

FIG. 38. THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. *A.* PLAN. *B-C.* SECTIONS. *D.* ELEVATION OF DOORWAY WITH SHAM DOOR AT TOP. *E.* ROSETTES ON DOORFRAME. *F.* PARTIAL ELEVATION AND PLAN OF COLUMN. SCALES, 1:100 (*A-D*) AND 1:20 (*E-F*)

indicate that structures are not contemporary. In this case, however, we must assume that the orientation of the tomb was dictated by the configuration of the bedrock and admit that the orientation of the platform was adjusted to the direction of the adjacent fortification wall, whose debris covers the western portion of the platform. The top of the platform is about 12 meters above the summit of a nearby hillock (25 m. above the Persepolis Terrace datum<sup>132</sup>) which marks the remnant of one of the fortification towers. We are quite certain, therefore, that the top of the platform and the ground in front of the tomb, which is higher by 7 meters, were above the parapet of the fortification, but we estimate that the eyes of a person standing on the platform would have been approximately level with the roof top of the Apadana.

Between the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–423 B.C.) and the destruction of Persepolis (330 B.C.) only Artaxerxes III (359–338/37 B.C.) expressed attachment to the dynastic capital of his ancestors by adding his own residential palace to their structures.<sup>133</sup> Artaxerxes III, further, replaced or completed the western stairway of the Palace of Darius I.<sup>134</sup>

The location, the form of the façade, and certain details to be pointed out below closely link Tombs V and VI and distinguish them from the tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam. The plan of the crypt of Tomb VI, however, is strikingly different from that of Tomb V.

#### THE FAÇADE

##### THE LOWER REGISTER

The palace front on the façade of Tomb VI (see Pl. 70) is even longer (20.17 m.) than that on Tomb V (19.80 m.) and exceeds by 1.60 m. the corresponding portion of Darius' palace. The distance (3.40 m.) between the centers of the columns is the same on Tombs V and VI. However, the column centers on Tomb VI are 4.5 cm. outside the face of the wall (see Fig. 38 F) whereas those of Tombs I–V coincide with the wall line (see e.g. Fig. 36 E).

Comparison of certain measurements of the palace fronts on Tomb VI (Artaxerxes III) and Tomb I (Darius I) shows that their horizontal dimensions differ considerably whereas their vertical dimensions are surprisingly close.

	TOMB VI	TOMB I
Length of façade	20.17 m.	18.57 m.
Breadth of antae	1.71 m.	1.40 m.
Depth of antae	1.38 m.	1.05 m.
Height of façade	7.75 m.	7.82 m.*
Height of columns	6.16 m.	6.22 m.
Height of entablature	1.59 m.	1.60 m.

\* Height of antae (7.63 m.) plus fillet (19 cm.) separating middle register from top register (see p. 83).

The well preserved doorway is capped by a cornice with twenty-four flutes, the number that is suggested by the extant parts of the cornice of Tomb V (see p. 99). However, it has an embellishment which distinguishes it from the doorways of the other tombs. Its triple frame is adorned with three rows of twelve-petaled rosettes (see Pl. 71 B and Fig. 38 E) such as border many Persepolis reliefs. Its general dimensions are similar to those of the entrances to the other tombs. As usual, the upper portion

(1.88 m. high) is a sham door carved from the bedrock and patterned with grooves (see Fig. 38 C–D). The actual opening (1.60 m. high, 1.50 m. wide) is somewhat larger than that of Tomb I. The channels that served for installation of the two leaves of the door, probably of stone (see p. 99, n. 120), are parallel.

One of the most decisive features linking Tomb VI with Tomb V is the lion frieze on the entablature of the palace façade (see Pl. 70). The lions are arranged as on Tomb V, but a floral motif<sup>135</sup> with a five-petaled palmette separates the two antithetic files (see Pl. 75). Compared with the lions on Tomb V (see Pl. 63) and in the Persepolis reliefs,<sup>136</sup> those on Tomb VI are oddly stylized. For instance, the shoulder muscle, which usually resembles a slanting figure "8," is shown as a slanting ellipsoid with oblique gash and the "knees" of the forelegs are marked by two ridges. As on Tomb V, the fillet capping the entablature extends the entire length of the lion frieze and there is a distinctively spacious ledge (1.06 m. wide) between the fillet and the face of the upper register.

In further contrast to Tombs I–IV but conforming with Tomb V, the side walls of the palace register (Pl. 73) were embellished with symmetrical reliefs of three superposed pairs of Persian guards. Iconoclasts chiseled off, with exceptional thoroughness, the faces, hands, and even parts of the spears of the figures that were accessible at the time of their activities. Obviously, by that time, probably rather recent, soil and perhaps mud-brick debris had accumulated in front of the tomb in such a way as to protect the lowest panel on the right side wall, thus preserving the reliefs of two guards (see Pl. 73 B). On the left side wall (Pl. 73 A) the face of one guard in the lowest panel was carved on a stone patch that was used to repair a fissure in the rock, as indicated by sockets for the cramps which once fastened the patch. The guards on Tomb VI are similar to those on Tomb V (see pp. 99 and 100) but somewhat more stylized. What seems to be the domed top of the headdress actually represents the exposed crown of the head. Instead of neatly carved curls the hair and beard show clusters of plain knobs. The earrings are smaller, but the bracelets undulate as on Tomb V. The sandals and the low shoes with or without three straps seem to be the same on both tombs, although the garments on Tomb V appear to be carved with greater skill. It is interesting to note that on both tombs the two sets of guards on the lower side walls are not shown exactly as reflected images, since the positions of the hands are not reversed in one set. Instead, the right hand is always shown above the left. In fact, all spear-bearing guards in the reliefs on the tombs and on the Persepolis structures are pictured in the same posture, showing the prescribed rule for carrying the weapon.

##### THE RELIEFS OF THE UPPER REGISTER

##### The Main Panel

The composition of the scene (see Pl. 70) is the same as on the other tombs, but as usual there are variant details. The figure of the king is exceptionally stocky and coarse (see Pl. 71 A), lacking the appearance of august dignity that characterizes the royal figure on the other tombs,

135. For a similar motif at Persepolis see *ibid.* e.g. p. 241 and Pl. 173 B.

136. Including those on the western stairway of the Palace of Darius I, which was replaced or completed by Artaxerxes III (see *ibid.* p. 228 and Pl. 153 A).

132. See *ibid.* Fig. 21.

133. *Ibid.* p. 43.

134. *Ibid.* pp. 228 f.

particularly those of Artaxerxes II and Darius I (see Pls. 63 and 19). The effect is caused mainly by the relatively low cidaris (cf. p. 100), the unusually large and fleshy nose, and the bulging eye and arm (cf. Pl. 22 *B*).<sup>137</sup> The king is adorned with an ear pendant, possibly a double ring, and undulating bracelets. His bow is not angular, as on Tomb V, but curved in the usual fashion.

The fire on the altar is similar to that on Tomb V as to form and delicateness of pattern, but the flames are not arrayed in regular tiers and there is no center line (cf. p. 100). The flames on the right side lap toward the right, but the pattern on the left side of the fire cone is uncertain because of abrasion.

The Ahuramazda symbol, so far as it is discernible, is very similar to that on Tomb V, but no short band is carved on top of the wings.

The moon symbol clearly shows the orb cradled in the crescent.

A comparison of the monsters capping the throne legs on Tombs V and VI indicates, once again, the superior skill of the sculptors of Tomb V (see p. 100 and cf. Pl. 63 with Pl. 71 *A*). On Tomb V the monster's wing is neatly carved; the feathers, arranged in orderly tiers, are wrought with great care and finished to the very tips of the two units visible beyond the leg. In contrast, on Tomb VI the wing is rather angular and the feathers form a confused pattern which terminates abruptly in a plain right angle.

The bearers of the king's throne (Pls. 74 *A-B* and 75) are described below (see pp. 108–11 and Figs. 39–52), but we wish to emphasize here that the posture of throne-bearer No. 30, the Carian (Pl. 74 *B*<sup>138</sup>), offers an important clue for the dating of Tomb VI. On Tombs I–V the Carian is pictured in an impossibly distorted position, but on Tomb VI his posture is corrected (see Fig. 48 and note accompanying facing table). Together with other criteria (see p. 99) this change indicates that Tomb VI was the last of the Achaemenid royal tombs to be completed, for we agree with Herzfeld's suggestion that any subsequent sculptor would hardly have restored the absurd original posture of the Carian. The faces and hands of the throne-bearers of the lower tier have been chiseled off with deliberate thoroughness as in the case of the guards on the side walls of the lower register.

