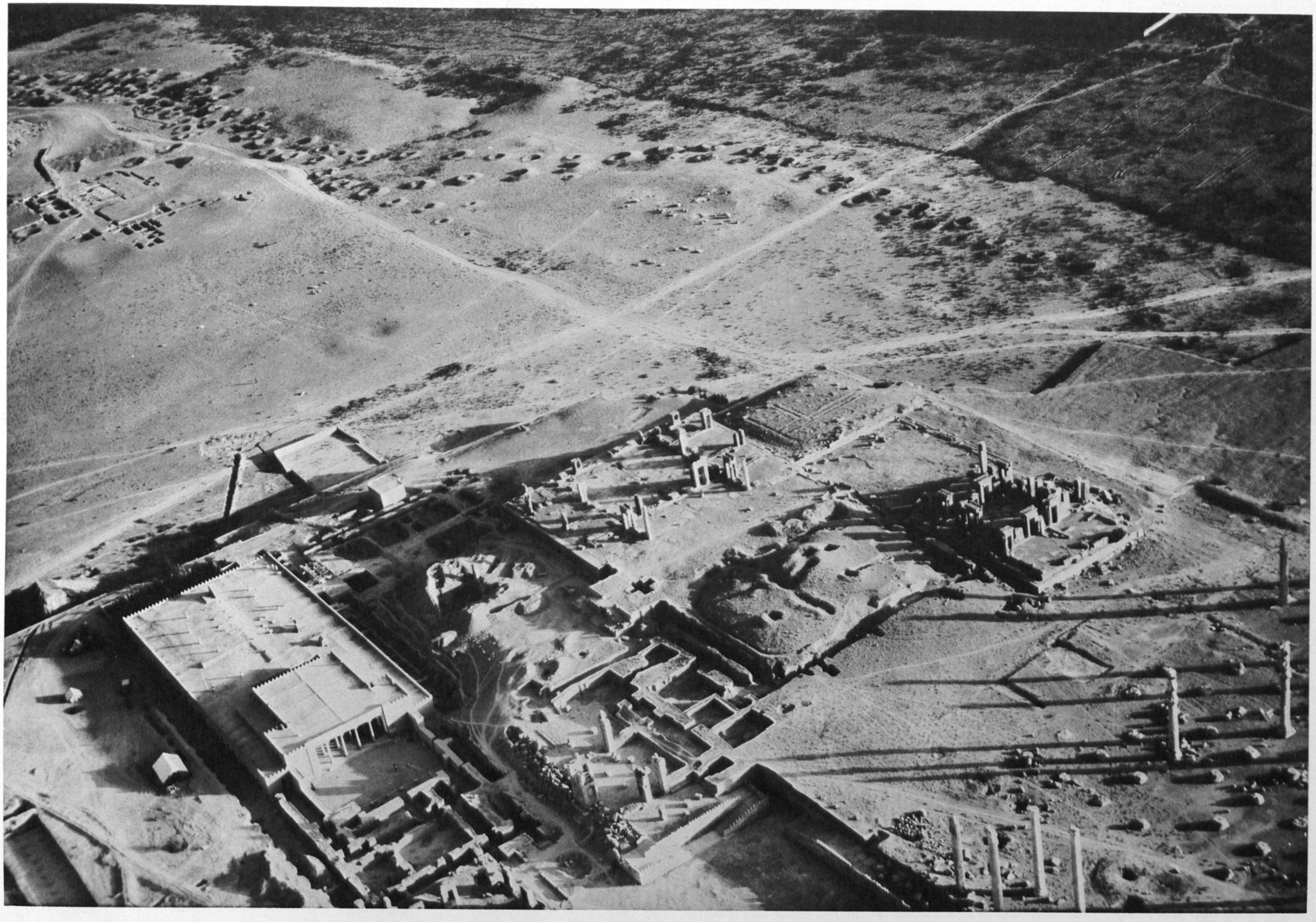
TREASURY. CLOSE-UP OF EASTERN RELIEF. SCALE, 1:20

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THE PALACE OF DARIUS

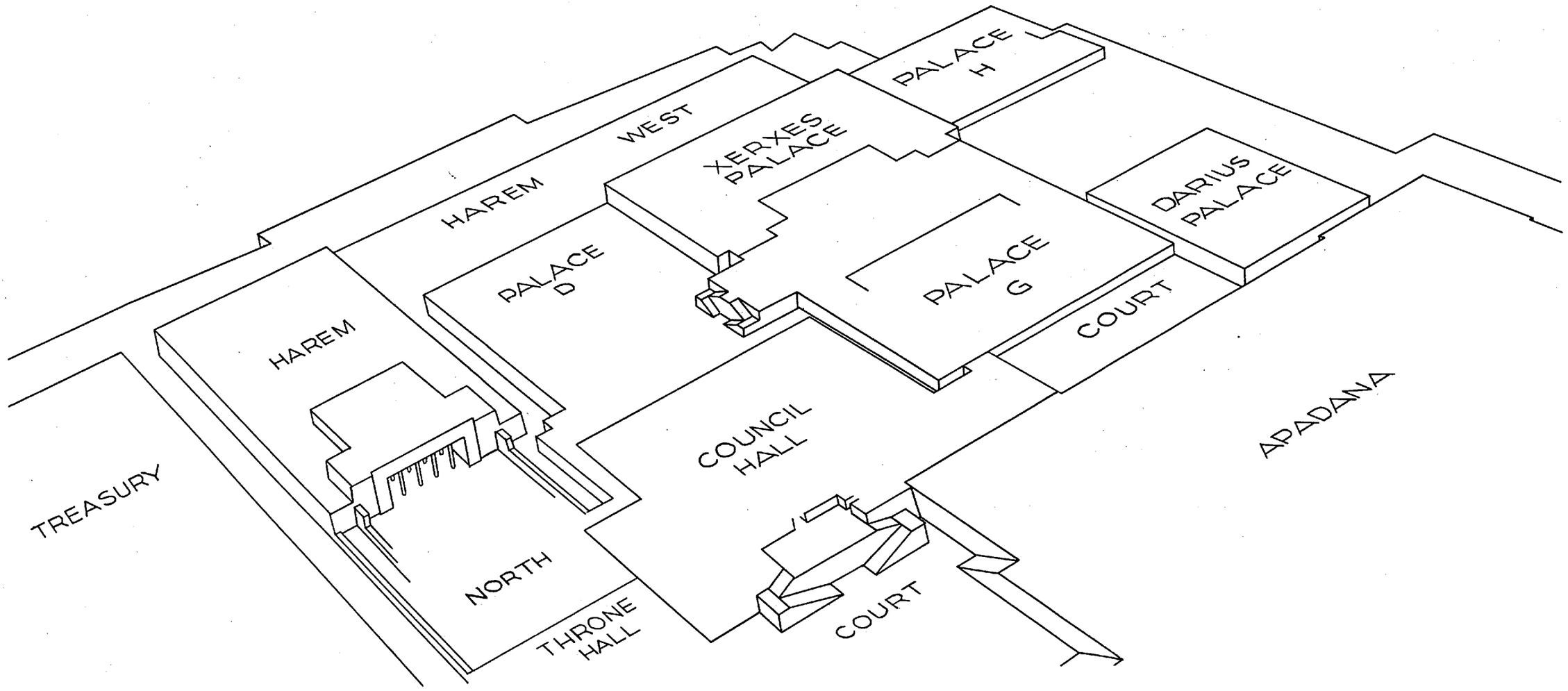
PLATES 124–58

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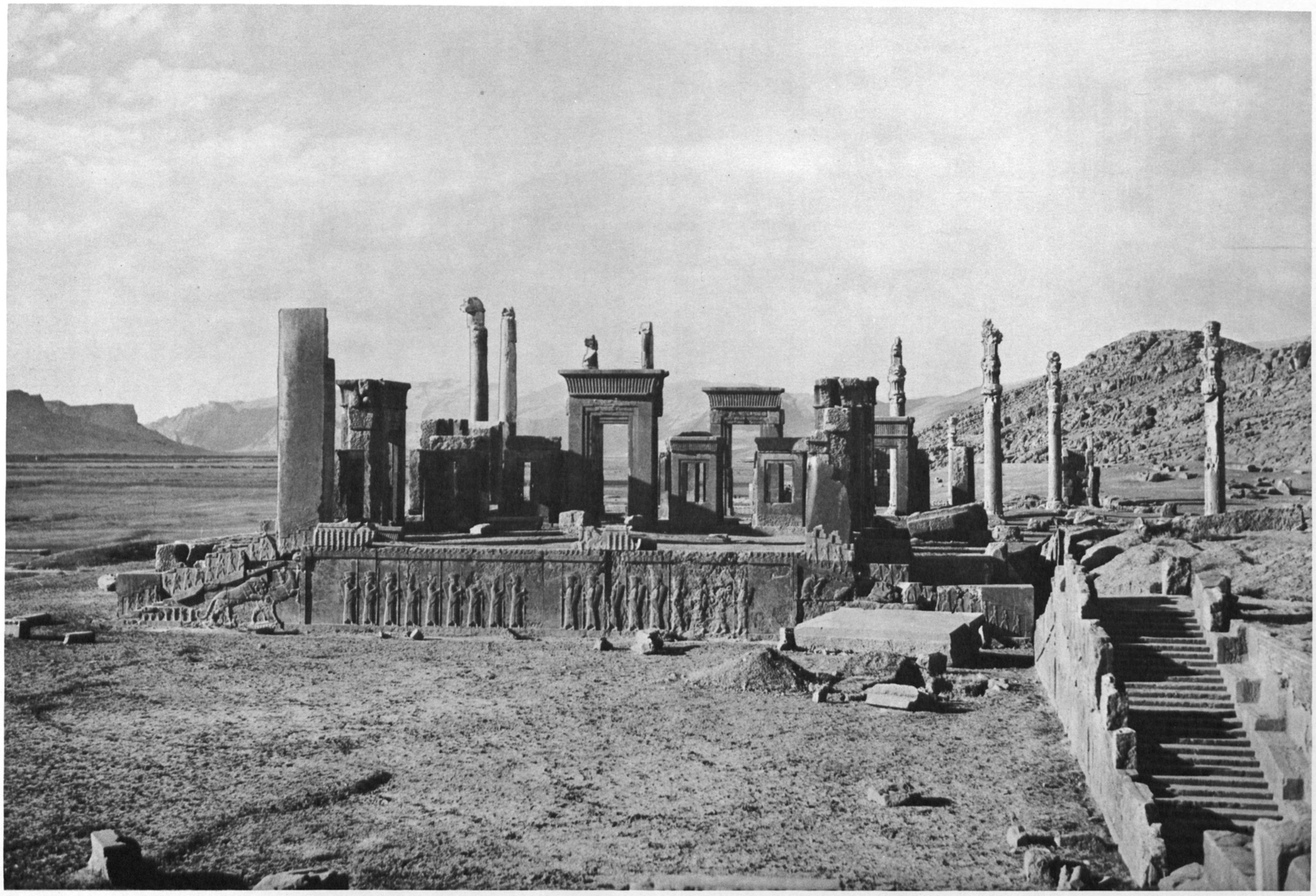
OBLIQUE AIR VIEW OF RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT OF PERSEPOLIS TERRACE, WITH PARTLY EXCAVATED ACHAEMENID BUILDINGS SOUTH OF TERRACE VISIBLE NEAR UPPER LEFT CORNER (*JUNE 11, 1937; 6:10 P.M.; DIRECTION, SSW*)

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KEY TO STRUCTURES SHOWN ON PL. 124

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PALACE OF DARIUS. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, NNW*)

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PALACE OF DARIUS. SPHINX ON FAÇADE OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:6

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A



B

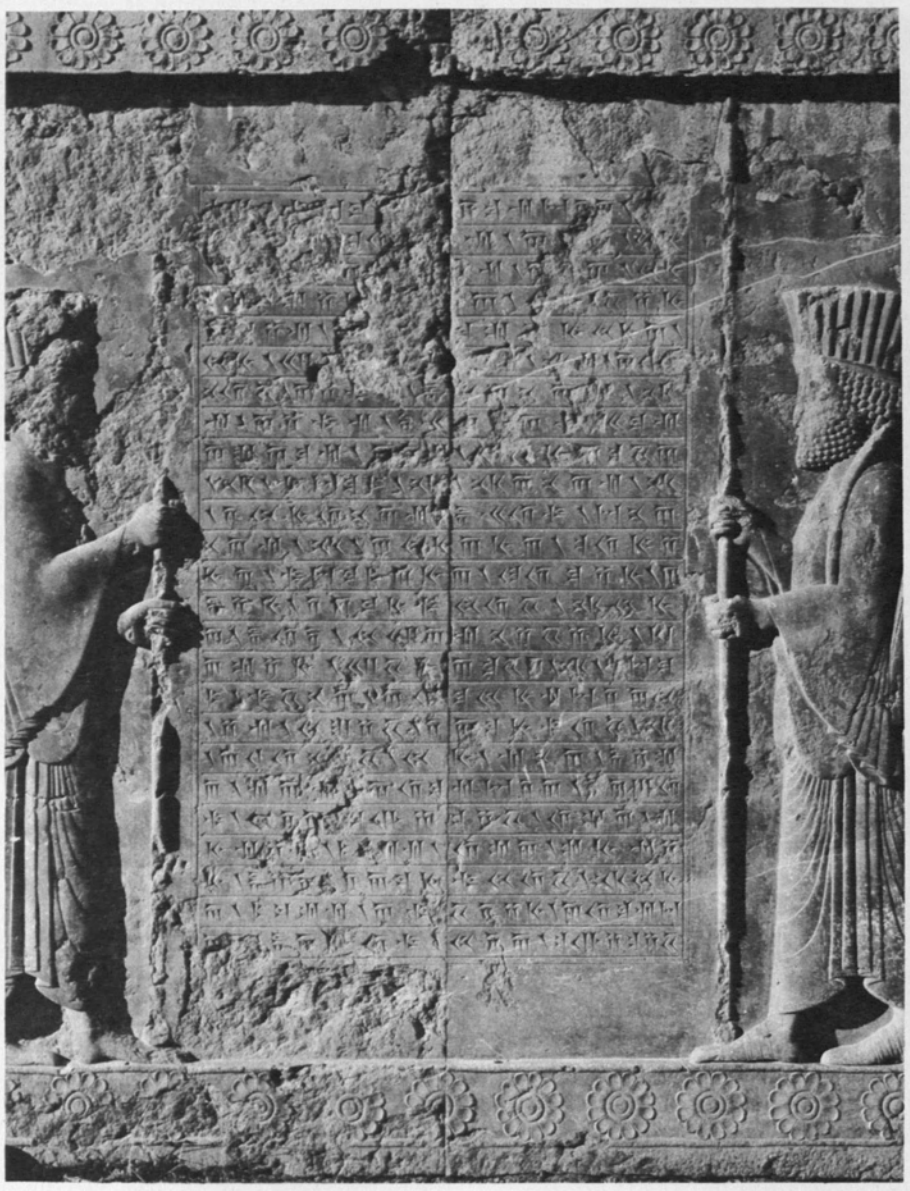
PALACE OF DARIUS. MAIN HALL. *A*. SOUTHERN DOORWAY AND WINDOWS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *S*). *B*. LINTEL OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY. SCALE, ABOUT 1:20

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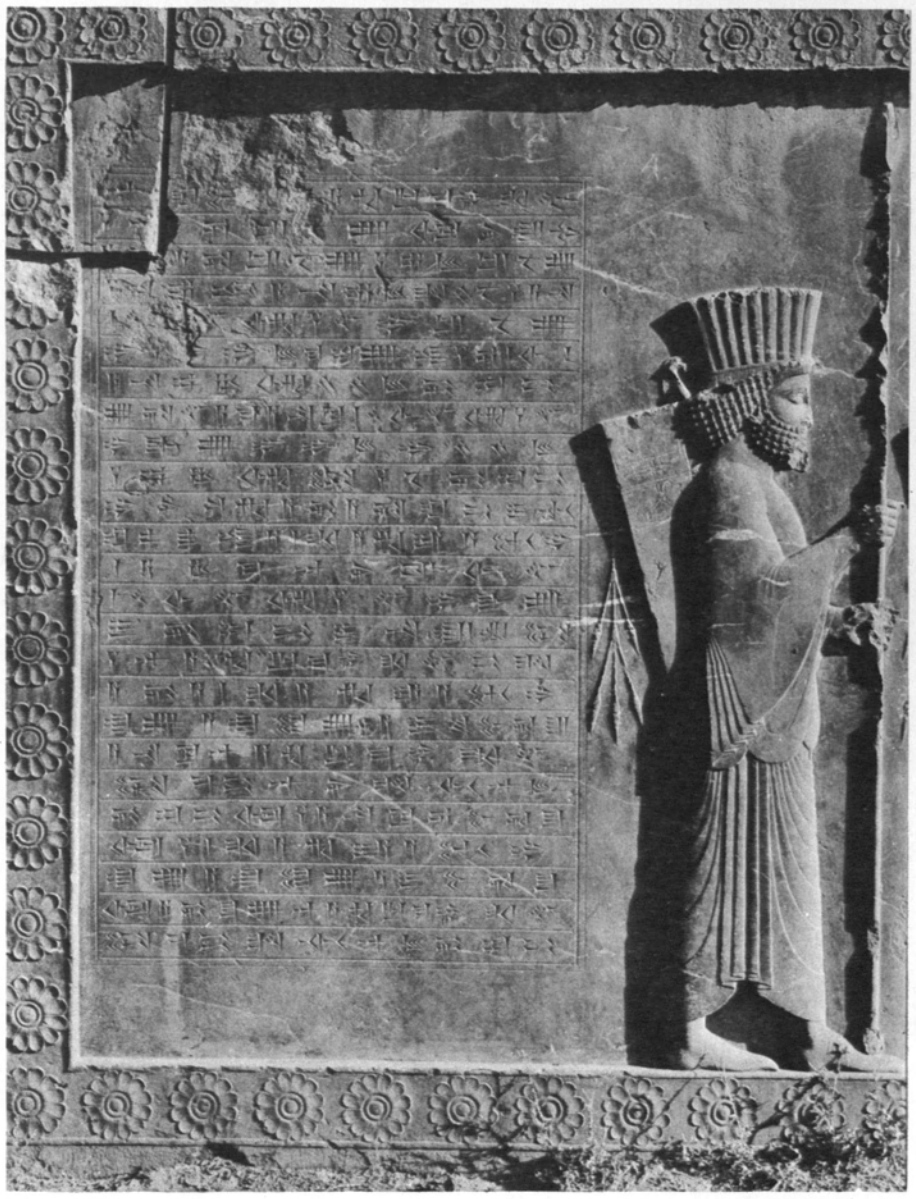


NORTHEASTERN PART OF PALACE OF DARIUS AND COLUMNS OF WESTERN PORTICO OF APADANA. WINTER SCENE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW*)

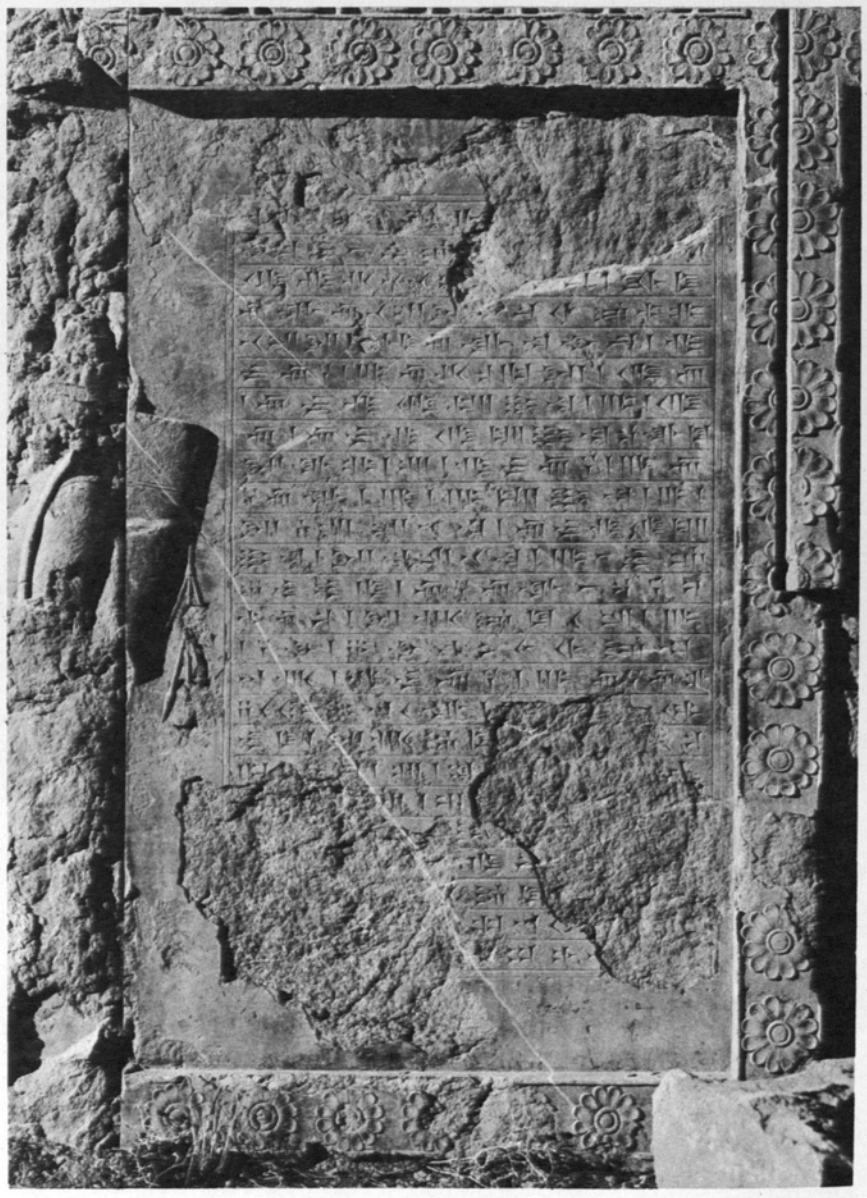
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A



B



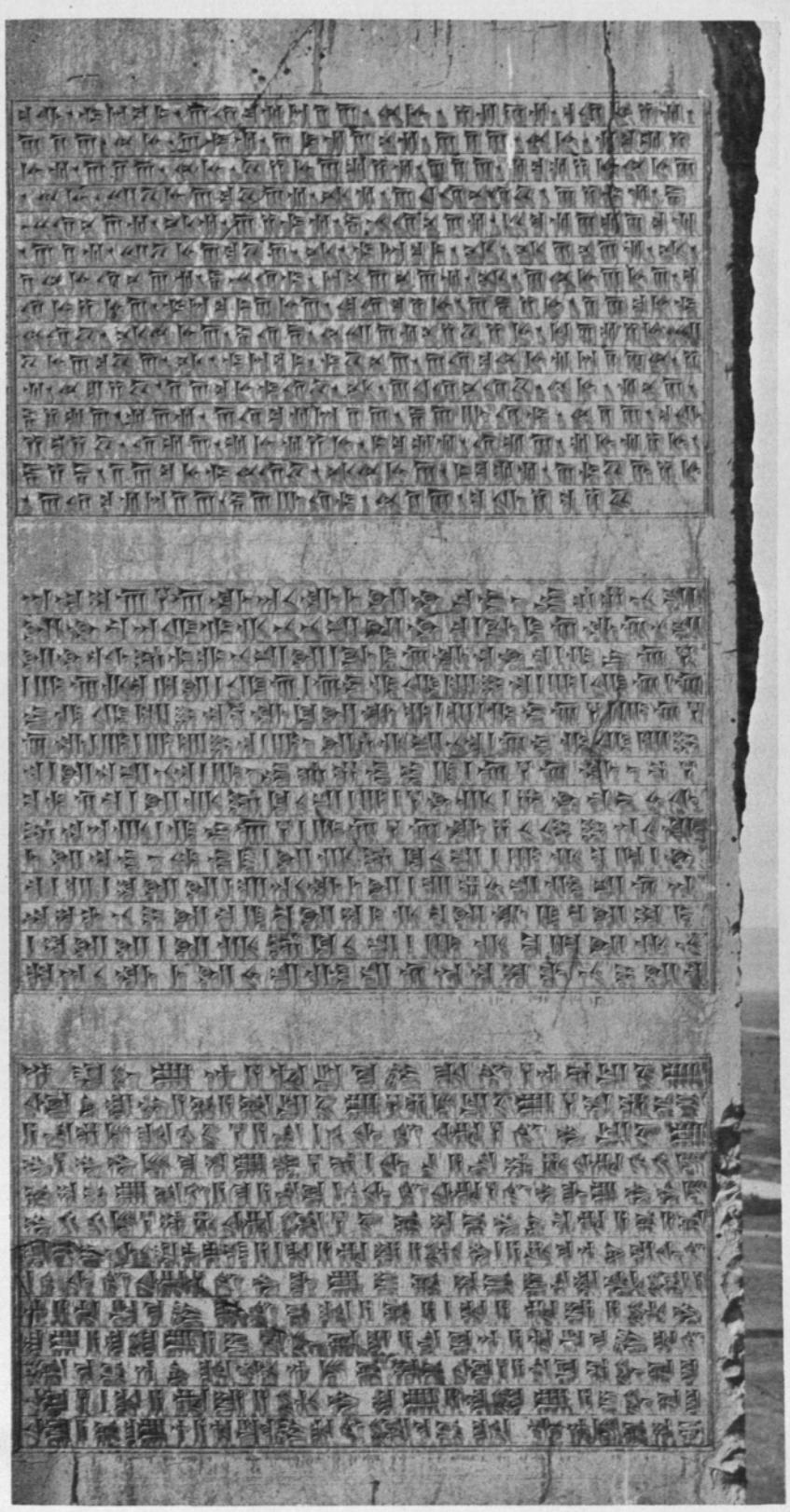
C

PALACE OF DARIUS. XERXES' PERS. cb INSCRIPTION ON FAÇADE OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:16.
A. OLD PERSIAN. *B*. BABYLONIAN. *C*. ELAMITE

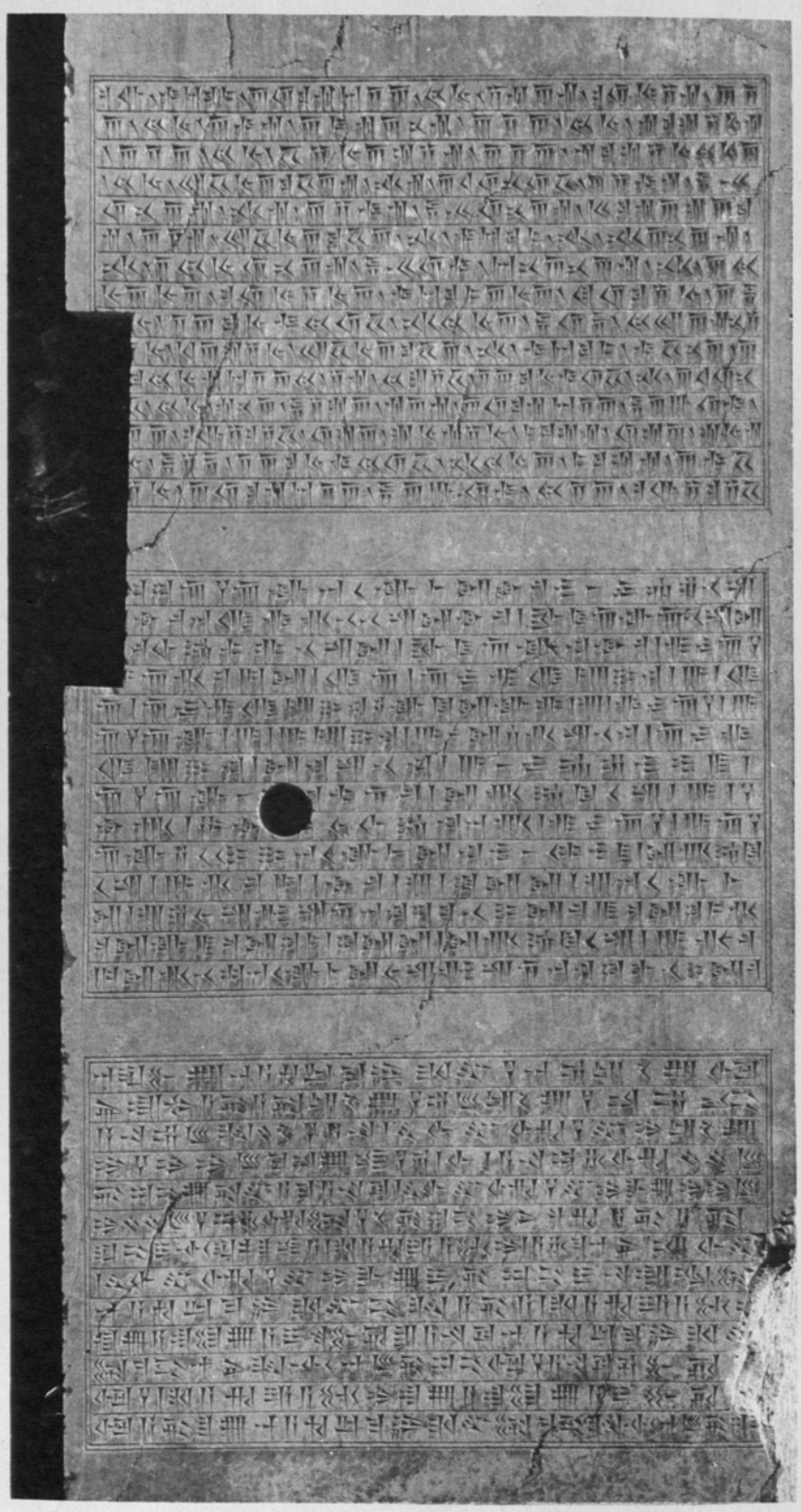
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A



B



C

PALACE OF DARIUS. PORTICO. *A*. DARIUS' PERS. c INSCRIPTION ON SOUTH FACE OF SECOND WINDOW FROM EAST IN NORTHERN WALL. SCALE, 1:8. *B–C*. XERXES' PERS. ca INSCRIPTION ON WESTERN AND EASTERN ANTAE. SCALE, 1:10

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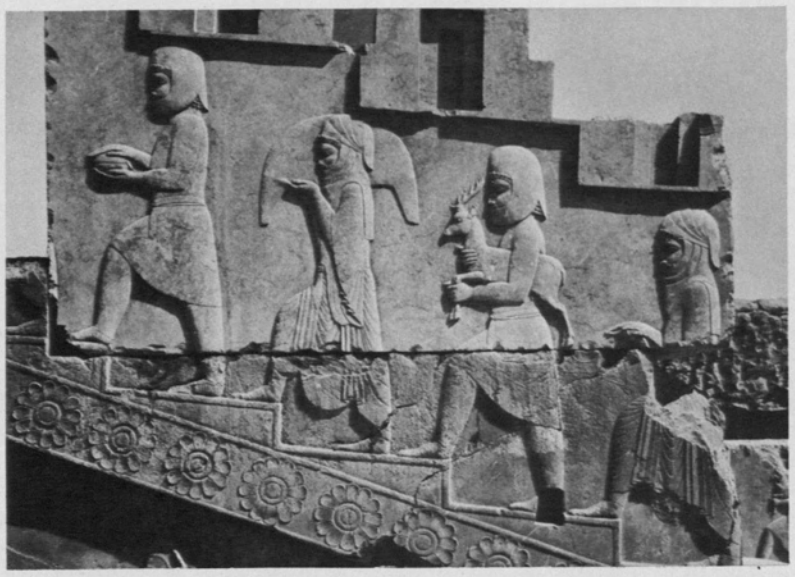
A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. FAÇADE OF WESTERN FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. FILE OF SERVANTS. SCALE, 1:16. *B*. GENERAL VIEW

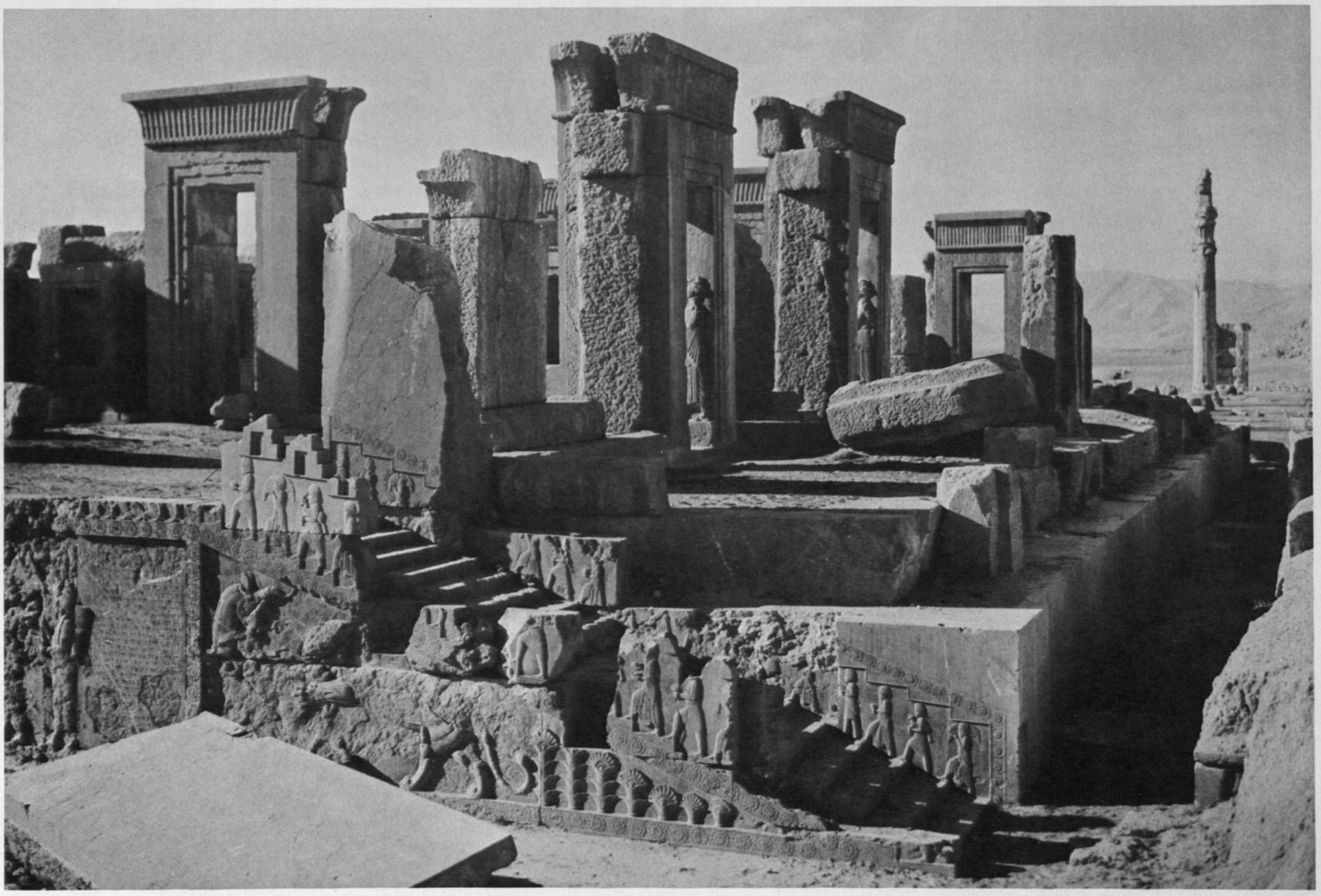
oi.uchicago.edu



A



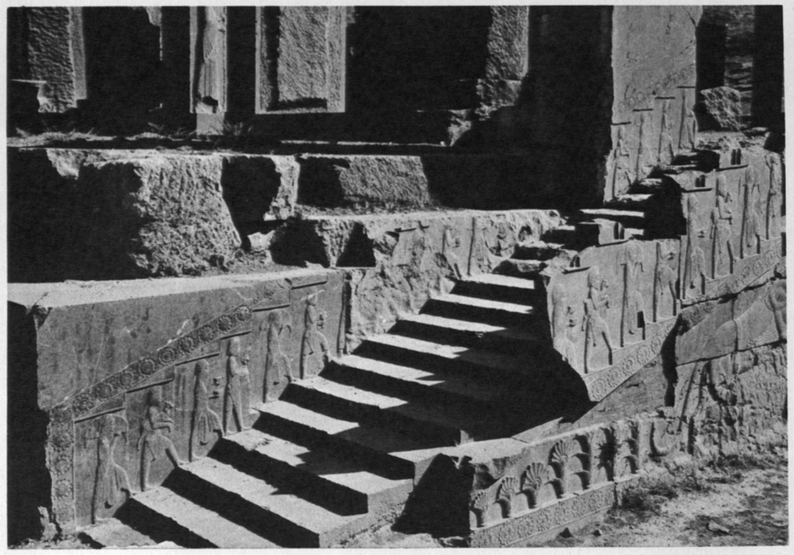
A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. FAÇADE OF EASTERN FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. FILE OF SERVANTS. SCALE, 1:16. *B*. GENERAL VIEW, INCLUDING EASTERN REMNANTS OF PALACE

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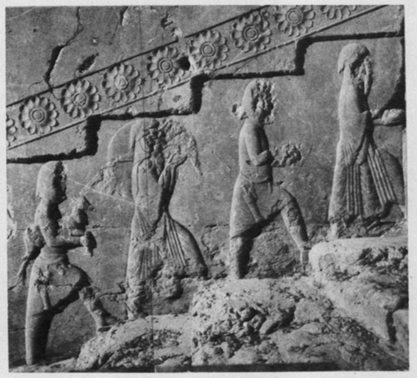
A



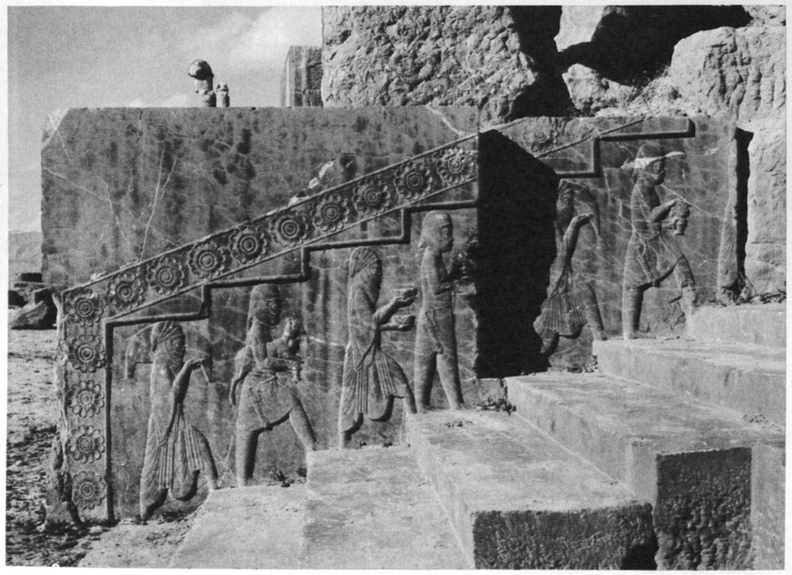
E



B



C



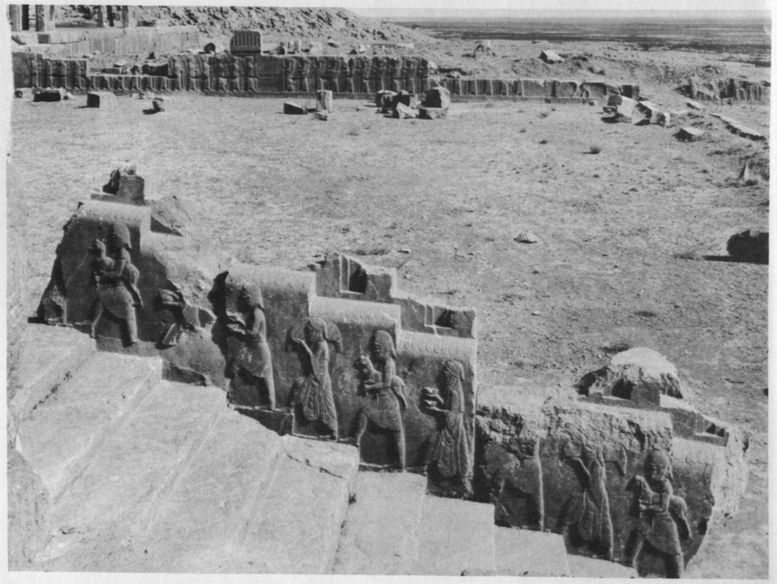
C



C



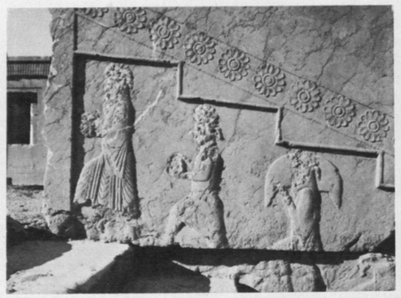
D



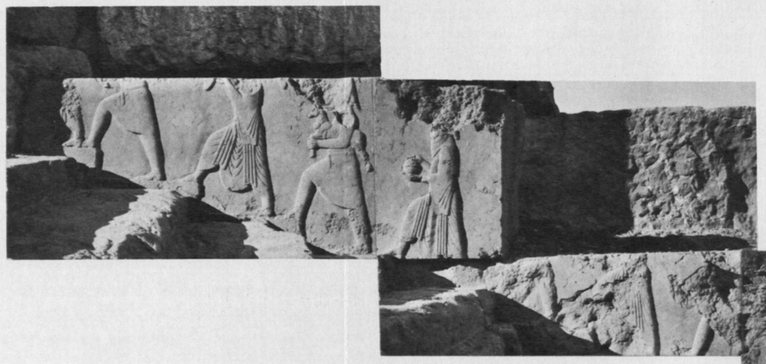
F

PALACE OF DARIUS. WESTERN FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. GENERAL VIEW. *B*. PERSIAN GUARD ON WEST FACE OF PALACE PLATFORM. *C–D*. RELIEFS OF SERVANTS ON NORTH WALL OF STAIRS (*D* REPEATS TWO FIGURES OF *C*). *E*. FILE OF SERVANTS ON INNER FACE OF PARAPET. *F*. GENERAL VIEW OF PARAPET. SCALE OF *B–E*, 1:16

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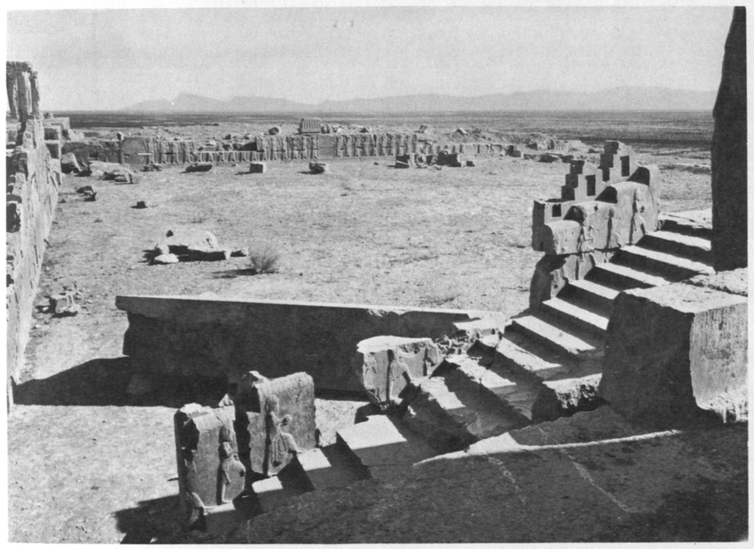