#### The Frame and Side Walls

As usual, three martial figures are carved on the left frame. The position of the quiver of the king's Persian spear-bearer (see Pl. 71 *A*) approximates that of his counterpart's quiver on Tomb III (see Pl. 51 *A*). The locking mechanism also is similar, but the bolt-shaped tassels—uniquely carved in part on the side wall (see Pl. 72 *A*)—are almost identical with the corresponding five tassels on Tombs I and II (see Pls. 23 *B* and 43 *A*). The position of the king's bow case, carried by the Median bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow, is similar to that of the royal bow case on Tomb III. However, on Tomb VI we find at last a representation of the metal guard—two deer legs joined at an angle (clearest on Pl. 72 *A*)—which kept the strap of the bow case from slipping out of the

bearer's hand (see p. 86). On the tombs of Darius I and Xerxes those parts of the relief that might show a strap guard are destroyed. The Persian guard in the bottom panel on Tomb VI stands at the same level as the lower tier of throne-bearers. His face and hands have been chiseled off deliberately.

On the left side wall three pairs of Persian guards are aligned with the three figures on the left frame (see Pl. 72 *A*). They are the same in all details as the corresponding guards on Tomb V (see p. 100), which, however, were carved with greater skill, as exemplified by the careful rendering of the headgear and the neat curls of hair and beard (see Pl. 65). Here, too, the faces and hands of the figures in the lowest panel have been chiseled away.

Again three Persian mourners are shown on the frame to the right of the throne. They are faintly visible on Plate 72 *B*, which illustrates clearly, however, the identical figures on the right side wall. The mourners on the side wall are arranged in the same manner as those on Tomb V, that is, in three pairs (see p. 100). They are dressed like the guards, but their open-topped fillets were wrought with greater care. As usual, the right hand is extended along the right thigh, and the left sleeve of the candys is raised to the mouth in a gesture of sorrow. Again, the faces and hands of the lowermost pair have been chiseled off.

#### THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The plan of Tomb VI (Fig. 38 *A*), with small irregular vestibule and only one vault, is basically like that of Tomb II (Fig. 33 *C*), but once again the precise orientation of the earlier crypt contrasts with the untidy plan of the later one. As noted above (p. 93), the neatness of its plan is one of our reasons for assigning Tomb II to Xerxes. The plans of Tombs III, IV, and V are essentially like the plan of Tomb I, with angular vestibule and three vaults, and illustrate, even more strikingly than does the contrast between Tombs II and VI, the deterioration in workmanship after the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes.

The irregularly shaped vestibule of Tomb VI is 4.33 m. long and has a maximum width of 2.70 m. The apex of its vaulted ceiling is 3.39 m. above the floor. A plain bronze buckle<sup>139</sup> was found in the refuse on the floor.

The single vault (see Fig. 38 *A-C* and Pl. 74 *C*) is about 4.25 m. long and varies in width from 3.30 m. at the front to 3.45 m. in the center to 2.90 m. at the back. The vaulted ceiling rises to a maximum of 2 meters above the floor, which at the vault entrance is 1.33 m. above the floor of the vestibule. Ceiling and floor slope upward toward the rear.

There are only two cists, which are not uniform in size. The outer cist is 2.90 m. long, 1.20 m. wide, and 1.40 m. deep, whereas the corresponding dimensions of the inner cist are 2.47, 1.19, and 1.26 m.

Obviously, the lids too must have been of different sizes, but they were presumably of the same shape. A fragment resting on the inner cist shows that the smaller lid was plano-convex, like the lids in Xerxes' tomb. It was approximately 2.70 m. long, 1.40 m. wide, 13 cm. thick at the sides, and 43 cm. thick at the center.

Tomb VI is distinguished from the other royal tombs in that the rule of triplicity was ignored. Tomb I has three

137. The appearance of eye and arm on Pl. 71 *A* is somewhat exaggerated by lighting.

138. The photograph, though regrettably weak, suffices to prove the position of the feet.

139. Vol. II, Pl. 45:19.

vaults with three cists each; Tomb II has one vault with three cists; Tombs III and IV have three vaults with one cist each; and Tomb V has three vaults with two cists each. Tomb VI alone was designed to shelter the remains of two persons only. While the reason for the deviation from the rule is as puzzling as the rule itself, at least there is no doubt that the larger cist was prepared for the king and the smaller cist for the queen. It is uncertain, how-

ever, whether the remains of the royal couple were ever interred here. Artaxerxes III was poisoned,<sup>140</sup> and according to one rather dubious story<sup>141</sup> his body was dismembered and another corpse was put into the royal tomb. We are told that Queen Atossa, a namesake of the wife of Darius I, was made captive, together with three daughters, at the battle of Issus.<sup>142</sup> Her ultimate fate is unknown.

#### TOMB VII: THE UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III

We do not hesitate to assign the unfinished tomb to Darius III, whose reign lasted from 335 to 330 B.C.,<sup>143</sup> and to ignore the remote possibility that the project was started by Arsēs (338/37–336/35 B.C.) and continued by Darius III. Xerxes II and Secydianus may be disregarded as possible founders of the tomb (see p. 80, n. 2).

The pathetic vestiges of Tomb VII are situated about 500 meters south of the Persepolis Terrace (see Fig. 1) on a low spur of the Mountain of Mercy (Pl. 76). Oddly, the tomb faces approximately south-southeast, that is, away from the Terrace. The site is mostly a quarry (Pls. 77–78) covered with masons' debris and showing the characteristic pattern of slots in the bedrock (cf. p. 34, n. 3).

The designer of the tomb undoubtedly intended to copy the façades of Tombs V and VI, but only portions of the reliefs in the upper register were completed (see Pl. 78) and the figures of two guards blocked out on the left side wall (Pl. 79 B). Using our workman who appears in Plate 78 as a scale, we can visualize the enormous amount of labor still required to remove the rock mass from the rest of the upper register and to excavate the rock trench in order to clear the face of the lower register, not to mention tunneling into the rock to prepare the crypt and carving from the rock wall the throne, the throne-bearers, and the palace front.

The semifinished portion of the façade consists partly of bedrock and partly of the irregular masonry characteristic of the Achaemenid period (see p. 34), which shows a mosaic of stone blocks of various shapes and sizes fitted individually without mortar.

In the main panel the relief of the king, standing in stereotyped posture on a three-stepped pedestal, was almost completed. Even earring and bracelet are indicated. However, the cidaris is missing. Faint markings in the masonry above the head indicate that the sculptor intended to carve the headdress from a stone patch to be inserted in a cavity.

140. By order of the eunuch Bagoas, one of the generals of the king's guard, i.e., a Persian (see Diodorus Siculus xvii. 5. 3).

141. Passed on by Claudius Aelianus *Varia Historia* vi. 8 (ed. Rudolph Hercher [Paris, 1858]), where Bagoas is called an Egyptian eunuch. Bagoas, supposedly in revenge for the Apis bull slain by Artaxerxes, cut the king's body to pieces, threw the pieces to the cats, and made sword hilts out of the hip bones of the king!

142. See Robert William Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia* (New York and London, 1929) p. 256.

The altar has the usual shape, but the fire cone is blank, without the pattern of lapping flames.

The Ahuramazda symbol<sup>144</sup> may possibly have been completed. The god's left hand clasps a small ring, and a large plain ring encircles his body. The feathers of the right wing are indicated by a simple pattern of parallel horizontal bands without undulations. The left wing and the bird tail are destroyed. The left appendage ends in three stubby digits.

The moon symbol was completed, but parts of the edges have been destroyed by erosion. There seems to be a trace of the crescent.

The sculptors finished the ornamentation of the right half of the top of the throne stage, but the left half is blank. The stonecutters' technique is demonstrated by a rather shapeless boss at either end of the throne top. These two bosses show rudiments of the heads of the monsters which were to cap the throne legs. The sculptors' work was to begin after the technicians had prepared the bosses.

On the frame of the main panel can be traced the figure of the king's spear-bearer to the left and remnants of a mourner to the right.

The unfinished reliefs of two guards (Pl. 79) on the left side wall are again interesting from the standpoint of technique. Since the outlines of the blocked-out guards and their lances approximate the final contours of the reliefs, the figures illustrate an intermediate stage between the rather shapeless bosses referred to above and the finished sculptures. Otherwise, there is only one detail of interest. The headdress is flat-topped like that of the Persian guards on Tombs III and IV in contrast to the open-topped fillet depicted on the other tombs.

Obviously, the incomplete tomb has no sepulchral compartment.<sup>145</sup> Thus, the body of the assassinated king, sent by Alexander to Persia to be buried in the royal tomb,<sup>146</sup> was put to rest in another sepulcher, most probably in the spacious crypt of Tomb V.

143. Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) pp. 19 and 36.

144. Mostly hidden in the shadow of a fig tree which, in spite of its possible usefulness, should have been removed.

145. Cf. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 162 and 167, and Curzon, *Persia* II 184 f.

146. See Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 22. 1.

## THE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I-VI

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES

On all the finished tombs thirty throne-bearers are arranged according to the scheme shown in the following diagram.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
29	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	30

The nations represented are listed in Table II in the order of the numbers assigned to the throne-bearers, which corresponds to the sequence of countries or peoples mentioned in the DNa inscription on the tomb of Darius I (see p. 110).

TABLE II

NATIONS REPRESENTED ON THE ROYAL TOMBS		
NATION OR PEOPLE	OLD PERSIAN NAME	THRONE-BEARER
Persia	Pārsa	1
Media	Māda	2
Elam	Ūvja	3
Parthia	Parthava	4
Aria	Haraiva	5
Bactria	Bāxtriš	6
Sogdiana	Sugda	7
Chorasmia	Uvārazmiš	8
Drangiana	Zranka	9
Arachosia	Harauvatiš	10
Sattagydia	Thataguš	11
Gandara	Gandāra	12
India	Hinduš	13
Hauma-drinking Scythians	Sakā haumavargā	14
Pointed-hat Scythians	Sakā tigraxaudā	15
Babylonia	Bābiruš	16
Assyria	Athurā	17
Arabia	Arabāya	18
Egypt	Mudrāya	19
Armenia	Armina	20
Cappadocia	Katpatuka	21
Lydia (Sardis)	Sparda	22
Ionians	Yaunā	23
Scythians beyond the sea	Sakā paradraya	24
Skudrians (Thrace)	Skudra	25
Petasos-wearing Ionians	Yaunā takabarā	26
Libyans	Putāyā	27
Ethiopians	Kūšiyā	28
Macians	Maciyā	29
Carians	Karkā	30

147. For DB, DPh, DPe, DSe, DNa, and XPh see *OPG*, pp. 107 ff. For D Egypt consult G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, "Bibliothèque d'étude" XI [Le Caire, 1936]) pp. 48-87 and 181-89, and Cameron, "Darius, Egypt, and the 'lands beyond the sea,'" *JNES* II (1943) 308 f.

148. Petasos-wearing Ionians and Skudrians?

149. Mentioned in DPe only.

150. In Egyptian hieroglyphs only.

151. It appears to be certain that two Scythian nations are mentioned, but the translation "of the marshlands" and "of the plains" seems to be doubtful (see Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 184 f., No. 12).

152. Cf. Kent in *JNES* II 304 f.

153. Either Libyans (Putāyā) or Ethiopians (Kūšiyā) may have been omitted (see Kent in *JNES* II 302, n. 4, and *OPG*, p. 142).

For the sake of convenient reference we insert at this point all rosters of Achaemenid provinces which are recorded in royal inscriptions.<sup>147</sup>

DB i 14-17 (*Behistun*)

- |                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Persia                 | 13. Parthia    |
| 2. Elam                   | 14. Drangiana  |
| 3. Babylonia              | 15. Aria       |
| 4. Assyria                | 16. Chorasmia  |
| 5. Arabia                 | 17. Bactria    |
| 6. Egypt                  | 18. Sogdiana   |
| 7. (Those) beside the sea | 19. Gandara    |
| 8. Sardis                 | 20. Scythia    |
| 9. Ionia                  | 21. Sattagydia |
| 10. Media                 | 22. Arachosia  |
| 11. Armenia               | 23. Maka       |
| 12. Cappadocia            |                |

DPh (*Persepolis Apadana Foundation Record*)

... from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, from there to Ethiopia; from Sind, from there to Sardis ....

DPe, lines 8 and 10-18 (*Persepolis Terrace Foundation Inscription*)

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Persia  | 14. Sagartia <sup>149</sup> |
| 2. Elam  | 15. Parthia                 |
| 3. Media   | 16. Drangiana               |
| 4. Babylonia   | 17. Aria                    |
| 5. Arabia  | 18. Bactria                 |
| 6. Assyria   | 19. Sogdiana                |
| 7. Egypt   | 20. Chorasmia               |
| 8. Armenia   | 21. Sattagydia              |
| 9. Cappadocia  | 22. Arachosia               |
| 10. Sardis   | 23. Sind                    |
| 11. Ionians of the mainland (Yaunā tyaiy uškahyā)                        | 24. Gandara                 |
| 12. (Ionians) who are by the sea (utā tyaiy drayahyā)                    | 25. Scythians               |
| 13. Countries across the sea (utā dahyāva tyā para draya) <sup>148</sup> | 26. Maka                    |

D Egypt (*Canal Stelae*)<sup>150</sup>

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. Persia   | 13. Babylonia       |
| 2. Media  | 14. Armenia         |
| 3. Elam   | 15. Ionia?          |
| 4. Aria   | 16. Cappadocia      |
| 5. Parthia  | 17. Sardis?         |
| 6. Bactria  | 18. Assyria?        |
| 7. Sogdiana   | 19. Egypt           |
| 8. Arachosia  | 20. Libya?          |
| 9. Drangiana  | 21. Arabia?         |
| 10. Sattagydia  | 22. Ethiopia (Kūša) |
| 11. Chorasmia   | 23. Maka            |
| 12. Saka (of the marshlands and of the plains) <sup>151</sup> | 24. Sind            |

DSe, lines 17 and 21-30 (*Susa*)

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Persia                    | 16. Pointed-hat Scythians                   |
| 2. Media                     | 17. Babylonia                               |
| 3. Elam                      | 18. Assyria                                 |
| 4. Parthia                   | 19. Arabia                                  |
| 5. Aria                      | 20. Egypt                                   |
| 6. Bactria                   | 21. Armenia                                 |
| 7. Sogdiana                  | 22. Cappadocia                              |
| 8. Chorasmia                 | 23. Sardis                                  |
| 9. Drangiana                 | 24. Ionians                                 |
| 10. Arachosia                | 25. (Ionians) by the sea <sup>152</sup>     |
| 11. Sattagydia               | 26. (Ionians) beyond the sea <sup>152</sup> |
| 12. Macians                  | 27. Skudra                                  |
| 13. Gandara                  | 28. Libyans <sup>153</sup>                  |
| 14. Sind                     | 29. Ethiopians <sup>153</sup>               |
| 15. Hauma-drinking Scythians | 30. Carians                                 |