C

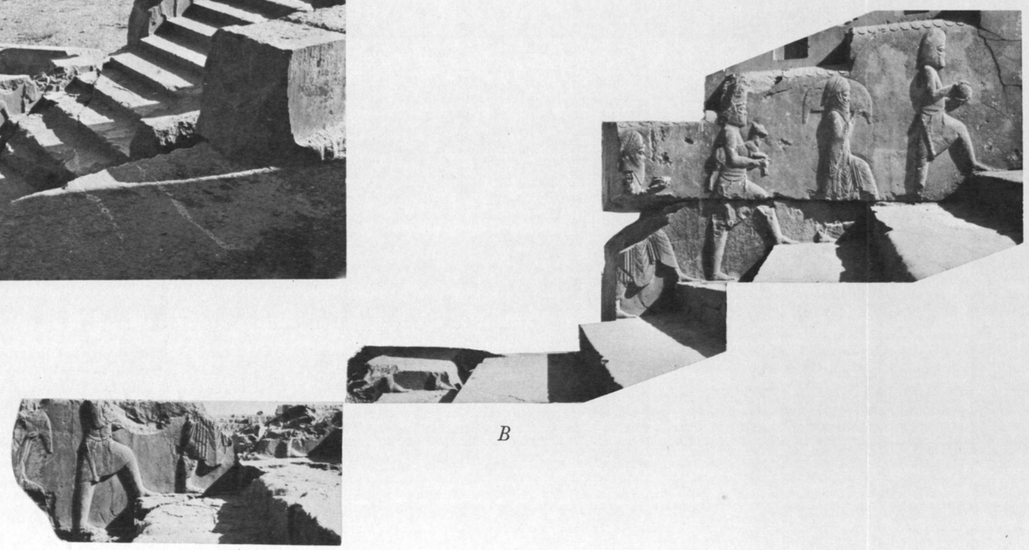




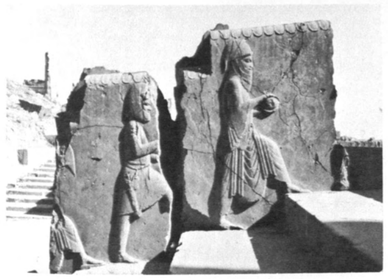
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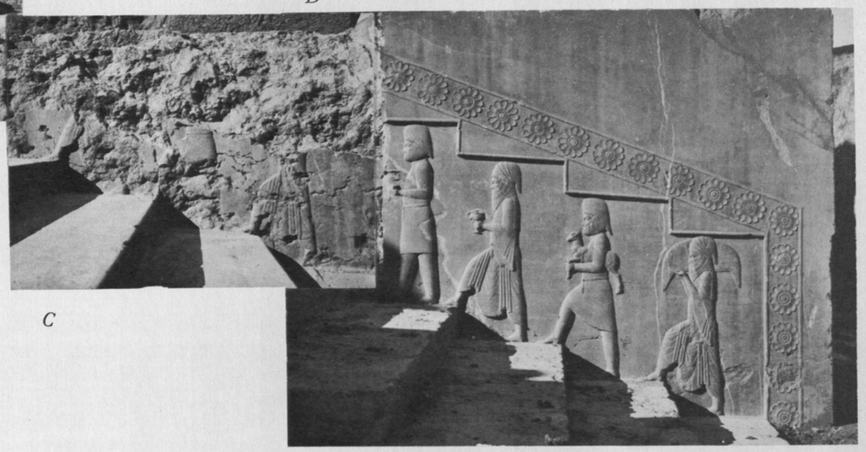
A



B



B



C

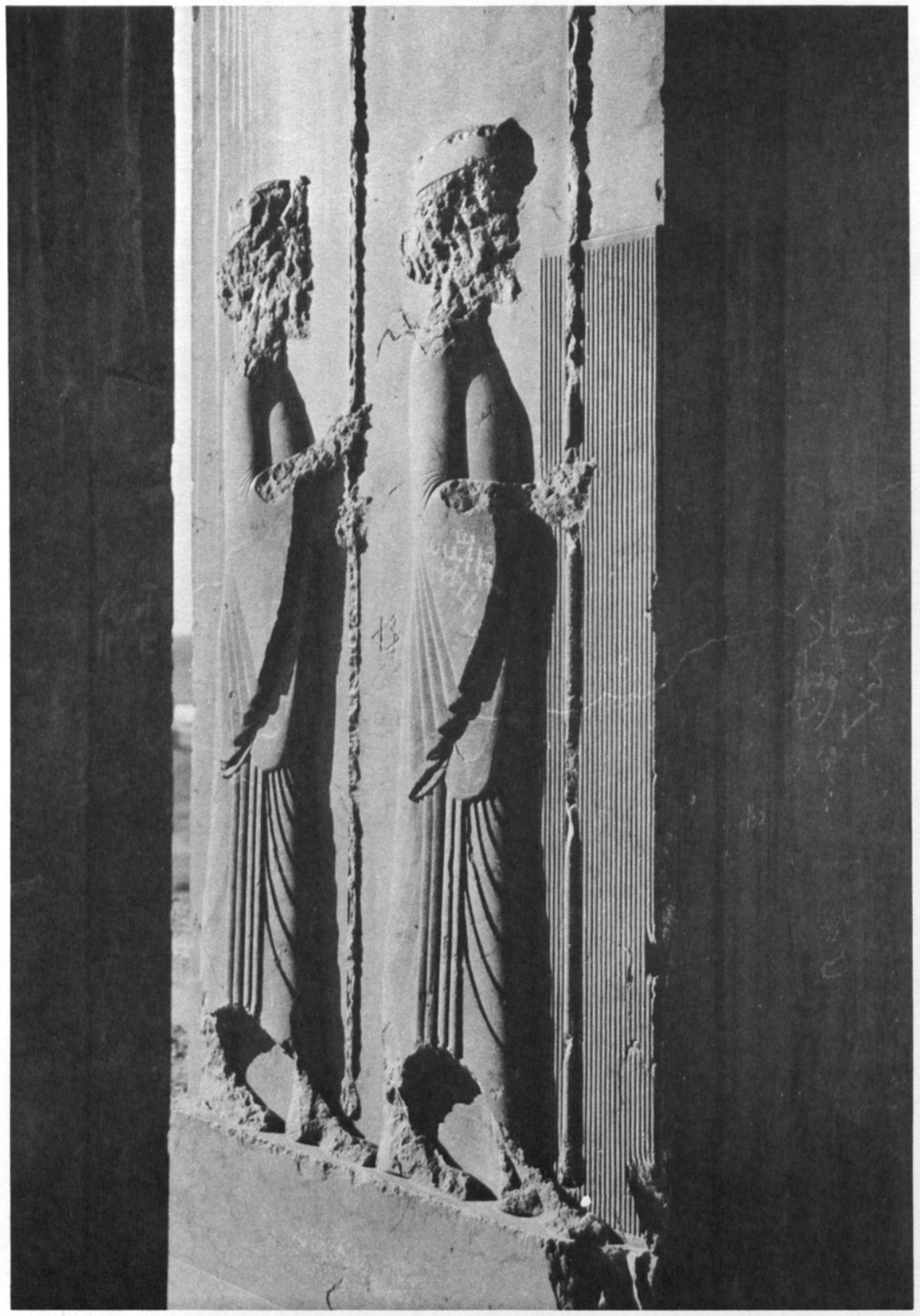


E

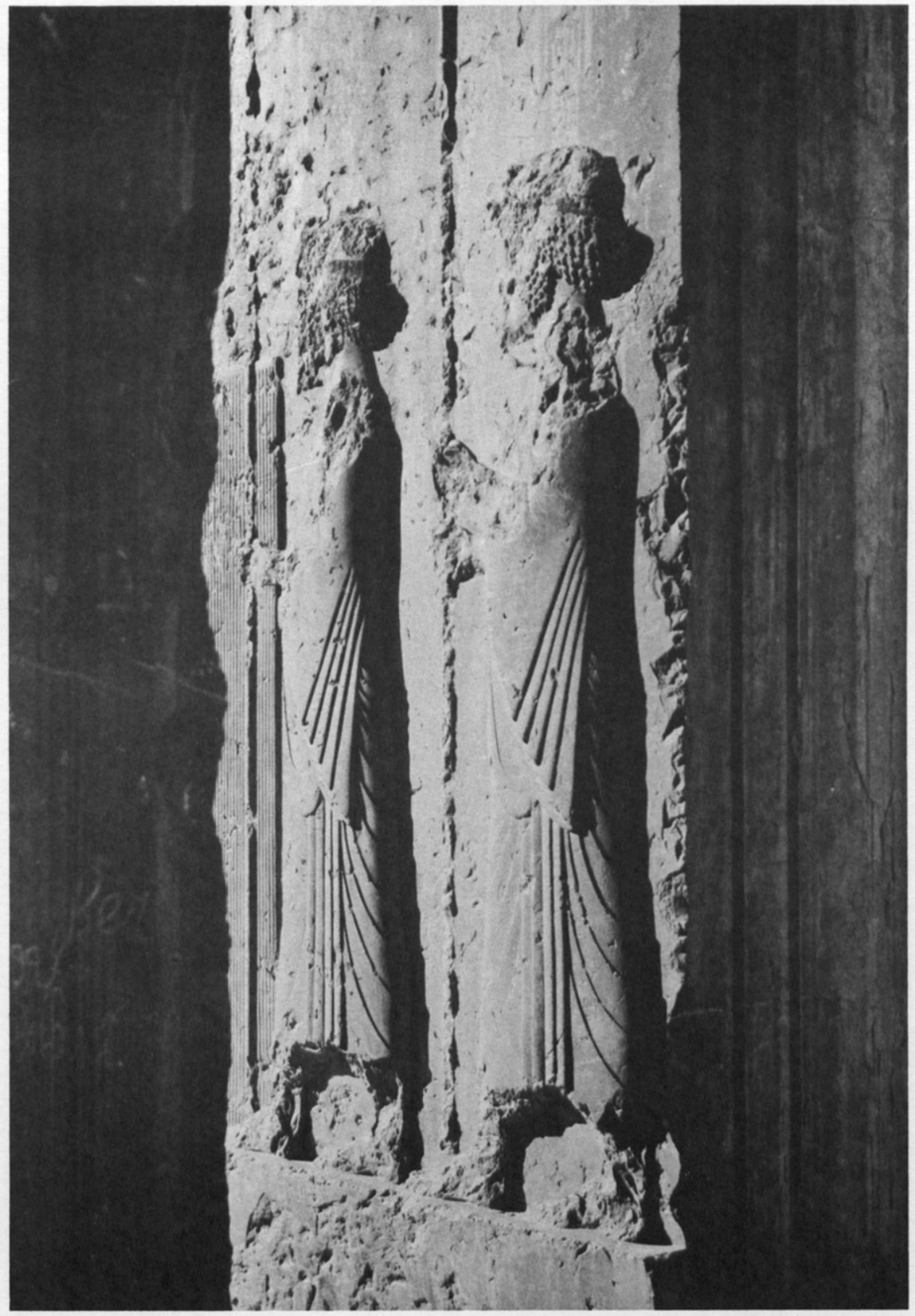
PALACE OF DARIUS. EASTERN FLIGHT OF SOUTHERN STAIRWAY. *A*. GENERAL VIEW OF INNER FACE OF PARAPET, WITH EAST ANTA OF PORTICO LYING IN COURTYARD.
B. RELIEFS OF SERVANTS ON INNER FACE OF PARAPET. SCALE, 1:16. *C*. RELIEFS OF SERVANTS ON NORTH WALL OF STAIRS. SCALE, 1:16.
D. FLORAL MOTIF ON NORTH WALL. SCALE, 1:8. *E*. GENERAL VIEW, SHOWING RELIEFS ON NORTH WALL AND FAÇADE

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A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. GUARD RELIEFS ON PORTICO DOORWAYS (*DIRECTION OF VIEWS, WNW*). *A*. NORTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY. *B*. NORTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY

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A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. GUARD RELIEFS ON PORTICO DOORWAYS (*DIRECTION OF VIEWS, WSW*). *A*. SOUTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY. *B*. SOUTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY

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A



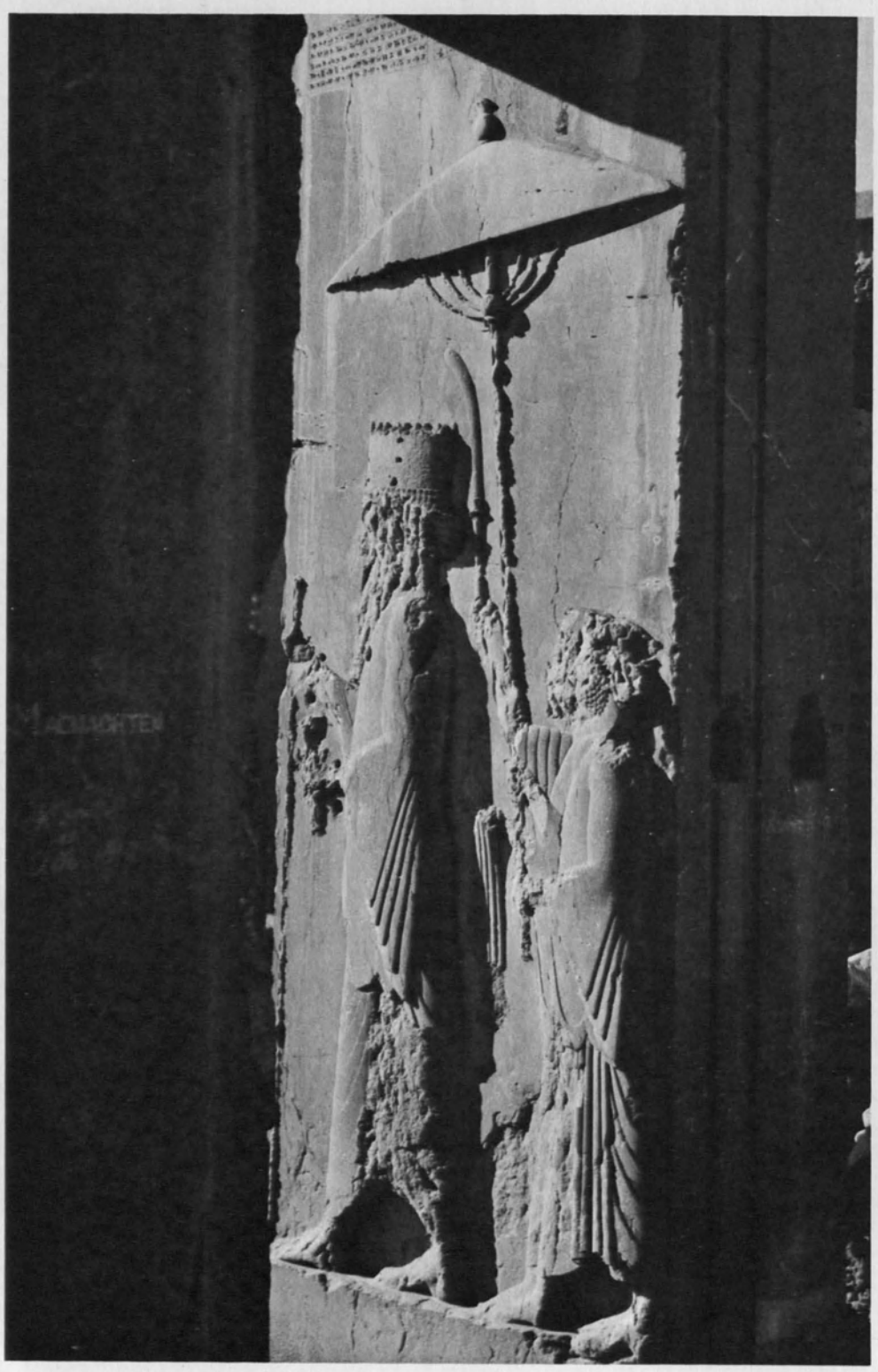
B

PALACE OF DARIUS. EAST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. DARIUS' PERS. a INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:6. *B*. RELIEF OF KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *NNE*)

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A



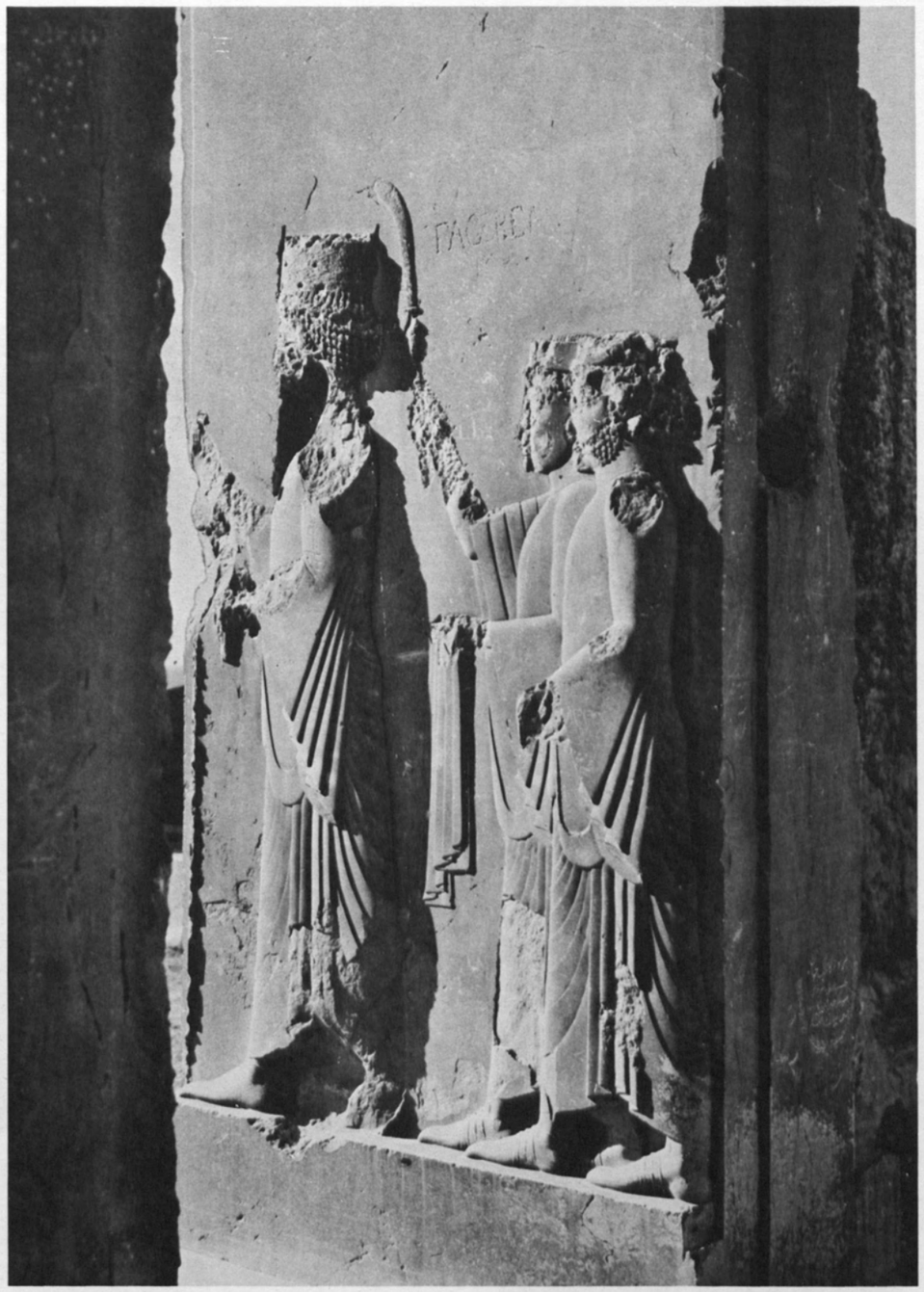
B

PALACE OF DARIUS. WEST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. DARIUS' PERS. a INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:6. *B*. RELIEF OF KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *SSW*)

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A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS ON WESTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL.
A. EAST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NNE*). *B*. WEST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*)

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A

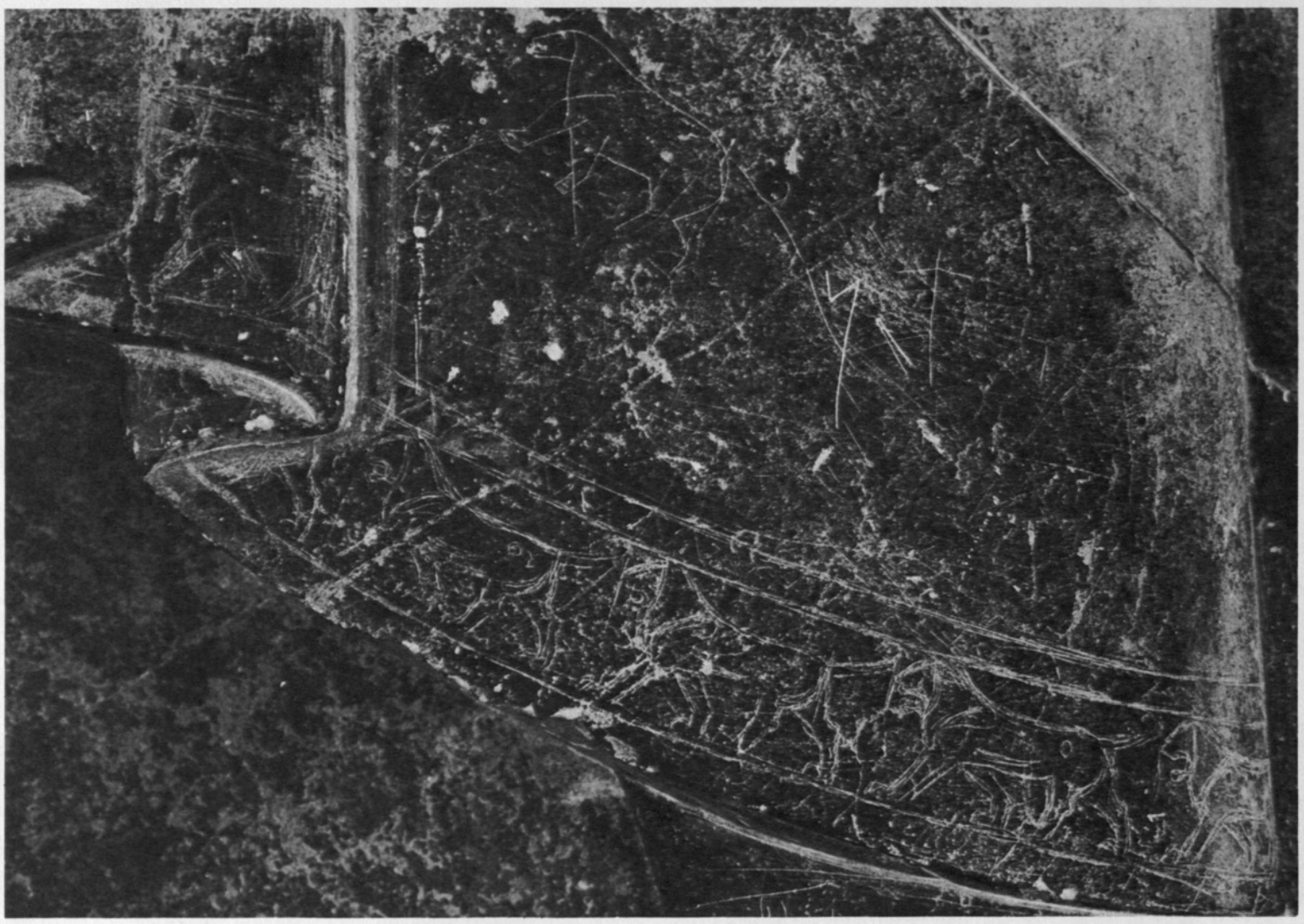


B

PALACE OF DARIUS. KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS ON EASTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL.
A. EAST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NNE*). *B*. WEST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*)

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PLATE 142



A



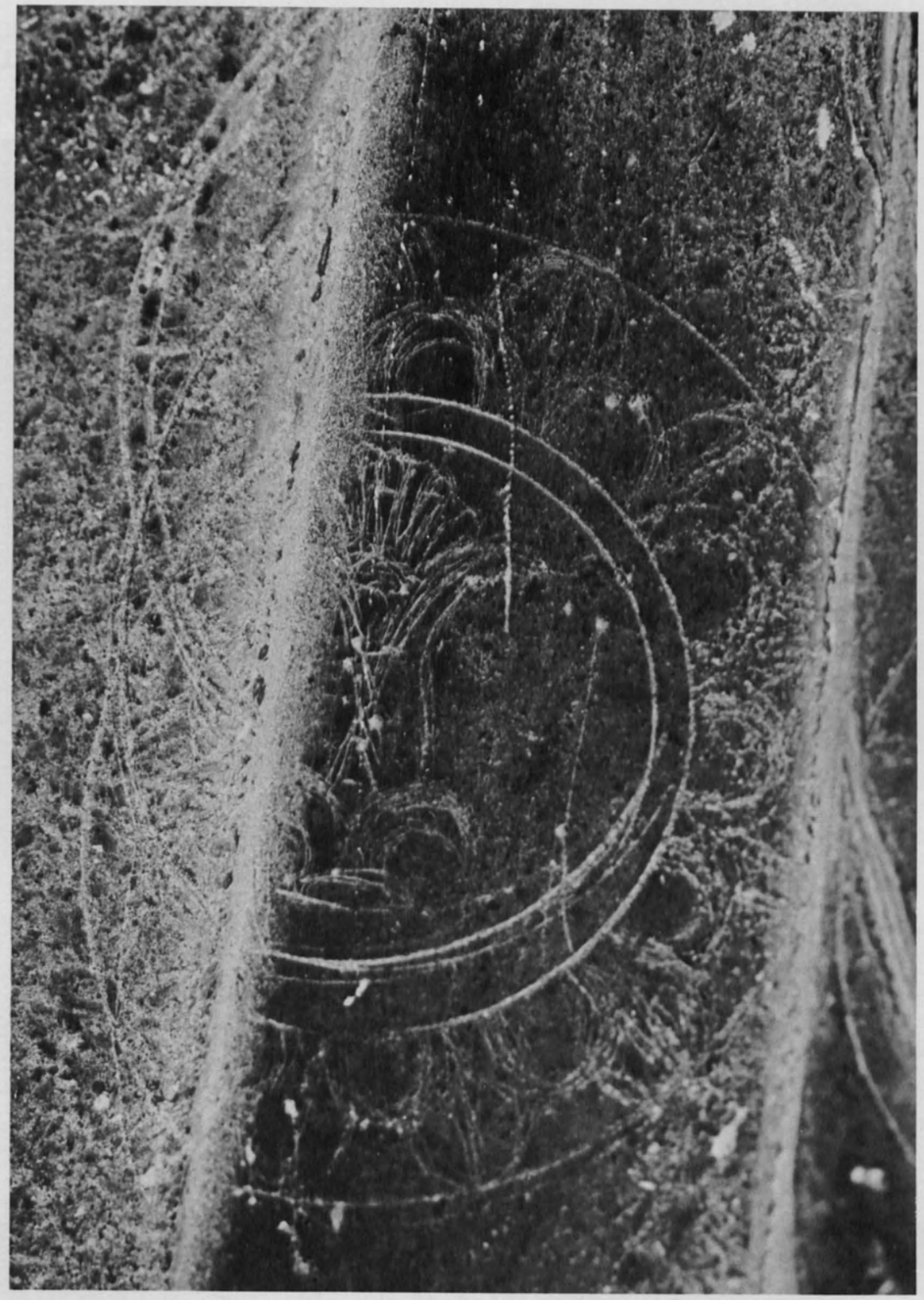
B

A. DESIGN OF LIONS ON HEM OF KING'S GOWN IN RELIEF ILLUSTRATED ON PL. 140 *A*. *B*. CLOSE-UP OF ONE LION (EXACT LOCATION NOT ASCERTAINED). PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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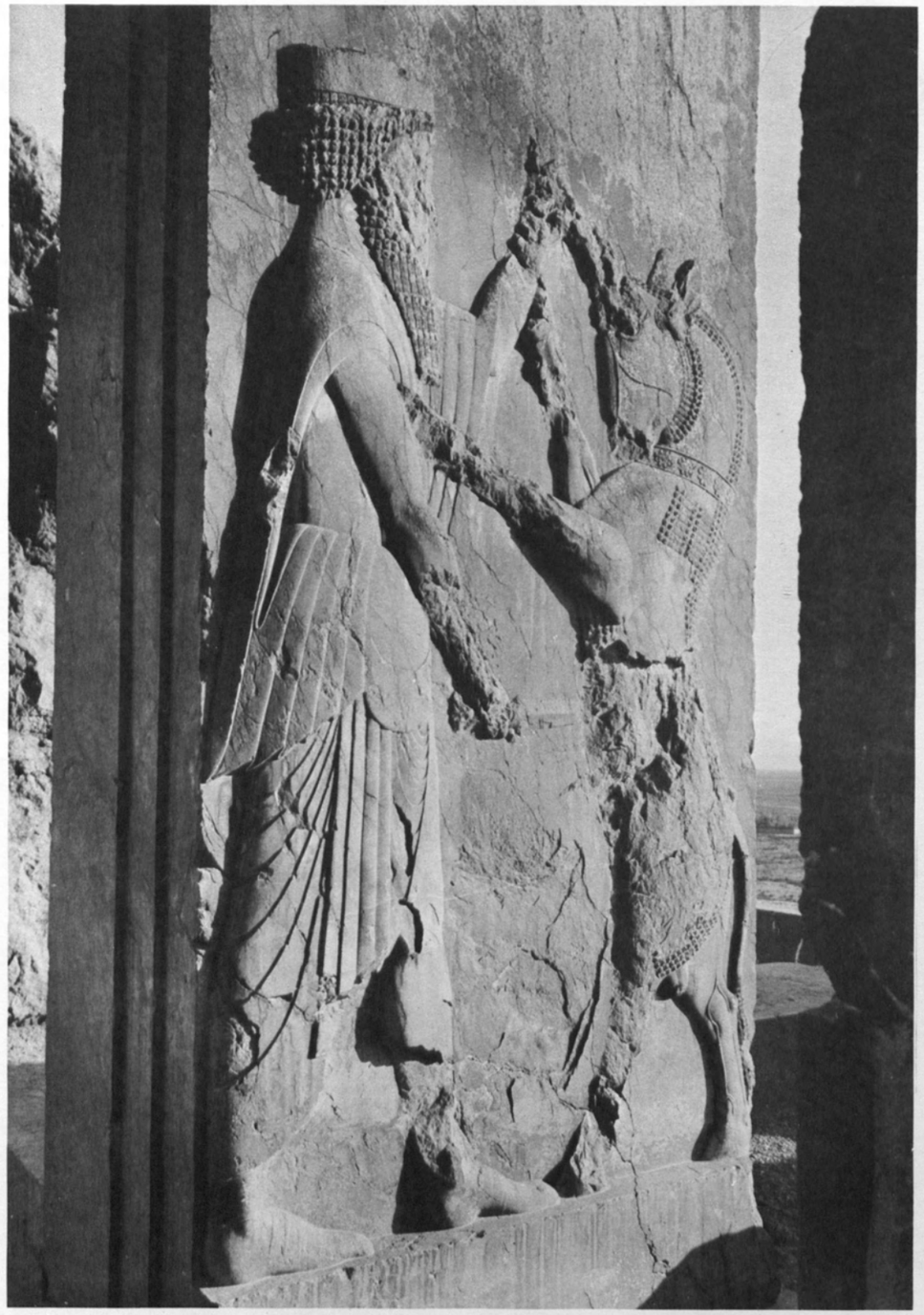
A



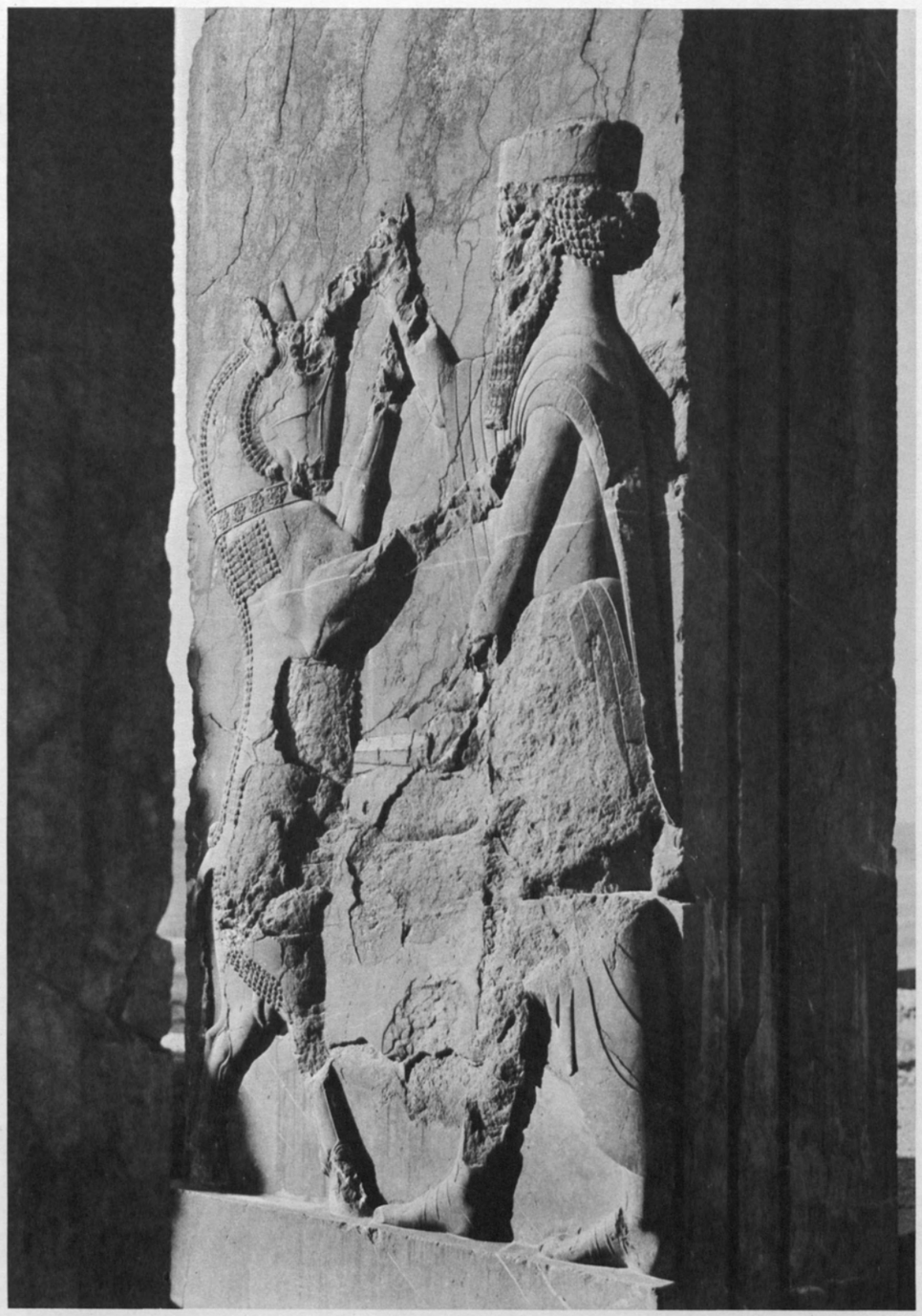
B

A. ALLOVER DESIGN OF ELABORATE ENCIRCLED PALMETTES ON GOWN OF KING IN RELIEF ILLUSTRATED ON PL. 140 *B*. *B*. CLOSE-UP OF ONE UNIT OF DESIGN. PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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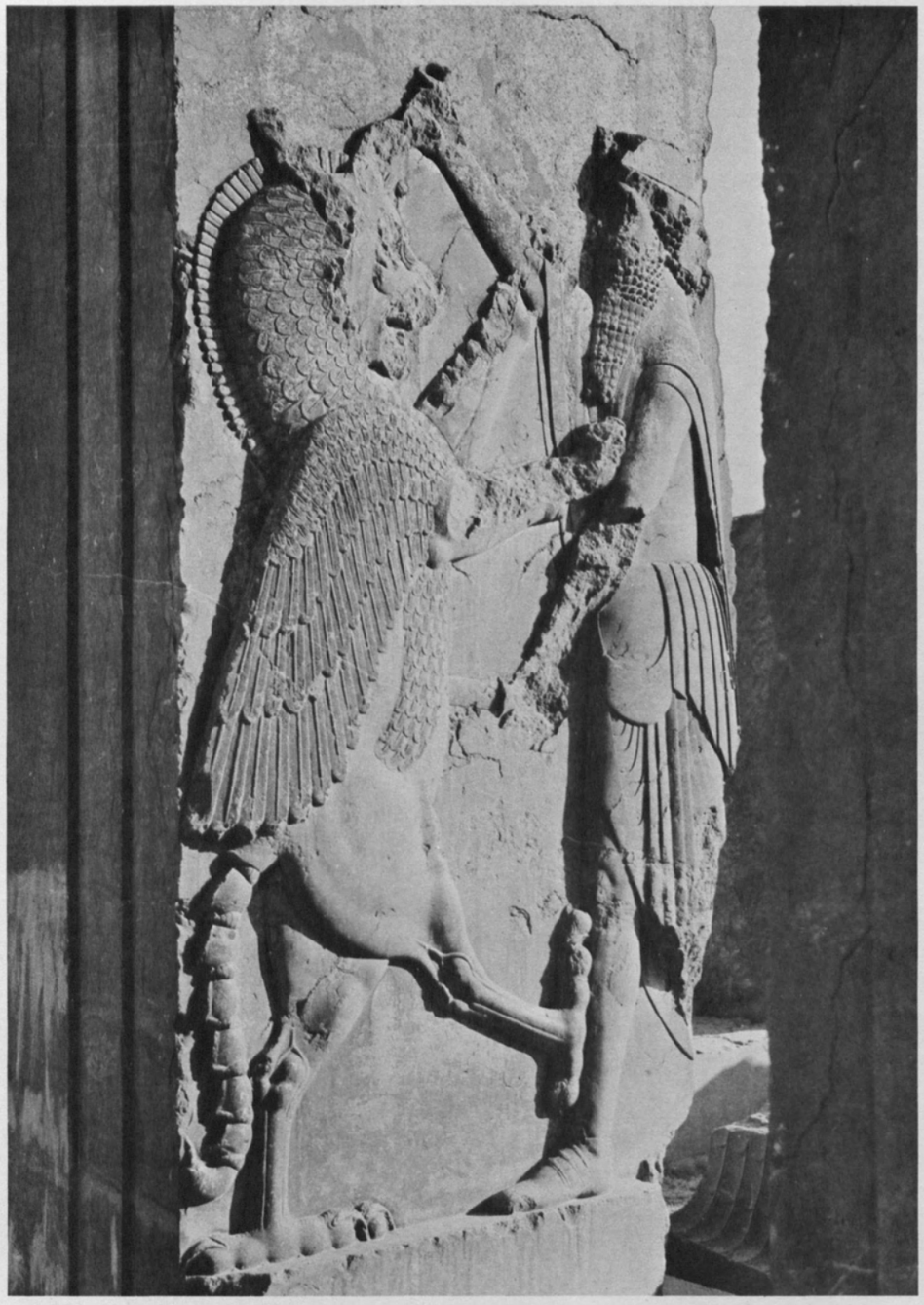
A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. HERO'S COMBAT WITH BULL ON NORTHERN DOORWAY IN WEST WALL OF MAIN HALL.
A. SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *B*. NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

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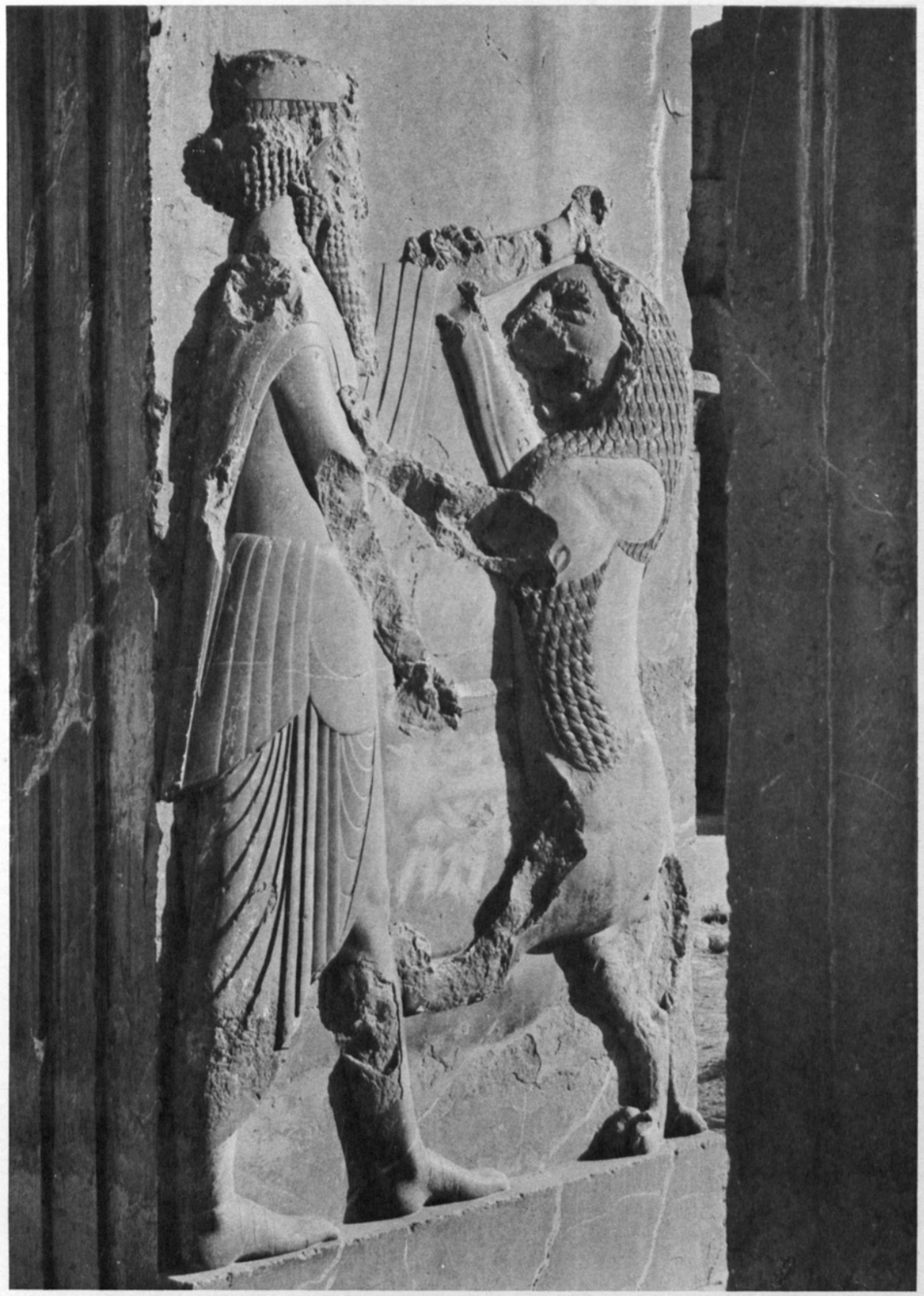
A