TABLE III  
LEGENDS ABOVE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I (DARIUS I) AND V (ARTAXERXES II)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	SEE PLATE	OLD PERSIAN	ELAMITE	AKKADIAN	TRANSLATION OF OLD PERSIAN
1	I	28A	i-ya-ma\pa-a-ra-sa	hi ʔpár-šir <sub>8</sub> -ra	a-[ga-a amēl]par-sa-a-ʔa <sup>1</sup>	This (is a) Persian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-a-ra-sa\	hi ʔp[ár-šir]r <sub>8</sub> -r[a]	destroyed	
2	I	28B	i-ya-ma\ma-a <sup>1</sup> -(da)	ʔhi ʔ <sup>1</sup> [ma-da-ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Mede.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ma-a-da\	hi ʔma-da	[. . .]-ʔa-a <sup>1</sup>	
3	I	28C	[i <sup>1</sup> -ya-ma\u-va-ja	[hi] ʔ[hal(?)-la(?)]-ʔtam <sup>1</sup> -ti-ra	ʔa <sup>1</sup> -[ga-a] [amēl]NIM.MA <sup>ki</sup> -a-a <sup>1</sup>	This (is an) Elamite.
	V	67	i-ya-ma u-va-ja\	hi ʔhal-la-tam-ti	[. . .]-a-a	
4	I	28D	i-ya-ma\pa-ra-ʔa <sup>1</sup> -va	hi ʔpár-tu-[ma-ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Parthian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-ra-ʔa-va\	hi ʔpár-tu-ma	a-ga-a amēlpar-tu	
5	I	28E	i-ya-ma\ha-ra-i-va	illegible	destroyed	This (is an) Arian.
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
6	I	28F	[i-ya]-ma\ba-ʔa-xa <sup>1</sup> -(ta-ra-i-ya)	[hi] ʔba]-ik-ʔtur <sup>1</sup> -. . .]	destroyed	This (is a) Bactrian.
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
7	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	(Sogdian)
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
8	I	29A	[i-ya]-ʔma <sup>1</sup> [\u-va-a]-ʔra-za-mi-i <sup>1</sup> -(ya)	destroyed	destroyed	(Chorasmian)
	V	67	[i-ya-ma\u-va-a-ra-za]-mi-ya	destroyed	destroyed	
9	I	29B	i-ya-ma\za-ra <sup>1</sup> -ka	hi ʔšir <sup>1</sup> -ra-ʔan <sup>1</sup> .[ka <sub>4</sub> -ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Drangianian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\za-ra-ka-a	ʔhi ʔšir-ra-an-ka <sub>4</sub>	destroyed	
10	I	29C	i-ʔya <sup>1</sup> -ma\ʔha-ra <sup>1</sup> -u-ʔva-ta <sup>1</sup> -i-ʔya <sup>1</sup>	hi ʔhar-[ru]-ma-[. . .]	destroyed	This (is an) Arachosian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ha-ra-u-va-ta-i-ya	hi ʔhar-ru-ma-ti-iš	destroyed	
11	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	[i]-ya-ma\ʔa-ta-gu-u-i-ya	destroyed	destroyed	This (is a) Sattagyidian.
12	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ga-da-a-ra-ya\	traces only	destroyed	This (is a) Gandarian.
13	I	29D	[i-ya-ma\ha]-i-[du-u-ya]*	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ha-i-du-u-ya\	hi ʔhi-in-du-iš	ʔa-ga-a amēl]in-du-u	This (is an) Indian.
14	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ha-u-ma-va-ra-ga-a-ʔ	hi ʔšá-ak-ka <sub>4</sub> u-mu-mar-ka <sub>4</sub> -ip	a-ga-a amēlgi-mir-ri ú-mar-ga <sup>2</sup>	This (is a) Hauma-drinking Scythian.
15	I	29E	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ta-i-ga-ra-xa-[u-da]	hi ʔšá-ak-ka <sub>4</sub> ti-ik-ra-ka <sub>4</sub> -u-da-ra	a-ga-a amēlgi-mir-ri-a-a šá <sup>1</sup> kar <sup>1</sup> -[bal]-ʔla-ti-šú <sup>1</sup> [zaq-pa-a <sup>2</sup> ]	This (is a) Pointed-hat Scythian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ta-i-ga-ra-xa-[u-d]a\	[hi] ʔšá-ak-ka <sub>4</sub> ti-ig-ra-ka <sub>4</sub> -u-da	[a-g]a-a amēlgi-mi]r-r[i] and traces: [šá <sup>1</sup> ʔubāt <sup>1</sup> kar-bal-la-ti-šú-nu zaq]-pa <sup>2</sup>	
16	I	30A	i-ya-ma\ba-ʔa <sup>1</sup> -ba-i-ru-u-ša	hi ʔba-pi-li <sup>1</sup> -ra	a-ʔga-a amēl]ba-bi-lu-a-a	This (is a) Babylonian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ba-a-ba-i-ru-u-ša\	hi ʔba-pi-li-ip	a-ga-a amēlba-bi-lu-a-a	
17	I	30B	i-ya-ma\ʔa-ʔa-u-ra-i-ya	hi ʔáš-šu-ra-ir-ra (sic)	a-ga-a amēláš-šur-a-a	This (is an) Assyrian.
	V	67	i-y[a-m]a\ʔa-ʔa-u-ra-i-ya	hi ʔ[áš-šu-r]a	a-ga-a am[eláš]-šur-a-a	
18	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ʔa-ra-ba-a-ya	hi ʔhar-ba-ia	a-ga-a amēl]ar-ba-a-a	This (is an) Arabian.
19	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\mu-u-da-ra-[a]-ya	hi ʔmu-šir-r[a . . .]	a-ga-a amēlmi-šir-a-ʔa <sup>1</sup>	This (is an) Egyptian.
20	I	30C	ʔi-ya <sup>1</sup> -ma\ʔa-ra-mi-i-na	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ʔa-ra-mi-i-na-i-ya	hi ʔhar-mi-nu-ia	a-ga-a amēlú-ra-áš-ʔa-a-a	This (is an) Armenian.
21	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ka-ta-pa-tu-u-ka\	hi ʔka <sub>4</sub> ʔ-ut-ba-du-ka <sub>4</sub>	a-ga-a amēl]ka-at-pa-tuk-a-a	This (is a) Cappadocian.
22	I	30D	remnant	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ma-ya (sic)\sa-pa-ra-di-i-[ya]	hi ʔiš-pár-da	a-ga (sic) amēl]sa-par-da-a-a	This (is a) Lydian (Sardian).
23	I	30E	remnant	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ya-u-na-a\	hi ʔia-u-na	[a-ga-a amēl]ia-ma-na-a-a	This (is an) Ionian.
24	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\pa-ra-da-ra-i-ya\	hi ʔšá-ak-ka <sub>4</sub> AN.KAM(!).MEŠ-la-ik-ka <sub>4</sub>	a-ga-a amēlgi-mir-ri šá a-hi ul-lu-a šá nār(íd) mar-ra	This (is a) Scythian beyond the sea.
25	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ku-u-da-ra\	hi ʔiš-ku-ra (sic)	a-ga-a amēl]is-ku-du-ru-a-a	This (is a) Skudrian.
26	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ya-u-na\ta-ka-ba-ra-a	hi ʔia-u-na da-ka <sub>4</sub> -bar-ra	a-ga-a amēl]ia-ma-na-a-a šá-nu-tú šá ma-gi-na-ta ina qaqqadi (SAG.DU)-šú-nu na-(šu)-u	This (is a) Petasos-wearing Ionian (Akk.: "the second Ionians bearing shields on their heads").
27	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-u-ta-a-ya\	hi ʔpu-ut-tá-a-ia	a-ga-a amēl]pu-ʔa-a-a	This (is a) Libyan (i.e., man of Punt).
28	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ku-u-ša-a-ya	hi ʔku-ši-ia	a-ga-a amēl]ku-ú-šu-a-a	This (is an) Ethiopian (i.e., man of Kush).
29	I	26A	i-ya-ma\ma-ca-i-ya-a	hi ʔmaš-ši-ia-ra	a-ga-a amēl]qa-du-ma-a-a	This (is a) Macian (i.e., Makan).
	V§	68	i-ya-ʔma <sup>1</sup> \ka-ra-ka\	hi ʔkur-ka <sub>4</sub>	a-ga-ʔa <sup>1</sup> amēl]kar-sa(?)a-ʔa <sup>2</sup>	This (is a) Carian.
30	I	27A	i-ya-m[a\] ka-r[ka-ka . . .]	hi ʔ[kur-k]a <sub>4</sub> -ʔra <sup>1</sup>	a-ga-ʔa <sup>1</sup> amēl]kar <sup>1</sup> -sa-a-a	This (is a) Carian.
	V§		[i-ya-ma ma-ca]-i-ya	[hi] ʔmaš-ši-i]a-ra	[a-ga-a amēl]q]a-du-ma-a-a	This (is a) Macian (i.e., Makan).

\* Cameron's comment: "The only sure character is *i*, and while traces of a sign following it are observable, they do not resemble *du* (or any other character, for that matter)."

† There is a superfluous vertical wedge between *ga* and *a*.

‡ There is one superfluous vertical wedge on this sign.

§ The engraver of the legends on Tomb V confused those identifying throne-bearers Nos. 29 (the Macian) and 30 (the Carian). Through oversight we failed to photograph the remnant of the erroneous inscription of No. 30, and it is taken from the copies of A. W. Davis (see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, Pl. II and p. 375) and Herzfeld (see *Alpersische Inschriften*, pp. 47 and 49). Neither author mentioned that the two inscriptions have to be interchanged.

|| The questioned sign as it stands is not *sa*, though that may have been intended.

*DNa, lines 18 and 22–30 (Darius' Tomb Inscription)*

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Persia                    | 16. Babylonia                |
| 2. Media                     | 17. Assyria                  |
| 3. Elam                      | 18. Arabia                   |
| 4. Parthia                   | 19. Egypt                    |
| 5. Aria                      | 20. Armenia                  |
| 6. Bactria                   | 21. Cappadocia               |
| 7. Sogdiana                  | 22. Sardis                   |
| 8. Chorasmia                 | 23. Ionia                    |
| 9. Drangiana                 | 24. Scythians beyond the sea |
| 10. Arachosia                | 25. Skudra                   |
| 11. Sattagydia               | 26. Petasos-wearing Ionians  |
| 12. Gandara                  | 27. Libyans                  |
| 13. Sind                     | 28. Ethiopians               |
| 14. Hauma-drinking Scythians | 29. Macians                  |
| 15. Pointed-hat Scythians    | 30. Carians                  |

*XPh, lines 16 and 19–28 ("Daiva" Text)*

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Persia      | 18. (Ionians) by the sea (see n. 152)     |
| 2. Media       | 19. (Ionians) beyond the sea (see n. 152) |
| 3. Elam        | 20. Macians                               |
| 4. Arachosia   | 21. Arabia                                |
| 5. Armenia     | 22. Gandara                               |
| 6. Drangiana   | 23. Sind                                  |
| 7. Parthia     | 24. Cappadocia                            |
| 8. Aria        | 25. Dahians (Dahā)                        |
| 9. Bactria     | 26. Hauma-drinking Scythians              |
| 10. Sogdiana   | 27. Pointed-hat Scythians                 |
| 11. Chorasmia  | 28. Skudra                                |
| 12. Babylonia  | 29. Akaufaka                              |
| 13. Assyria    | 30. Libyans                               |
| 14. Sattagydia | 31. Carians                               |
| 15. Sardis     | 32. Ethiopians                            |
| 16. Egypt      |   |
| 17. Ionians    |   |

## LEGENDS OF THE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I AND V

Trilingual cuneiform legends—Old Persian at top, Elamite in center, and Akkadian at bottom—once identified all the throne-bearers on the tomb (I) of Darius I at Naqsh-e Rostam and the tomb (V) of Artaxerxes II at Persepolis. Some have been destroyed, but the extant legends (Table III)<sup>154</sup> verify the sequence of throne-bearers as shown in our diagram on page 108 except that on Tomb V the engraver interchanged the legends of throne-bearers Nos. 29 and 30. Aside from linguistic deviations and the engraver's confusion of throne-bearers Nos. 29 and 30 on Tomb V, the two sets of legends are essentially alike.

## PICTORIAL TABLES OF THE THRONE-BEARERS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

In order to facilitate comparison and compact description of the thirty throne-bearers as they are depicted on each of the six tombs, we present them in pictorial tables (Figs. 39–52). The arrangement, however, rather than following the sequence on the tombs, which is illustrated on a number of plates (see e.g. Pl. 25), is according to the

154. With the aid of our large-scale photographs Cameron prepared the transliterations and translations given in Table III. The existence of legends on Tomb I has long been known. Eight of these legends have been published by Weissbach (*KA*, pp. 96–98) and Kent (*OPG*, pp. 140 f.). For references to earlier publications see *KA*, p. xix. The legends on Tomb V were discovered and first reported by A. W. Davis (see "An Achaemenian tomb-inscription at Persepolis," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1932, pp. 373–77) and published more fully by Herzfeld in *AI*, pp. 46–50. See also *OPG*, pp. 155 f.

155. See Vol. I 117.

156. *Ibid.*

157. I.e., weapons shown in the reliefs but not necessarily corresponding to those used by the peoples represented.

nine groups of nations which we had previously established.<sup>155</sup> As then noted,<sup>156</sup> similar, at times identical, dress and weapons<sup>157</sup> mark 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 geographical locations of the nations represented by the throne-bearers are indicated, tentatively in part, on our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53).

Our original grouping of the nations has been modified in that we now divide the Median group (II) into IIA and IIB and interchange groups VII and VIII, as indicated by Table IV.

TABLE IV  
SEQUENCE OF THRONE-BEARERS IN PICTORIAL TABLES (FIGS. 39–52)

FIG.	GROUP	DESIGNATION	THRONE-BEARER	
			No.	Nation
39	I	Persian	1 3	Persian Elamite (Susian)
40	IIA	West Median	2 20 21	Median Armenian Cappadocian
41	IIB	East Median	4 6	Parthian Bactrian
42	III	East Iranian	5 9 10	Arian Drangianian Arachosian
43	IV	Scythian	7 8 14	Sogdian Chorasmian Hauma-drinking Scythians
44	IV (cont.)	Scythian	15 24 25	Pointed-hat Scythians Scythians beyond the sea Skudrian
45	V	Indian	11 12 13	Sattagyidian Gandarian Indian
46	V (cont.)	Indian	29	Macian
47	VI	Hellenic	22 23	Lydian Ionian
48	VI (cont.)	Hellenic	26 30	Petasos-wearing Ionians Carian
49	VII	Northern Mesopotamian	17	Assyrian
50	VIII	Western Lowlands	16 18 19	Babylonian Arabian Egyptian
51	VIII (cont.)	Western Lowlands	27	Libyan
52	IX	Negro	28	Ethiopian

Owing to such technical difficulties as the vibration of our work tower, to our own failings, and to the mutilation of many figures by the elements and by human hands, the photographs in the pictorial tables of the throne-bearers are not uniform in quality. Fortunately, the least satisfactory pictures of the throne-bearers on Tomb V are in most cases complemented by the close-up photographs which record their legends and show the actual condition of the upper parts of the admirably carved reliefs (Pls. 67–68). Details of the heads of the throne-bearers on



Tomb I are also in several cases better illustrated by the photographs recording their legends (Pls. 26–30). Nevertheless, even the poor illustrations suffice to show the principal variants within an ethno-geographical group and such features as connect it with or distinguish it from other groups.

The throne-bearers have approximately the same dimensions on all the tombs. They are shown in standing

position. The body is in front view and the head and legs are in right profile, but the entire figure of No. 30 on Tomb VI is in left profile. The arms of Nos. 1–28 are raised, their hands touching and symbolically supporting the top and the rung of the throne, which is shown above ground as though lifted by the efforts of the bearers. Numbers 29 and 30, standing on either side of the throne, are pictured as supporting its legs.

### SOME HISTORICAL INFERENCES

#### THE TORQUE OF THE ARABIAN AND TWO SCYTHIANS

So far as we can discern, the torque, presumably a flexible golden ring or chain of honor, adorns only three of the thirty throne-bearers: the Arabian (No. 18), the Hauma-drinking Scythian (No. 14), and the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24).

To be sure, the Arabian's torque is clearly marked on Tomb VI only (see Fig. 50). Because of erosion it is not possible to tell whether it was indicated on Tombs I, III, and IV, but on Tombs II and V it is definitely omitted. The Hauma-drinking Scythian wears the torque on Tombs I, II, and V (see Fig. 43). Whether it existed on Tomb III is unknown, but it is clearly omitted on Tombs IV and VI. The torque of the Scythian beyond the sea is marked on Tombs II and V (see Fig. 44). We do not know whether it was indicated on Tombs I and IV, but it is omitted on Tombs III and VI.

Obviously, the three peoples distinguished on the tombs of the Persian kings by the token of honor which in the Persepolis reliefs<sup>158</sup> indicates the elevated status of Persian and Median nobles must have played distinctive roles in the history of the Achaemenid empire. There are certain historical and geographical clues which may reveal these roles.

As regards the status of the Arabians, we are informed by Herodotus that they "did not yield the obedience of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, as having given Cambyzes passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians."<sup>159</sup> Herodotus further states that in the fifth satrapy of Darius I the district which belonged to the Arabians was exempt from tribute, though, according to his list of peoples that paid no fixed tribute but brought gifts instead, the Arabians supplied each year a thousand talents' weight of frankincense.<sup>160</sup> In any event, during the reigns of Cambyzes II and Darius I the Arabians were considered allies of the Persians rather than a conquered people. We conclude that the torque which adorns their representative on the tomb (VI) of at least one Persian

monarch is symbolic of their distinctive status. We may assume that the corresponding, badly damaged, throne-bearer on the tomb (I) of Darius I was adorned in the same manner. It is conjectural whether the absence of the Arabian's torque on Tombs II (Xerxes) and V (Artaxerxes II) reflects political changes. It is possible that Xerxes, who subdued and punished the rebellious Egyptians, no longer needed the help of the Arabians once the water supply for the march across the desert had been organized.<sup>161</sup> During the reign of Artaxerxes II Egypt was independent, and to Persia—too weak to reconquer the Nile—the status of Arabia at that time may have been of no concern. Inversely, the fact that their representative on the tomb (VI) of Artaxerxes III wears the torque possibly indicates that the Arabians were once more allies of the Persians, who reconquered Egypt after a period of independence of fifty-eight years.<sup>162</sup>

The throne-bearers include the representatives of six peoples who, according to their dress (see p. 110), belong to our group IV, that is, the Scythian group (see Table IV). Their sequence in the DNa inscription on Darius' tomb (see p. 110) and in the tomb reliefs is as here tabulated.

	THRONE-BEARER	LAND OR PEOPLE	OLD PERSIAN NAME IN DNa
Scythians of Asia	7	Sogdiana	Sugda
	8	Chorasmia	Uvārazmiš
	14	Hauma-drinking Scythians	Sakā haumavargā
	15	Pointed-hat Scythians	Sakā tigraxaudā
Scythians of Europe	24	Scythians beyond the sea	Sakā paradraya
	25	Skudrians	Skudra

Our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53) shows approximately the same sequence of Scythian peoples, starting with the Sogdians in the east and ending with the Skudrians in the west. While the exact locations and the extent of their territories are conjectural, it is certain that a more or less continuous chain of Scythian peoples occu-

158. E.g. the ushers of the tribute delegations (see Vol. I, Pls. 27–49) and the dignitaries in the processions of the Apadana (*ibid.* Pls. 51–52 and 57–58) and the Council Hall (*ibid.* Pls. 66–74).

159. See Herodotus iii. 4–7 and 88. In order to illustrate the key position of the Arabians and to indicate their main territory the world "Arabāya" on our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53) could have been printed in a long arc extending from the seashore southwest of Jerusalem (in J 11) in a southeasterly direction.

160. See Herodotus iii. 91 and 97. The gifts of the Arabian delegation (No. 20) in the Apadana procession consist of fabrics and a dromedary (see our Vol. I 89 and Pl. 46).

161. Cf. Herodotus iii. 6–7. In referring to Xerxes' campaign, Herodotus (vii. 7) does not mention the Arabians.

162. There is, however, an account (see Justin V. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung* ["Handbücher der alten Geschichte," I.Serie, 5.Abt.] II [Gotha, 1910] 226) which, if true, does not support our assumption that the Arabians in the time of Artaxerxes III were as helpful to the Persian king as their forefathers had been to Cambyzes and Darius. We are told that Artaxerxes did not proceed with the same caution as Cambyzes, that he lost a large part of his army on its route to the Egyptian frontier prior to a successful second attempt at the reconquest of the Nile. Again, there is no mention of assistance by the Arabians.



pied the entire northern border zone of the Achaemenid empire.