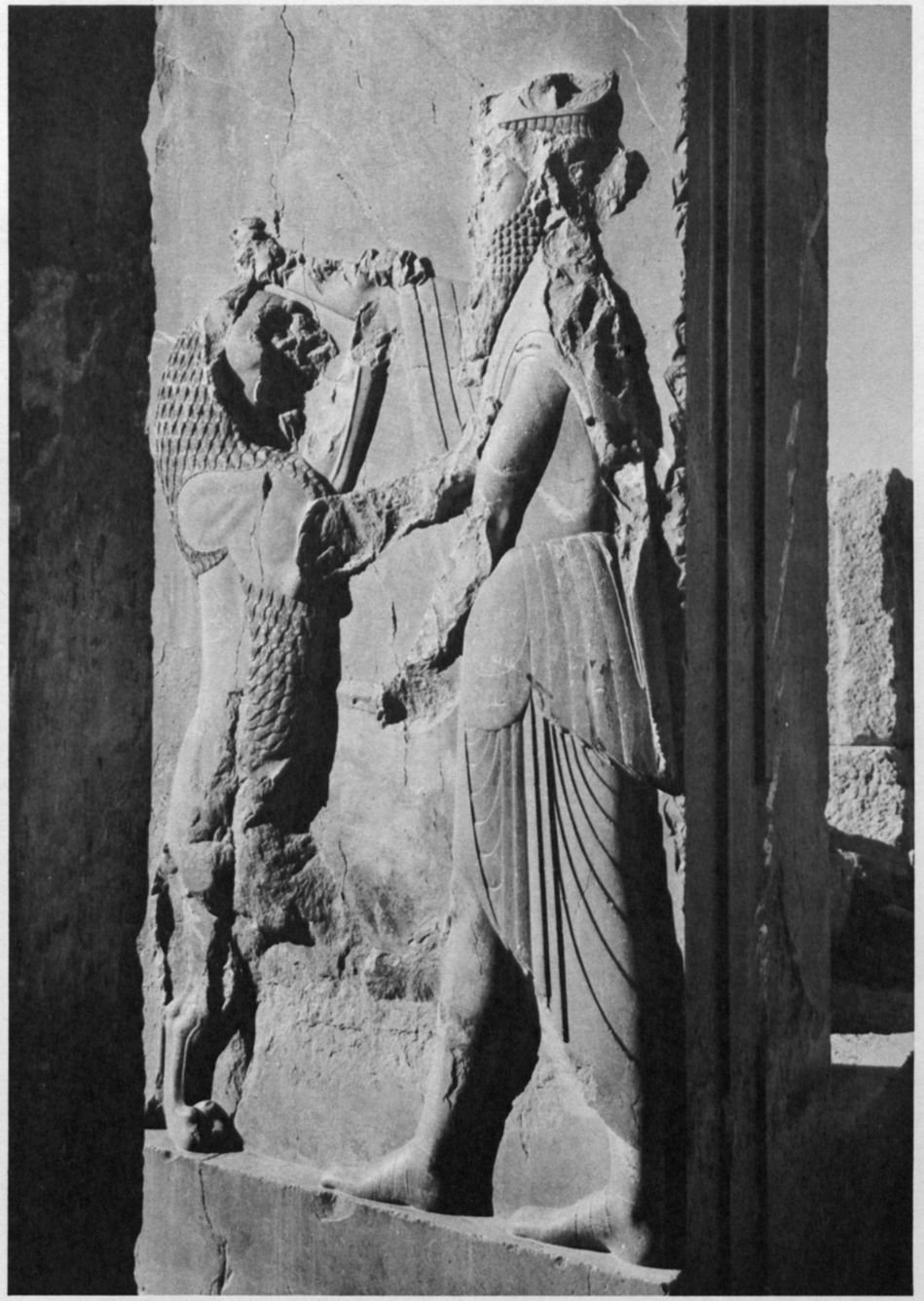
B

PALACE OF DARIUS. HERO'S COMBAT WITH HORNED LION-HEADED MONSTER ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY IN WEST WALL OF MAIN HALL. *A*. SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *B*. NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

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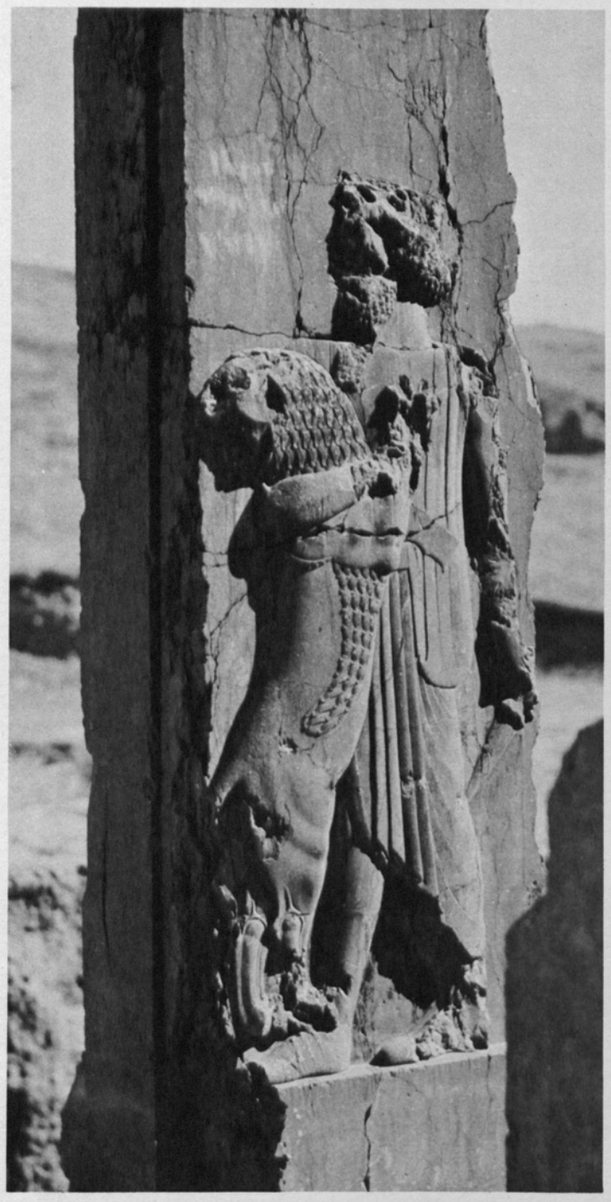
A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. HERO'S COMBAT WITH LION ON EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *B*. NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

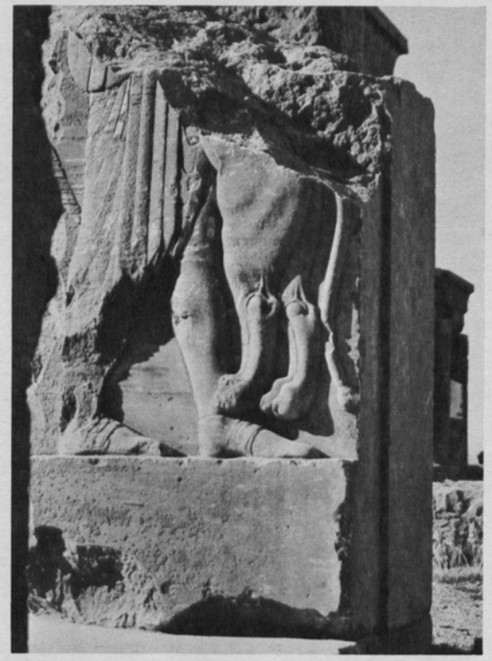
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A



B



C



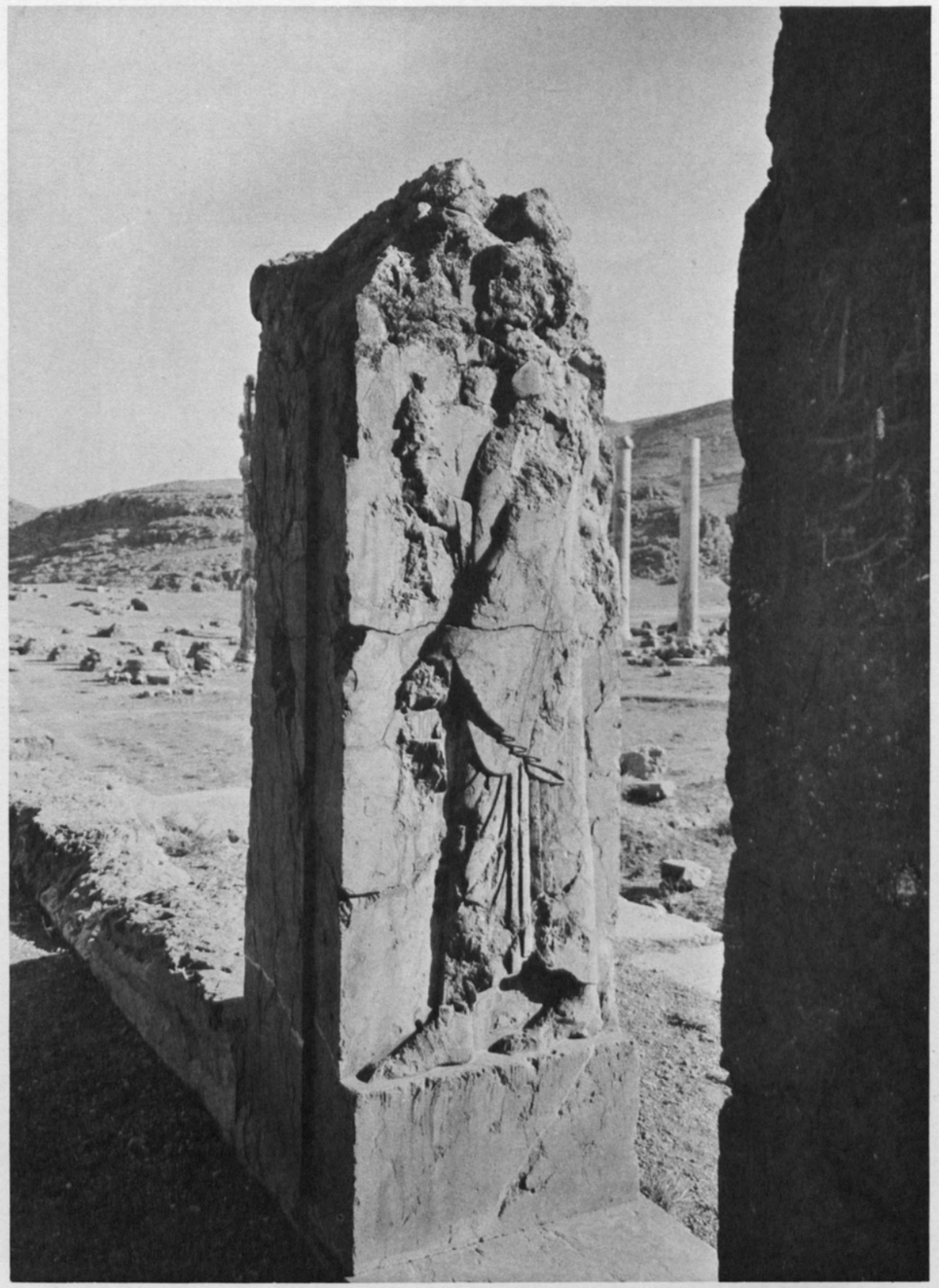
D

PALACE OF DARIUS. HERO STRANGLING LION. *A*. EAST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF ROOM 16 (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*). *B*. FRAGMENT OF UPPER PART OF WEST JAMB OF SAME DOORWAY. SCALE, ABOUT 1:16. *C*. LOWER PART OF SAME WEST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*). *D*. WEST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF ROOM 5, FOUND IN PLAIN WEST OF TERRACE. SCALE, ABOUT 1:12

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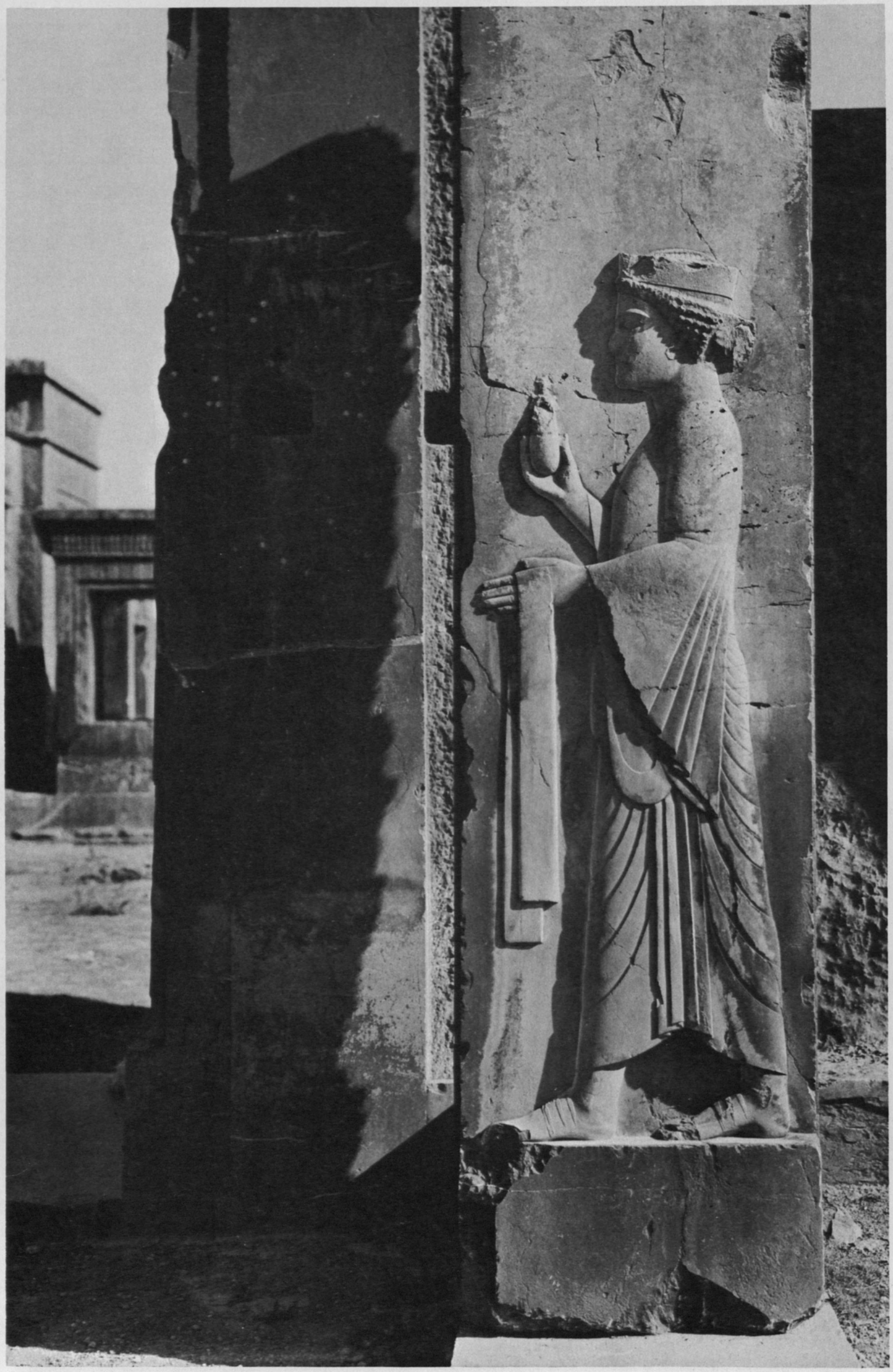
A



B

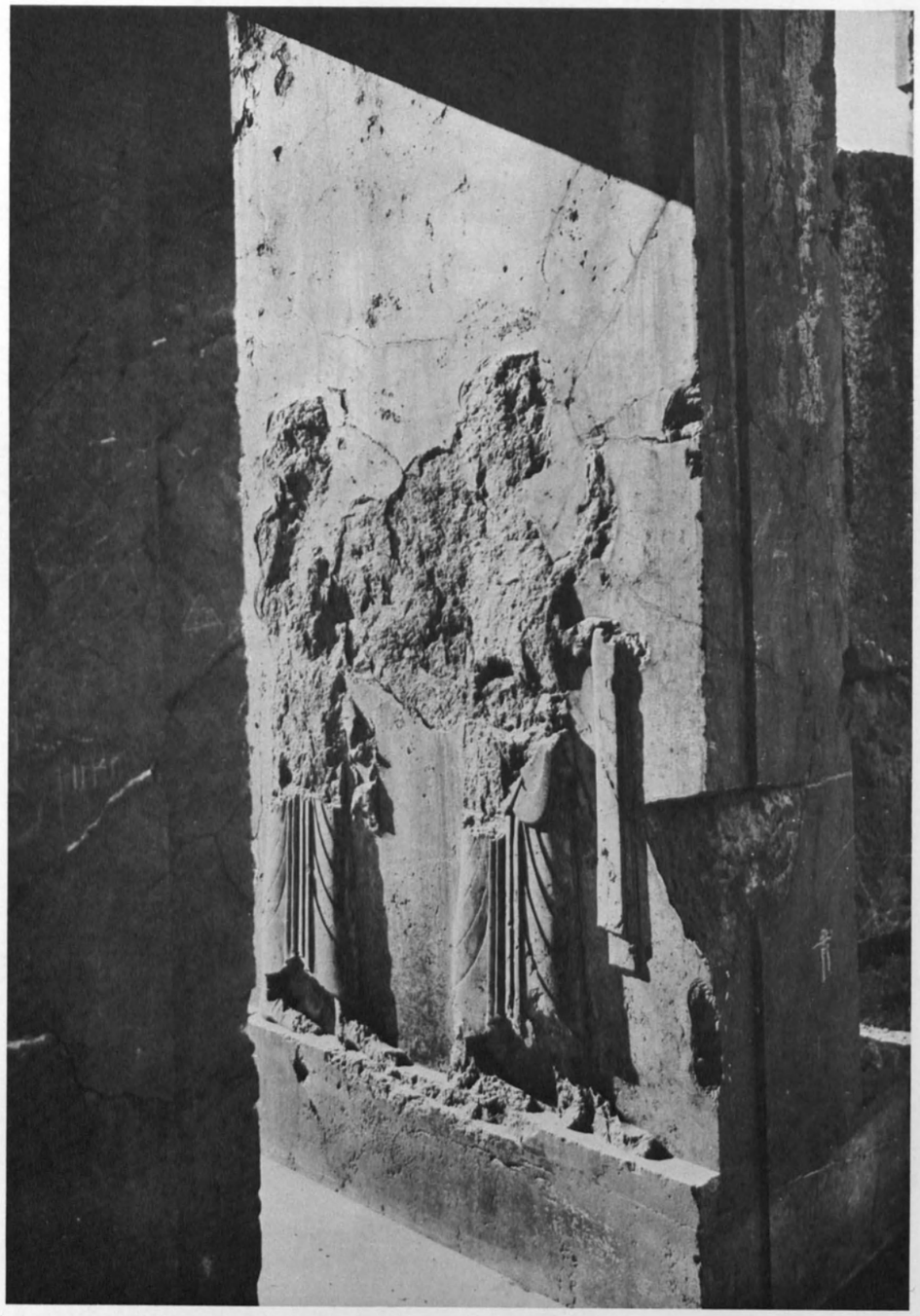
PALACE OF DARIUS. RELIEFS ON EASTERN DOORWAY OF ROOM 12. *A*. ATTENDANT WITH COSMETIC BOTTLE AND TOWEL ON SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*). *B*. ATTENDANT WITH CENSER AND PAIL ON NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NE*)

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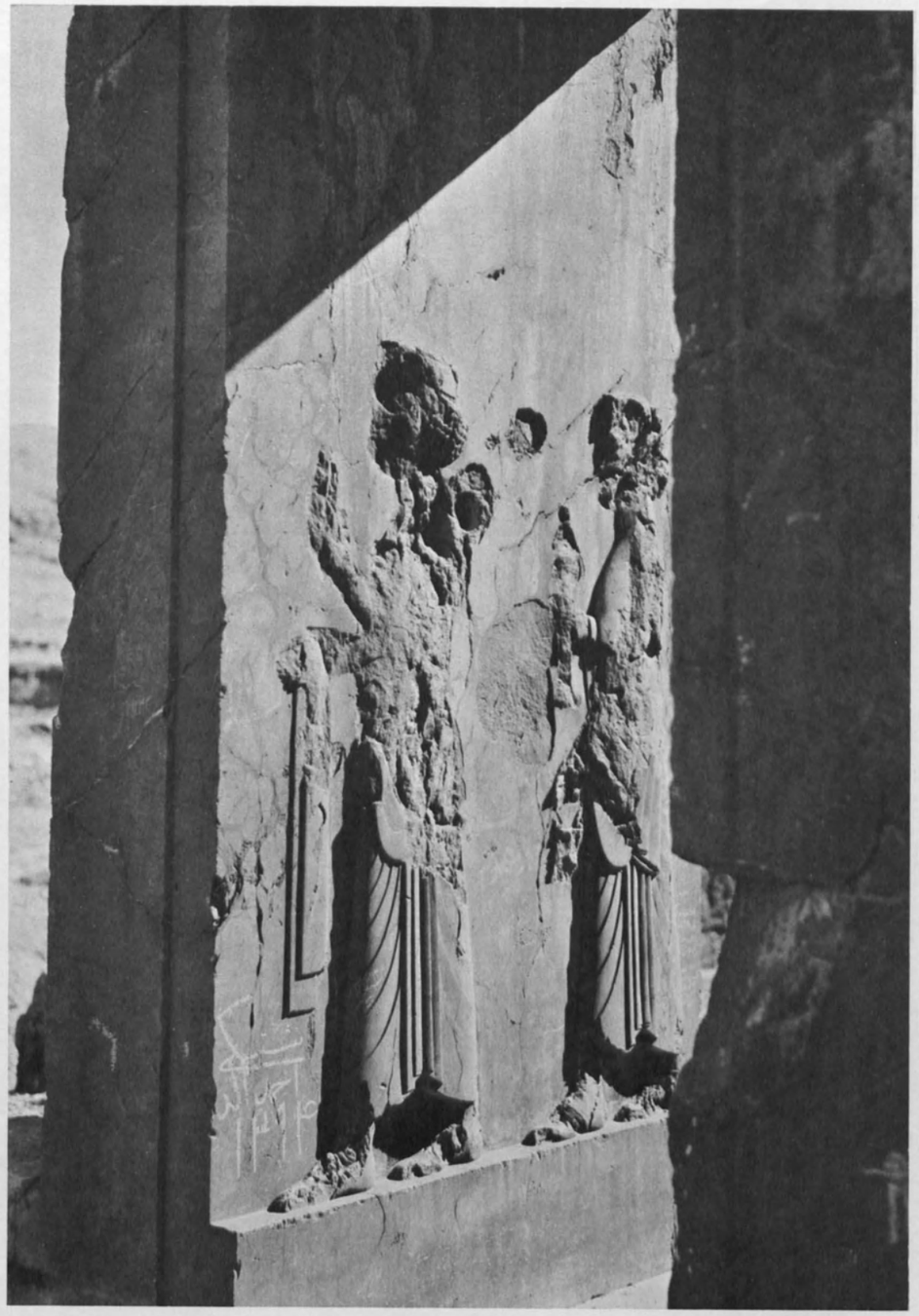


PALACE OF DARIUS. BEARDLESS ATTENDANT WITH COSMETIC BOTTLE AND TOWEL ON SOUTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY OF ROOM 12. SCALE, ABOUT 1:8

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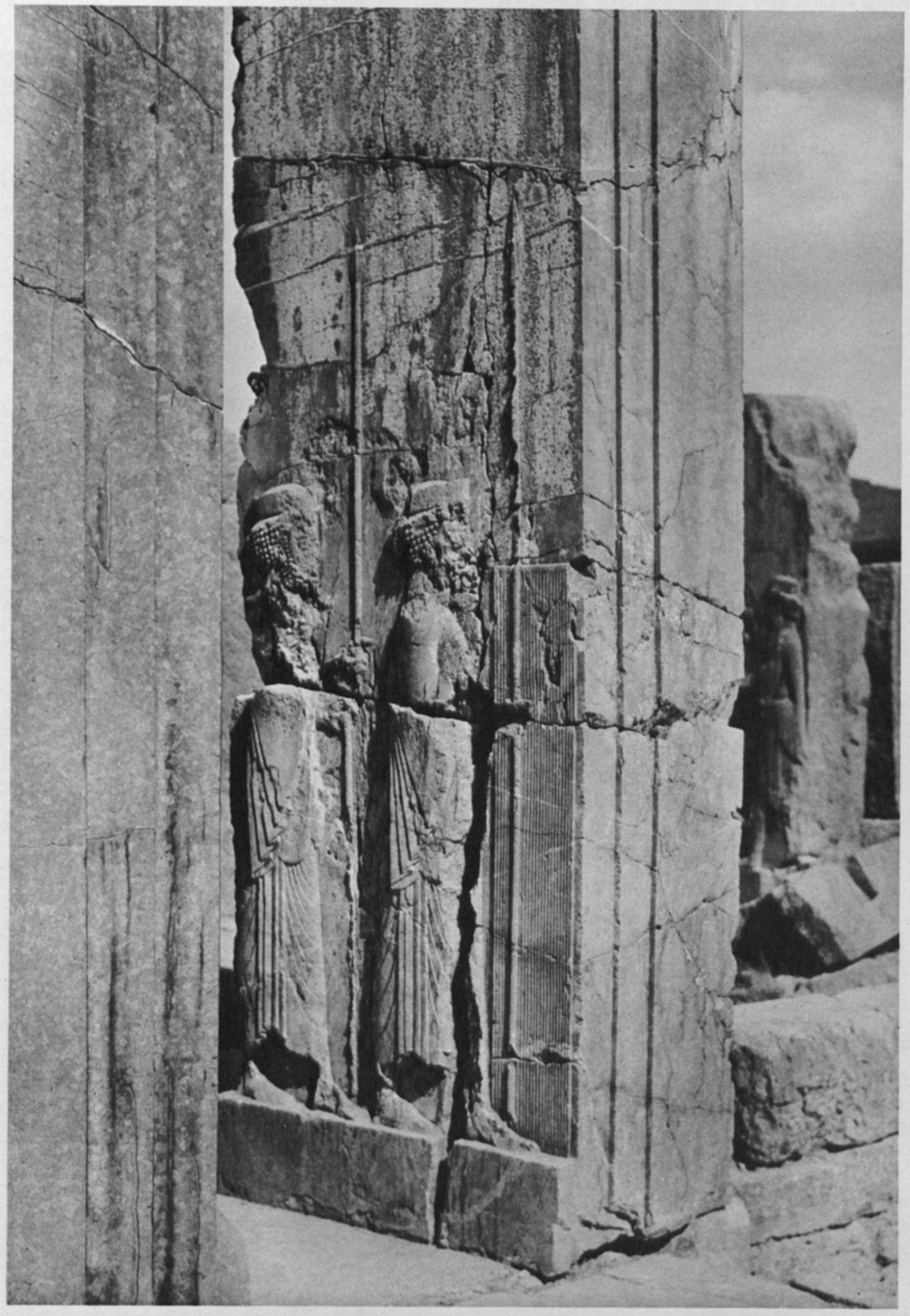
A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. TWO ATTENDANTS WITH COSMETIC BOTTLE AND TOWEL, CENSER AND PAIL, ON DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS 12 AND 15. *A*. WEST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*). *B*. EAST JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*)

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A



B

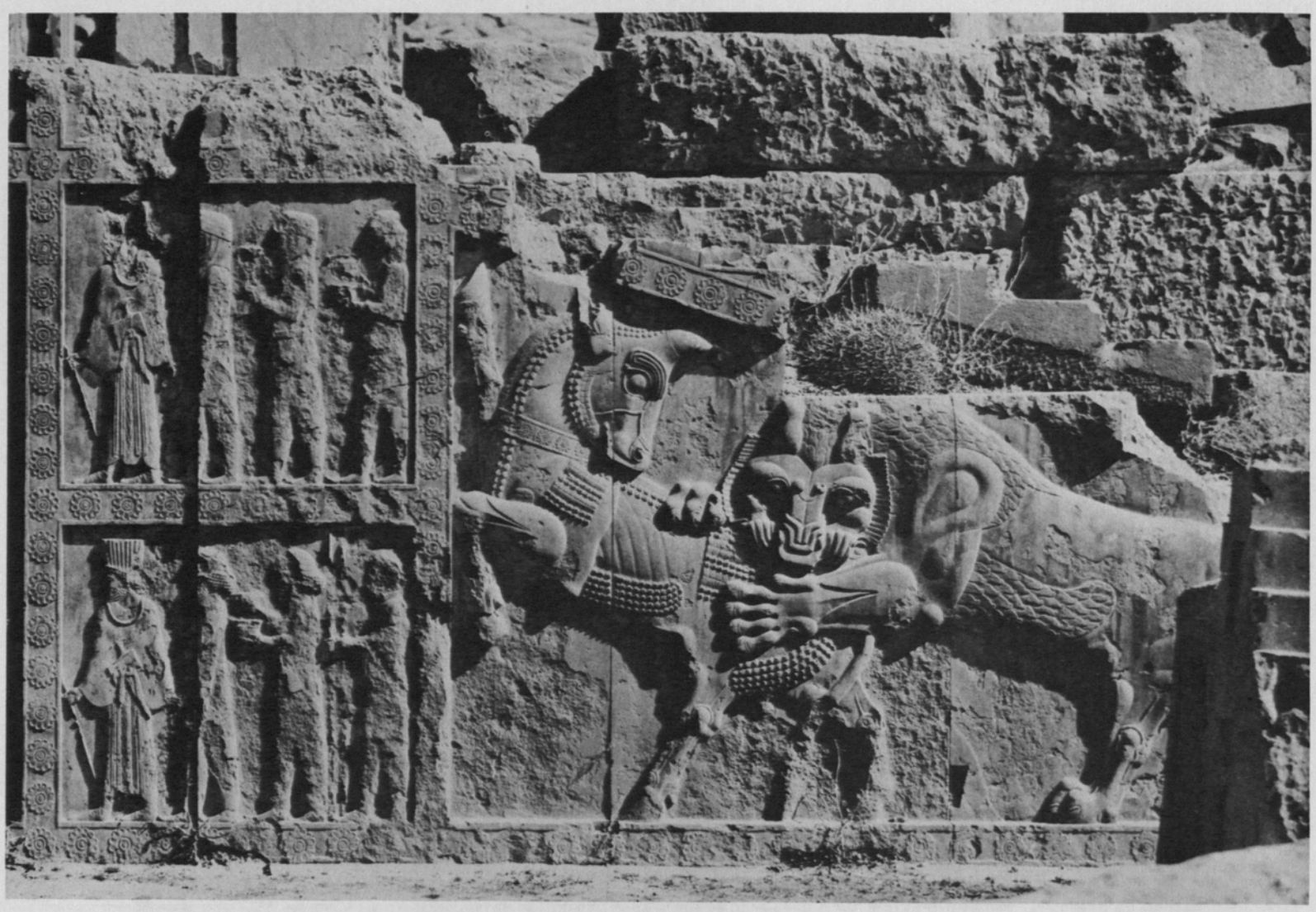
PALACE OF DARIUS. GUARD RELIEFS ON WESTERN ENTRANCE. *A*. SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*). *B*. NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NE*)

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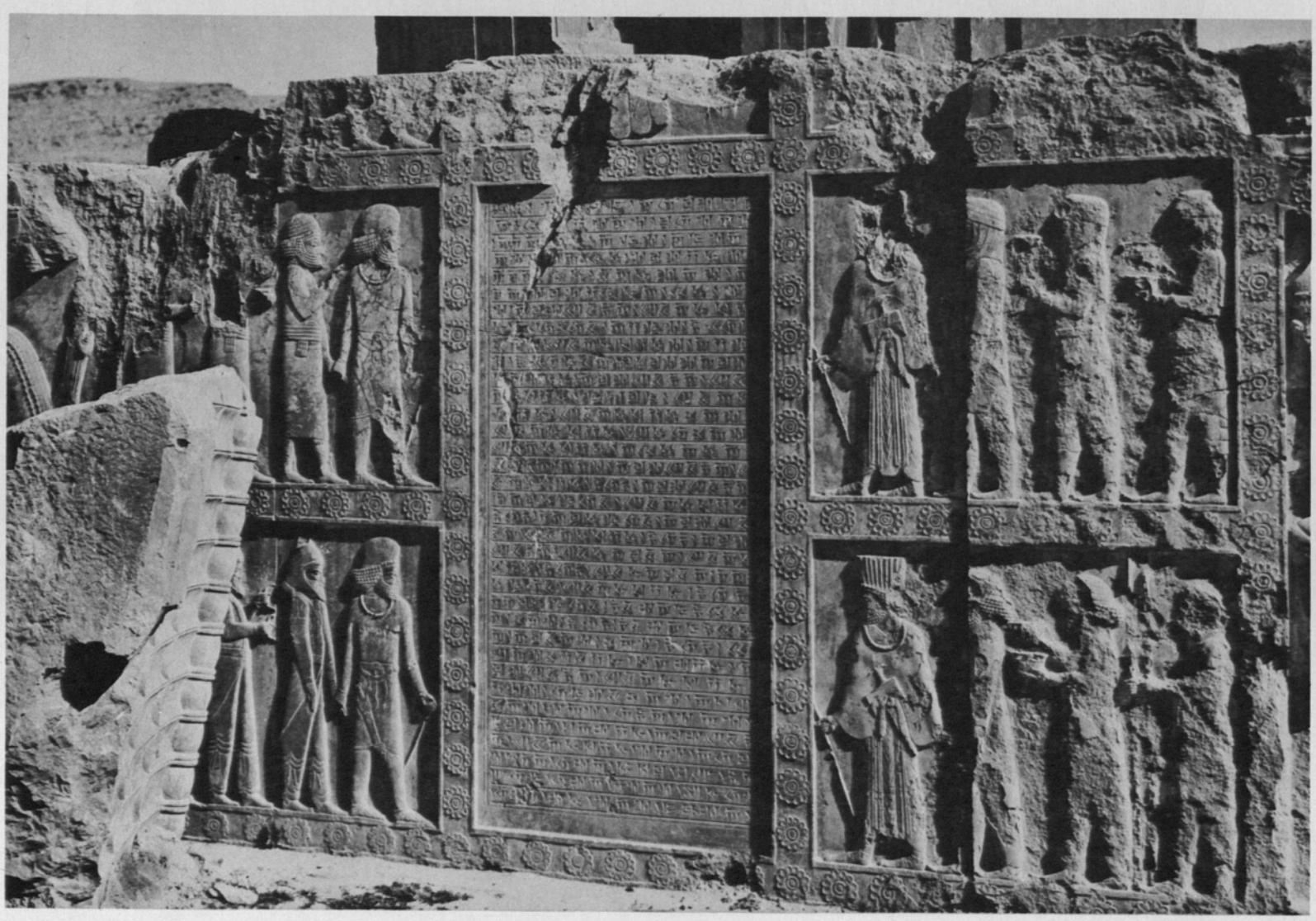


PALACE OF DARIUS. GENERAL VIEW OF WESTERN STAIRWAY (*DIRECTION, SE*)

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A

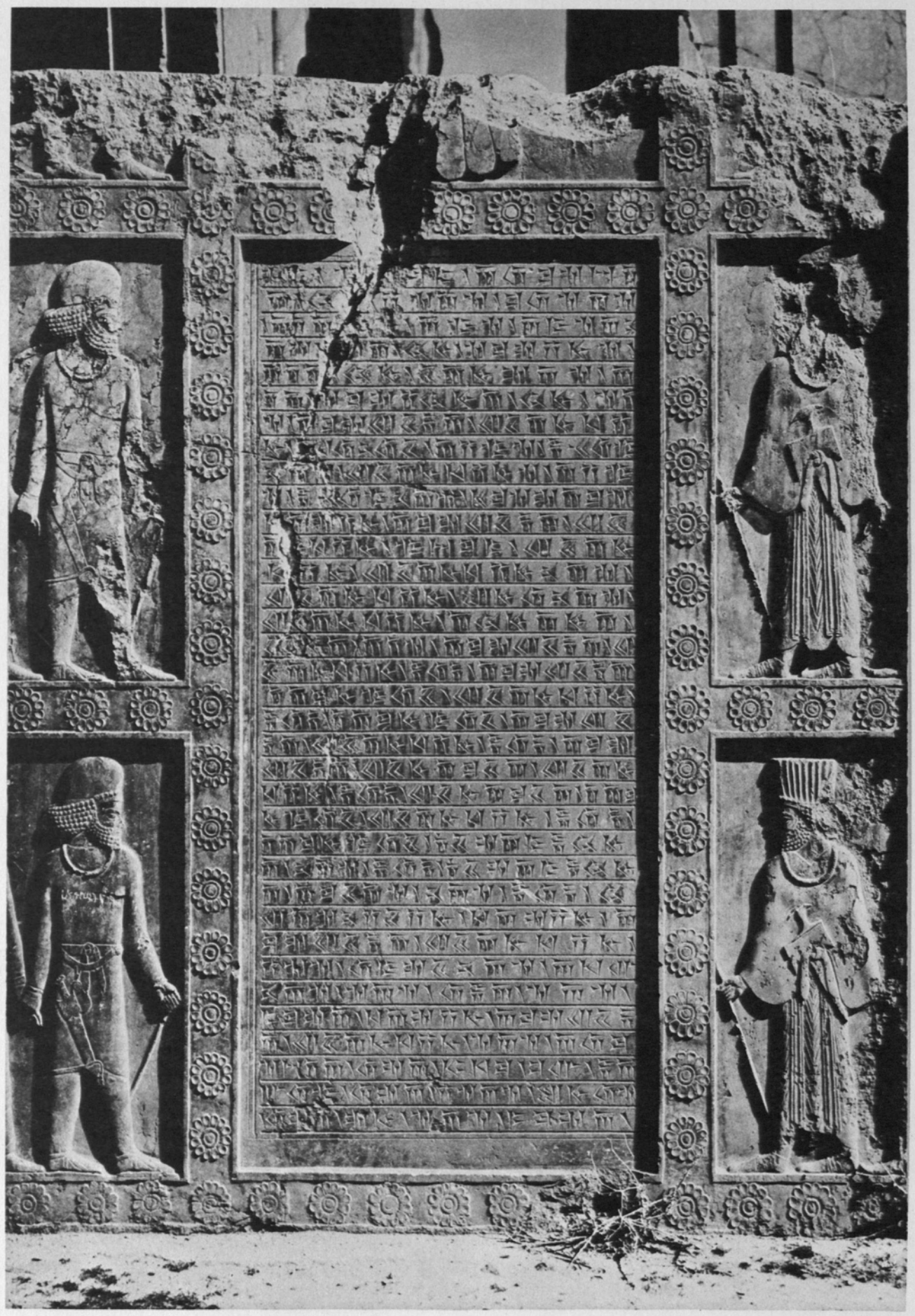


B

PALACE OF DARIUS. RELIEFS ON FAÇADE OF WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. PANEL WITH LION-BULL COMBAT AT SOUTHERN END. *B*. TRIBUTE-BEARING DELEGATIONS AND INSCRIPTION (ART. III PERS. b) OF ARTAXERXES III IN CENTER

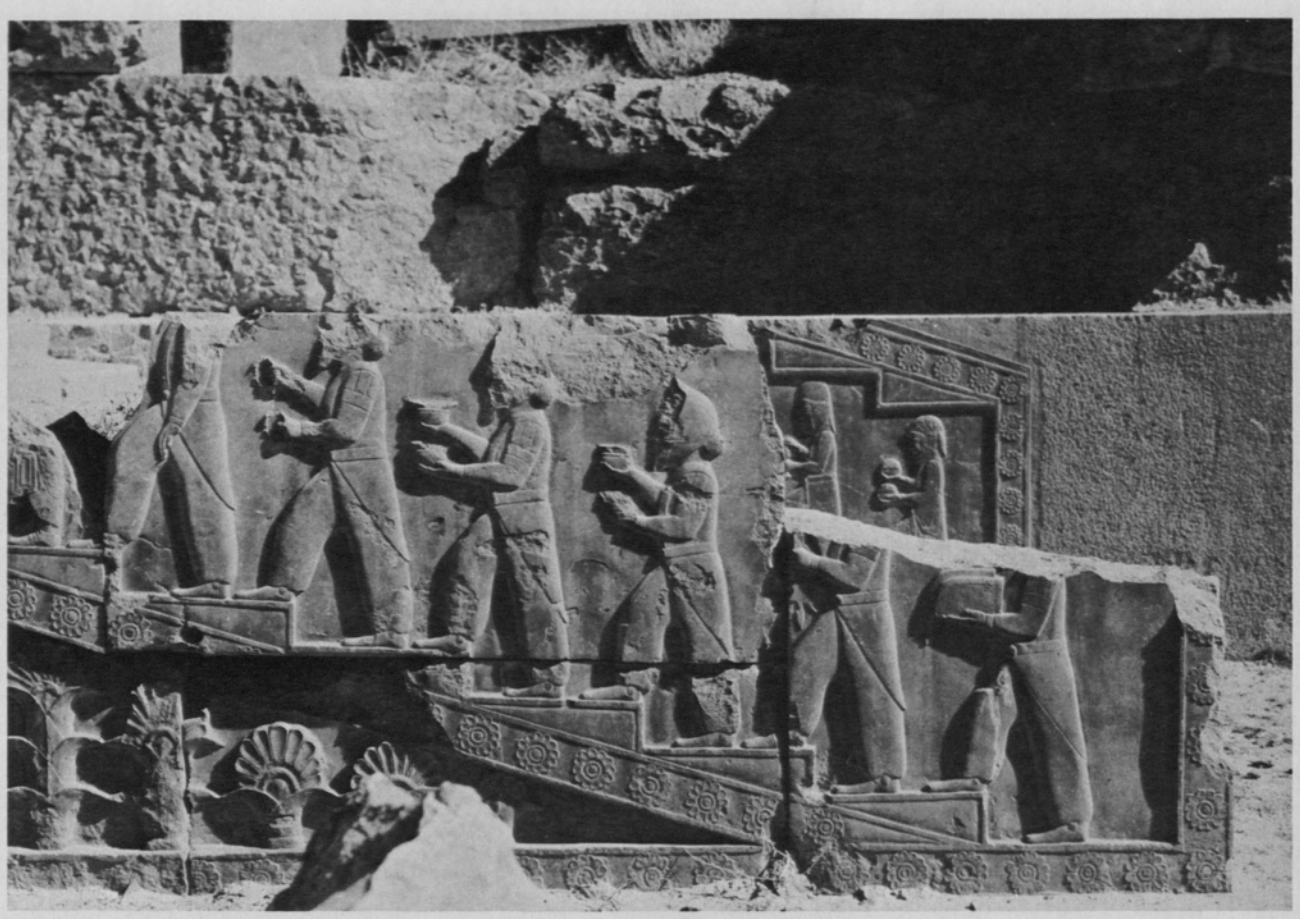
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PLATE 154