In the tomb reliefs, the representatives of only two of these peoples, the Hauma-drinking Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea, are distinguished by the torque. We should assume, therefore, that these Scythians were honored by the Persian king for services similar to those rendered by the Arabians. Their geographical locations suggest that their services consisted of guarding the most vulnerable parts of the northern frontier.

Undoubtedly, the people occupying the northeasternmost region of the realm of Darius I, namely the "Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana" mentioned in the foundation record of the Apadana (DPh), are the Hauma-drinking Scythians of later documents (DSe, DNa, and XPh).

The term "Scythians beyond the sea" is used specifically on the tombs of Darius I and Artaxerxes II only, that is, in Darius' DNa inscription and in the legend identifying throne-bearer No. 24 on the later tomb; the corresponding legend on Darius' tomb is destroyed (see Table III). The territory of the Scythian tribes covered by this term extended along the northern shore of the Black Sea. In his campaign against the European Scythians<sup>163</sup> Darius succeeded in subduing the Thracian tribes, that is, the Skudrians, but, according to Herodotus, when he crossed the Ister (Danube) and attempted to conquer the lands of the Scythians beyond the sea he was defeated and forced to retreat.<sup>164</sup>

Whether or not it is historically accurate, Ctesias' reference to an alliance of Cyrus the Great with Amorges,<sup>165</sup> a Scythian king, is of interest for our study. Herodotus, however, does not mention Scythian allies of Cyrus, nor does he include any Scythians in his list of peoples who were privileged to bring gifts instead of tribute.<sup>166</sup> Thus, our deductions concerning the relations of the Persians with the two Scythian peoples under discussion are based on the distinctive symbol of honor worn by their representatives, on their geographical locations, and on the fact that the torque-adorned Arabian throne-bearer represented an at least temporarily privileged border people of the empire.

We now turn to the Persepolis reliefs for further clues in regard to the status of the Scythian peoples concerned. We find that the tribute procession of the Apadana offers the most striking clues. To be sure, none of the delegates is adorned with the torque, whereas all the Persian and Median ushers—undoubtedly members of the nobility—wear this symbol of exalted status. In addition, the ushers are armed with daggers of Persian and Median type respectively.

163. Between 516 and 511 B.C. (see Cameron in *JNES* II 313).

164. See Herodotus iv, esp. iv. 97–142. There is extensive literature dealing with the relations of Scythians and Persians; see e.g. Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien* ("Klio" Beiheft XLI [Leipzig, 1939]), and Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II 75–108.

165. See Ctesias *Persica* 36a. 39–40 and 37a. 5–12. Assumedly the alliance was with the Hauma-drinking Scythians; cf. P. J. Junge, "Satrapie und Natio: Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staate Dareios' I.," *Klio* XXXIV (Leipzig, 1941) 26, n. 4. Herodotus (v. 121) mentions a presumably Persian general of Darius I by the name of Amorges.

166. See Herodotus i. 211–14 and iii. 97.

In the tomb reliefs all the throne-bearers are armed except the Babylonian, and in his case the omission of a weapon was intentional (see pp. 116–18). On the contrary, in the tribute procession of the Apadana the members of twenty delegations are unarmed, whereas representatives of three nations (delegations Nos. 1, 11, and 17) are depicted with weapons attached to their belts. Admittedly, in the Median delegation (No. 1) the leader only is armed with a dagger. It is conjectural whether the leader of the Susian delegation (No. 2), shown in profile, is meant to be equipped with the dagger of Persian type which appears solely in reliefs of Persians and Susians (Elamites) whose bodies are pictured in front view. In the closely related throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall the Median and Susian throne-bearers are both armed with daggers,<sup>167</sup> whereas the representatives of most of the other nations are unarmed.

The privileged status of the nations forming the core of the empire is indicated, first of all, by the position and sequence of their representatives in the reliefs. On the royal tombs the Persian is throne-bearer No. 1. His omission in the throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall is somewhat puzzling, but the absence of a Persian delegation in the tribute procession of the Apadana is to be expected, since we are told by Herodotus that "the Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary, for the Persians dwell free from all taxes."<sup>168</sup> In the tomb reliefs the Mede and the Susian follow the Persian as throne-bearers Nos. 2 and 3. In the tribute procession of the Apadana and in the throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall the Median representatives come first and are followed by the Susians. We conclude that, in addition to the position of their representatives, the dagger—worn by the leader of the Median delegation and by the Median and the Susian representatives in the throne reliefs—symbolizes the political importance of the Medes and the Susians in the empire of the Persians.<sup>169</sup>

In striking contrast to the Median tribute-bearers and all the other delegations of the Apadana tribute procession, all members of Scythian delegations Nos. 11 and 17 are conspicuously distinguished by their martial equipment.<sup>170</sup>

Each member of delegation No. 11 wears the dagger of Median type, and, in addition, the leader carries the *gorytus*, a composite bow case and quiver.<sup>171</sup> The headgear is the tall pointed hat which is essentially the same as the hat worn in the tomb reliefs by throne-bearers No. 15, the Pointed-hat Scythian, and No. 24, the Scythian beyond the sea (see Fig. 44). Curiously, while these two throne-bearers wear the characteristic Scythian cutaway coat, the members of delegation No. 11 are shown in Median dress

167. See Vol. I, Pls. 80 (Nos. 1–2), 109 (W1), and 110–11 (E1).

168. Herodotus iii. 97.

169. It is interesting to note that in Darius' earliest inscription (DB) Elam (Susiana) occupies second place, after Persia, whereas Media is mentioned in tenth place (see p. 108). In the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscription DPe, Elam (Susiana) still precedes Media, which now occupies third place (see p. 108). In the lists of nations recorded in D Egypt, DSe, DNa, and XPh (see pp. 108 and 110) and in all the extant reliefs of tribute processions and throne-bearers the Medes precede the Susians.

170. See Vol. I, Pls. 37 and 43.

171. See *ibid.* p. 166 and Vol. II 101.

and their contributions are identical with those offered by members of the Median delegation (No. 1).<sup>172</sup>

Each member of delegation No. 17 is armed with a dagger, worn beneath the coat. The trefoil scabbard tip, which in all instances protrudes below the coat, suggests the common dagger of Median type. Delegation No. 17 is more heavily armed than delegation No. 11, for not only the leader but each of the other members, except the groom, is equipped with the *gorytus*. Significantly, the contributions of delegation No. 17 include the Scythian battle-ax, the *sagaris* (see below). The headgear illustrates two variants of the Scythian cap. Both show the characteristic cheek flap tapering toward the chin, but the delegates on the northern (earlier<sup>173</sup>) staircase wear a cap with pointed tip jutting forward, whereas on the eastern staircase the cap is tipped by a blunt knob above the anterior part of the skull.<sup>174</sup> In contrast to the Median dress of delegation No. 11, the typical Scythian cutaway coat and long trousers, here notched at the ankles, are worn by all members of delegation No. 17.

Just as the torque distinguishes the throne-bearing representatives of two Scythian peoples on the tombs, so are two Scythian delegations in the tribute procession of the Apadana distinguished by their full martial equipment. We are convinced that the torque worn by throne-bearers Nos. 14 and 24 has the same significance as the display of weapons which distinguishes delegations Nos. 17 and 11.

After studying and comparing the details of our reliefs we no longer hesitate to identify delegation No. 17 and throne-bearer No. 14 as representatives of the same people, namely the Hauma-drinking Scythians.<sup>175</sup> There are minor variations, such as the ornamental strap guard of the Apadana delegates and the manner of wearing the dagger. From neck to foot, the dress of throne-bearer and delegates is essentially the same as that worn by all Scythians in the tomb reliefs,<sup>176</sup> but the distinctive shape of the cap with pointed projecting tip decisively links throne-bearer No. 14 on Tombs II (Xerxes), IV (Darius II), and VI (Artaxerxes III) with delegation No. 17 on the northern staircase of the Apadana (see above). The cap worn by throne-bearer No. 14 on Tomb III (Artaxerxes I) resembles the blunt-knobbed cap of delegation No. 17 on the eastern staircase. Of the contributions offered by delegation No. 17, such items as the rings, the dagger, and the stallion are pictured also as tribute of certain non-Scythian delegations. The double-headed *sagaris*, however, appears solely among the contributions of delegation No. 17 and confirms, to some extent, its identity, for Herodotus mentions the *sagaris* as a weapon of the Amyrgian (i.e., Hauma-drinking) Scythians.<sup>177</sup>

Heretofore, particularly since the discovery of the beautifully preserved reliefs on the eastern staircase of the Apadana, the identification of delegation No. 11 as the Sakā tigraxaudā, the Pointed-hat Scythians, has been

accepted almost without question. The delegates' headgear is indeed a conspicuous tall hat with pointed tip, but in the tomb reliefs the hats of throne-bearers No. 15, the Pointed-hat Scythian, and No. 24, the Scythian beyond the sea, are almost identical in shape and height (see Fig. 44). For technical reasons<sup>178</sup> the long tip of the hat is always shown as curving backward. The neckguard is upcurled in all instances, whereas in the Apadana procession it is merely raised slightly or hanging down. Details of the raised neckguard are destroyed,<sup>179</sup> but the guard that hangs down<sup>180</sup> suggests an interesting clue. If its scalloped edge were upcurled after the fashion of the throne-bearers' guards, it would show the same effect as the serrate<sup>181</sup> neckguard of the Scythian beyond the sea on the tomb (V) of Artaxerxes II (see p. 115).

Essentially, the hats of delegation No. 11 and throne-bearers Nos. 15 and 24 are alike. All are of the type—tall, pointed, and provided with cheek flaps—hitherto considered the characteristic headgear of the Sakā tigraxaudā. Examining the rest of the apparel we find that the two throne-bearers wear identical Scythian dress, oddly contrasting with the Median dress of the Apadana delegation. We are puzzled by this difference, particularly since the Apadana reliefs and the throne-bearers on the tomb (II) of Xerxes were executed at about the same time. We have previously stated our firm belief that the reliefs on the Apadana staircases were carved during the reign of Xerxes because in his staircase inscription (XPb) he omits reference to his father's work whereas in another inscription (XPg), once attached to the building proper, he more modestly states that he added to his father's edifice.<sup>182</sup> Undoubtedly the Apadana reliefs were finished first, but less than twenty-one years, the span of Xerxes' reign (486–65 B.C.), could have elapsed before the throne-bearers were carved on the façade of his tomb.

While we are certain that one of the two tall-hatted throne-bearers, No. 15 or No. 24, represents the same people as the tall-hatted delegation No. 11, we cannot reconcile the Median attire of the delegates and the Scythian clothes of the throne-bearers. The combination of Scythian hat and Median dress worn by the delegates does remind us that a long chain of nations (our group II) whose representatives are dressed in Median fashion, though never wearing Scythian headgear (see Figs. 40–41), extended from Cappadocia as far as Bactria and approximately paralleled the northern zone of Scythian peoples (see Fig. 53). An item in the list of tributary divisions or provinces transmitted to us by Herodotus may

175. Correcting our former, tentative, identification of delegation No. 17 as Sogdian (see *ibid.* pp. 88 f., but cf. *ibid.* n. 145).

176. But note that in both instances the footgear is straight-toed and not upturned as in some other cases.

177. Herodotus vii. 64. However, his description of their headgear as "tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point" fits the Pointed-hat Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea rather than the Hauma-drinking Scythians.

178. Limit of space between ground line and stretcher of throne. If the tips of the hats were shown upright, the figures would be dwarfed in comparison with the other throne-bearers.

179. See Vol. I, Pl. 37 A.

180. See *ibid.* Pl. 37 B.

181. Unique, so far as ascertainable.

182. See Vol. I 82 and 71.

172. The contributions of four members of delegation No. 11—rings, overcoat, coat, and trousers—are identical with those of the four hindmost Medes on the eastern staircase of the Apadana (Vol. I, Pl. 27 B); horse and groom appear in the Median delegation on the northern staircase only (*ibid.* Pl. 27 A).

173. See *ibid.* pp. 82 f.

174. See *ibid.* Pl. 43 A and B.

have bearing on our problem. His tenth province, taxed with an annual tribute of 450 talents, includes "Agbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians."<sup>183</sup> These Orthocorybantians are usually identified with the *Sakā tigraxaudā*.<sup>184</sup> More cautiously, we consider them a subdivision of one of the two Scythian peoples whose headgear is the tall pointed hat. We believe<sup>185</sup> that Herodotus' account of the grouping of peoples for purposes of taxation implies their local vicinity. We hesitate to assume that Herodotus lied or simply guessed when he combined Medes and Orthocorybantians<sup>186</sup> and propose therefore that the Orthocorybantians were a branch of the tall-hatted Scythians beyond the sea. The territory of the Pointed-hat Scythians is far to the east, near the area occupied by the Hauma-drinking Scythians, as indicated by the consistent pairing of their names in the pertinent royal inscriptions (DSe, DNa, and XPh). To be sure, the suzerainty of the Persians ended at the Caucasus. Beyond the mountains no one paid them any regard.<sup>187</sup> Therefore, the postulated Orthocorybantian subgroup must be placed somewhere south of the Caucasus (see below). A location close to the Medes and Armenians, shown in the reliefs in identical dress of Median type, could explain the partially Median attire of delegation No. 11.

We believe that the torque-adorned throne-bearers Nos. 14 and 24 on the tombs represent the same peoples as the armed delegations Nos. 17 and 11 in the Apadana procession. Throne-bearer No. 14 and delegation No. 17 are definitely Hauma-drinking Scythians. Offhand, delegation No. 11 could be identified with either of the tall-hatted throne-bearers, the Pointed-hat Scythian (No. 15) or the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24),<sup>188</sup> were it not for the fact that, so far as ascertainable, throne-bearer No. 15 is in no instance distinguished by the torque whereas throne-bearer No. 24 at least twice (on Tombs II and V) wears this symbol of distinctive status. We therefore identify delegation No. 11 with throne-bearer No. 24, who represents the Scythians beyond the sea. We believe that the term refers to the territories north of the Black Sea but actually extending from the Danube as far as the Volga and perhaps to the Ural River. Obviously, throne-bearer and delegation represent only a small but important subdivision of this vast area.

There are only two districts where subgroups of the Scythians beyond the sea could have been of critical importance to the Persians: the frontier zones west and east of the Black Sea, along the Ister and along the Caucasus. The Orthocorybantians, who may have been an important subgroup of these Scythians on the Caucasus frontier, we are tempted to locate at the east end of the mountains,<sup>189</sup> guarding the route of invasion along the Caspian Sea. It is interesting to note that the Colchians—on the Black Sea, south of the western part of the

Caucasus—"and their neighbors as far as the Caucasus mountains" are listed by Herodotus among the peoples who were exempt from tribute but rendered gifts, every four years "an hundred boys and as many maidens."<sup>190</sup> The difference between subject nations paying tribute and allied nations bringing gifts is well illustrated by the relations of the Arabians to the Persians (see p. 111). Parenthetically, we are convinced that the contributions of "gifts" were reciprocal and that the nations concerned received substantial subsidies from the king's treasury in return for their services to the empire. Herodotus does not state whether the Orthocorybantians had a privileged status and makes no reference to them beyond his assertion that they belonged to the same province as the Medes.

We are better informed about the frontier zone east of the Black Sea. We know that Darius I, after crossing the Bosphorus on a bridge of ships, subdued Macedonia and Thrace, the lands of the *Yaunā takabarā* and *Skudra* (see Fig. 53). On a second bridge, he crossed the Ister and invaded the territory of the Scythians beyond the sea. The campaign failed in so far as the conquest of new lands was concerned, though not so completely, it appears, as narrated in Herodotus' lengthy story which deals also with the lands and peoples of the Scythians.<sup>191</sup>

We believe that Darius' Behistun inscription (DB) refers in column v—a later addition—to his campaign against the European Scythians and that these "Scythians who wear the pointed cap" (*Sakā tyaiy xaudām tigrām baratiy*)<sup>192</sup> are the Scythians beyond the sea (*Sakā tyaiy paradraya*)<sup>193</sup> whose headgear is essentially the same as that of the Pointed-hat Scythians (*Sakā tigraxaudā*).<sup>194</sup> The latter are preceded by the Hauma-drinking Scythians (*Sakā haumavargā*) in the DSe, DNa, and XPh inscriptions (see pp. 108 and 110), and the corresponding throne-bearers (Nos. 14 and 15) are shown in the same sequence on the tombs.

In his Behistun inscription Darius records (col. v) that he captured and slew one of the leaders of the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. He then states that he captured their chief by the name of Skunkha, replaced him with another chief, and annexed the province. The last figure in the row of Darius' defeated adversaries is that of Skunkha (labeled "this is Skunkha the Scythian" in Old Persian and Elamite) and was added later; Skunkha's headgear is a pointed hat of extraordinary height.<sup>195</sup>

As noted above, the Scythians beyond the sea who are listed in DNa and represented by throne-bearer No. 24 on the tombs can be no more than a small subgroup of the chain of peoples who occupied the territories extending

183. Herodotus iii. 92.

184. See e.g. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 44, n. 7, and *passim*.

185. With A. D. Godley in his introduction to Herodotus iii and iv, p. xvii.

186. Cf. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 44, n. 7.

187. Herodotus iii. 97.

188. *Vs.* Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 62, n. 6. Junge is wrong in contradicting Herzfeld's statement (see *IF*, p. 32) that the clothes, including the headgear, of the Pointed-hat Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea are alike. Junge's pertinent drawings (*op. cit.* Pl. I) are in part misleading (cf. our Fig. 44, Nos. 15 and 24).