PALACE OF DARIUS. OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTION (ART. III PERS. b) OF ARTAXERXES III ON FAÇADE OF WESTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, ABOUT 1:10

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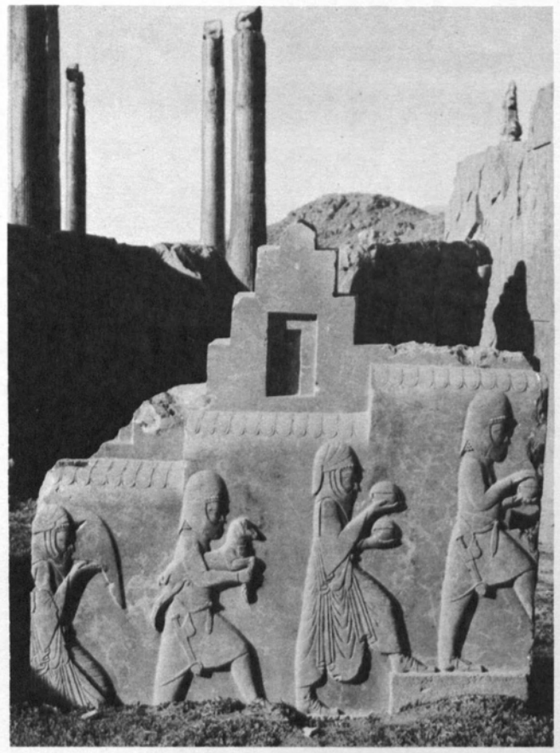
A



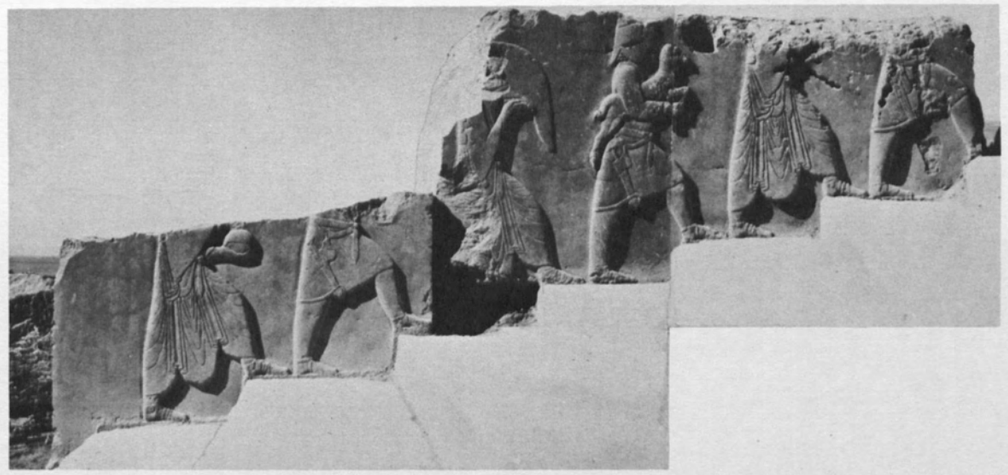
B

PALACE OF DARIUS. SOUTHERN FLIGHT OF WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. TRIBUTE-BEARING DELEGATION ON OUTER (WEST) FACE OF PARAPET. SCALE, 1:16. *B*. GENERAL VIEW

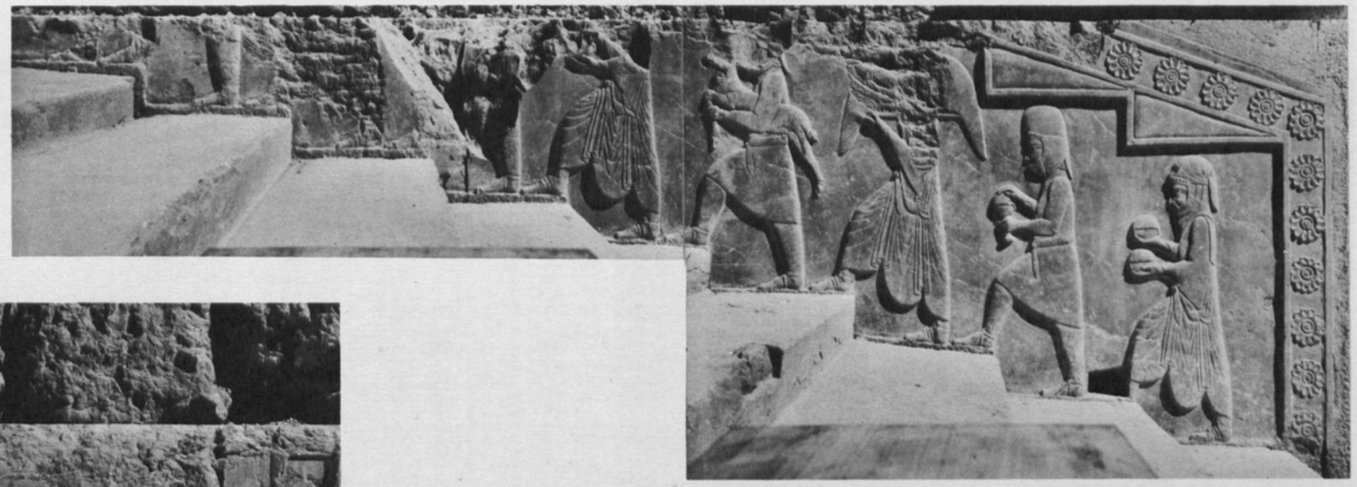
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A



B



C



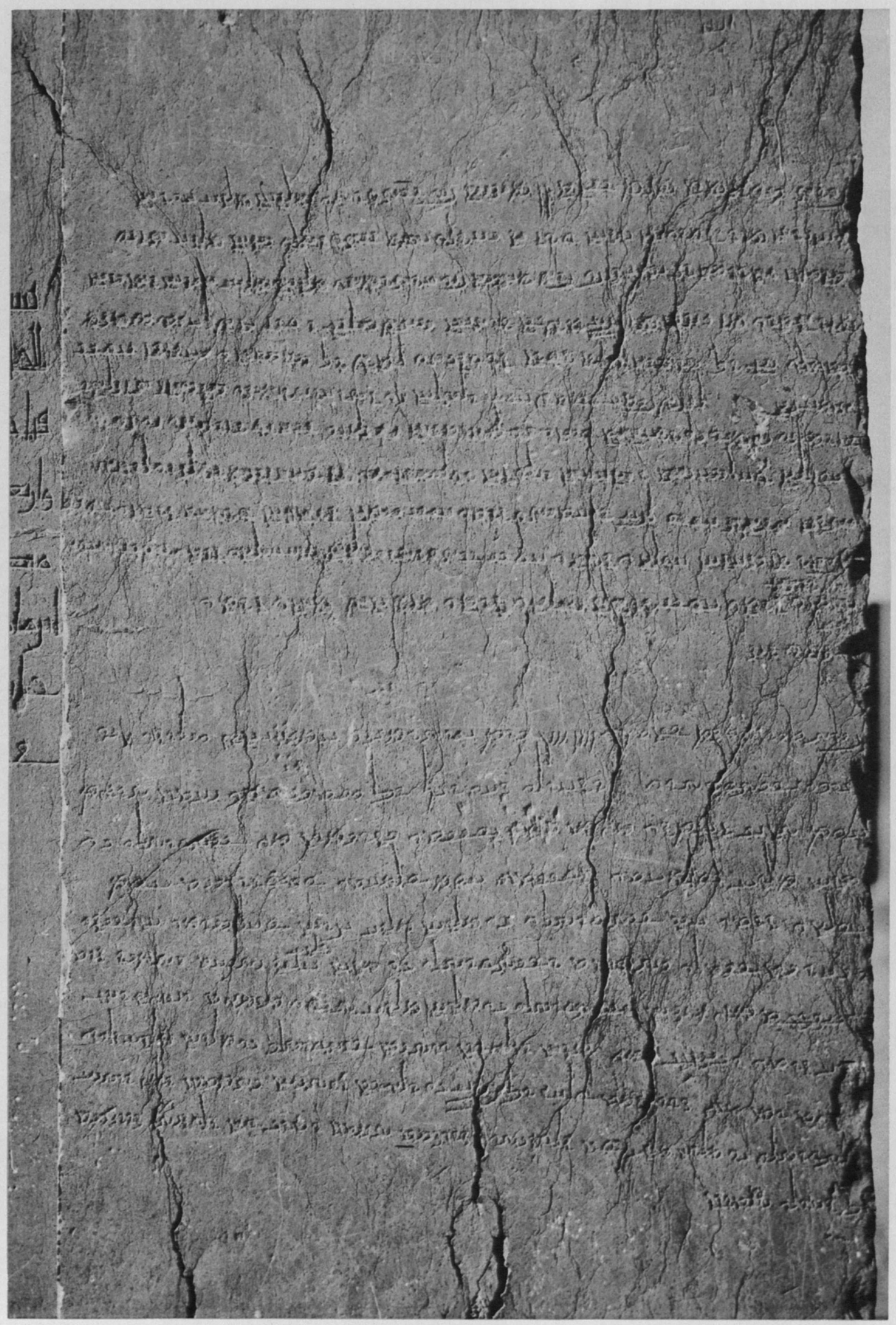
D



E

PALACE OF DARIUS. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WESTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:16. SOUTHERN FLIGHT: *A*. EAST FACE OF PARAPET FRAGMENT FOUND STANDING IN COURTYARD. *B*. EAST FACE OF PARAPET *IN SITU*. *C*. EASTERN WALL. NORTHERN FLIGHT: *D*. EASTERN WALL. *E*. REMNANT OF EAST FACE OF PARAPET

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PALACE OF DARIUS. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF SHAPUR II ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. SCALE, 1:3

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PLATE 158



A



B

PALACE OF DARIUS. TWO CUFIC INSCRIPTIONS ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. SCALE, 1:3

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THE PALACE OF XERXES

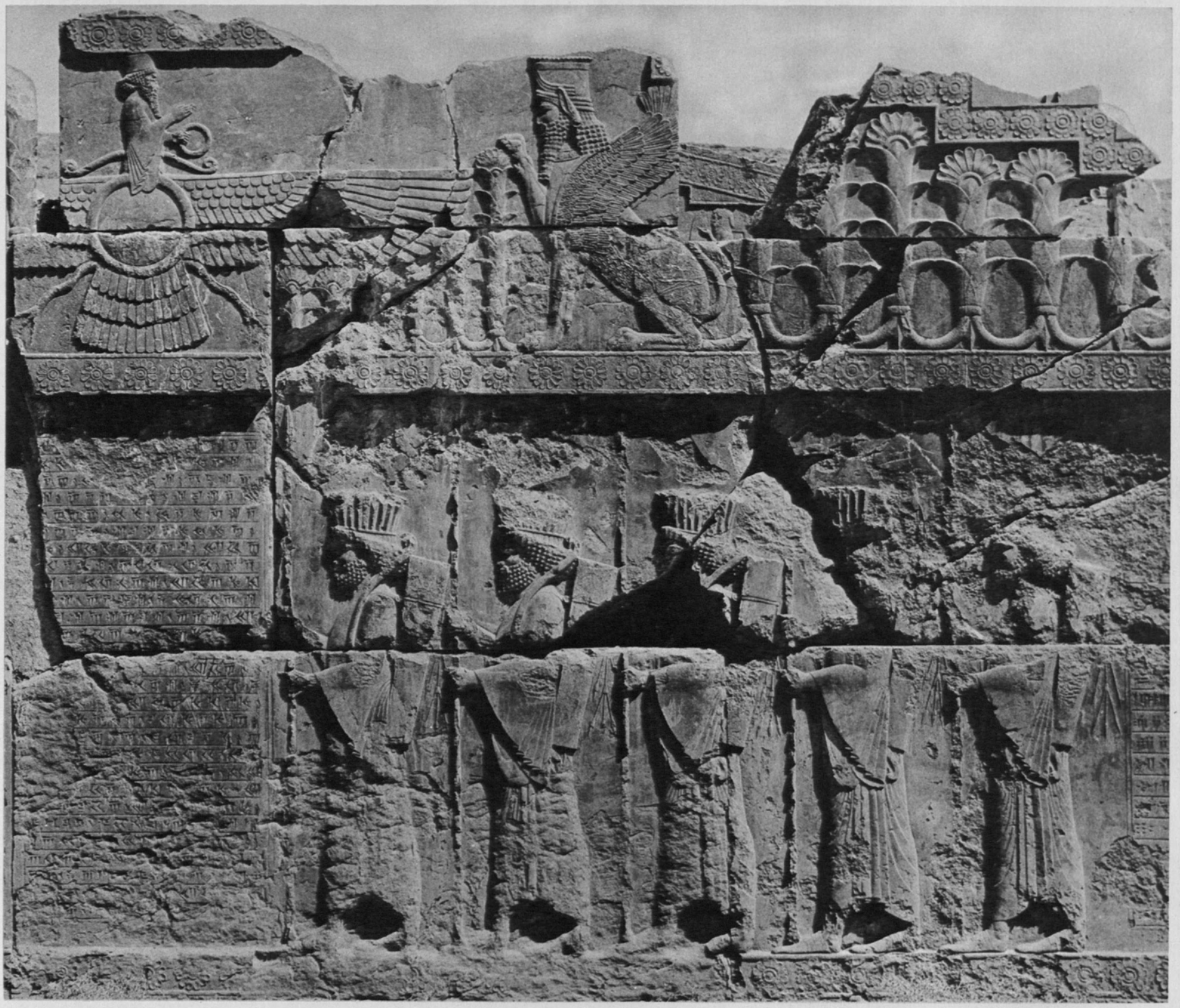
PLATES 159–88

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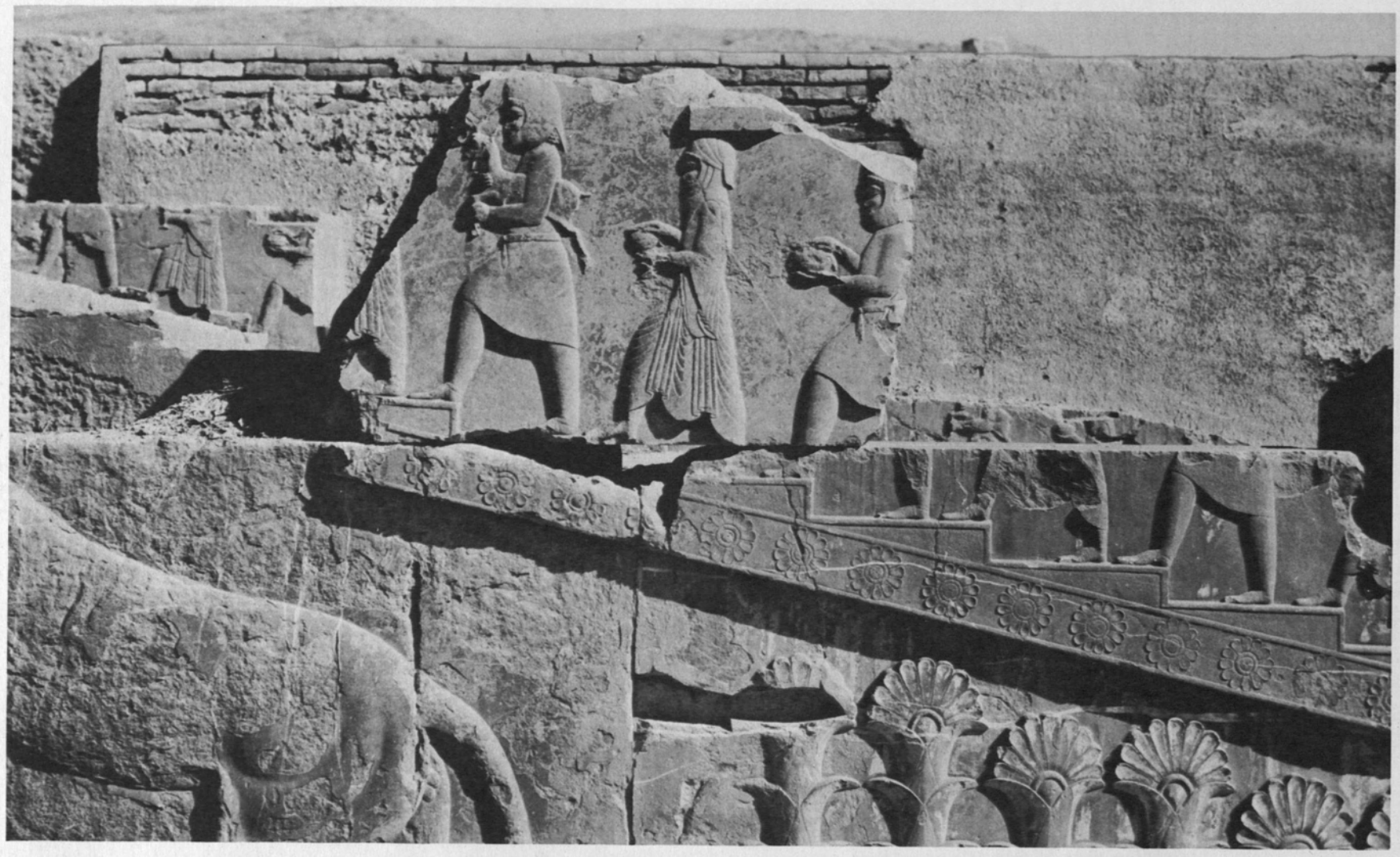
PALACE OF XERXES. GENERAL VIEW, WITH WESTERN STAIRWAY TO COURTYARD (*DIRECTION, SE*)

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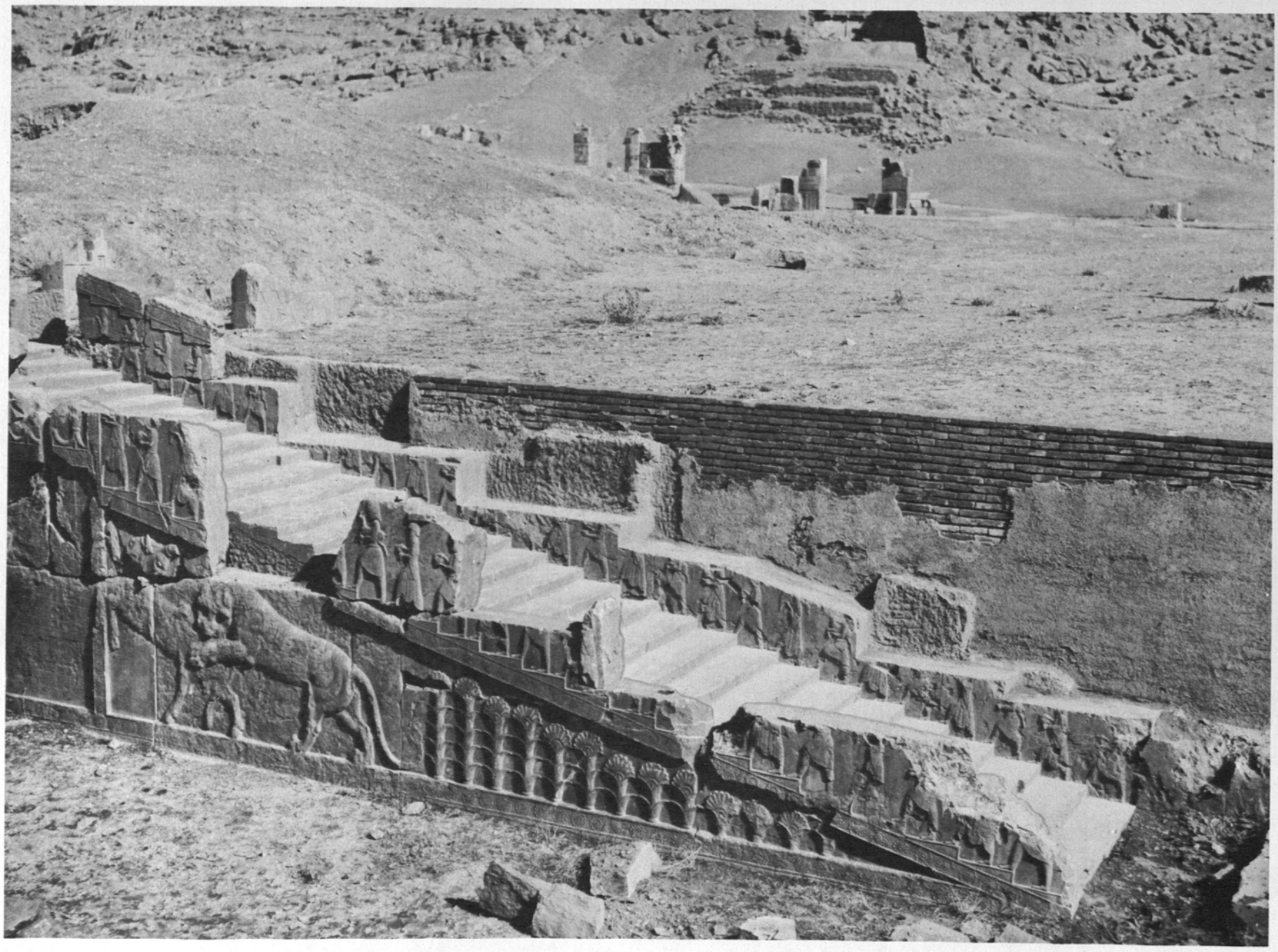


PALACE OF XERXES. AHURAMAZDA SYMBOL ABOVE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN CENTER OF WESTERN STAIRWAY FAÇADE

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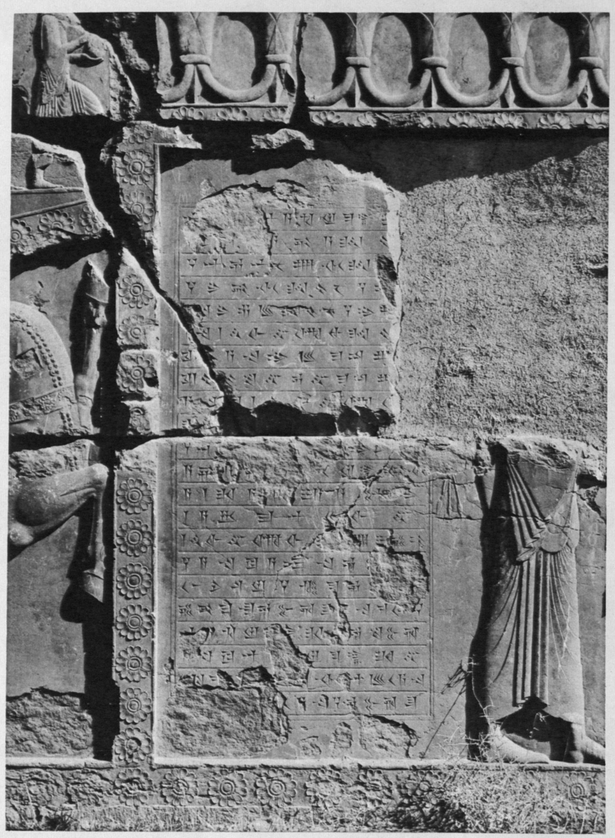
A



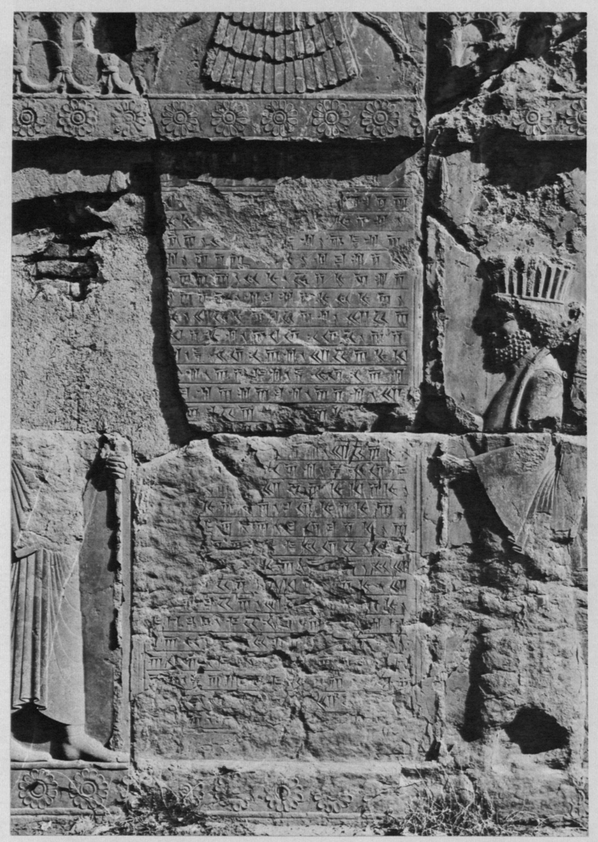
B

PALACE OF XERXES. SOUTHERN FLIGHT OF WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. RELIEFS OF SERVANTS ON FAÇADE. SCALE, 1:16. *B*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION*, *ENE*)

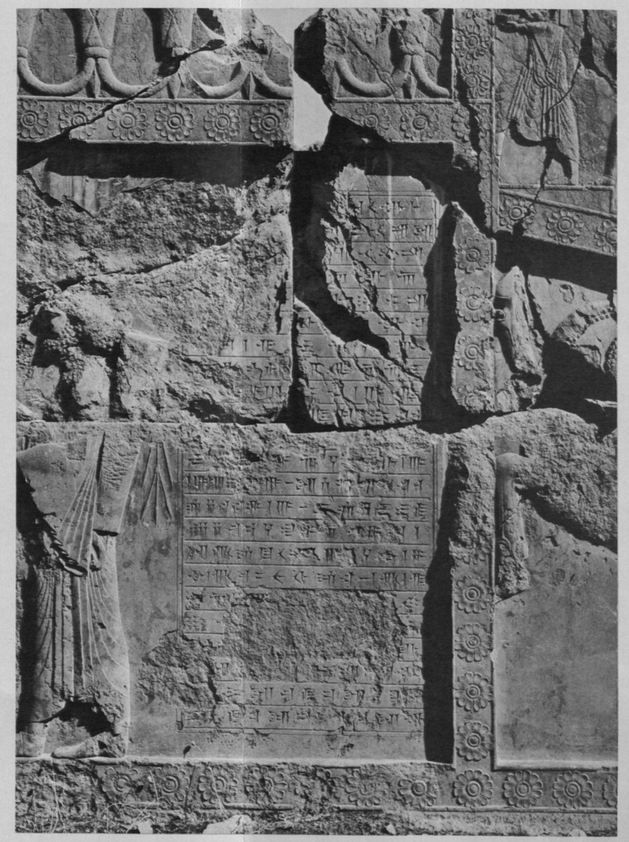
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A



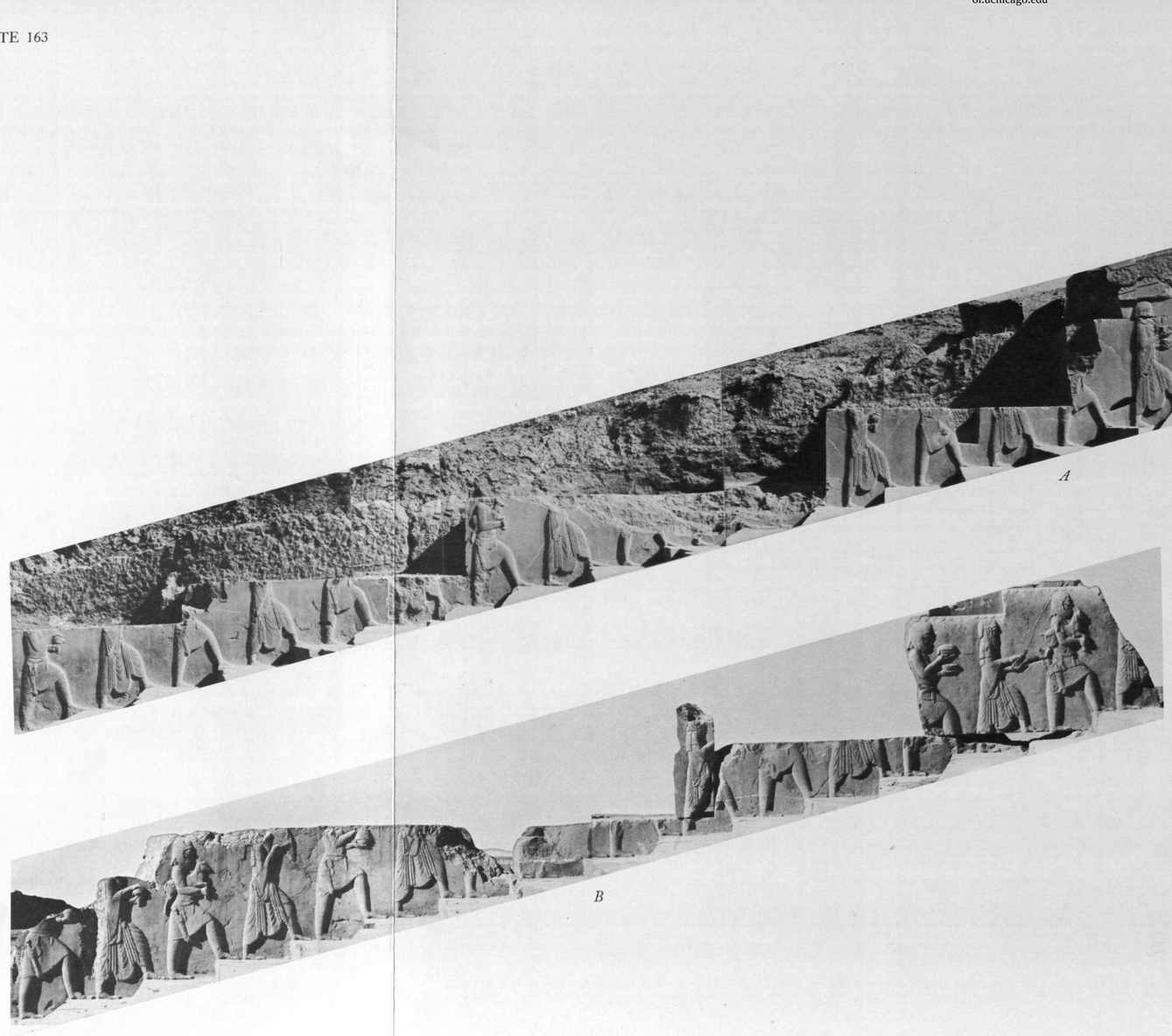
B



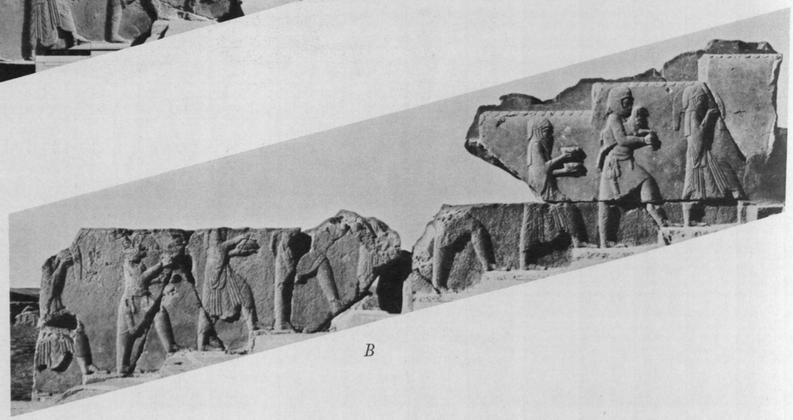
C

PALACE OF XERXES. XERXES' PERS. db INSCRIPTION ON WESTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:16. *A*. BABYLONIAN. *B*. OLD PERSIAN. *C*. ELAMITE

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A

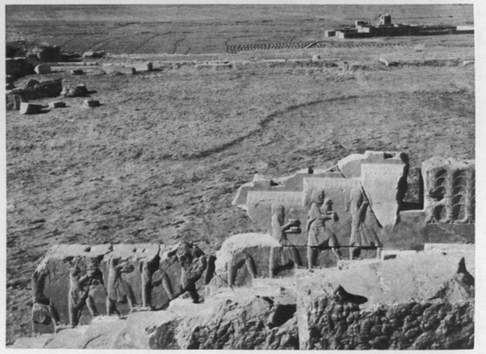


B

B



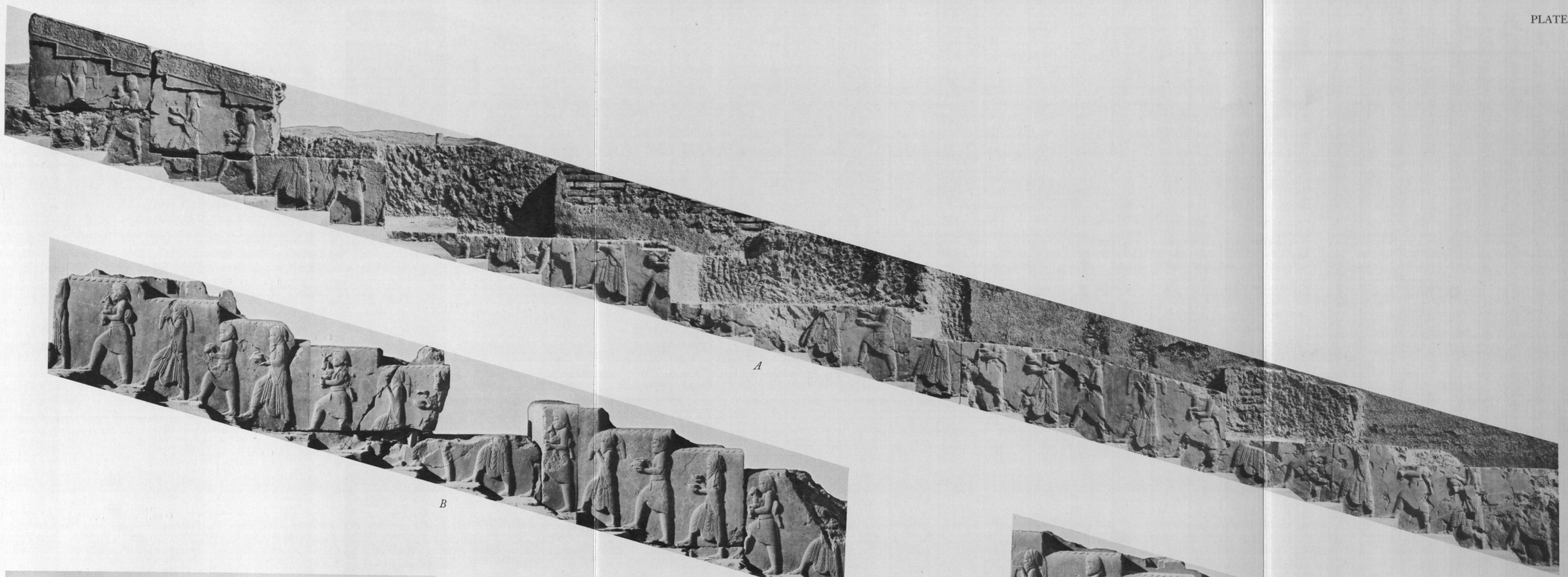
C



D

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. EASTERN WALL OF NORTHERN FLIGHT.
B–D. EAST FACE OF PARAPET OF SOUTHERN FLIGHT. SCALE OF *A–B*, 1:16

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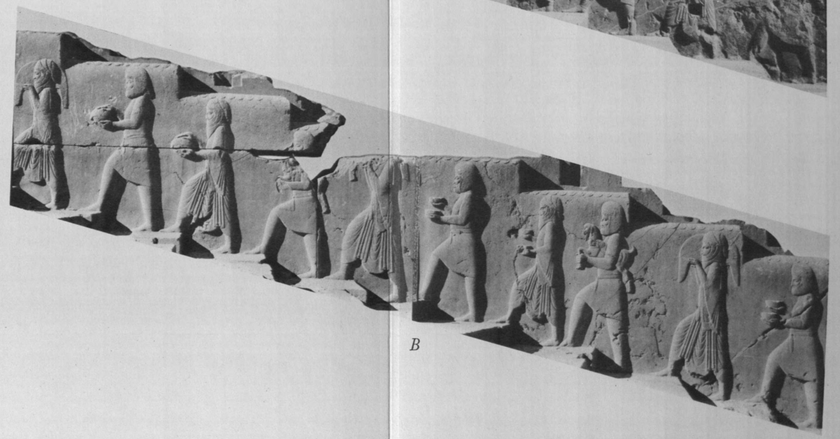


A

B



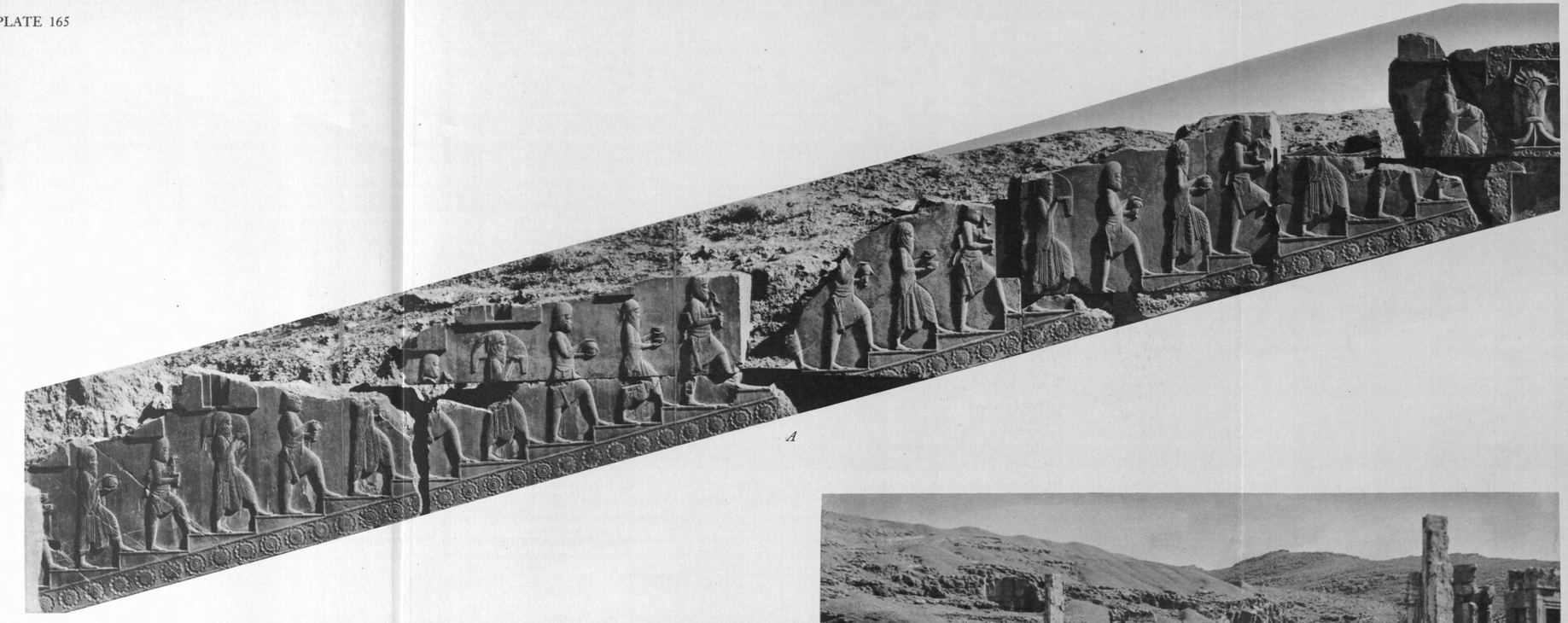
C



B

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. EASTERN WALL OF SOUTHERN FLIGHT.
B–C. EAST FACE OF PARAPET OF NORTHERN FLIGHT. SCALE OF *A–B*, 1:16

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A



B



C

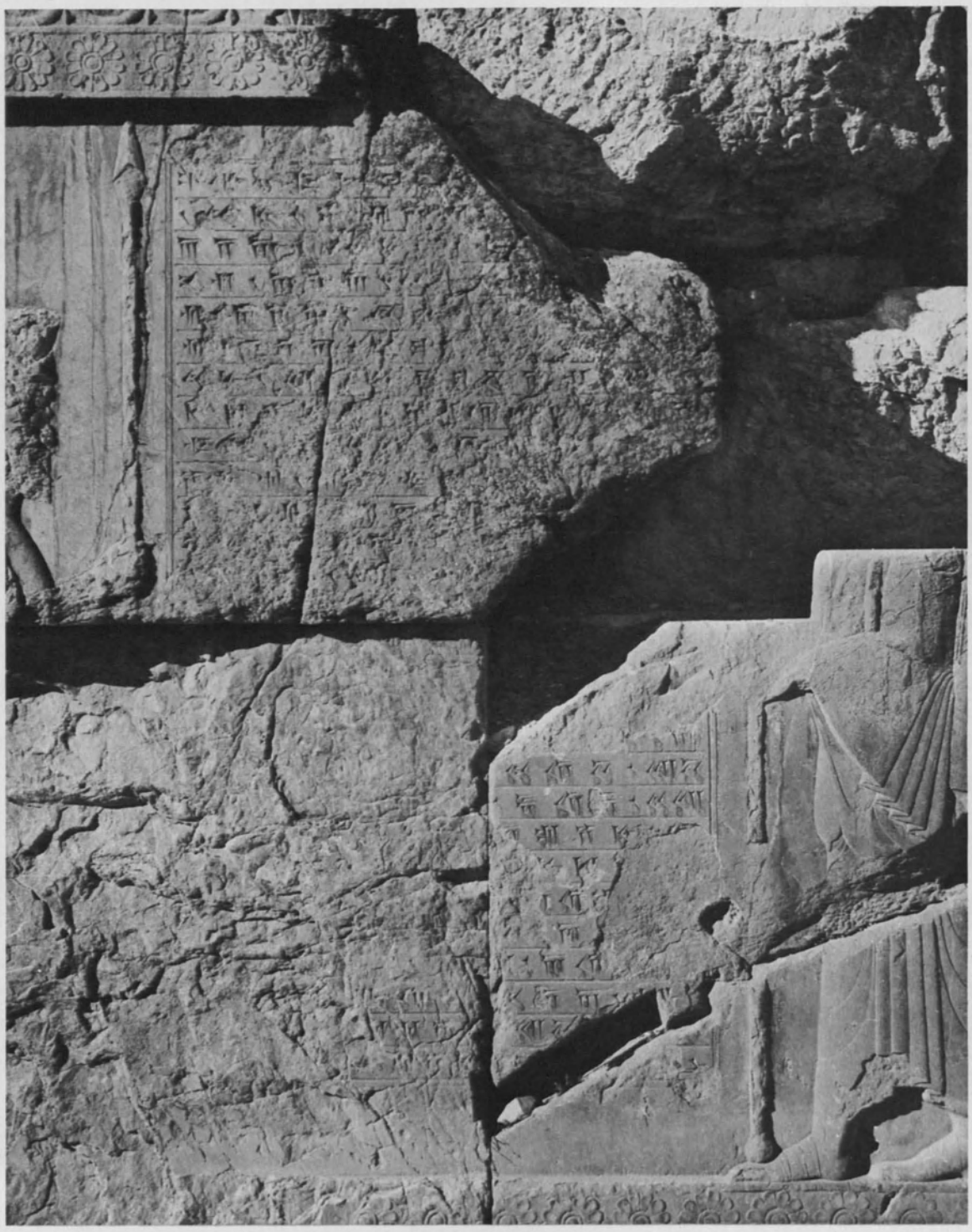
PALACE OF XERXES. NORTHERN FLIGHT OF WESTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. SERVANT RELIEFS ON FAÇADE. SCALE, 1:16.
B. PERSIAN GUARD ON NEWEL. SCALE, 1:10. *C*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, ESE*)

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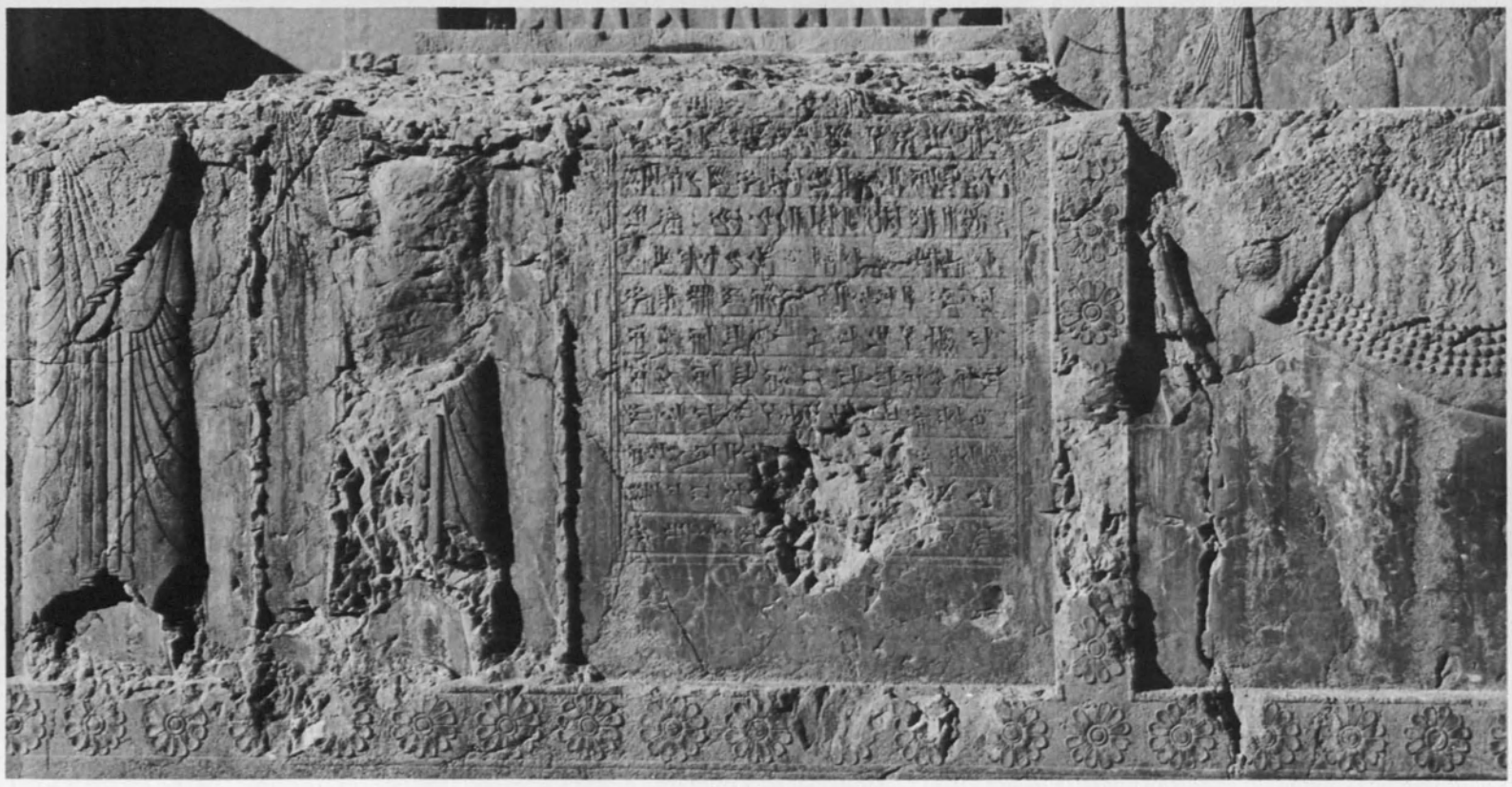


PALACE OF XERXES. GENERAL VIEW, WITH EASTERN STAIRWAY TO COURTYARD (*DIRECTION, SW*)

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A



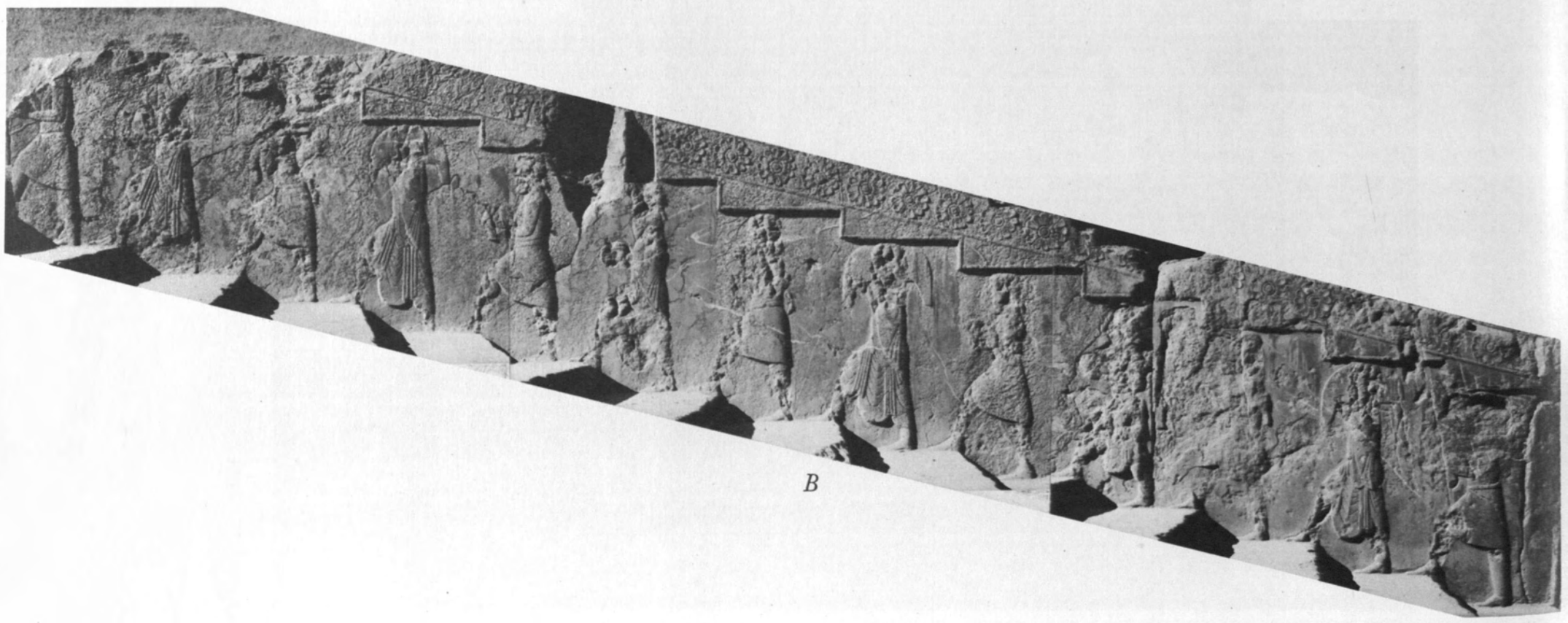
B

PALACE OF XERXES. XERXES' PERS. db INSCRIPTION ON EASTERN STAIRWAY. SCALE, 1:12.
A. OLD PERSIAN. *B*. BABYLONIAN

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A



B

PALACE OF XERXES. SOUTH WING OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION*, *W*).
B. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WESTERN WALL OF LOWER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:16

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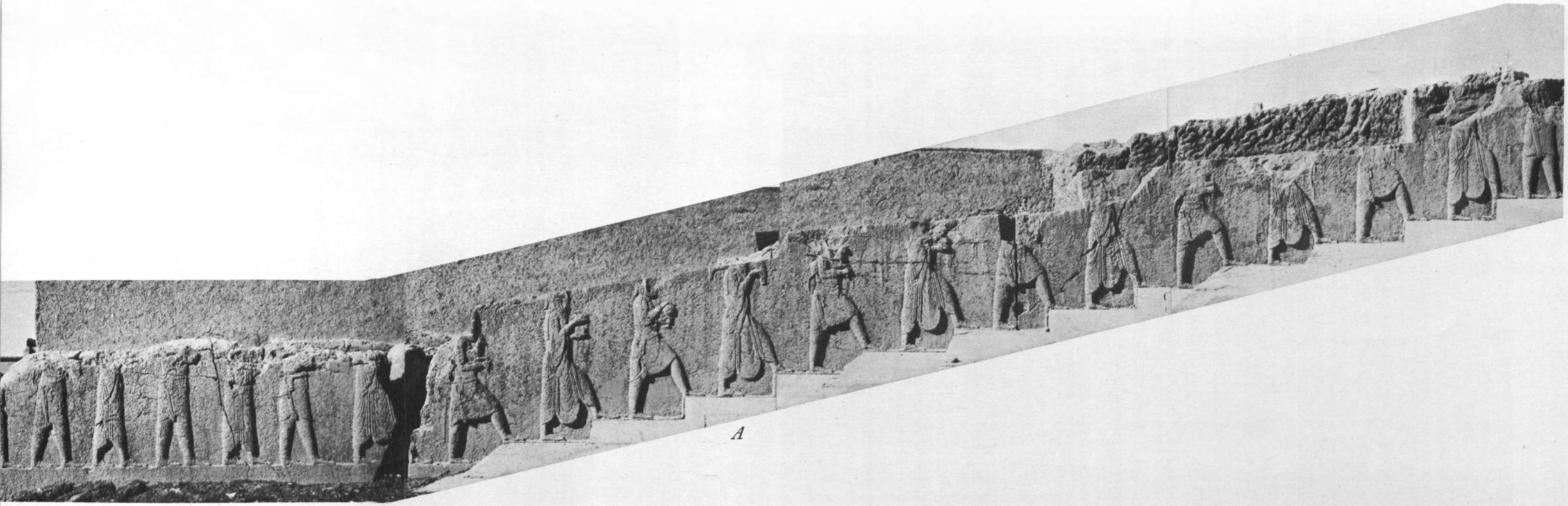
A



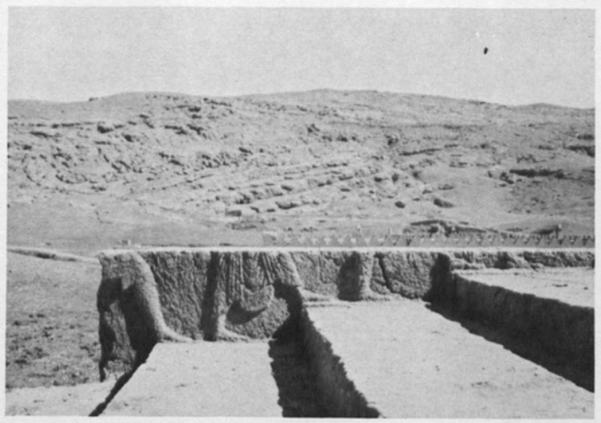
B

PALACE OF XERXES. NORTH WING OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, SSW;* MUD-BRICK WALLS RESTORED BY HERZFELD). *B*. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WESTERN WALL OF LOWER FLIGHT. SCALE, 1:16

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A



B



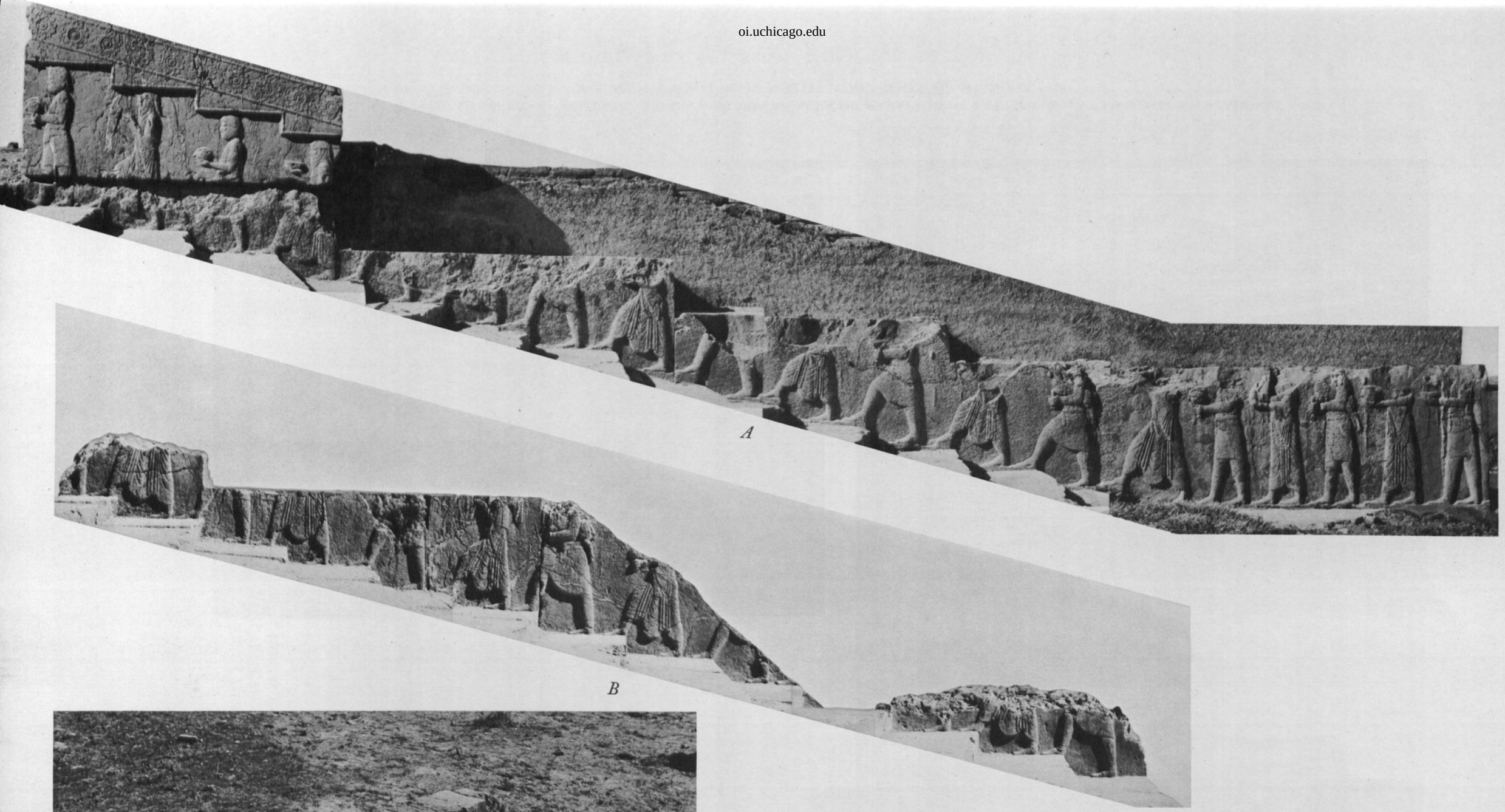
B



C

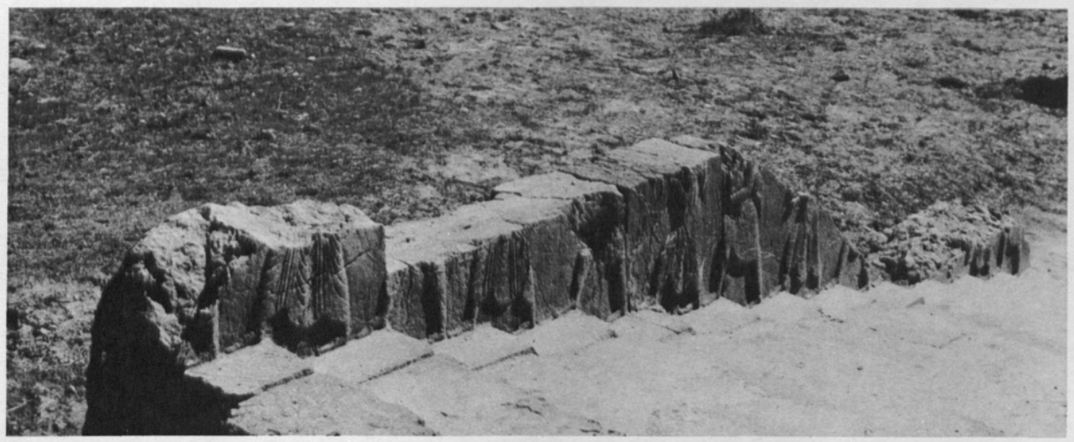
PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON SOUTH WING OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. INTERMEDIATE LANDING AND WESTERN WALL OF UPPER FLIGHT. *B–C*. WEST FACE OF PARAPET OF LOWER FLIGHT. SCALE OF *A–B*, 1:16

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A

B



C

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON NORTH WING OF EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. INTERMEDIATE LANDING AND WESTERN WALL OF UPPER FLIGHT. *B–C*. WEST FACE OF PARAPET OF LOWER FLIGHT. SCALE OF *A–B*, 1:16

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A



A



C



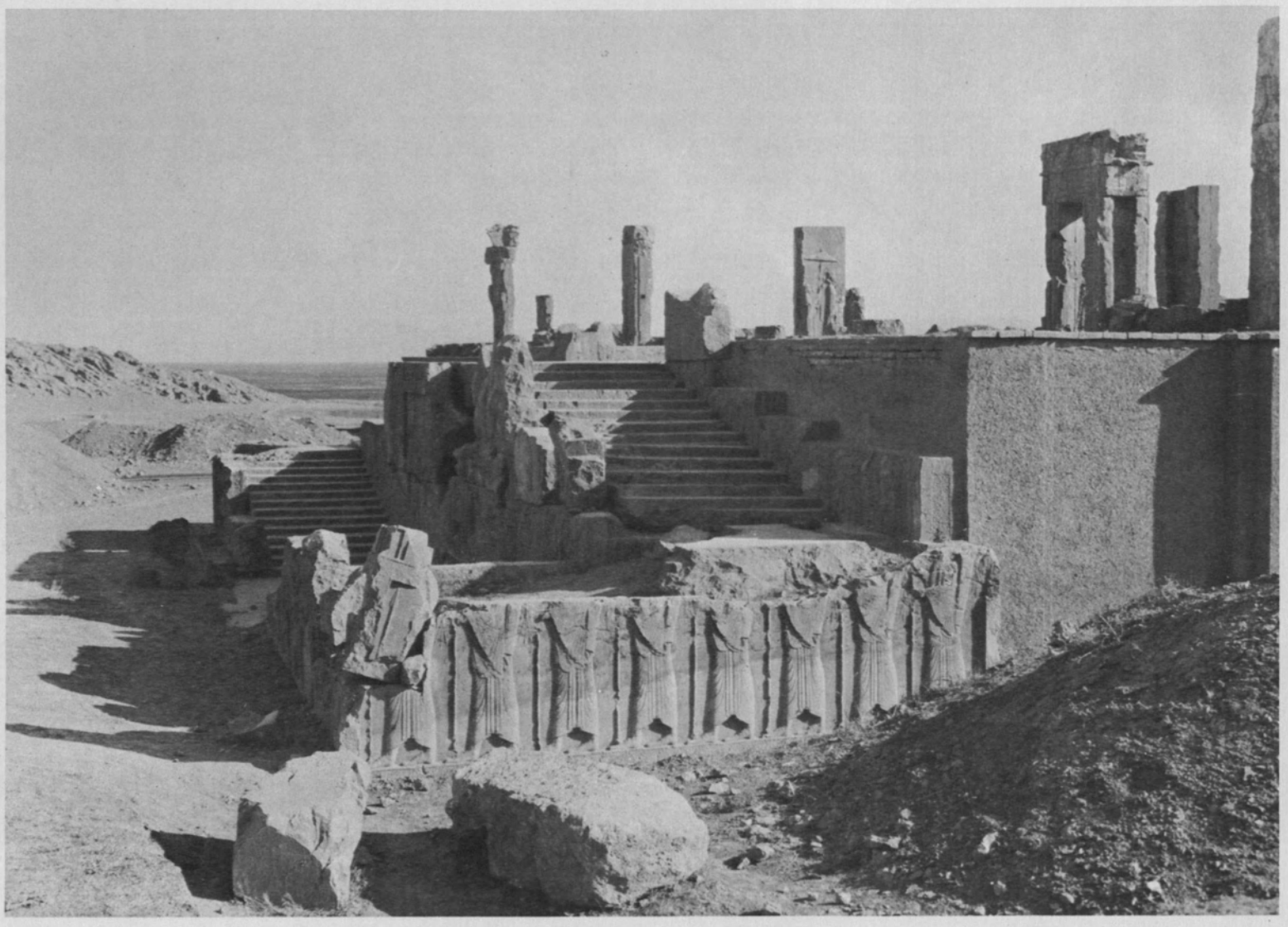
B



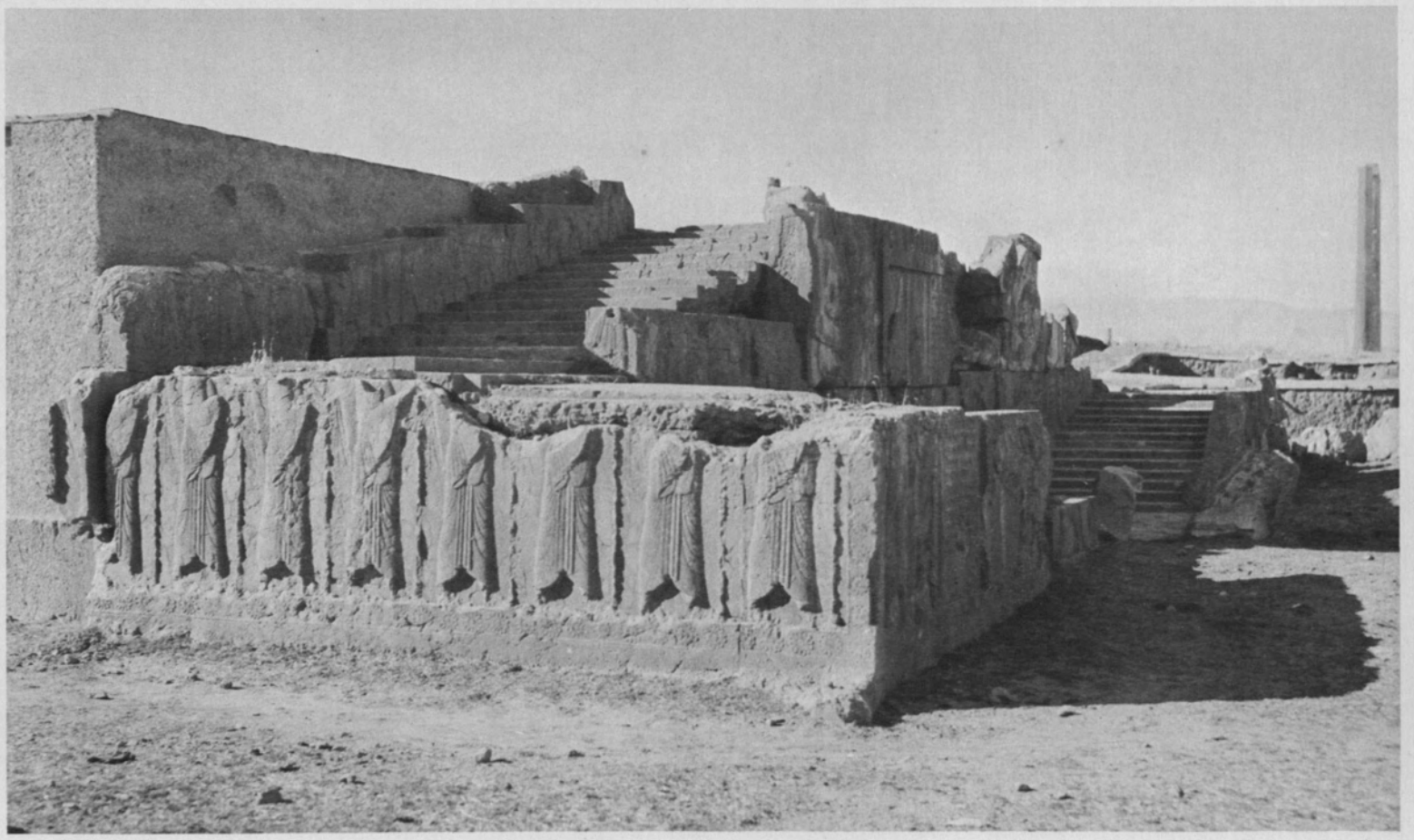
D

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WEST FACES OF PARAPETS OF UPPER FLIGHTS OF EASTERN STAIRWAY.
A–B. SOUTH WING. *C–D*. NORTH WING. SCALE OF *A* AND *C*, 1:16

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A



C



B

PALACE OF XERXES. EASTERN STAIRWAY. *A*. PERSIAN GUARDS ON NORTH FAÇADE OF NORTH WING (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *S*). *B*. SUPERPOSED PALMETTES ON PROJECTION BEHIND GUARDS SHOWN ON *C* (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *ENE*). SCALE, 1:16. *C*. PERSIAN GUARDS ON SOUTH FAÇADE OF SOUTH WING (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *NW*)

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PLATE 174



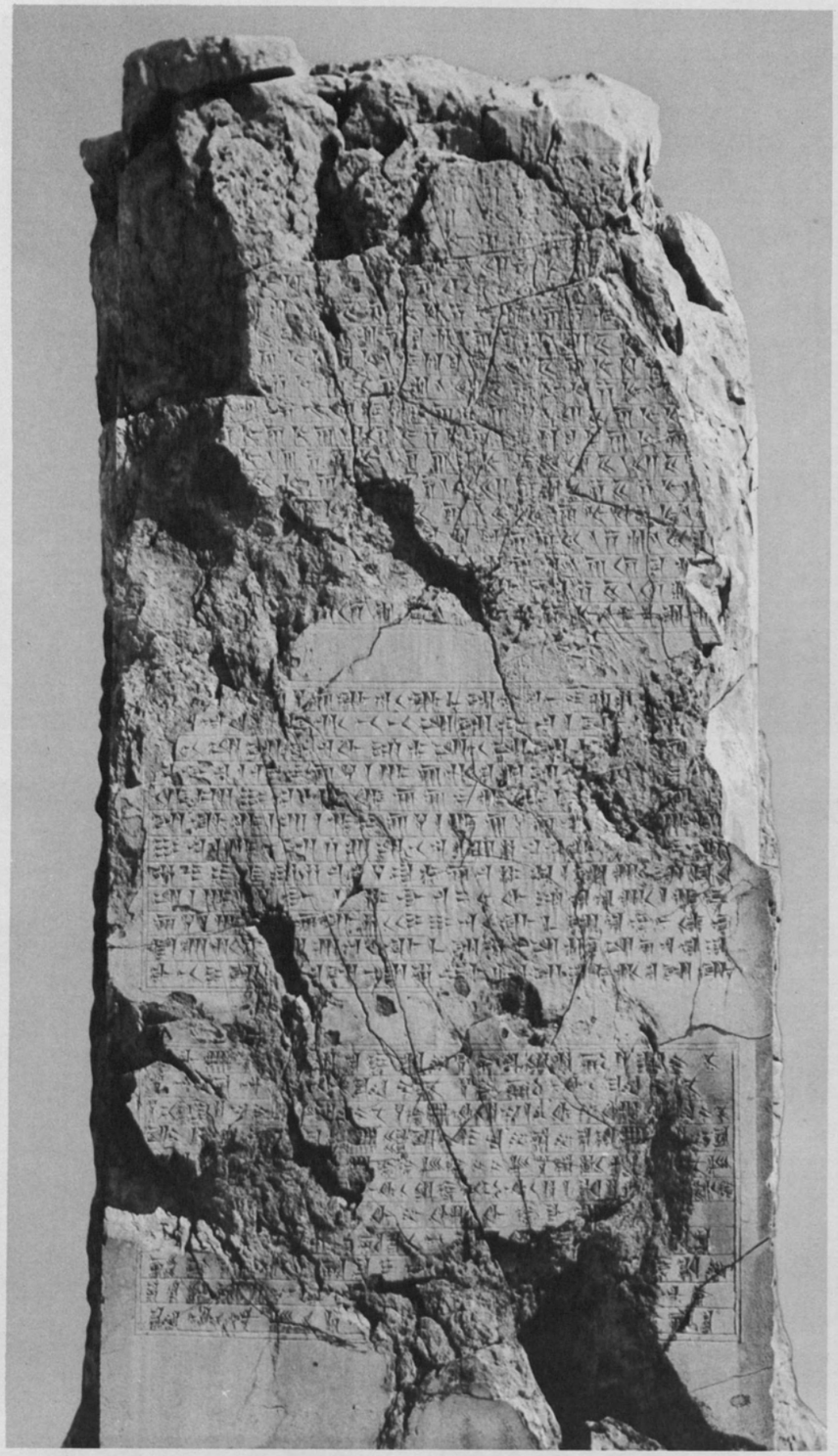
A



B

PALACE OF XERXES. GENERAL VIEWS (*DIRECTION*, *SSW* [*A*] *AND W* [*B*])

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A



B

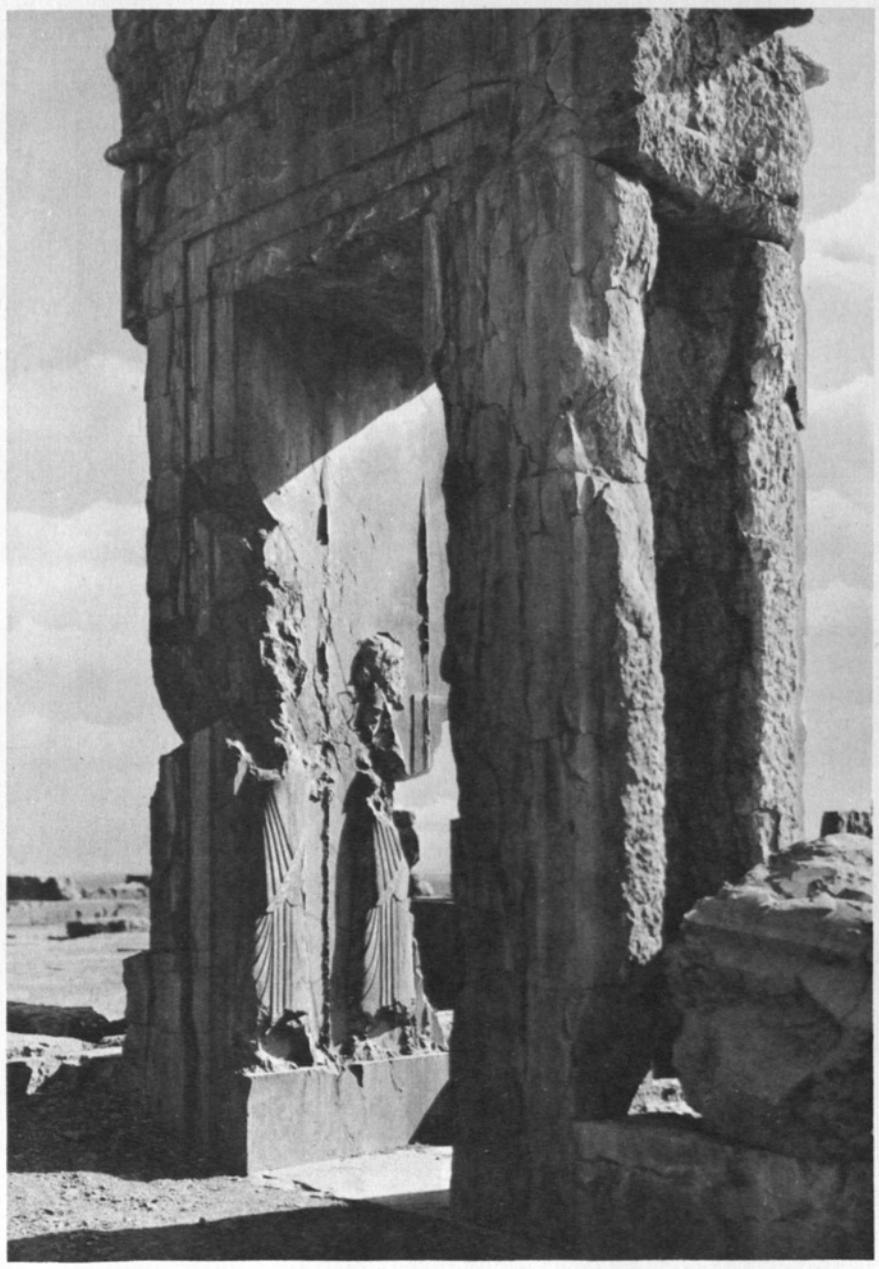
PALACE OF XERXES. XERXES' PERS. da INSCRIPTION ON EASTERN (*A*) AND WESTERN (*B*) ANTAE OF PORTICO. SCALE, 1:10

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PLATE 176



A



B



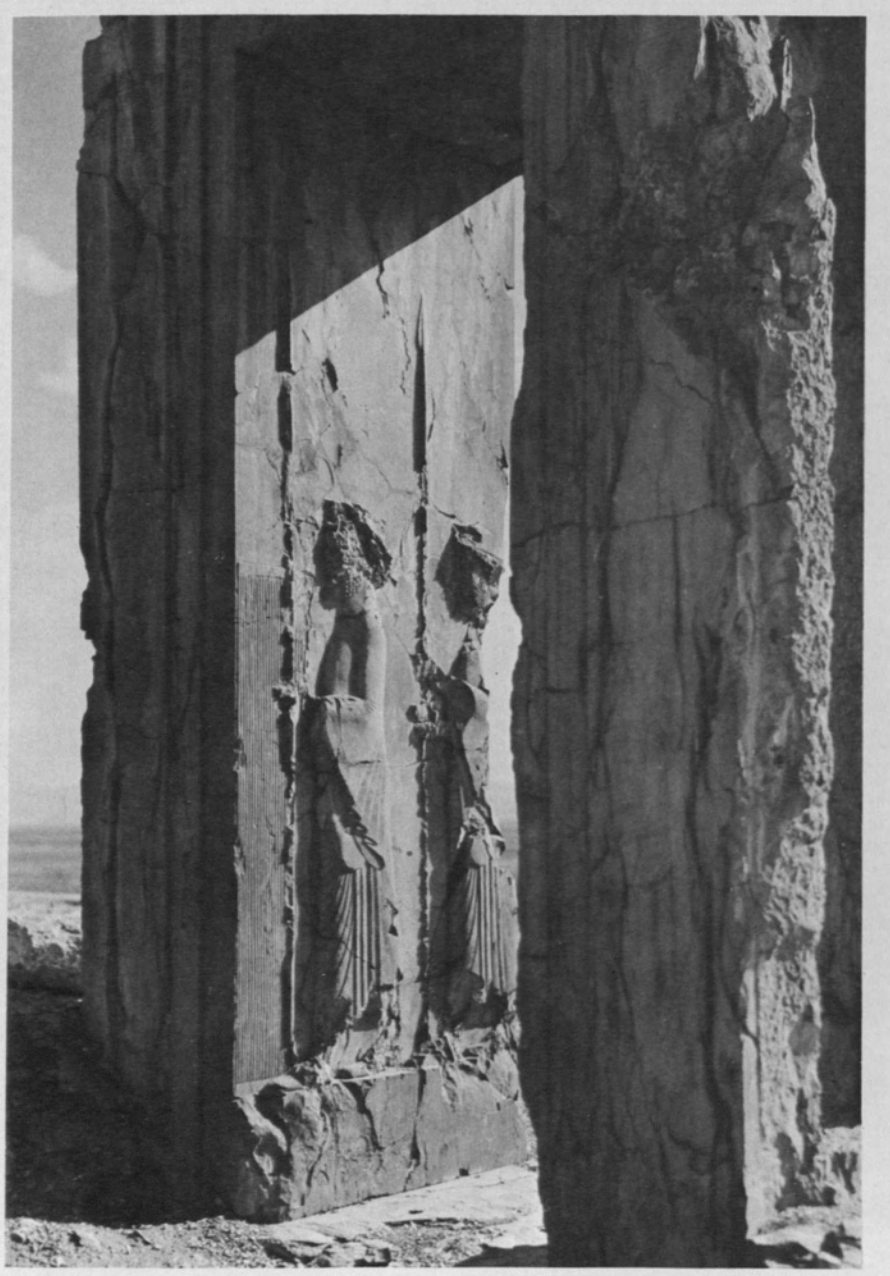
C

PALACE OF XERXES. EASTERN DOORWAY OF PORTICO. *A*. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION ON WEST FACE. SCALE, 1:12. *B*. GUARD RELIEF ON SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *SSW*). *C*. GUARD RELIEF ON NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW*, *WNW*)

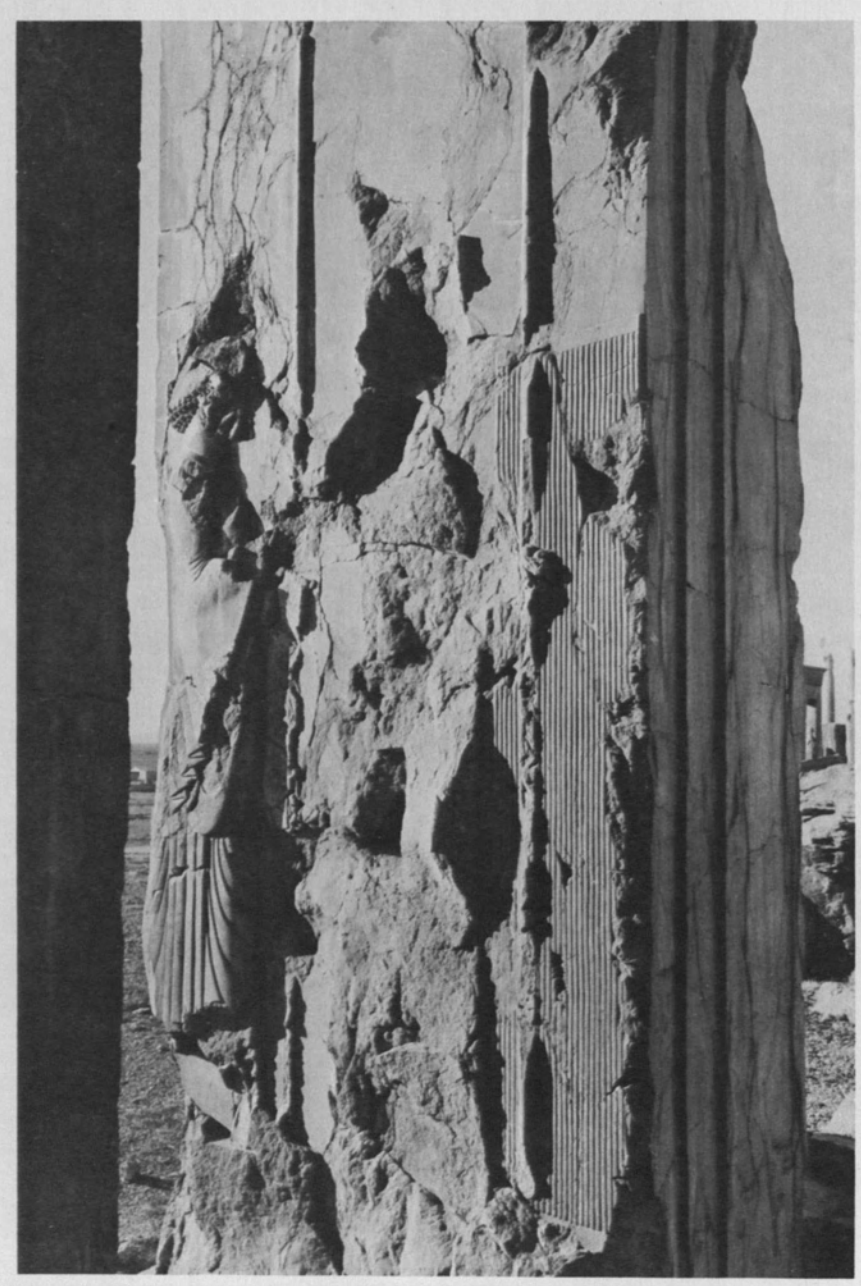
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A



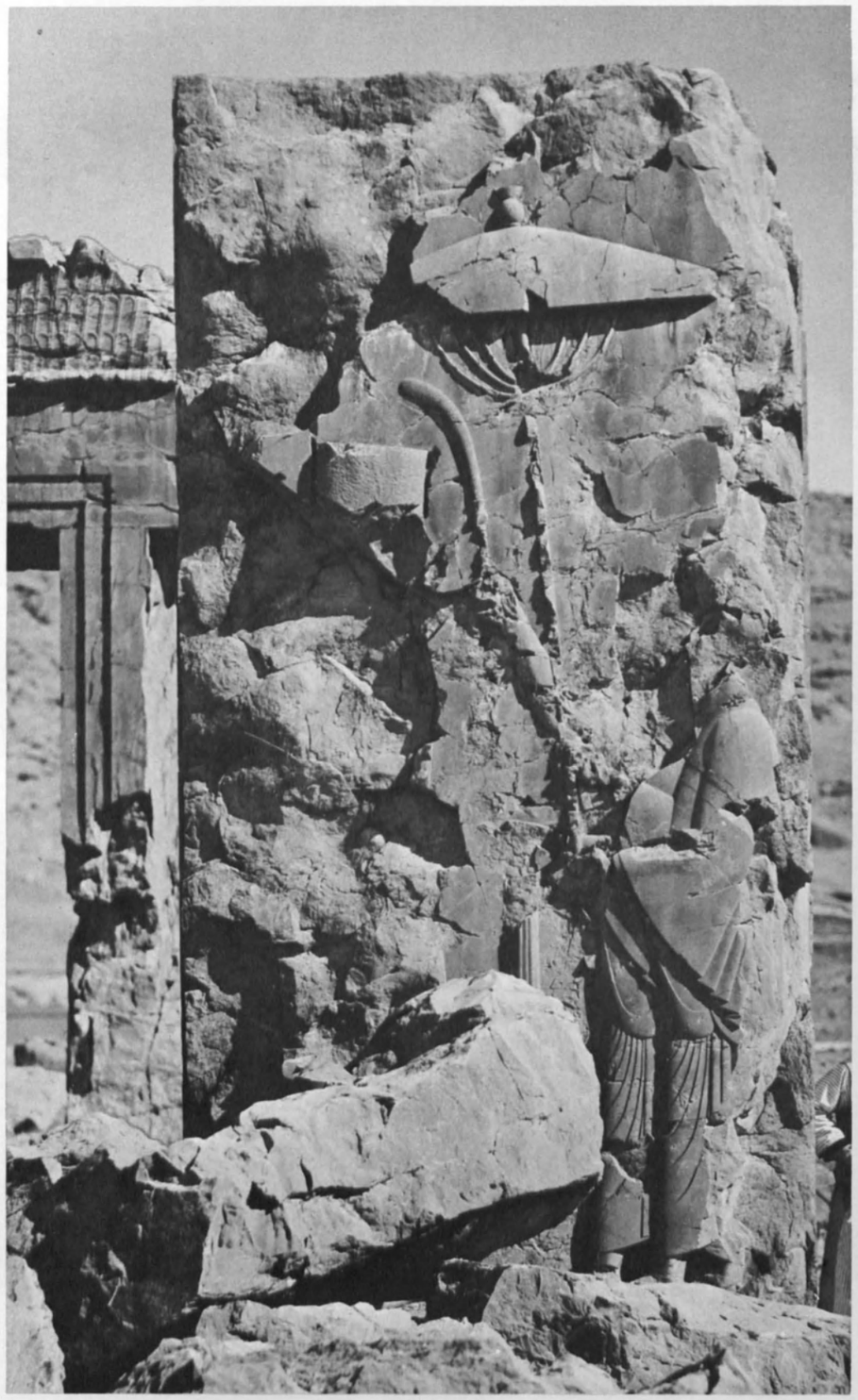
B



C

PALACE OF XERXES. WESTERN DOORWAY OF PORTICO. *A*. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION ON EAST FACE. SCALE, 1:12. *B*. GUARD RELIEF ON SOUTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *C*. GUARD RELIEF ON NORTH JAMB (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

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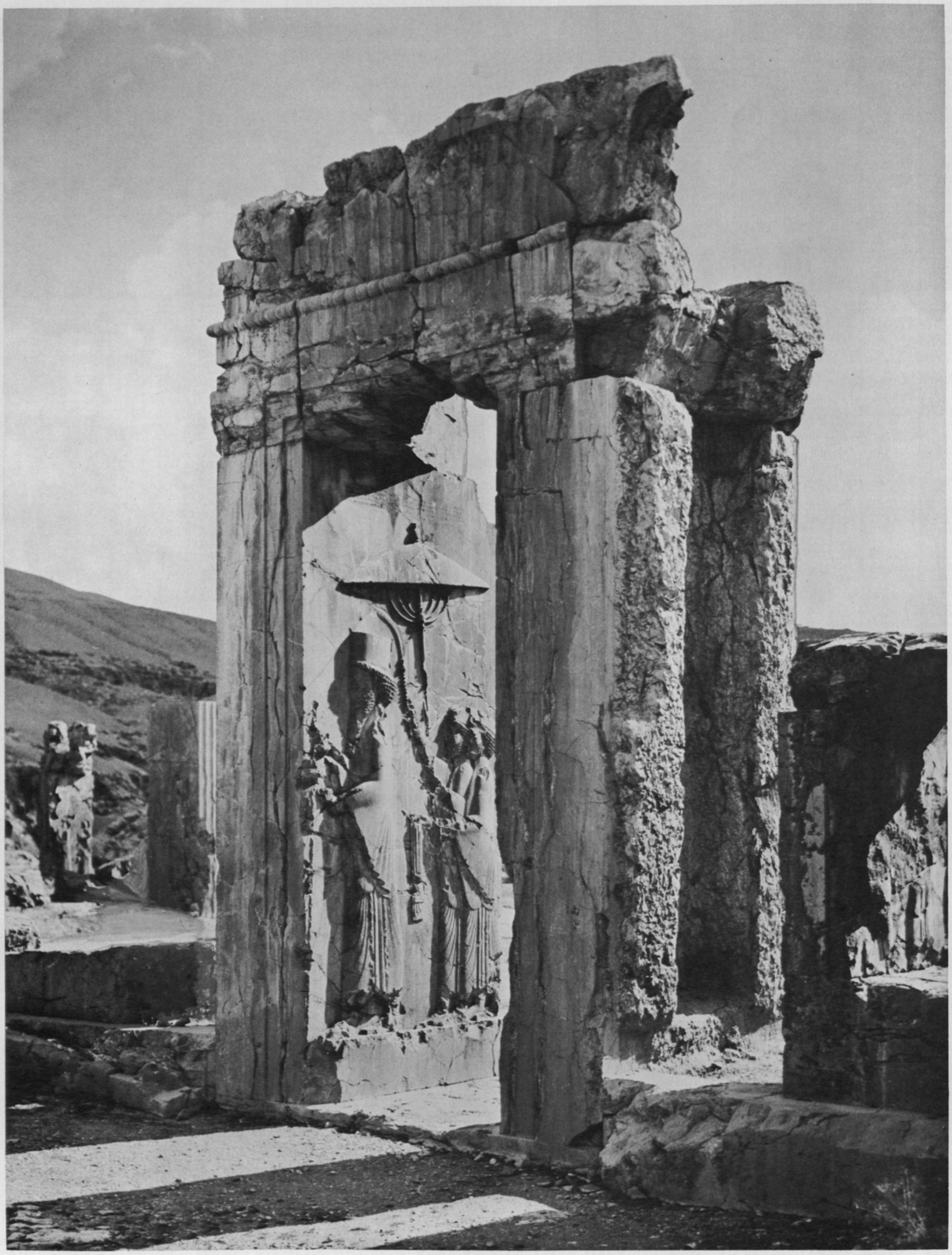
A



B

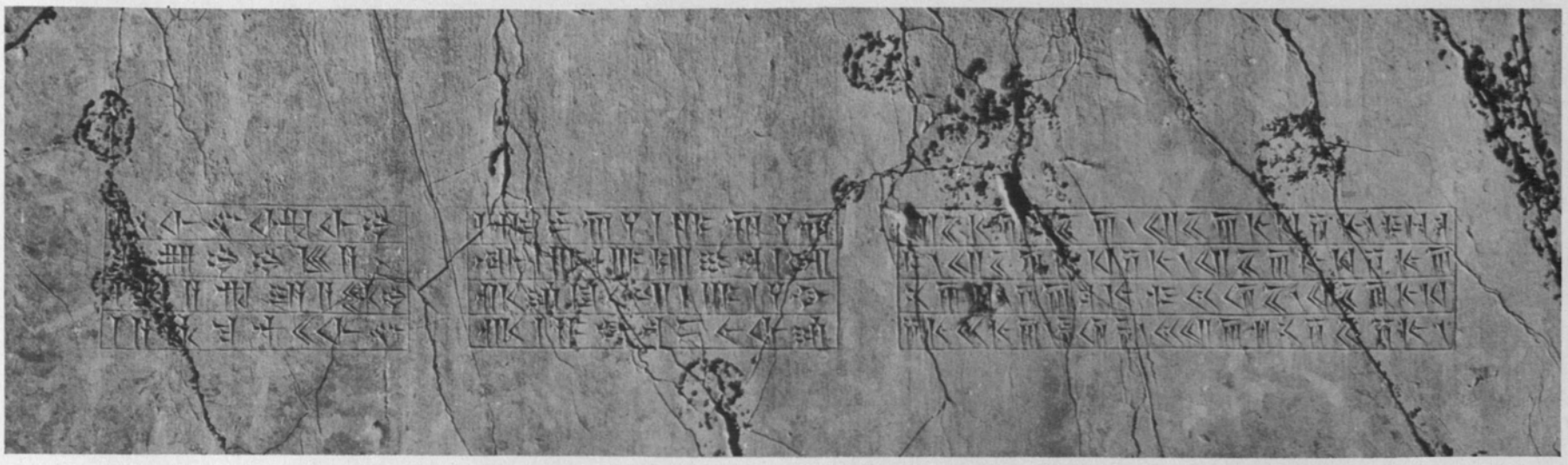
PALACE OF XERXES. KING AND ATTENDANTS ON DOORWAYS IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL. *A*. EAST JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, ENE*). *B*. WEST JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSW*)

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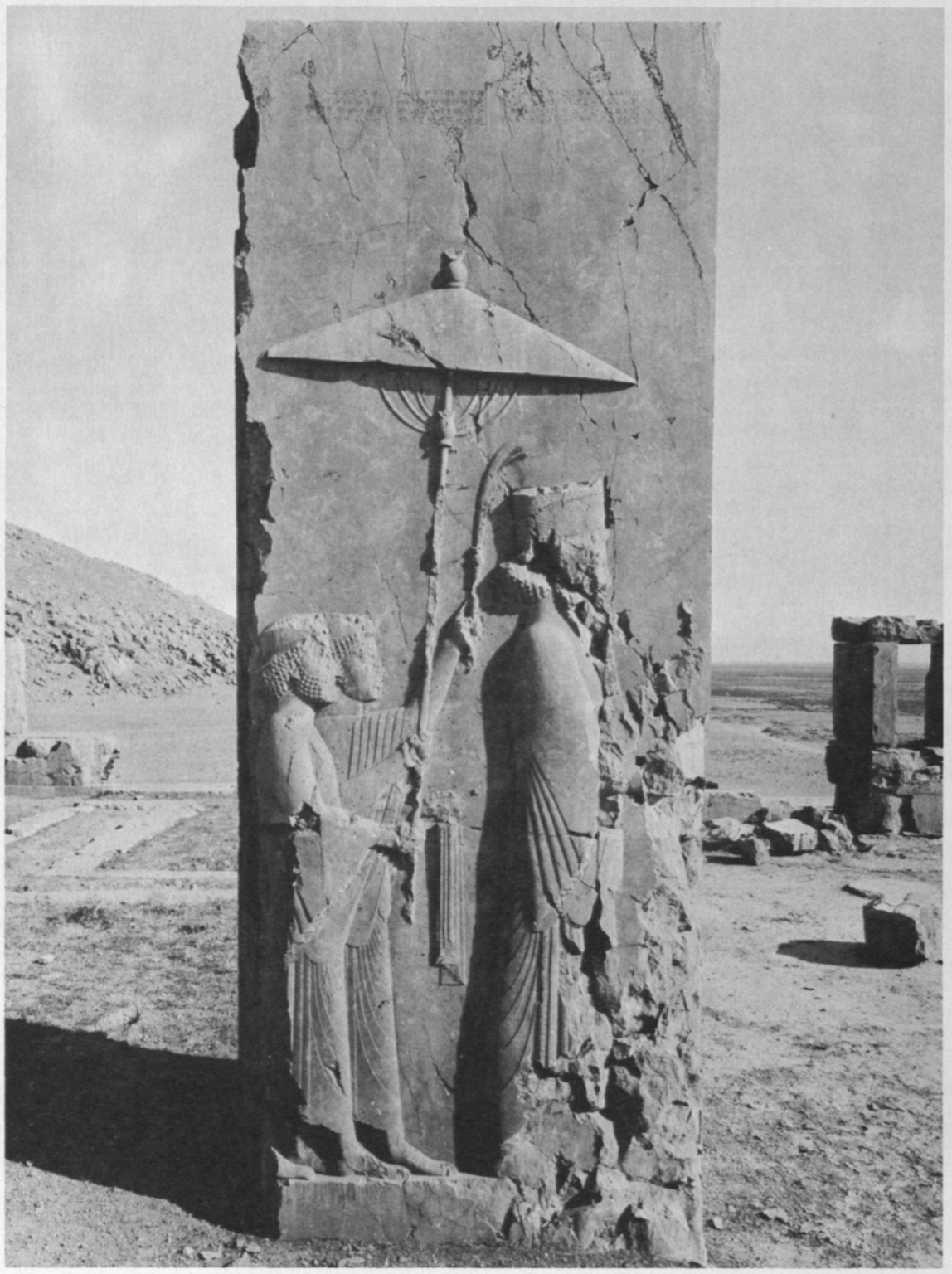


PALACE OF XERXES. KING AND ATTENDANTS ON EAST JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*)

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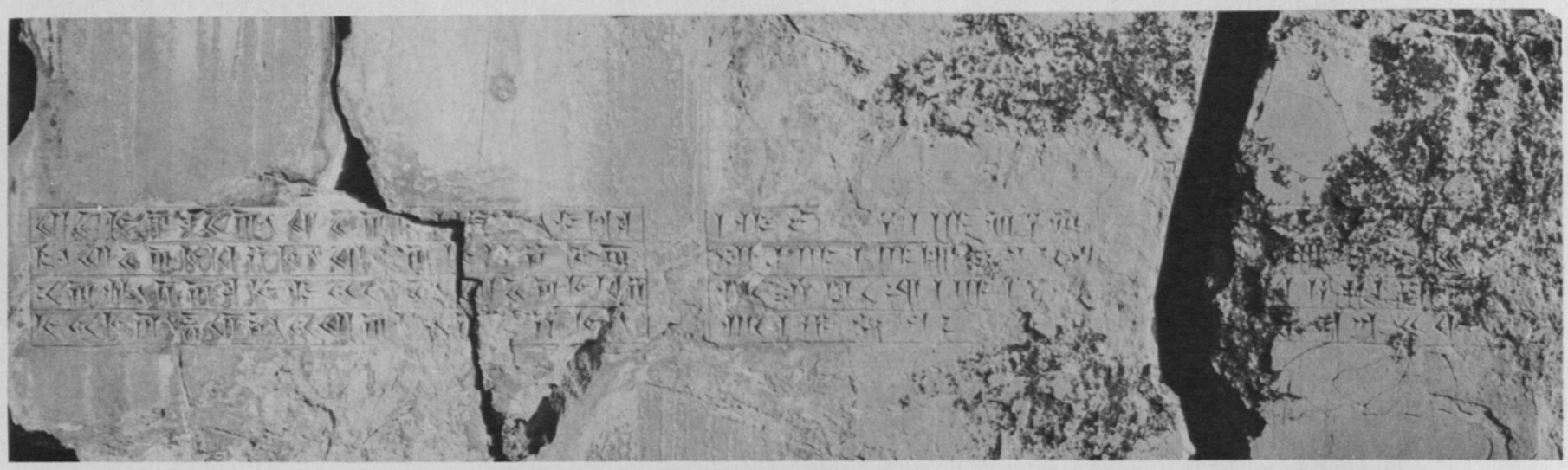
A



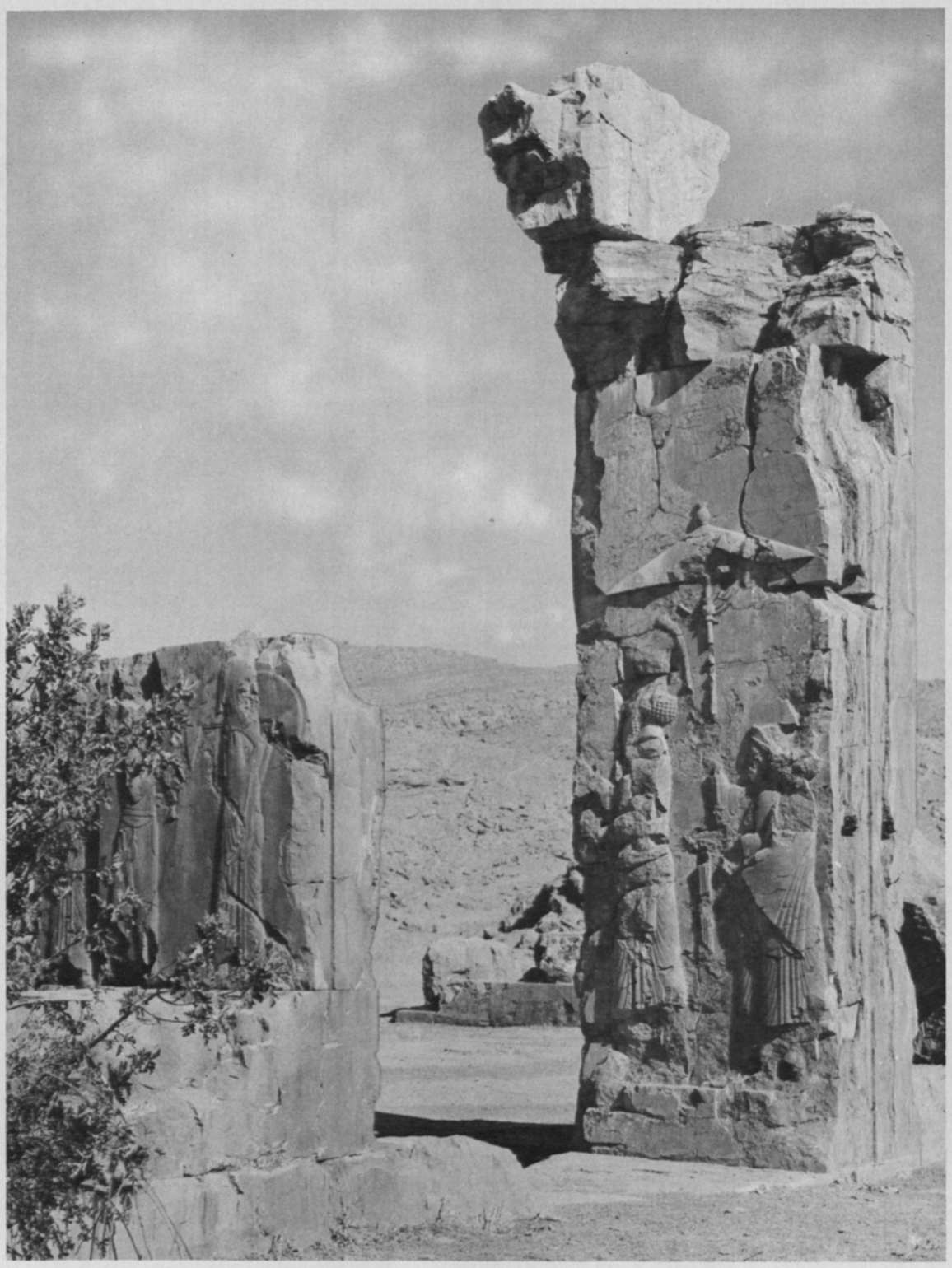
B

PALACE OF XERXES. SOUTH JAMB OF EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:6. *B*. RELIEF OF KING AND ATTENDANTS. SCALE, ABOUT 1:24

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A



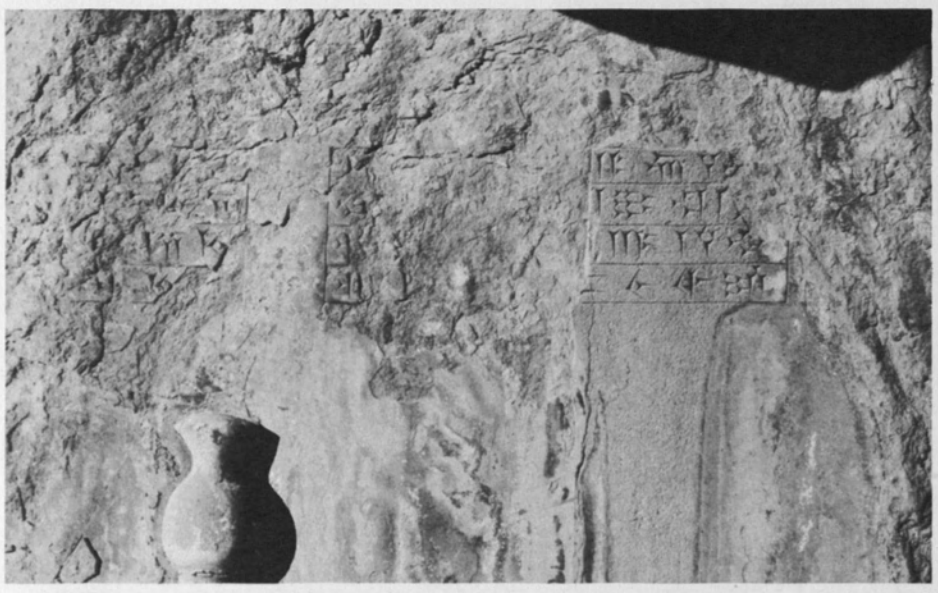
B

PALACE OF XERXES. SOUTH JAMB OF WESTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:6. *B*. RELIEF OF KING AND ATTENDANTS, WITH SOUTH JAMB OF NORTHERN WINDOW BETWEEN MAIN HALL AND ROOM 10 VISIBLE AT LEFT (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, ESE*)

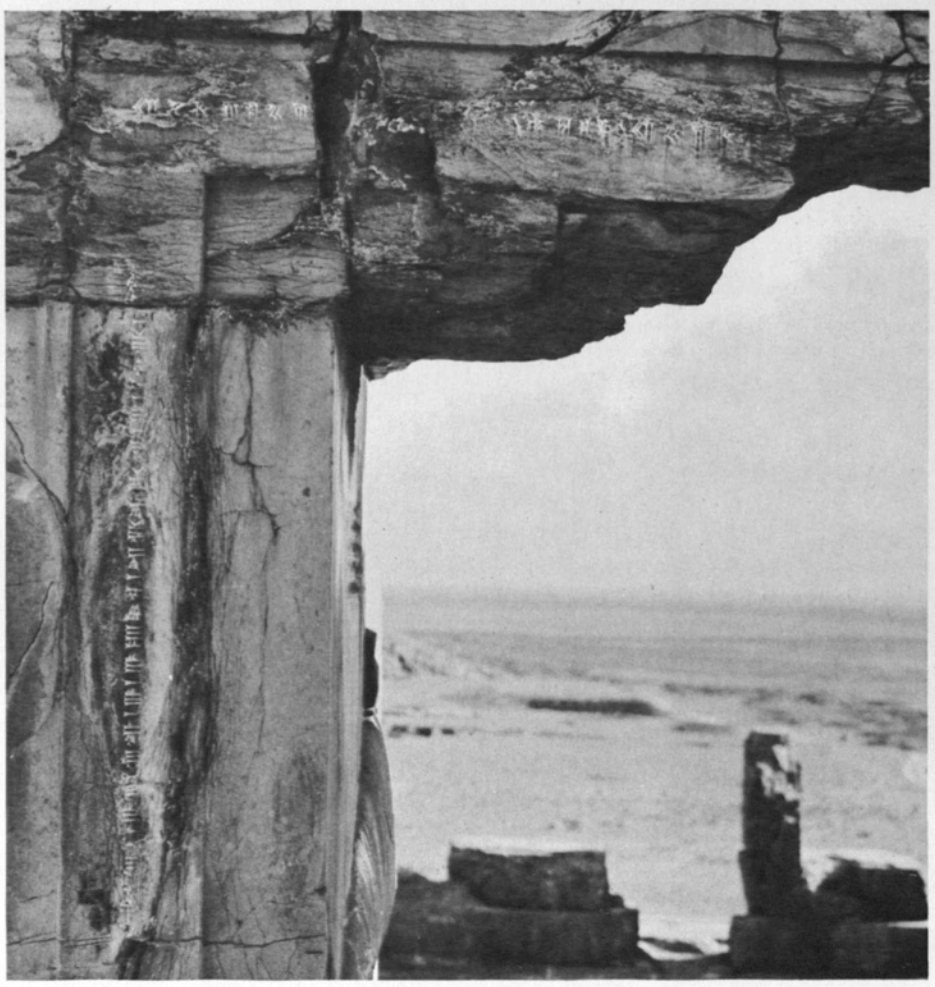
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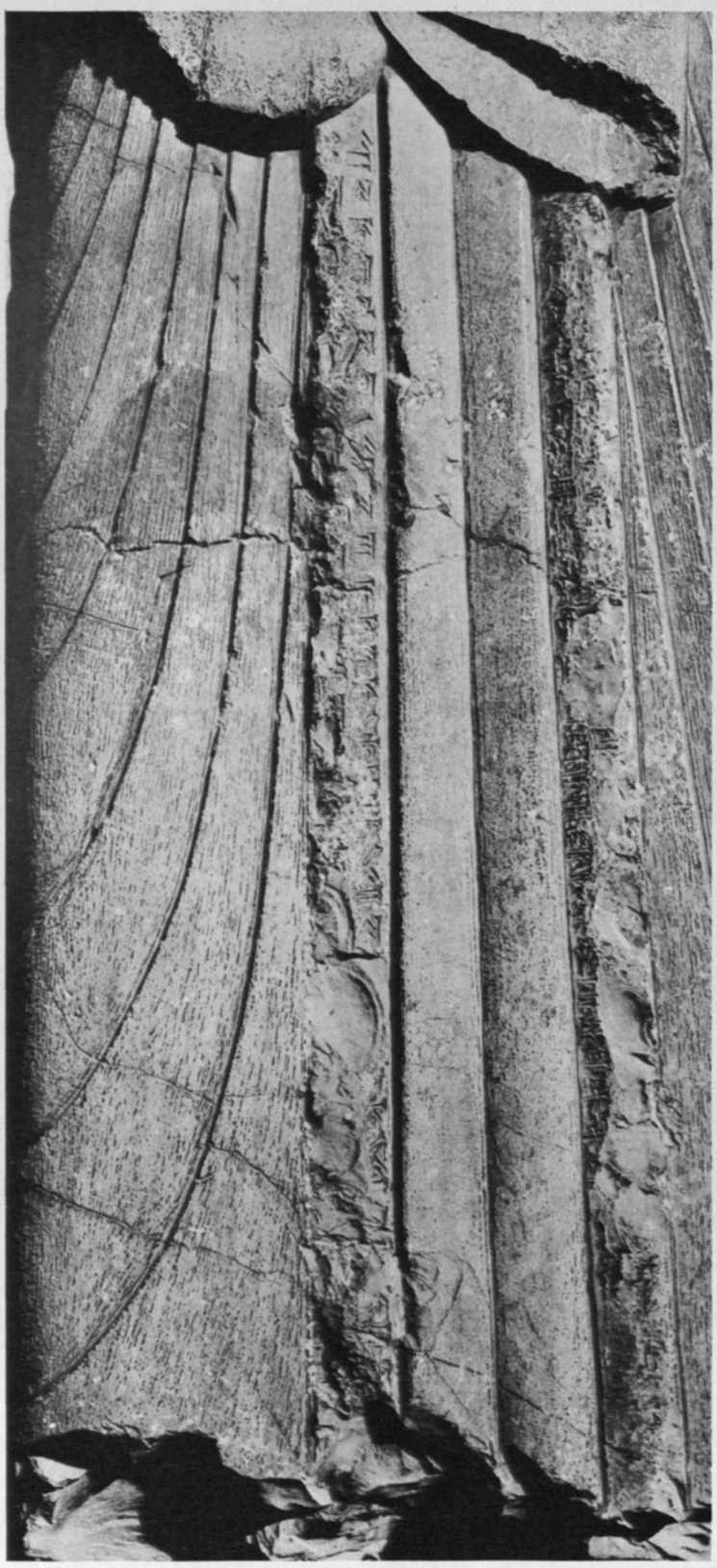
A



B



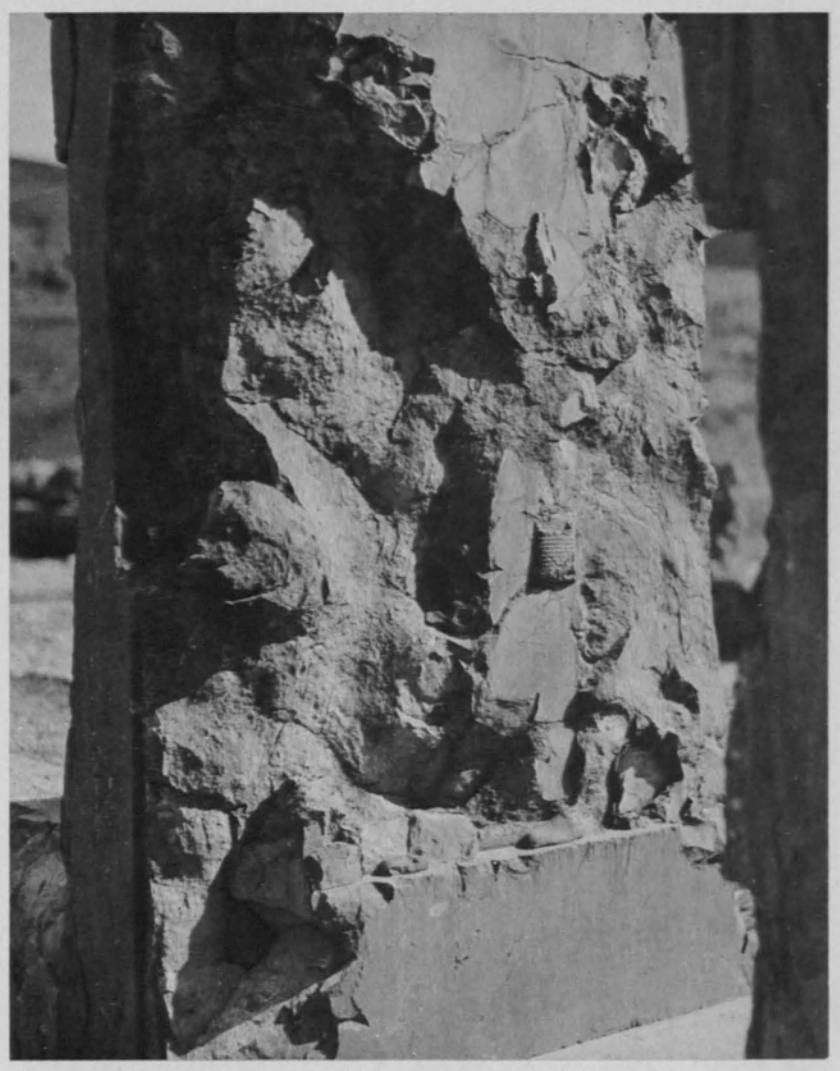
C



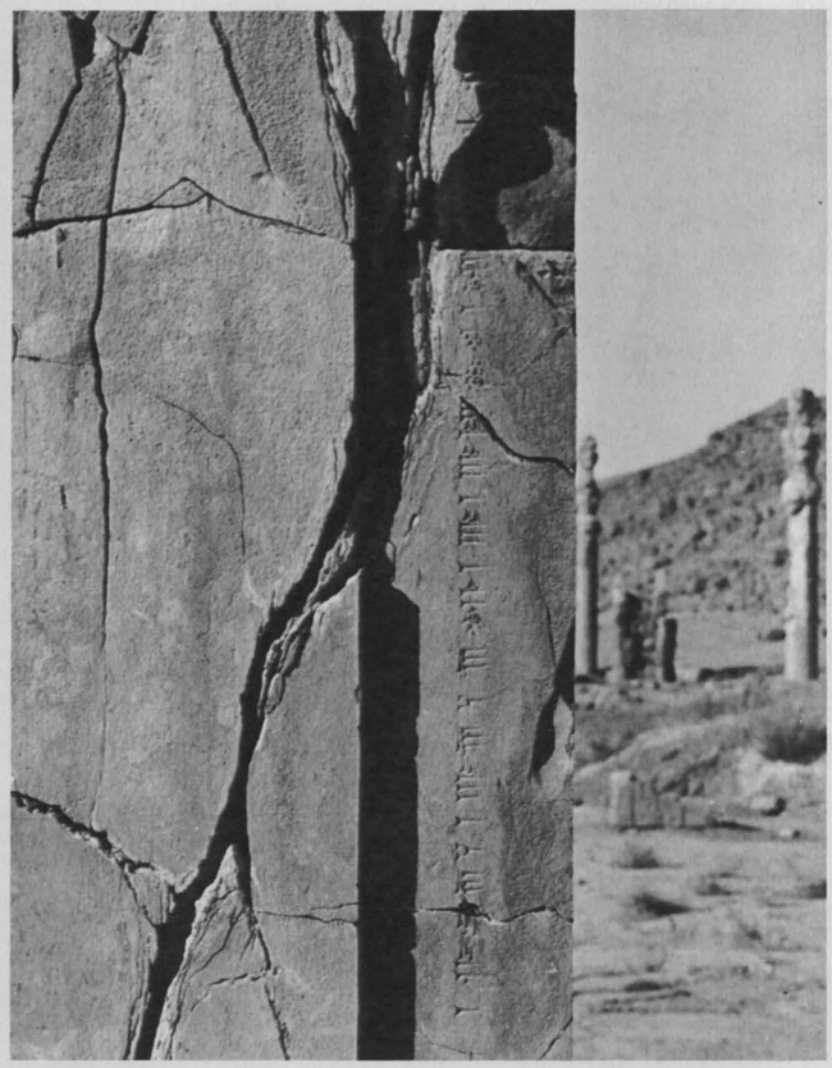
D

PALACE OF XERXES. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION ON WESTERN DOORWAY IN NORTH WALL OF MAIN HALL.
A–B. EAST AND WEST JAMBS. SCALE, 1:6. *C*. NORTH FACE. SCALE, 1:10. *D*. KING'S GARMENT
ON EAST JAMB. SCALE, 1:4

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A



B



C



D

PALACE OF XERXES. DOORWAYS OF ROOM 10. *A*. RELIEF OF ATTENDANTS ON EAST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY. *B*. EXTANT PORTION OF ELAMITE TEXT OF XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION ON SOUTH FACE OF NORTHERN DOORWAY. *C–D*. RELIEFS OF ATTENDANTS ON EAST AND WEST JAMBS OF NORTHERN DOORWAY

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PLATE 184



A



B

PALACE OF XERXES. ATTENDANTS ON DOORWAYS OF ROOM 9. SCALE, ABOUT 1:16. *A*. WEST JAMB OF NORTHERN DOORWAY. *B*. EAST JAMB OF SOUTHERN DOORWAY

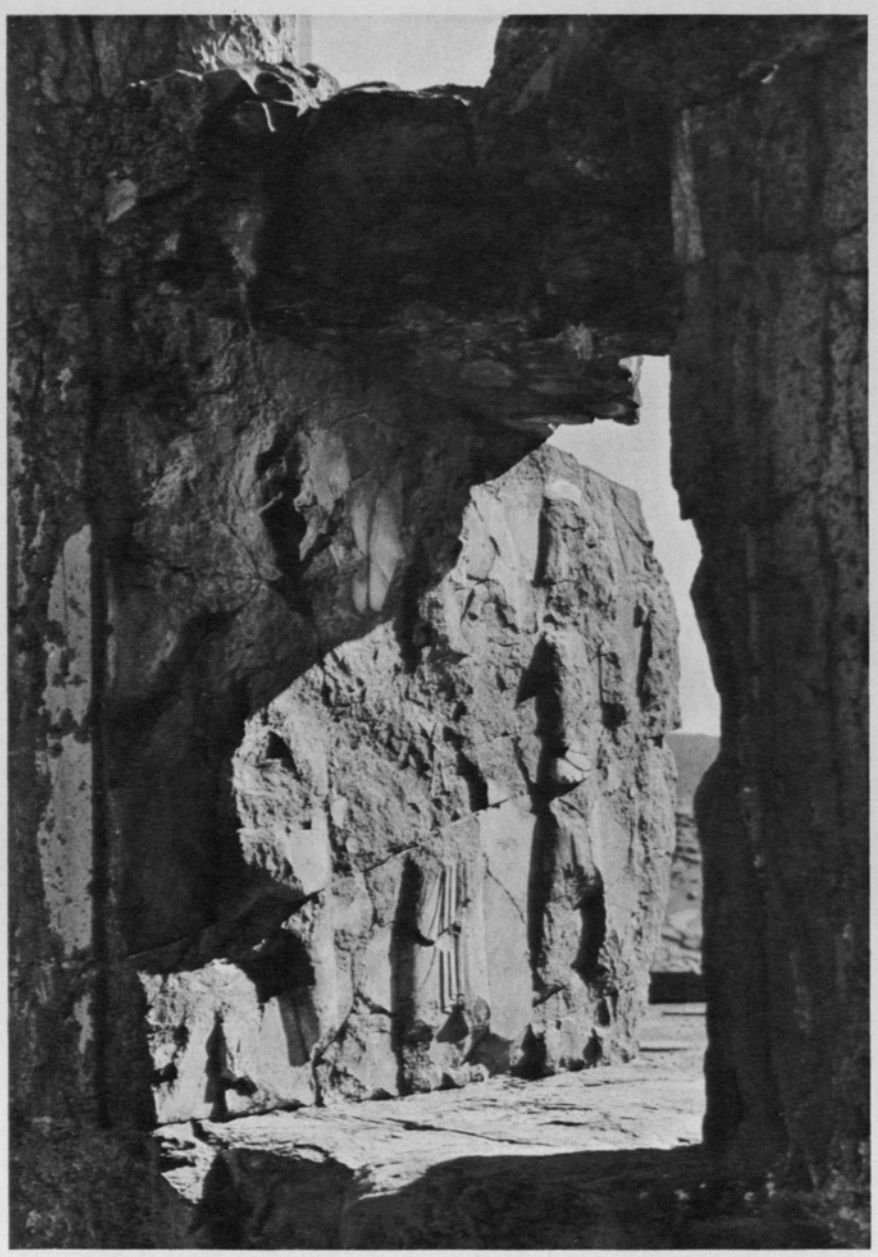
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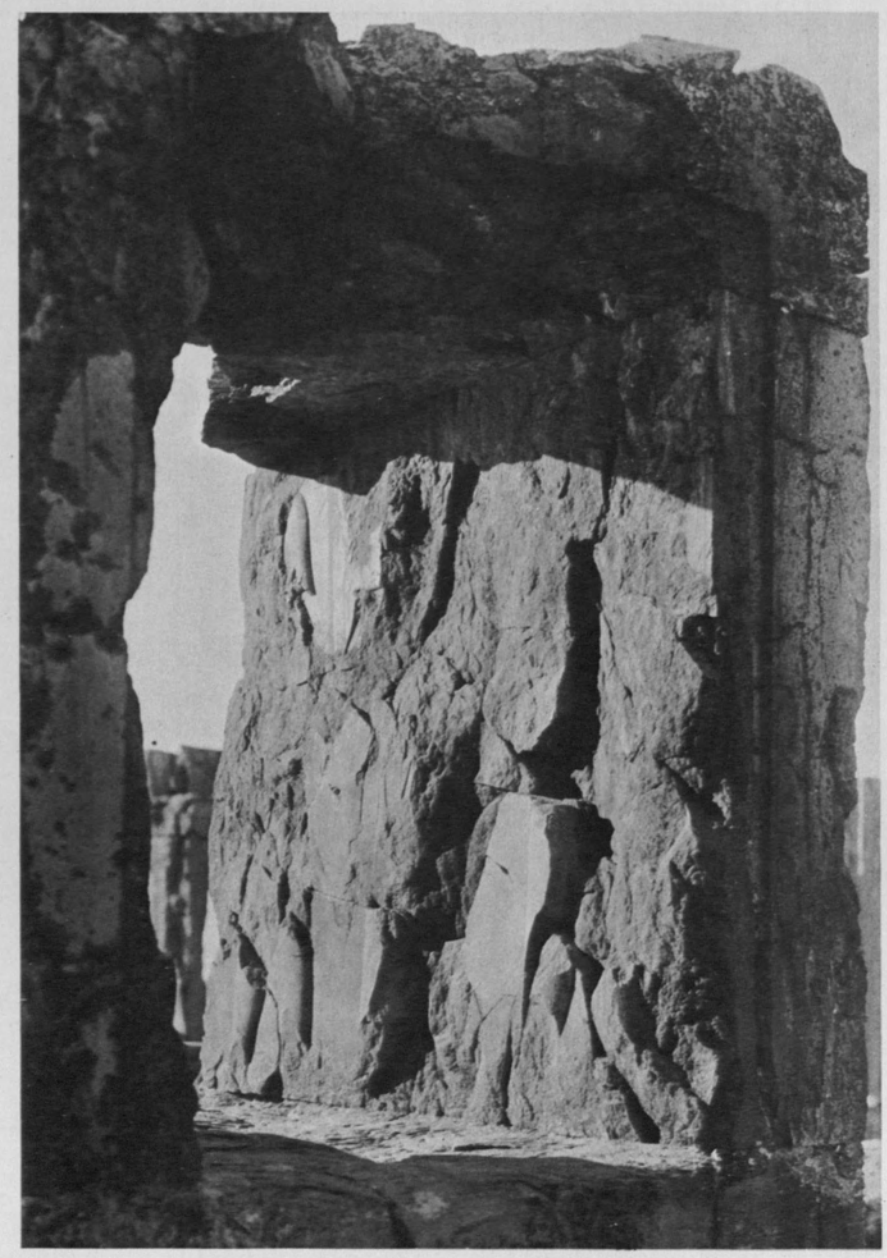
A



B



C

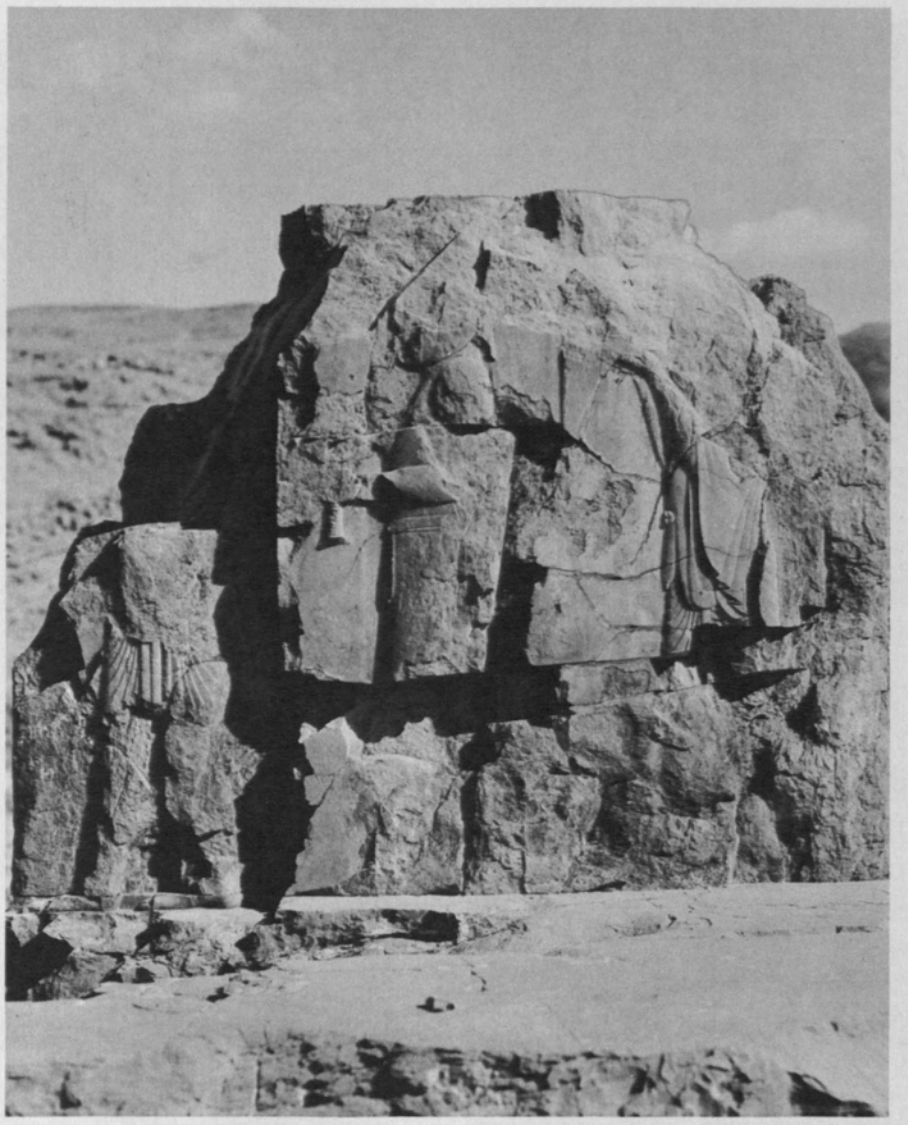


D

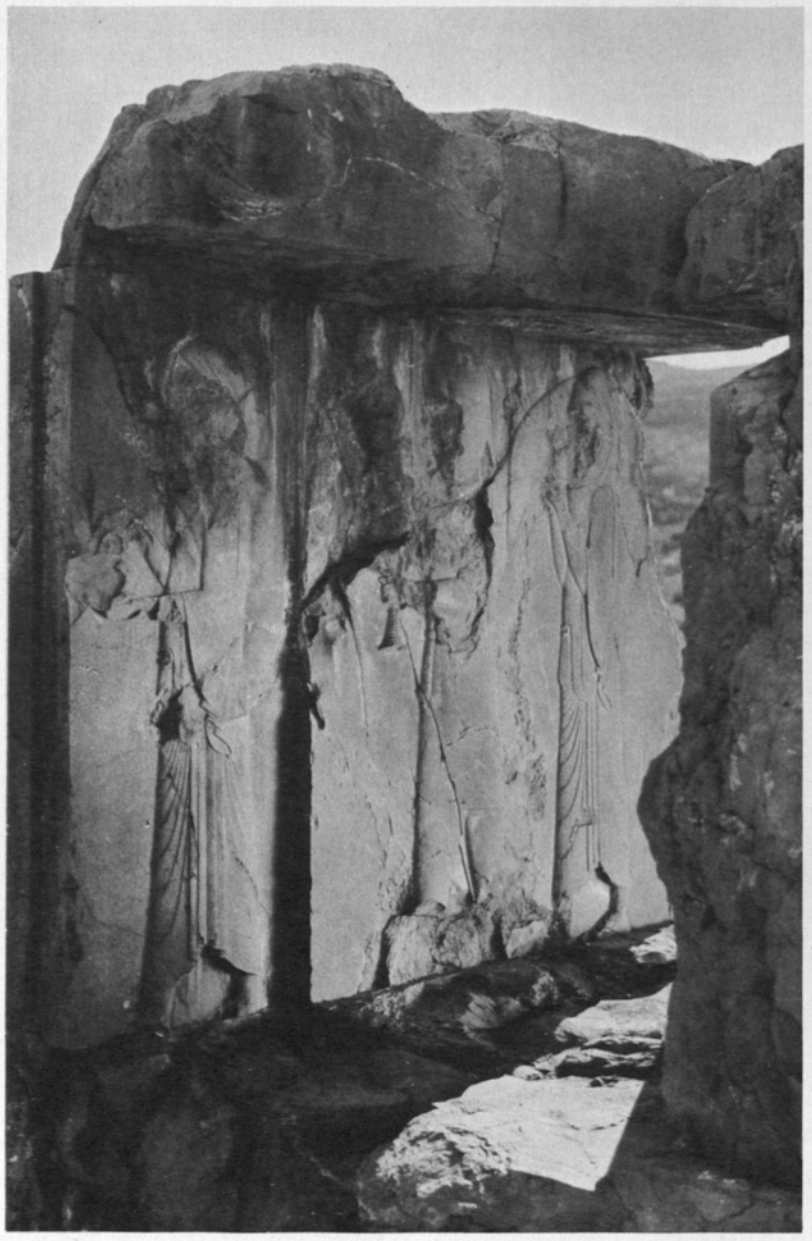
PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WINDOWS OF MAIN HALL. *A*. WEST WALL, NORTH JAMB OF SOUTHERN WINDOW TO ROOM 10. *B*. WEST WALL, SOUTH JAMB OF SOUTHERNMOST WINDOW. SCALE, 1:16. *C–D*. NORTH WALL, EAST AND WEST JAMBS OF WESTERNMOST WINDOW

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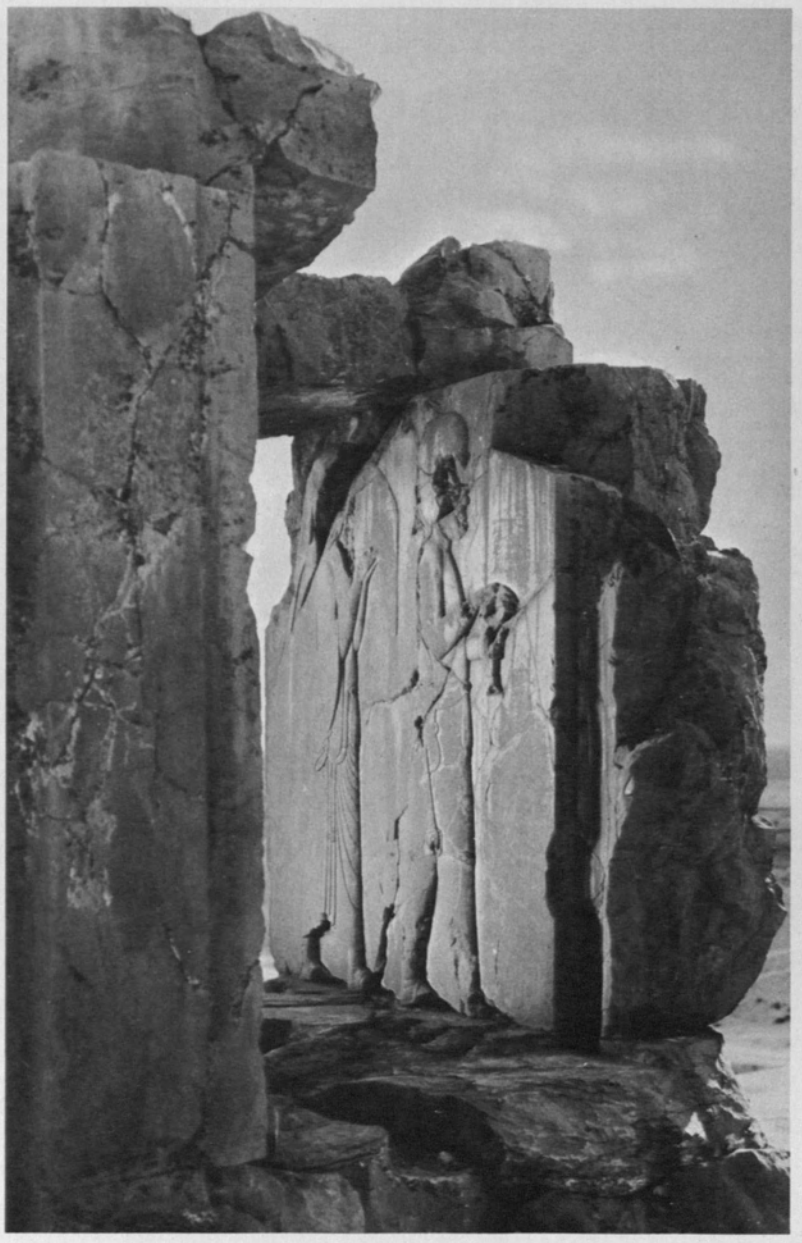
PLATE 186



A



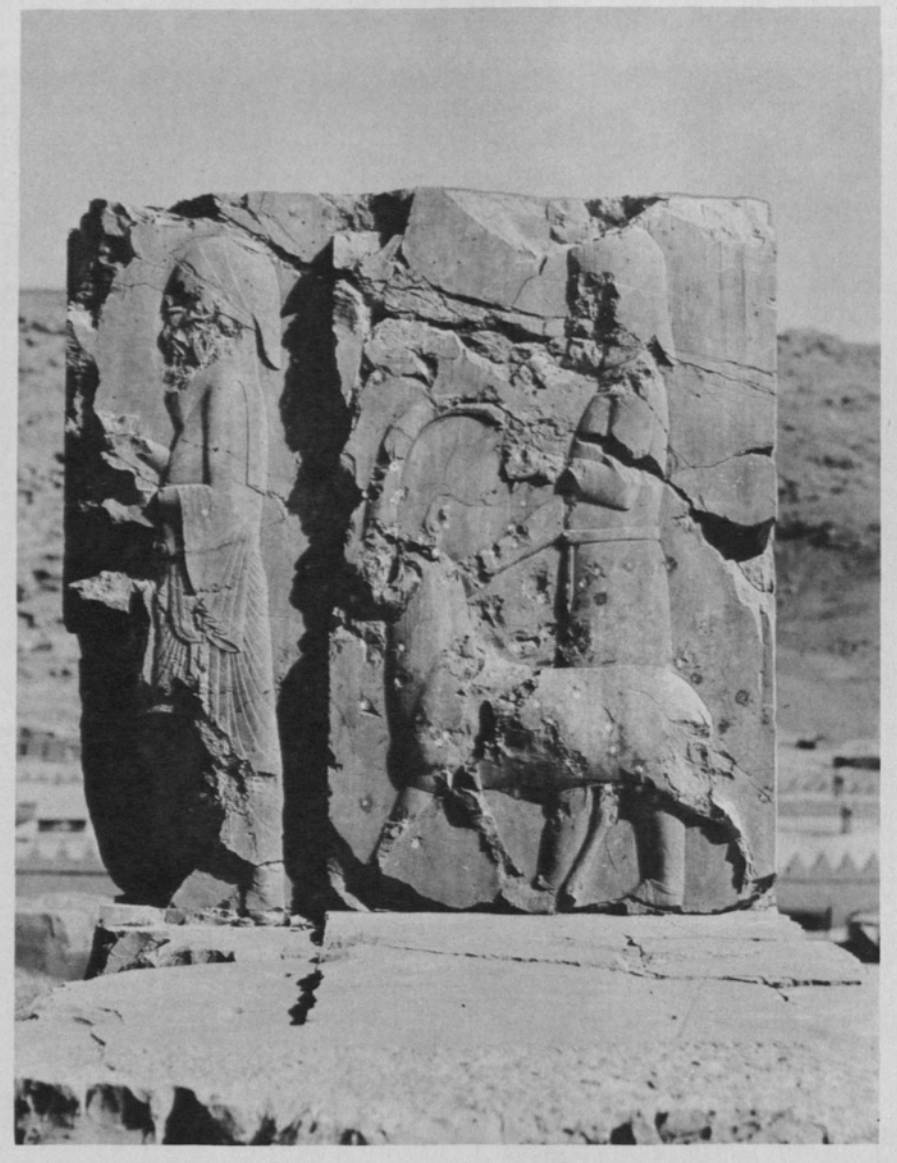
B



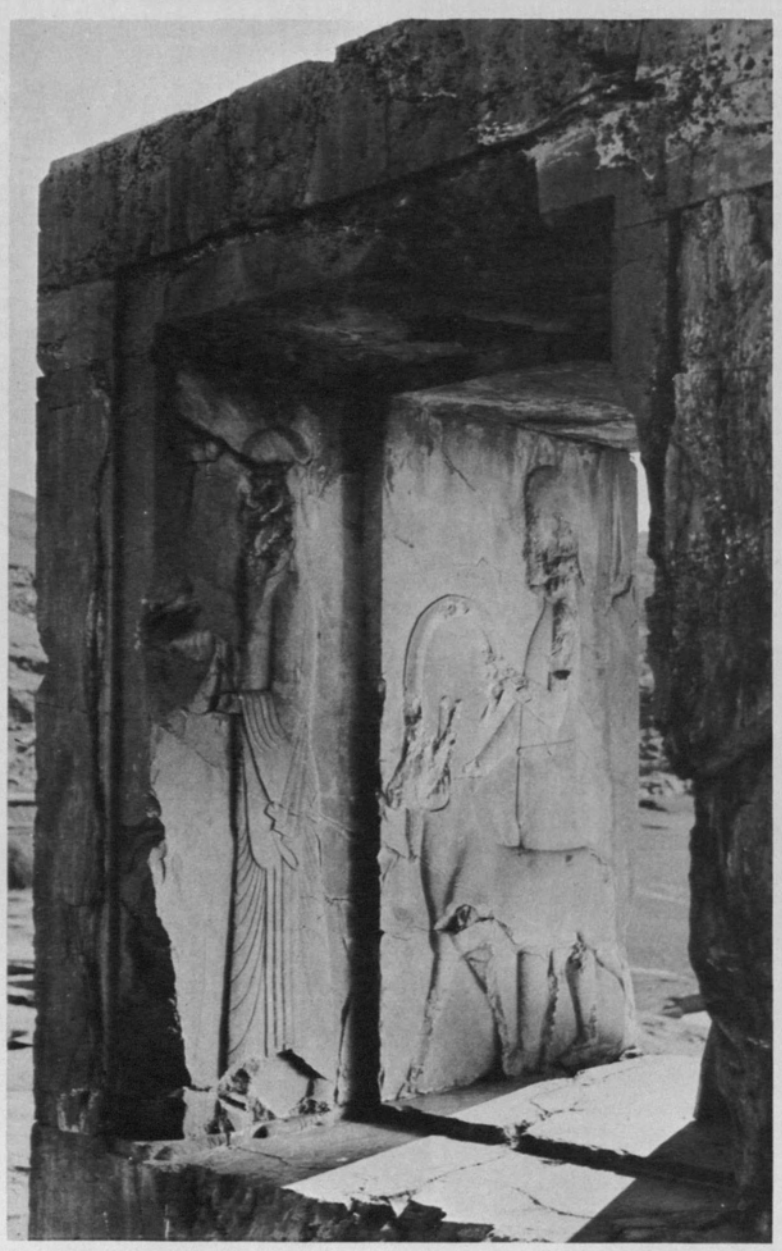
C

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANT RELIEFS ON WINDOWS IN SOUTHERN WALL OF MAIN HALL. *A*. EAST JAMB OF WESTERNMOST WINDOW. *B–C*. EAST AND WEST JAMBS OF SECOND WINDOW FROM EAST

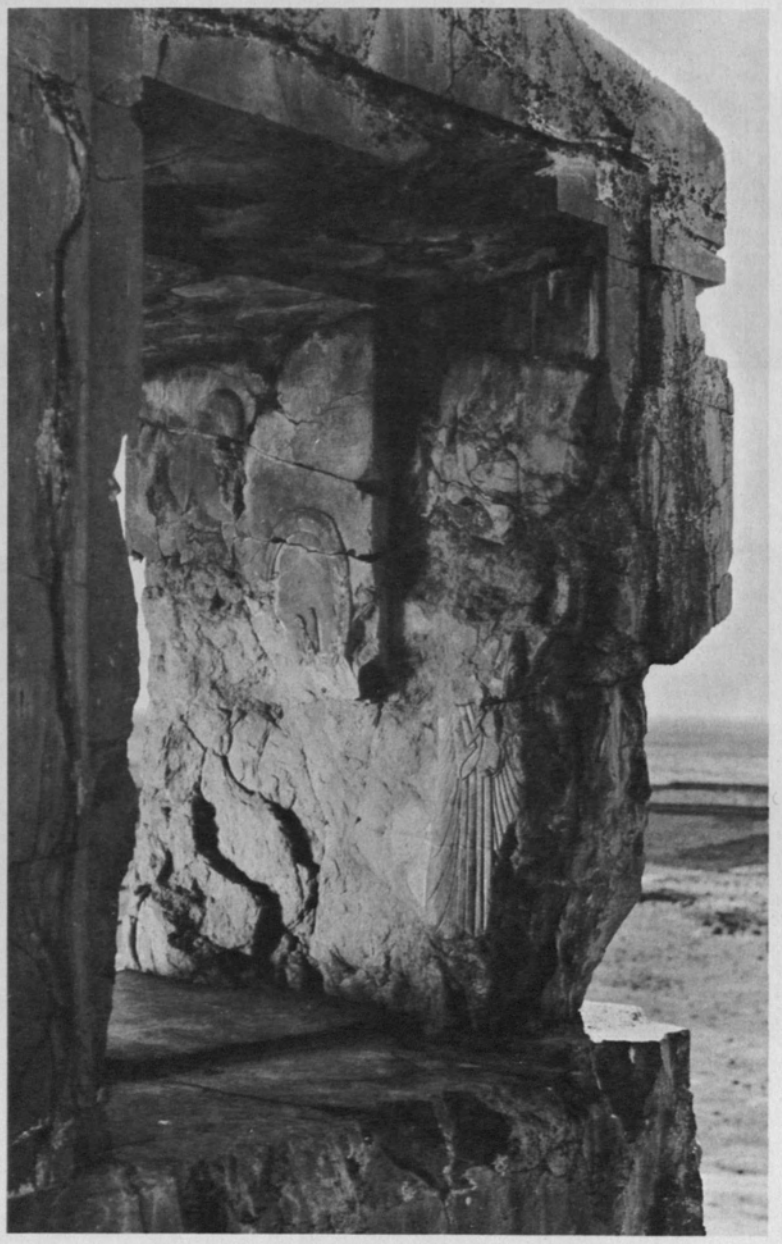
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A



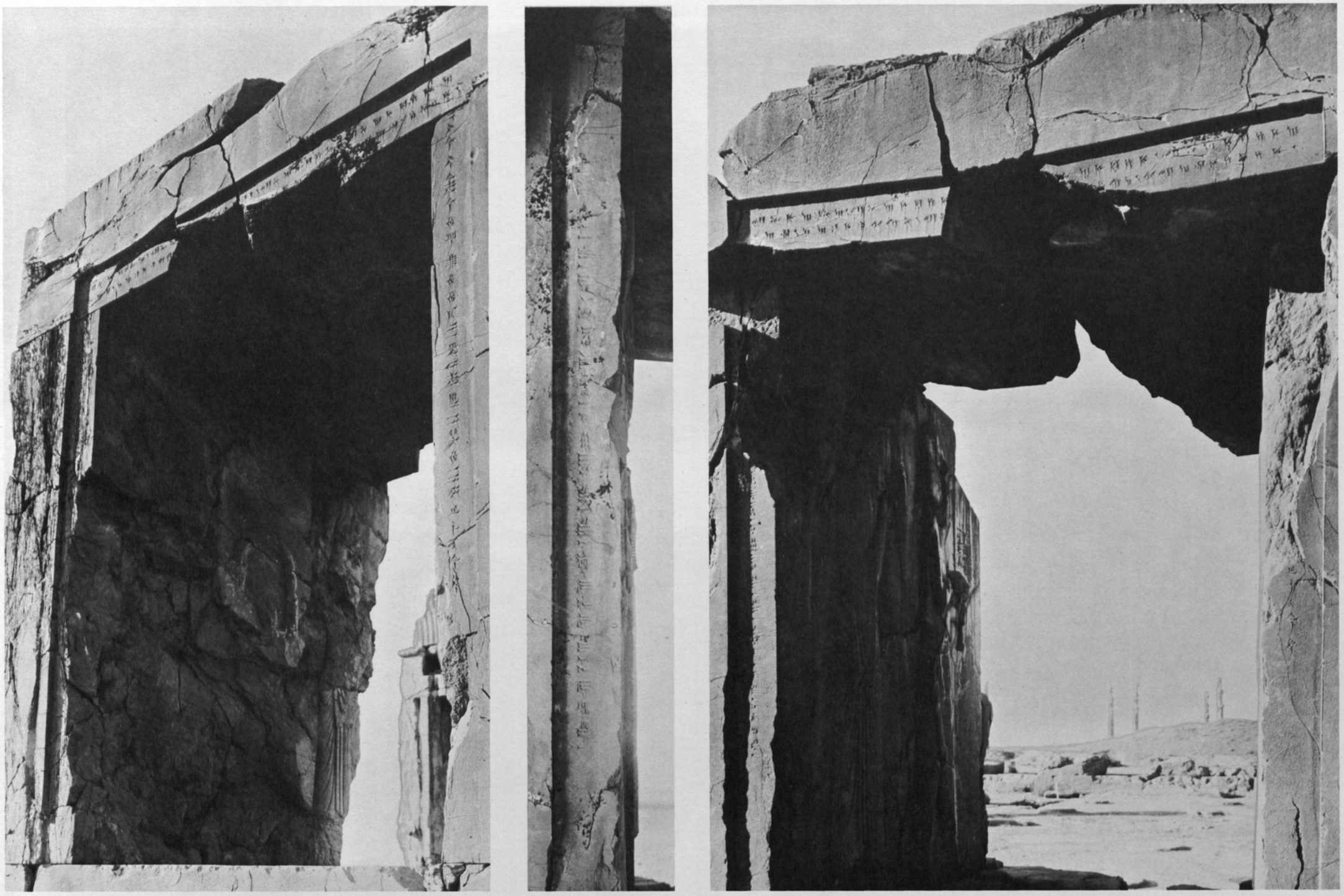
B



C

PALACE OF XERXES. SERVANTS WITH IBEX ON WINDOWS IN SOUTHERN WALL. *A*. EAST JAMB OF WINDOW IN ROOM 5. SCALE, 1:16. *B–C*. EAST AND WEST JAMBS OF WINDOW IN ROOM 6

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A *B* *C*

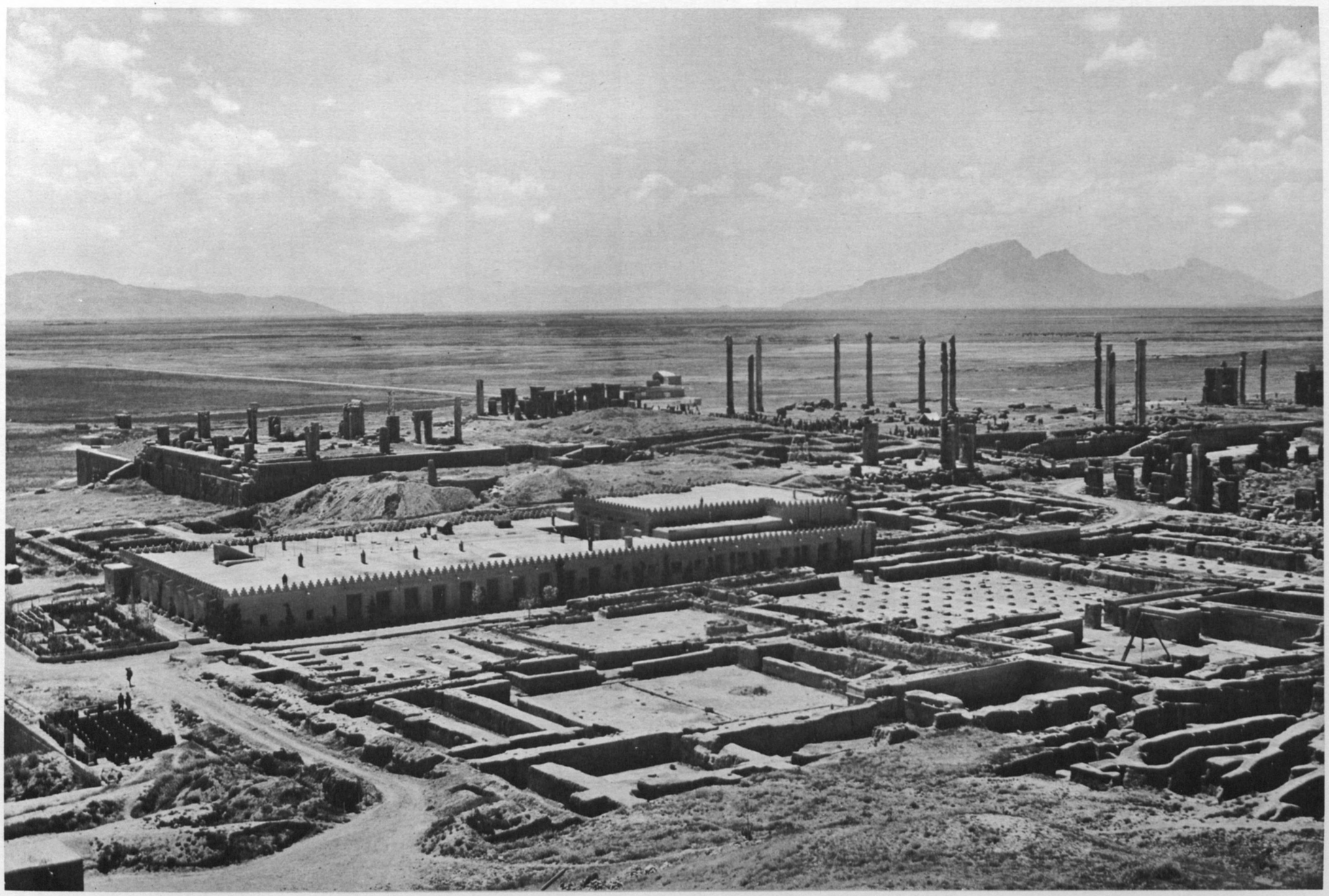
PALACE OF XERXES. XERXES' PERS. e INSCRIPTION ON WINDOW FRAMES. *A*. SOUTH FACE OF WINDOW IN ROOM 6 (SEE PL. 187 *B–C*).
B–C. NORTH AND SOUTH FACES OF WINDOW SHOWN ON PL. 186 *B–C*

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THE HAREM OF XERXES

PLATES 189–99

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HAREM OF XERXES. WESTERN AND SOUTHERN FAÇADES OF MAIN WING AS RESTORED BY HERZFELD AND KREFTER, WITH EXCAVATED TREASURY IN FOREGROUND (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, WNW*)

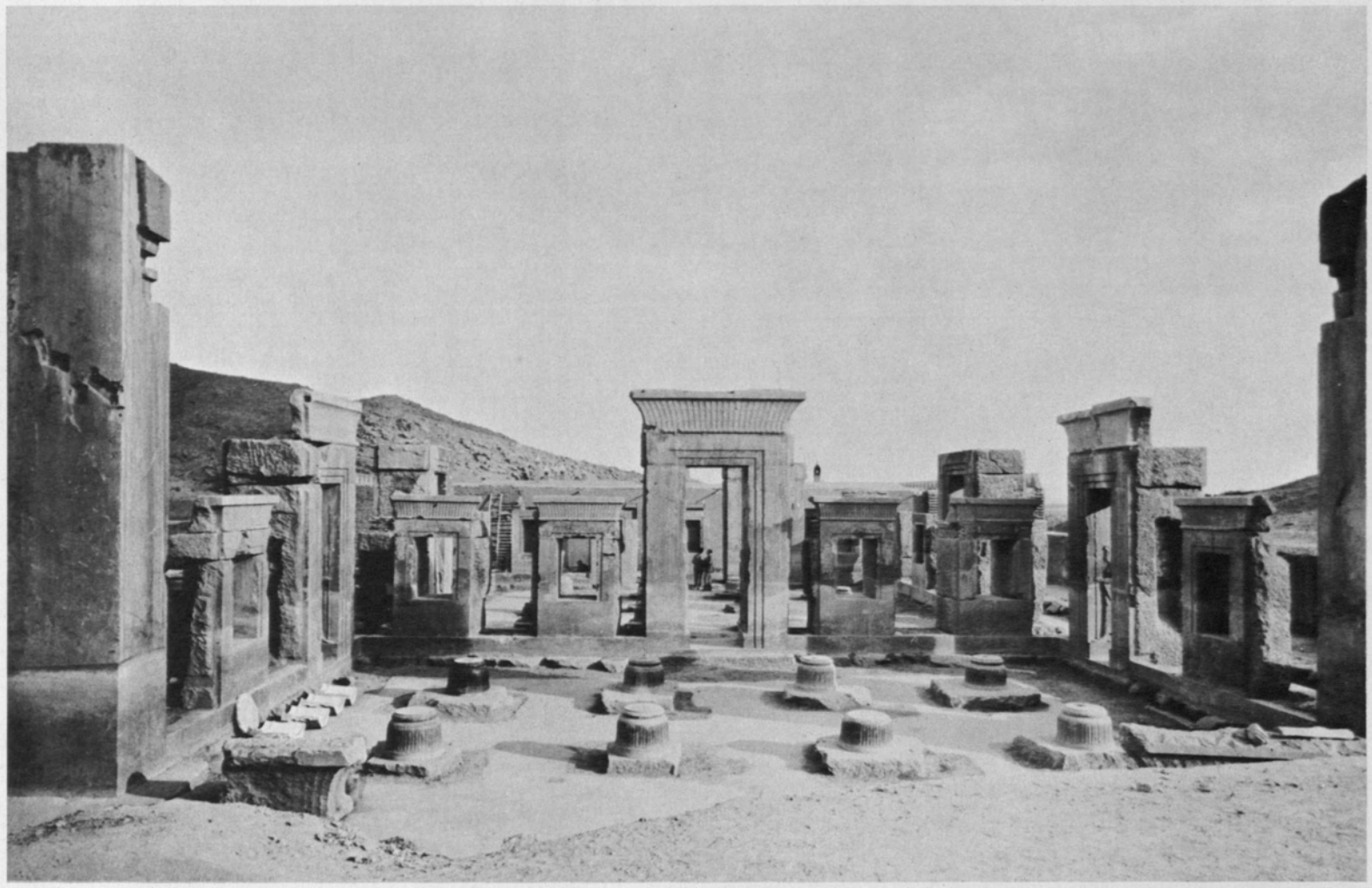
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HAREM OF XERXES. RESTORED NORTHERN FAÇADE BEYOND EXCAVATED SERVICE QUARTERS
(*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSE*)

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PLATE 191



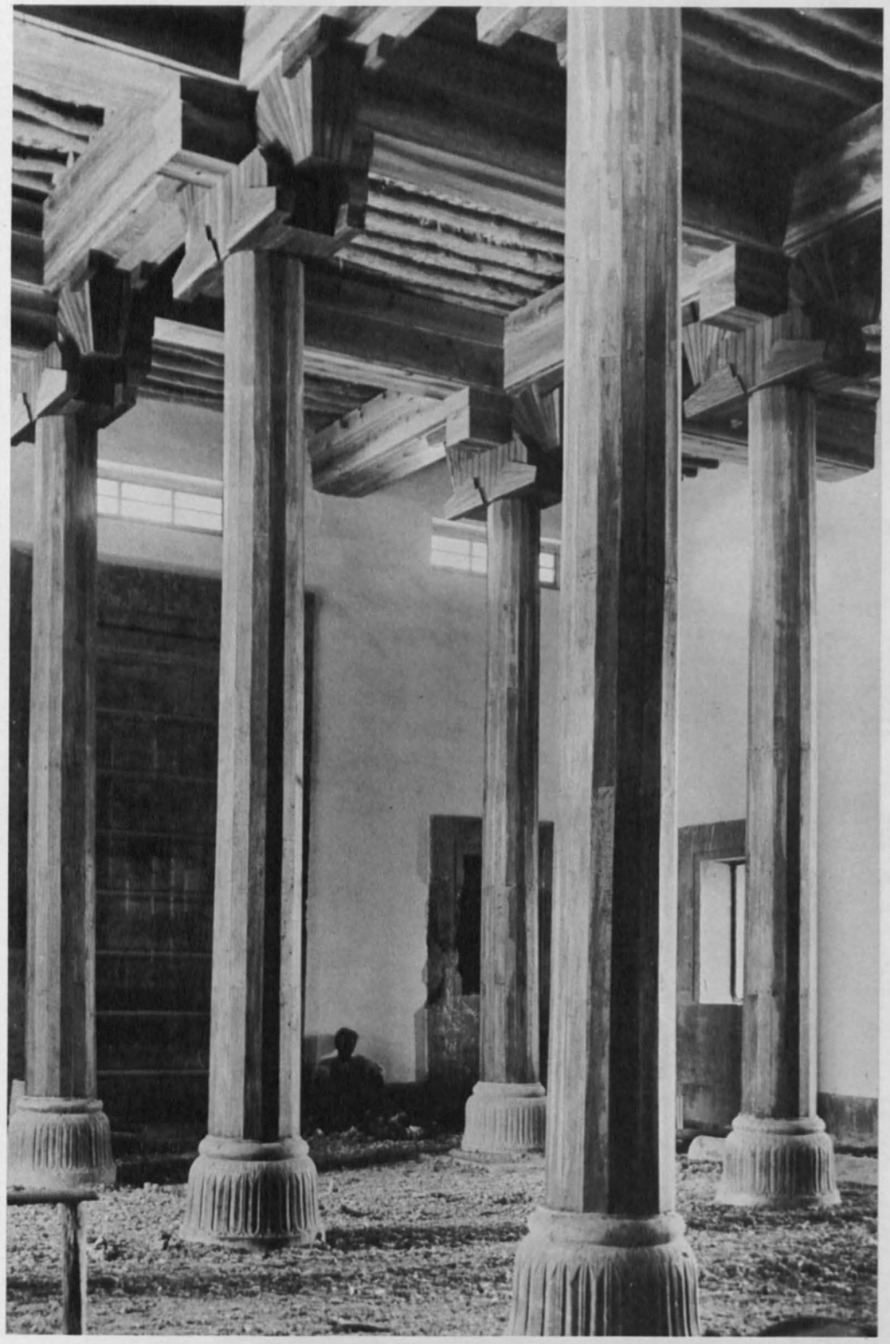
A



B

HAREM OF XERXES. *A*. PORTICO AFTER RE-ERECTION AND RESTORATION OF ITS STONE PARTS. *B*. RESTORED NORTHERN FAÇADE. PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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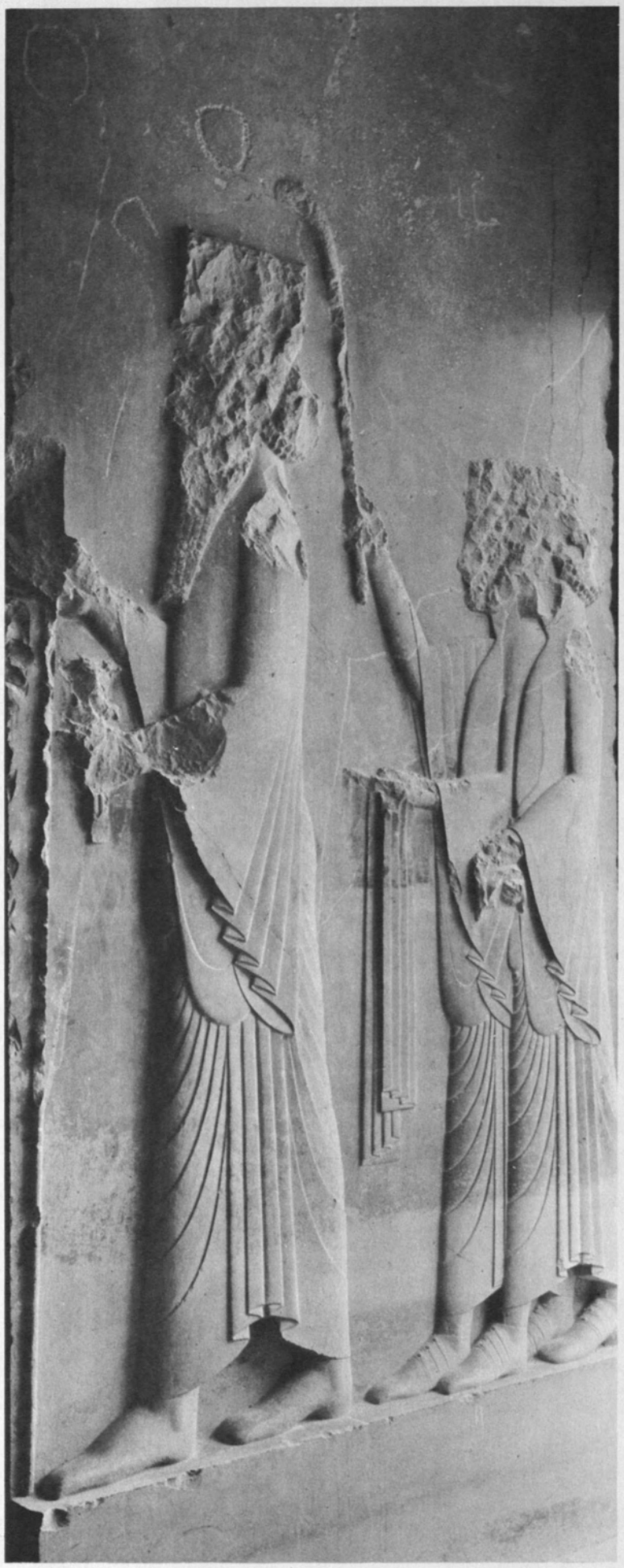
A



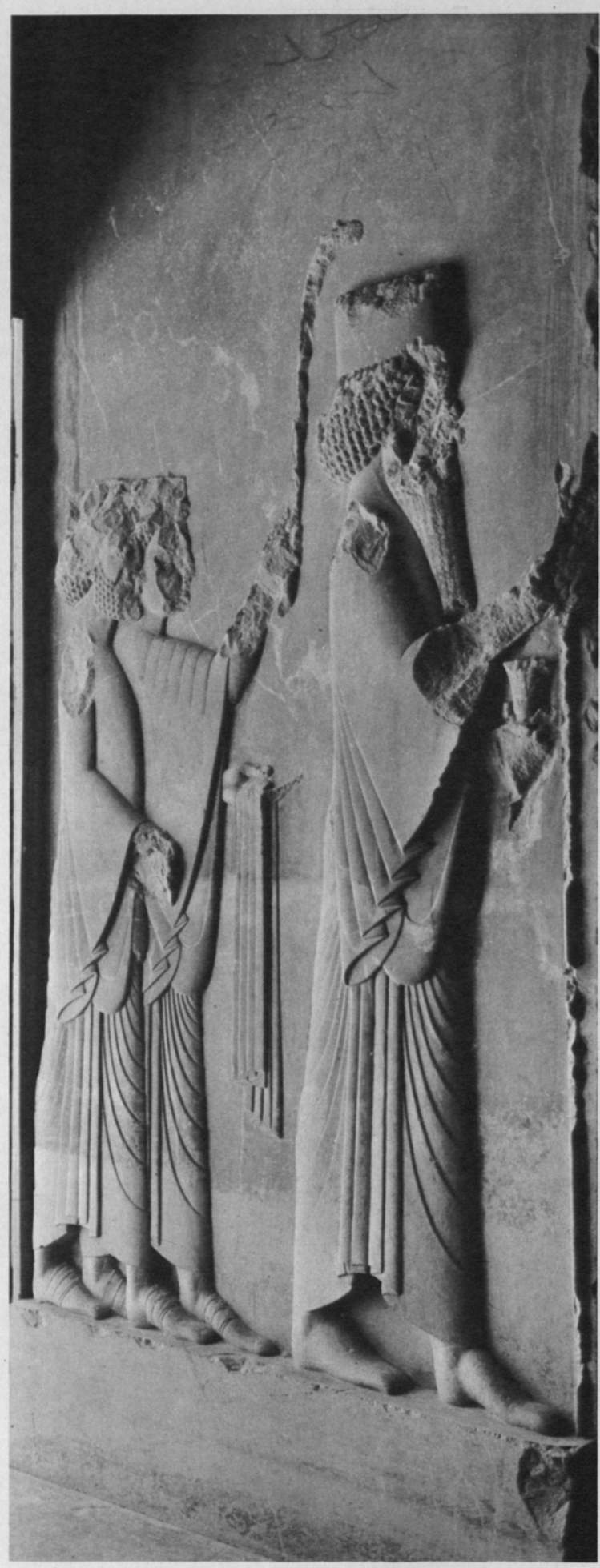
B

HAREM OF XERXES. RESTORED WOODEN COLUMN SHAFTS, ADDORSED BULL CAPITALS, AND ROOF OF MAIN HALL. *A*. NORTHWEST CORNER, SHOWING RESTORED WOODEN DOOR. *B*. VIEW TOWARD NORTHERN EXIT. PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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A



B

HAREM OF XERXES. KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS ON SOUTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL.
A. EAST JAMB. *B*. WEST JAMB

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A *B*

HAREM OF XERXES. KING AND TWO ATTENDANTS ON NORTHERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL.
A. WEST JAMB. *B*. EAST JAMB

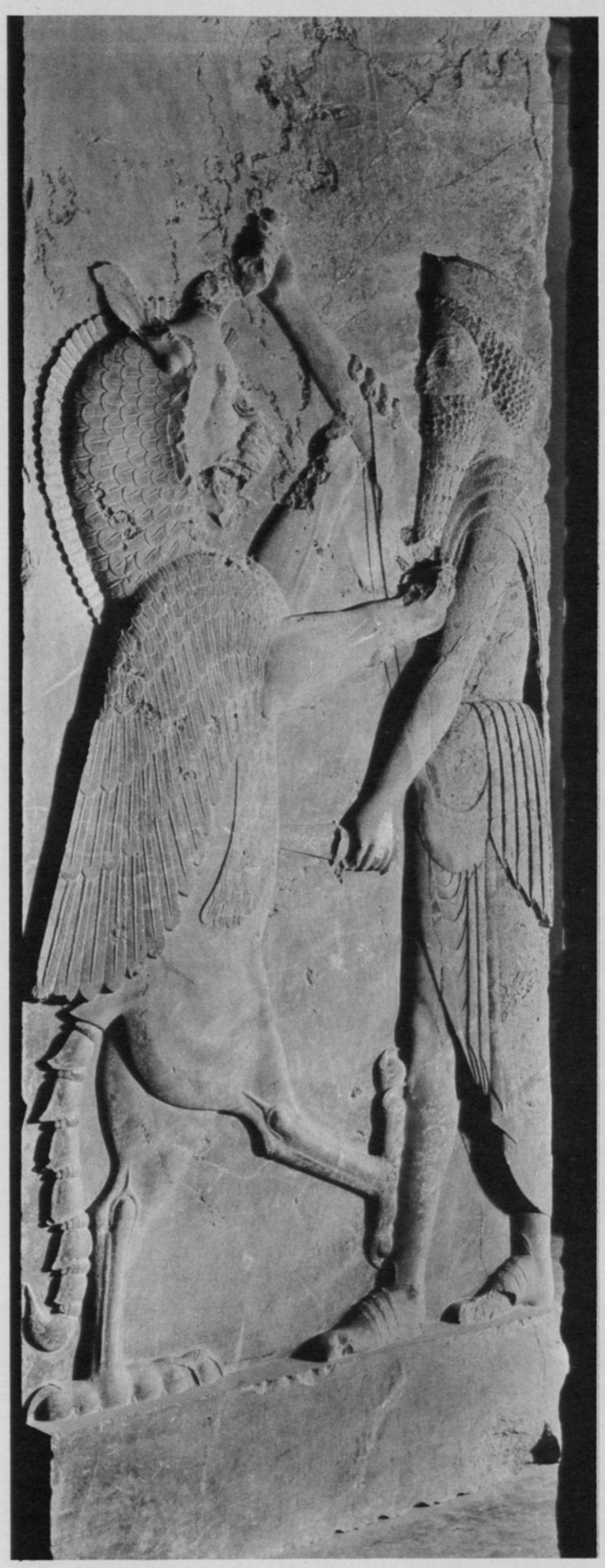
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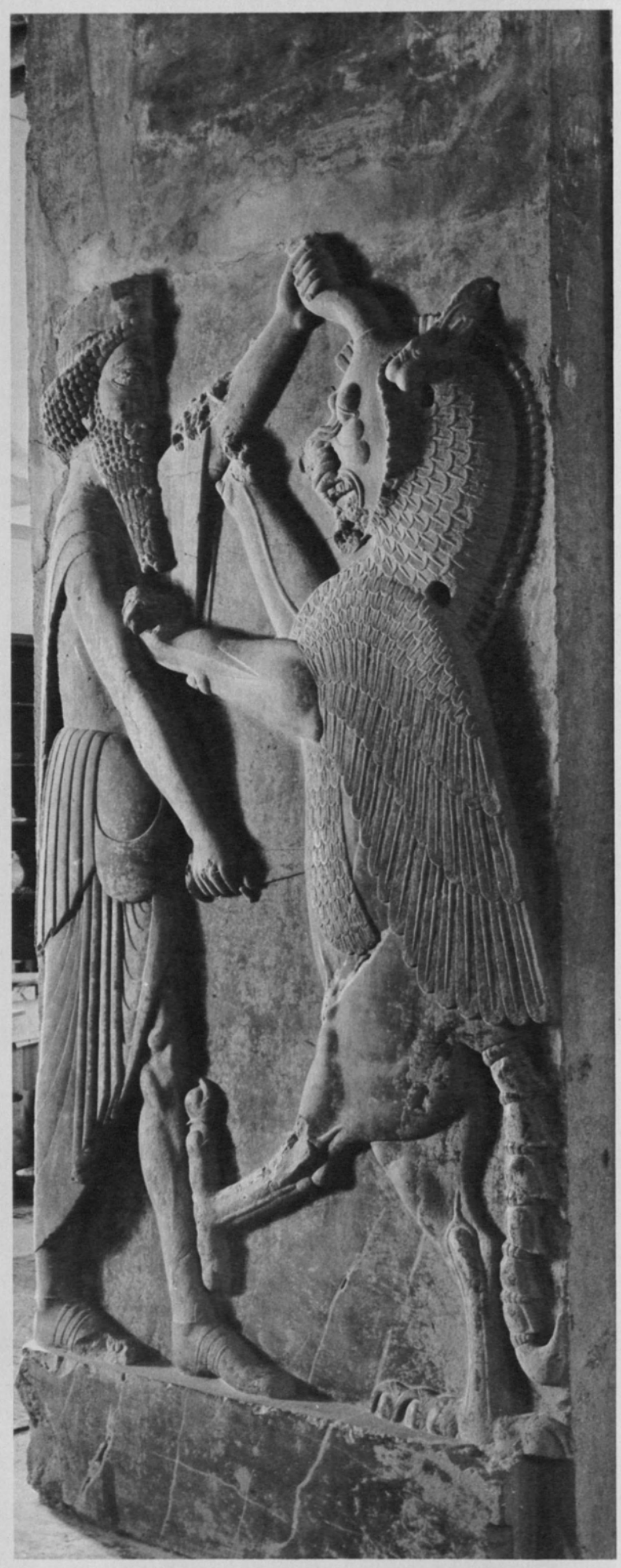
A *B*

HAREM OF XERXES. HERO'S COMBAT WITH LION ON WESTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL.
A. SOUTH JAMB. *B*. NORTH JAMB

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A



B

HAREM OF XERXES. HERO'S COMBAT WITH HORNED LION-HEADED MONSTER ON EASTERN DOORWAY OF MAIN HALL. *A*. NORTH JAMB. *B*. SOUTH JAMB

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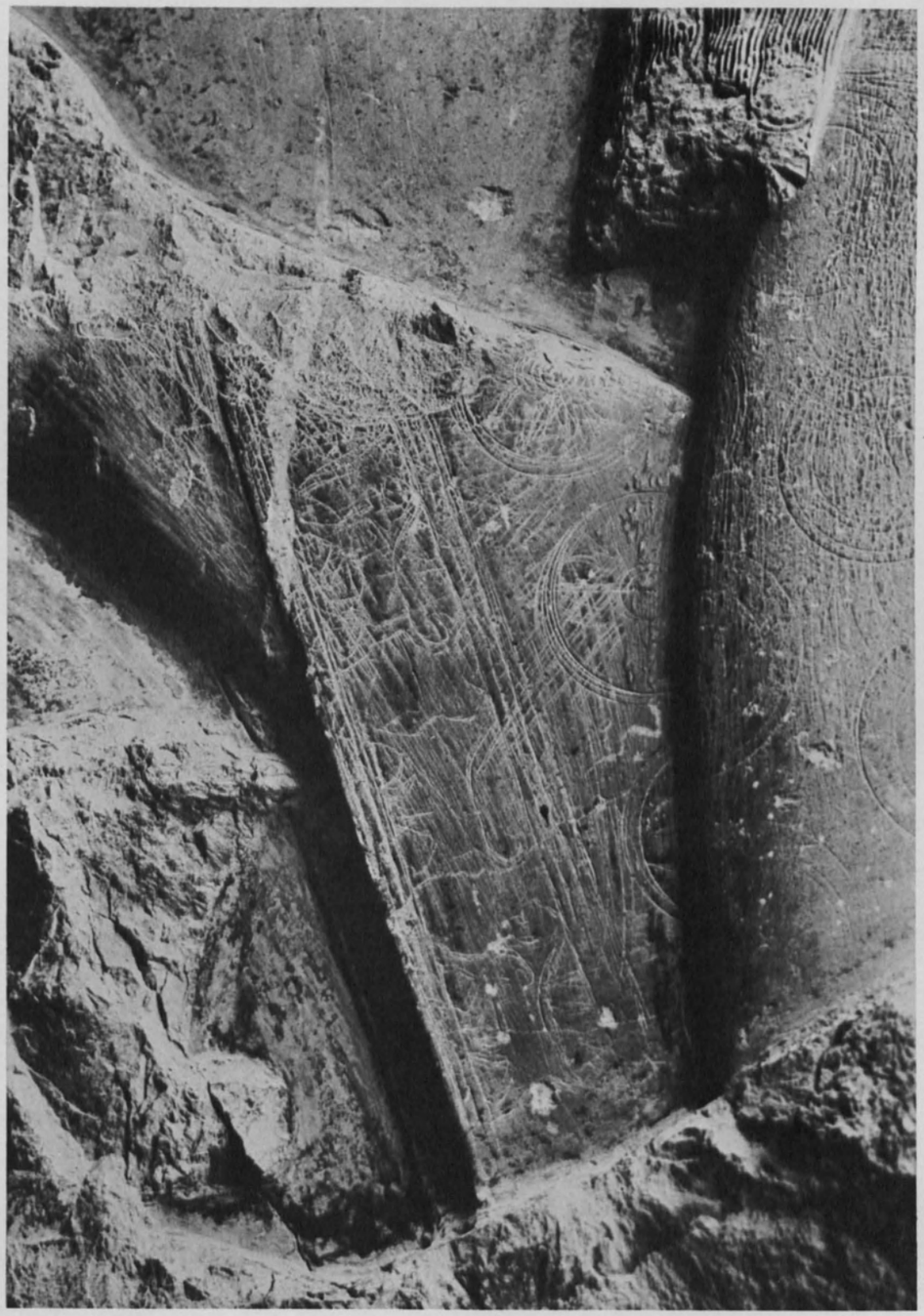


CLOSE-UP OF TWO ATTENDANTS SHOWN ON PL. 194 *B*. SCALE, 1:2

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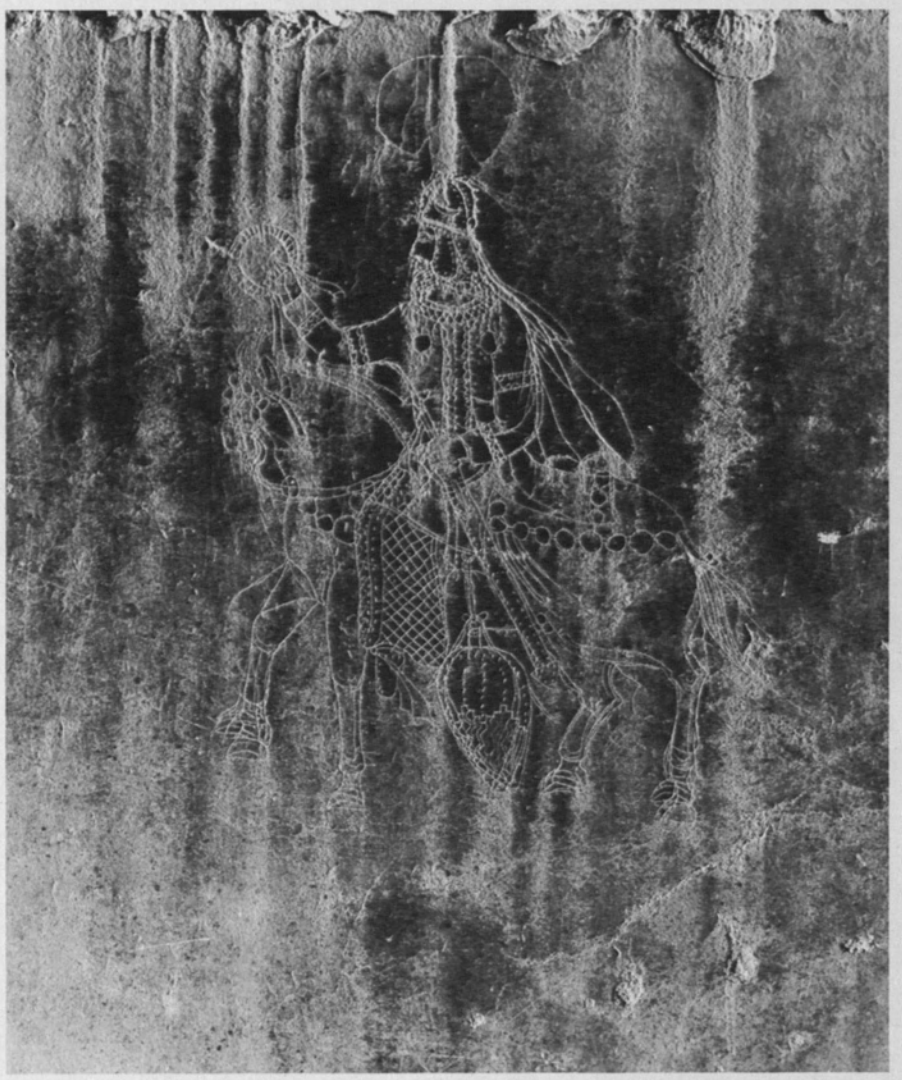
A



B

CLOSE-UPS OF RELIEF ILLUSTRATED ON PL. 193 *A*, SHOWING DESIGNS ON KING'S GOWN. PHOTOGRAPHS BY W. VON BUSSE

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A



B

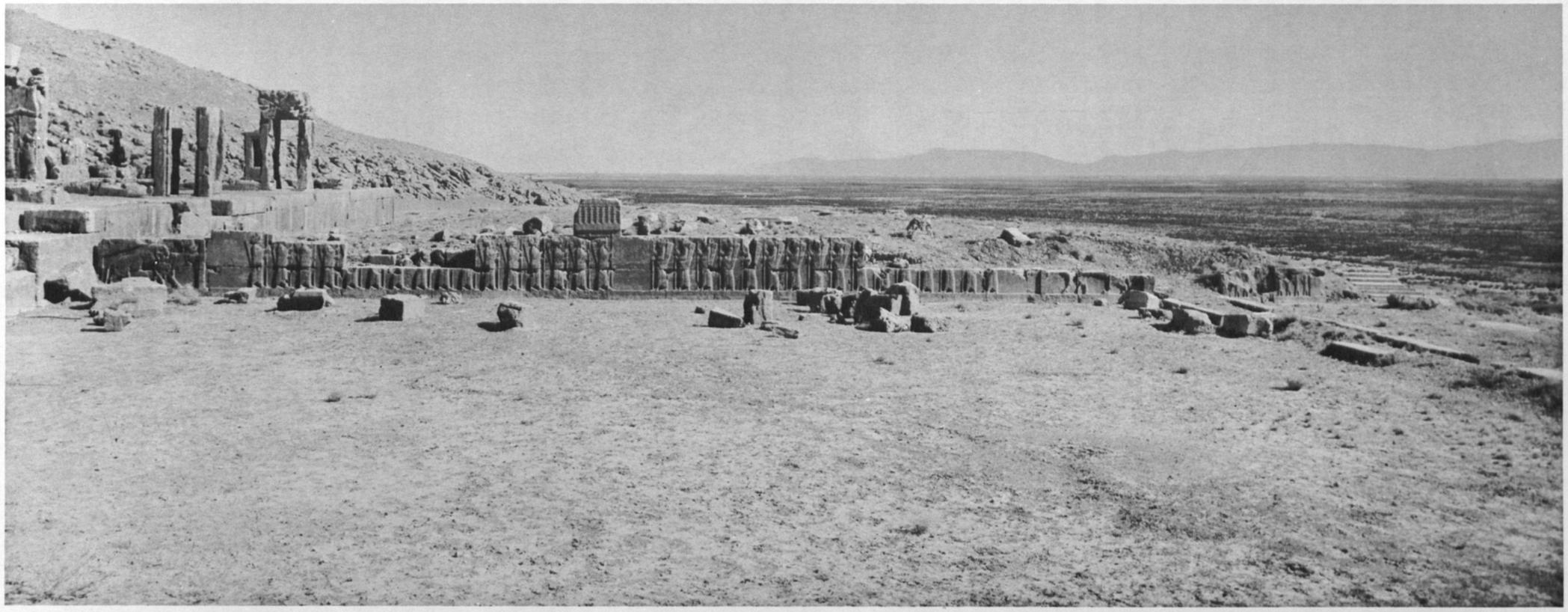
HAREM OF XERXES. SASANIAN GRAFFITI OF MOUNTED PRINCES IN MAIN WING. SCALE OF *A*, 1:2

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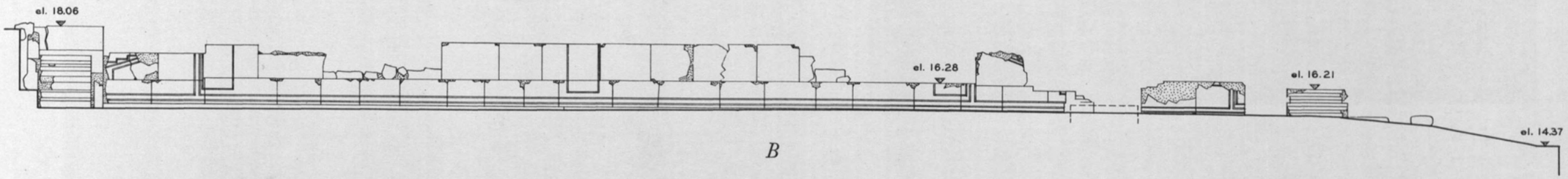
PALACE H

PLATES 200–205

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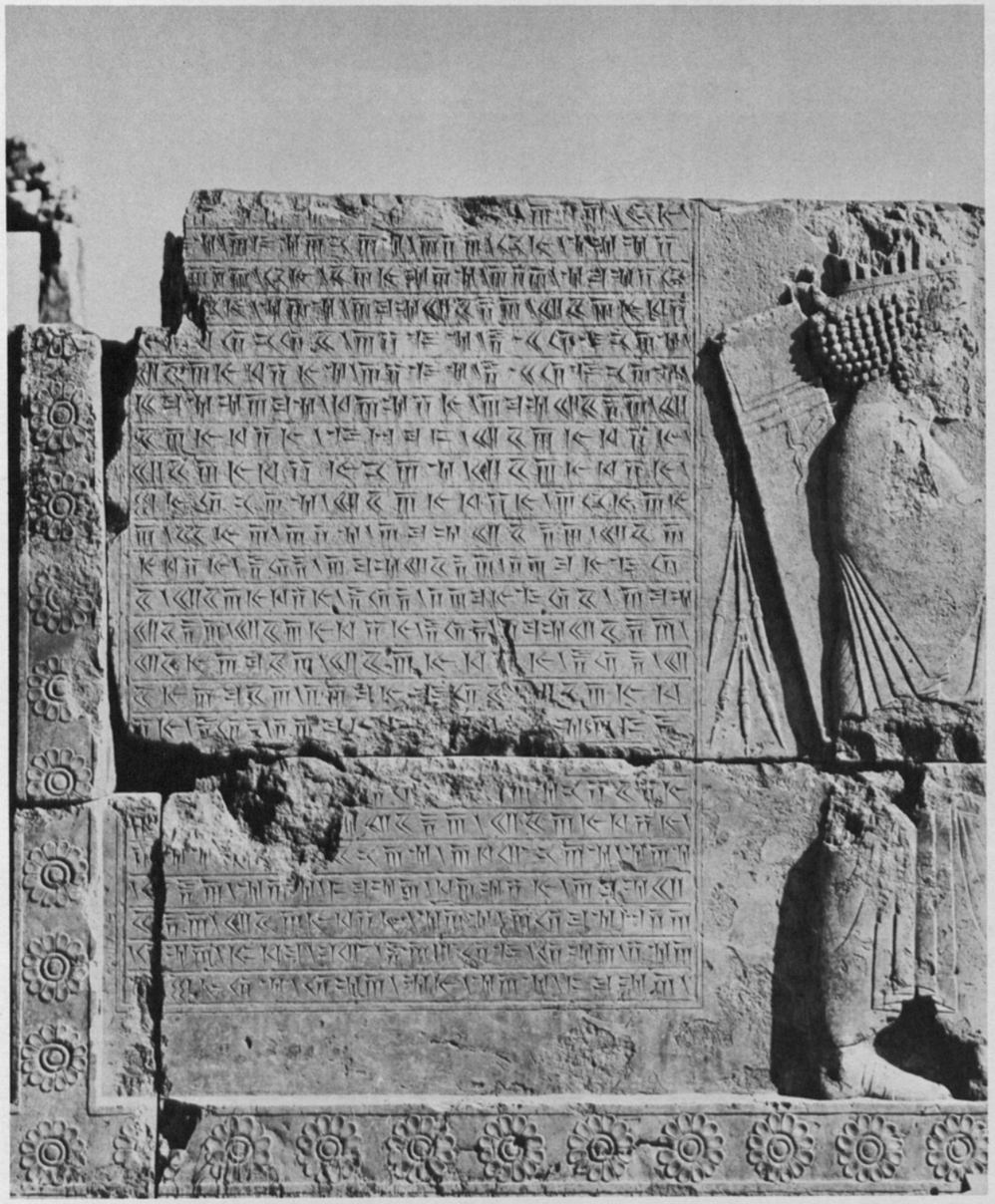
A



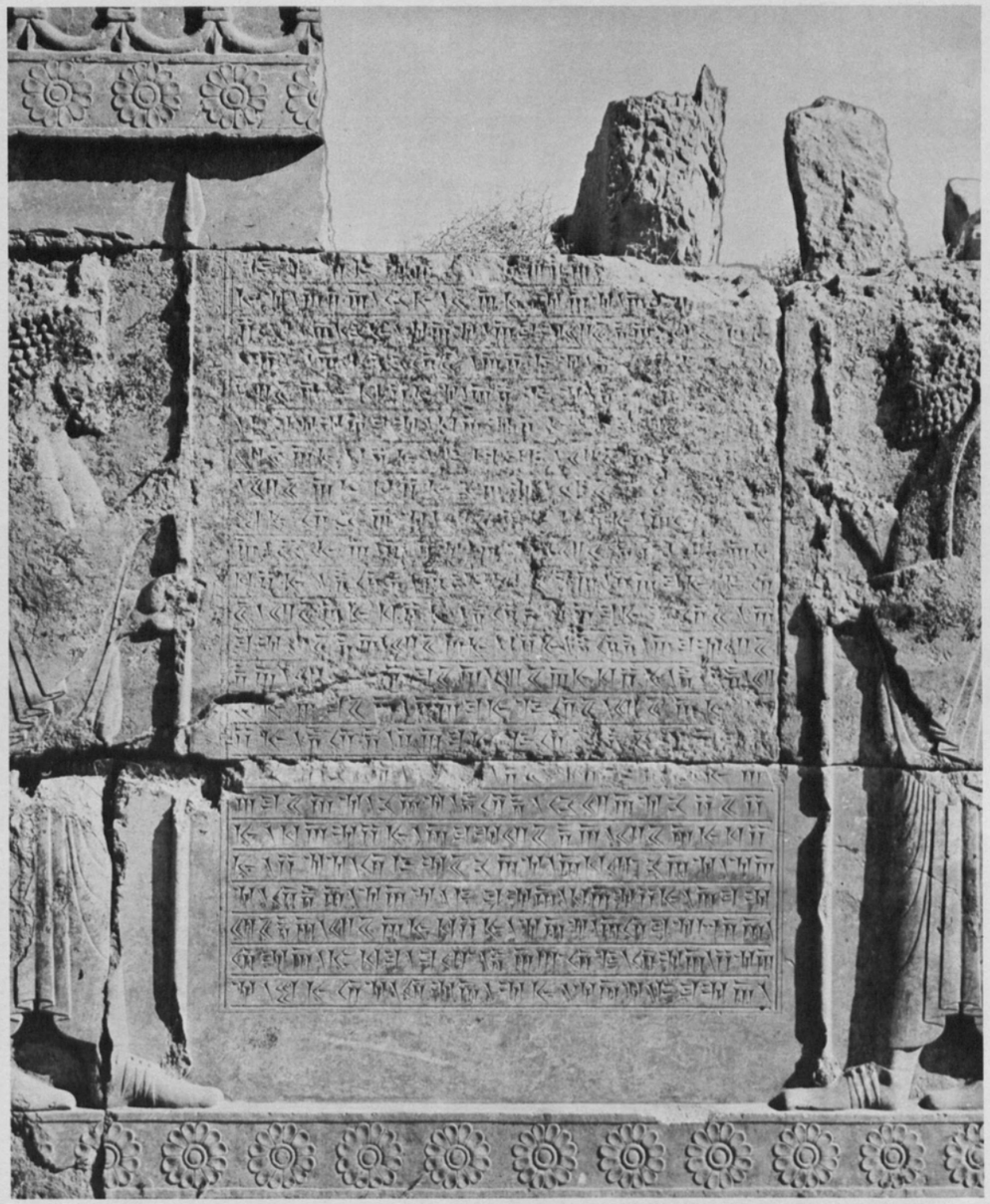
B

PALACE H. *A*. REMNANTS OF FAÇADE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, APPROXIMATELY SSE*). *B*. ELEVATION OF FAÇADE. AFTER ORIGINAL DRAWING BY K. BERGNER. SCALE, 1:150

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A



B

PALACE H. EASTERN (*A*) AND CENTRAL (*B*) PANELS WITH OLD PERSIAN TEXT (ART. III PERS. a, c) OF ARTAXERXES III ON FAÇADE. SCALE, 1:12

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A



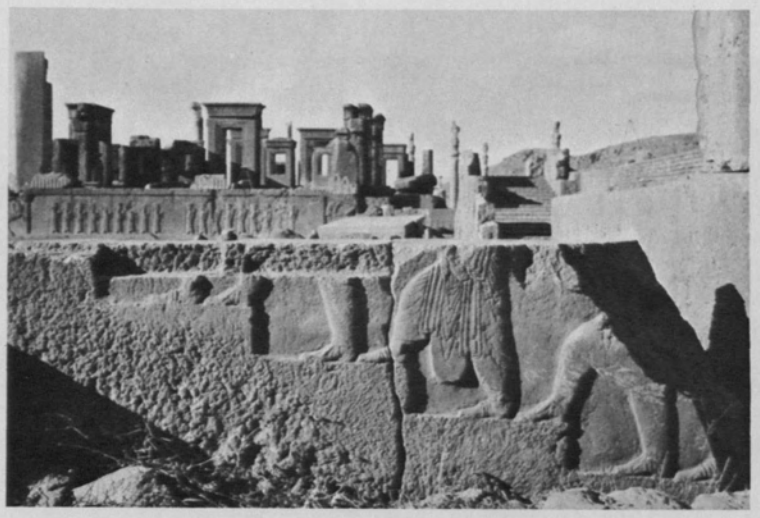
B



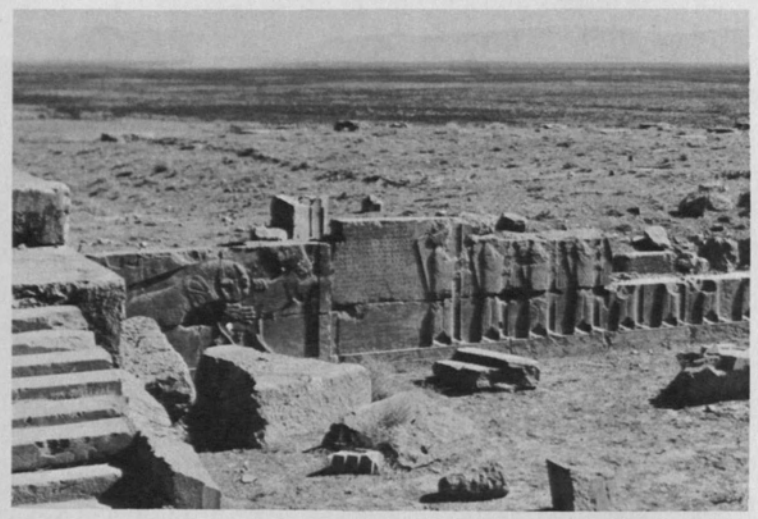
C

PALACE H. *A*. WESTERN PANEL WITH OLD PERSIAN TEXT (ART. III PERS. d) OF ARTAXERXES III ON FAÇADE. *B*. OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF ARTAXERXES I(?) FOUND IN COURTYARD TO THE NORTH. *C*. RELIEF AND BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION (ART. I PERS. a) OF ARTAXERXES I ON WESTERN PORTION OF FAÇADE

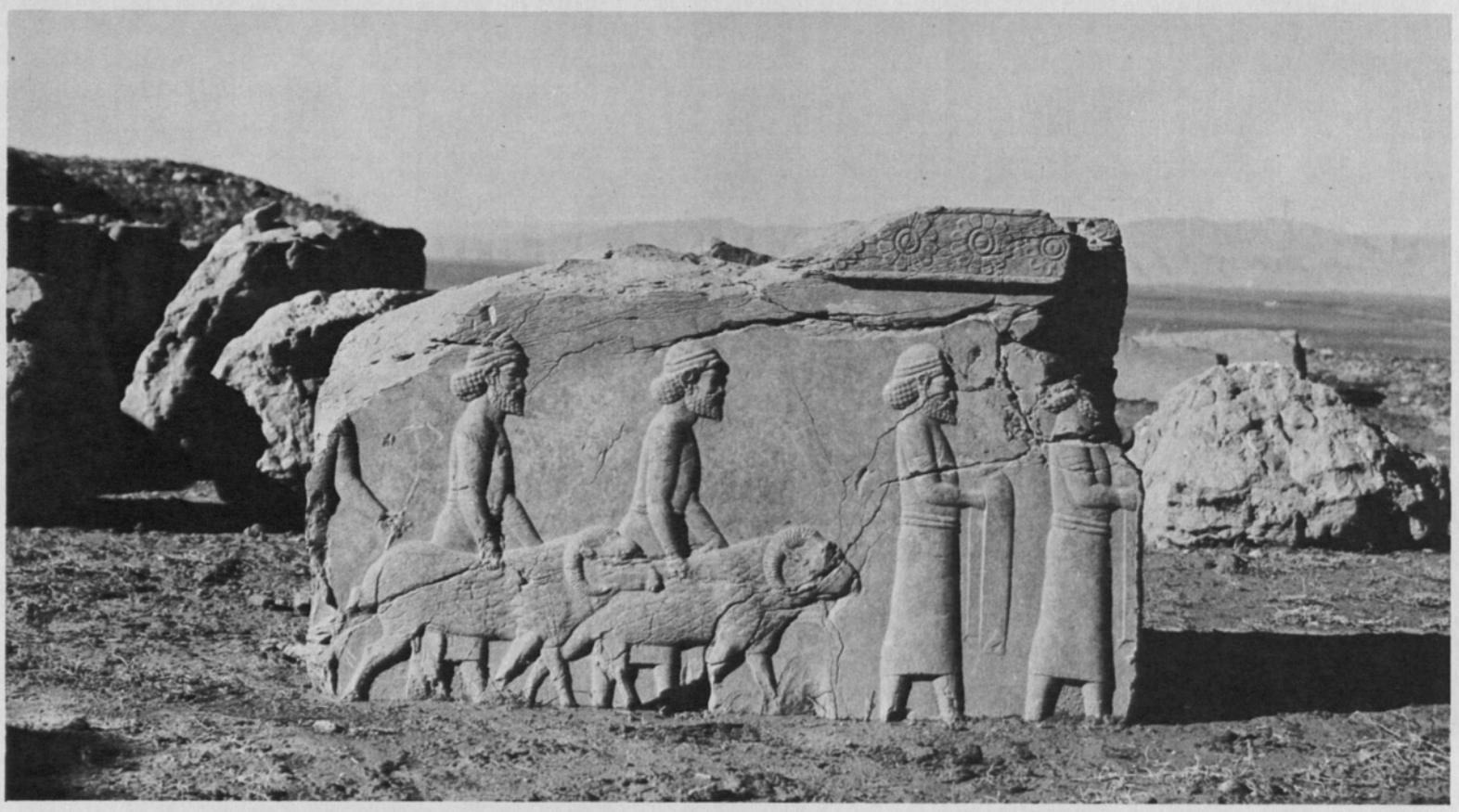
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A



B



C



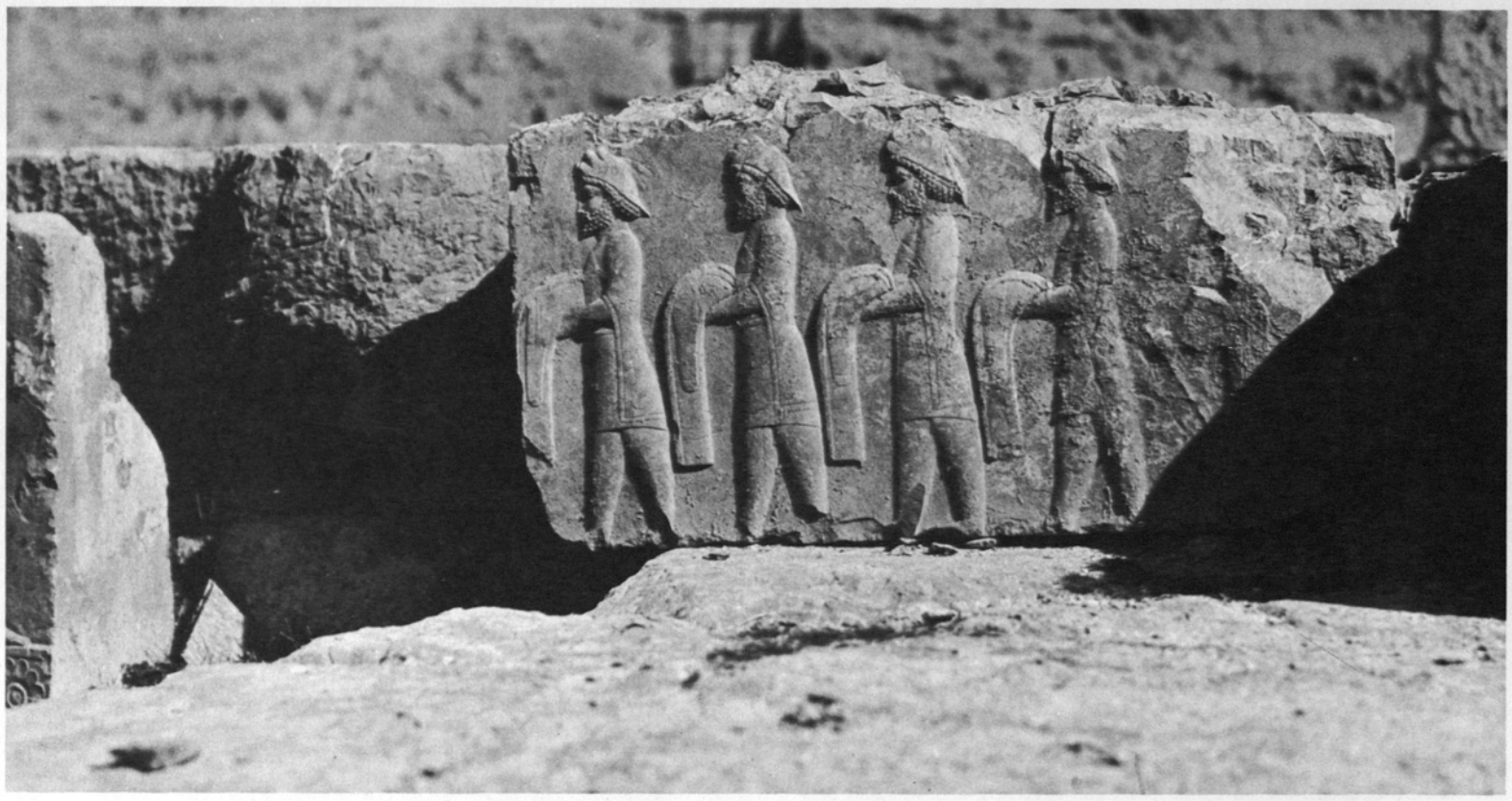
D

PALACE H. *A*. REMNANT OF SERVANT RELIEF AT EAST END OF INNER (SOUTH) FACE OF FRONT WALL (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, APPROXIMATELY N*). SCALE, 1:16. *B*. EASTERN PORTION OF FAÇADE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, APPROXIMATELY S*). *C*. RELIEF FRAGMENT OF CILICIAN(?) TRIBUTE-BEARERS IN COURTYARD TO THE NORTH. SCALE, ABOUT 1:12. *D*. RELIEF FRAGMENT OF LION-AND-BULL COMBAT FROM WEST PORTION OF FAÇADE (*COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON*). SCALE, 1:10

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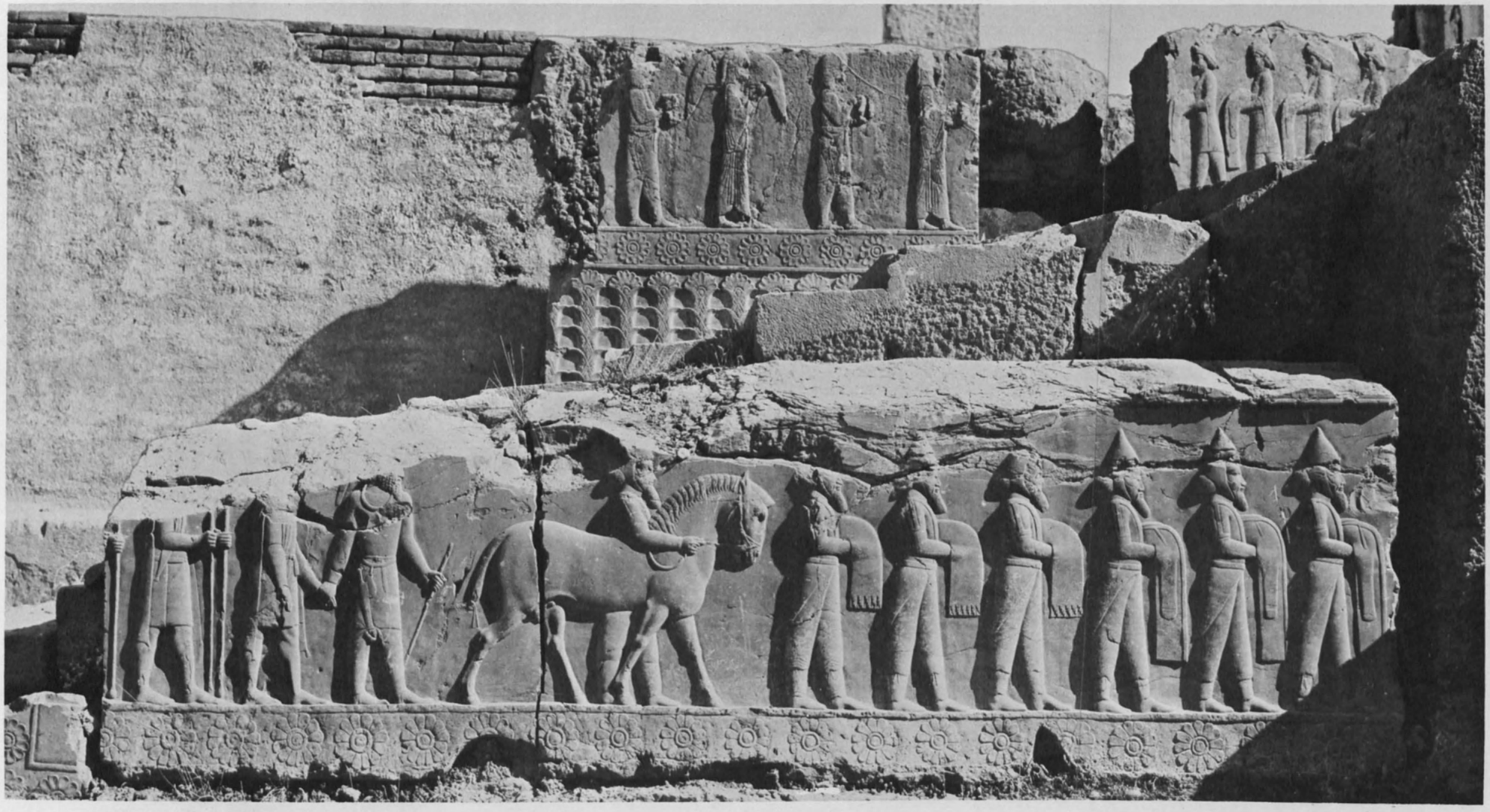
A



B

PALACE H. EAST STAIRS. *A*. GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, SSE*). *B*. CAPPADOCIAN(?) TRIBUTE-BEARERS. SCALE, ABOUT 1:10

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PALACE H. TRIBUTE-BEARERS AND SERVANTS ON EAST STAIRS. SCALE (*FOREGROUND*), ABOUT 1:10

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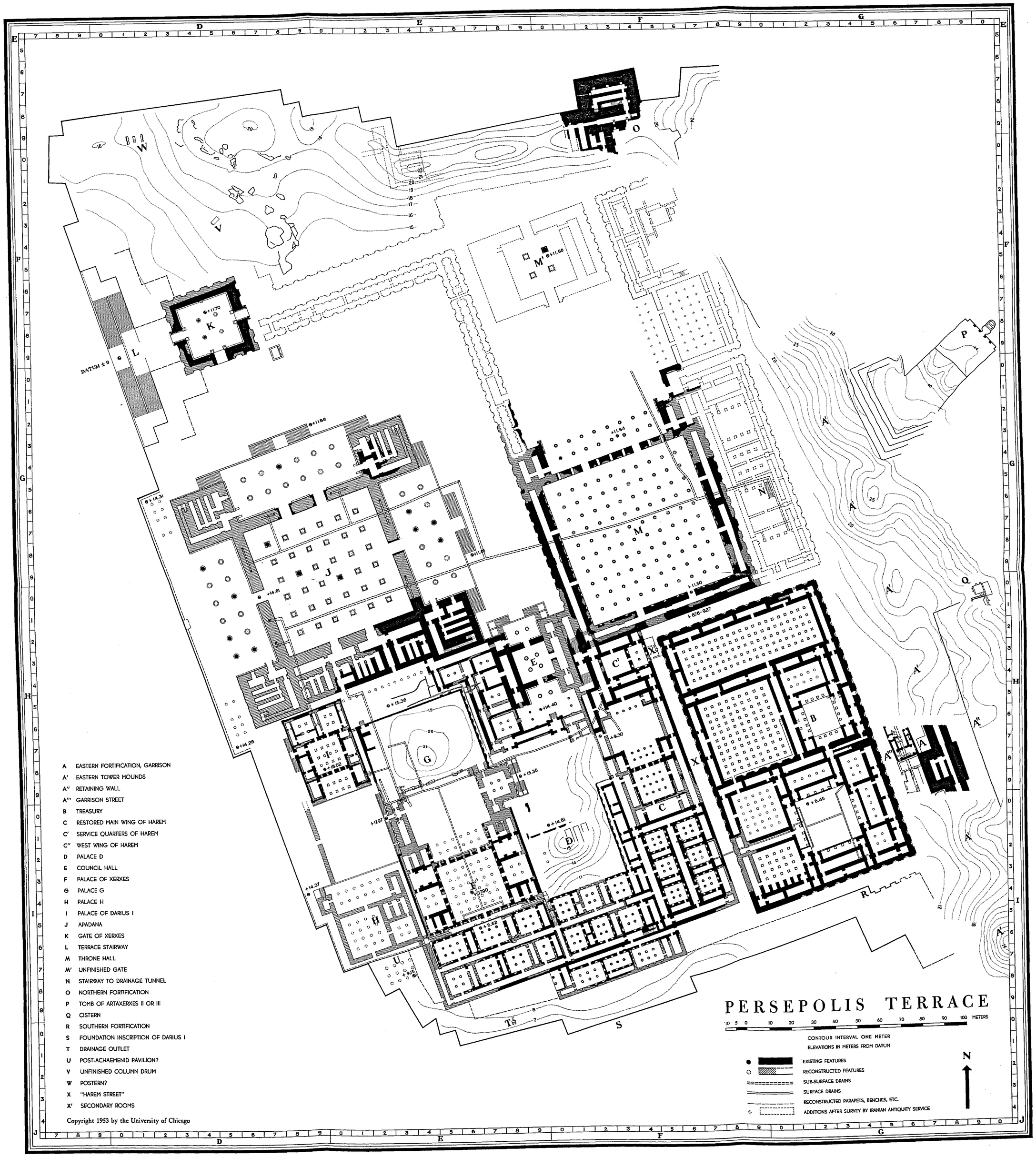


Fig. 21. Reconstructed Plan of Persepolis Terrace. Original Surveys by the Expedition Architects (1930–39). Additions in Northern Part (*in broken lines, unshaded*) by the Iranian Antiquity Service. Final Drawing by A. R. Hauser. Scale, 1:1,000