189. Not at the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea as on the map of the Persian empire at the end of Volume II of Herodotus.

190. Herodotus iii. 97.

191. Herodotus iv. 1-144; see also Godley's introduction to books iii and iv.

192. See *OPG*, pp. 108 and 132-34; see also Cameron's important article, "The Old Persian text of the Bisitun inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* V (1951) 52 f., and Kent on p. 56 of the same volume.

193. Mentioned in DNa, lines 28-29 (see *OPG*, pp. 137-38), and represented on the tombs by throne-bearer No. 24 (see our Fig. 44).

194. Mentioned in DNa, lines 25-26 (see *OPG*, pp. 137-38), and represented on the tombs by throne-bearer No. 15 (see our Fig. 44).

195. See King and Thompson, *Behistūn*, pp. xxii, 91, and 157, Pls. XIII and XVI, No. V.

from the Danube to the Volga and perhaps beyond. We believe that Darius' story of the defeat and replacement of Skunkha is true, at least in regard to a limited area and a limited span of time, although it does not agree with any phase of Herodotus' romanticized narrative. We therefore propose that throne-bearer No. 24 in reality represents the Scythian tribe or tribes, north of the lower Ister, once ruled by Skunkha, who is pictured at Behistun with tall pointed hat—the type of headgear worn presumably by the other Scythians of the main division. Skunkha's subgroup, under a new chief, chosen by Darius, was made an ally of the king to guard the northwest frontier in the same fashion that the Hauma-drinking Scythians protected the northeast. We believe that the importance of these guardians against the unknown areas of Europe and Asia is evidenced by the torque which distinguishes the throne-bearing representatives of the Hauma-drinking Scythians (No. 14) and the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 24) from those of all other nations except Arabia.

We have pointed out a parallelism in the tribute procession of the Apadana, where two Scythian delegations are distinguished by being armed. We have identified one of these delegations (No. 17) with the Hauma-drinking Scythians and have adduced reasons for identifying the other delegation (No. 11) with the Scythians beyond the sea or, more exactly, with a western subgroup of these Scythians, whose main body, along the northern littoral of the Black Sea, was no more under the sway of the Achaemenids than the land north of the Caucasus (see pp. 113 f.).

There is some negative evidence to support our identifications. In the tomb reliefs, the throne-bearer (No. 15) representing the Pointed-hat Scythians in no instance wears the torque of honor which distinguishes the representative (No. 14) of the Hauma-drinking Scythians, guardians of the northeast frontier, whose delegation in the tribute procession of the Apadana is exalted by the display of personal weapons. In theory, the guardians of the Ister frontier in the northwest could have been the Skudrians, but their representative (No. 25) in the tomb reliefs is not adorned by any emblem of distinctive status.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, the Skudrian delegation (No. 19) has a rather inconspicuous position in the procession of the Apadana and its members are not armed. If we eliminate the Skudrians as people of outstanding military importance for the empire we have an additional reason for postulating beyond the Ister an allied subgroup, once the "Skunkha Scythians," somewhat vaingloriously designated in the tomb inscriptions by the comprehensive term "Scythian(s) beyond the sea." In the tomb reliefs the Scythian beyond the sea (throne-bearer No. 24) is shown with the same Scythian dress and tall pointed hat as the Sakā tigraxaudā (throne-bearer No. 15) but is distinguished from the latter by what we consider a decisive symbol, namely the torque. We conclude that Apadana delegation No. 11 does, indeed, represent the European

Scythians beyond the sea and not the Asiatic Pointed-hat Scythians. In view of the other clues, a seemingly minor variation in the headgear of these two Scythian divisions gains in importance. The neckguard of throne-bearer No. 15 is plain, whereas that of No. 24 is serrate on at least one tomb (V) and corresponds to the scalloped neckguards of all members of delegation No. 11. Most significantly perhaps, according to a drawing of the Behistun relief<sup>197</sup> the upcurled neckguard of Skunkha is serrate like that of throne-bearer No. 24 on Tomb V.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain why the members of delegation No. 11 are dressed in Median fashion, except for the tall Scythian hat, and why the contributions of this postulated military ally of the king consist largely of Median apparel. True, it would be even more implausible to picture the distant Sakā tigraxaudā in Median dress. In the tomb reliefs both throne-bearers concerned (Nos. 15 and 24) are dressed in Scythian fashion. We are unwilling to guess that the sculptor of delegation No. 11 compounded or confused the Orthocorybantians of the Caucasus, who could plausibly be dressed like the members of delegation No. 11, and the Ister subgroup of the Scythians beyond the sea. There may be a solution of our problem, but we present it with hesitation because of the cautious wording of our source.<sup>198</sup> Herodotus, describing the "infinite tract of deserts" north of the Ister, says "none can tell with certainty what men dwell there" and, further, "I can learn of no men dwelling beyond the Ister save certain that are called Sigynnae, and wear Median dress." Herodotus then tells us that these people use chariots drawn by swift shaggy horses "unable to bear men on their backs," that their borders are said to reach almost to the Adriatic Sea, and that "they call themselves colonists from Media." He adds, suspiciously, "how this has come about I myself cannot understand" and resignedly dismisses the problem with the words "but all is possible in the long ages of time."

Further penetration into the complex and often confused problem of the Scythians and their relations with the Persian empire is outside the scope of this book. We believe, however, that we have shown sufficient reason for proposing that the Scythian campaign of Darius, referred to in his Behistun inscription<sup>199</sup> and usually interpreted as a war against the Sakā tigraxaudā east of the Caspian Sea,<sup>200</sup> was in reality directed against the European Sakā paradraya.<sup>201</sup>

The principal observations pertinent to our reliefs may be recapitulated as follows.

1. The representatives of thirty nations of the empire support the throne on the royal tombs. Three of these throne-bearers are exalted by the torque of honor: the Arabian (No. 18), the Hauma-drinking Scythian (No. 14), and the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24).

2. The status of the Arabians as allies of the Persians, at least during the reigns of Cambyses II and Darius I (see p. 111), explains the distinctive symbol worn by the Arabian throne-bearer on at least one tomb.

196. However, in contrast to the other throne-bearers of the Scythian group, the Skudrian is equipped with two spears in addition to the usual dagger (see Fig. 44 and p. 151).

197. King and Thompson, *Behistun*, Pl. XIII. A photograph taken by Cameron is not quite clear enough for verification (see the *National Geographic Magazine* XCVIII [1950] 830).

198. Herodotus v. 9.

199. DB v 20–30 (see *OPG*, pp. 133–34).

200. Cf. especially Junge, *Saka-Studien*, pp. 62 ff.

201. So, similarly, Albert Herrmann, "Die Saken und der Skythenzug des Dareios," *Archiv für Orientforschung* Beiheft I (1933) 157 ff.

3. Twenty-three delegations represent the empire in the tribute procession of the Apadana. Two of these delegations (Nos. 11 and 17), both Scythian, are distinguished from all others because all their members are equipped with personal weapons.

4. The two nations represented by armed delegations must have been of eminent military importance for the empire. No doubt they were allies, as were formerly(?) the Arabians, whose delegation (No. 20), however, is shown unarmed in the reliefs on the Apadana of Darius I and Xerxes.

5. Delegation No. 17 is identified with the Hauma-drinking Scythians, the guardians of the northeastern frontier.

6. In the tomb reliefs the throne-bearer representing the Scythians beyond the sea wears exactly the same Scythian dress and tall pointed headgear, though with serrate neckguard in one case, as the representative of the Pointed-hat Scythians (throne-bearer No. 15). The former, however, is exalted by the torque, whereas the latter is not adorned with this symbol of honor.

7. Usually delegation No. 11 is identified with the Pointed-hat Scythians, but we propose that it represents a western subgroup of the Scythians beyond the sea, namely that subgroup to which Darius refers<sup>202</sup> in recording his campaign against the "Scythians who wear the pointed hat." According to his own account, Darius crossed the sea,<sup>203</sup> defeated the Scythians, captured and replaced their chief, Skunkha, and seized their land. These Scythians cannot have been the Skudrians, to judge by the headgear of throne-bearer No. 25 (see Fig. 44) and delegation No. 19.<sup>204</sup> In contrast, Skunkha's headgear of extraordinary height emphatically pictures him as a Scythian with pointed hat and marks him as a leader of a division of the Scythians beyond the sea. Correlating Herodotus' narrative, Darius' Behistun account, and the evidence of our reliefs we must conclude that Skunkha's land was beyond the Ister.

8. All our clues combined—Darius' record of his Scythian campaign and the headgear of Skunkha at Behistun, the tomb relief of the torque-adorned throne-bearer identified by his legend as the Scythian beyond the sea in contrast to the almost identically dressed but unadorned Pointed-hat Scythian, the Hauma-drinking Scythians distinguished on the tombs by the torque and in the Apadana procession by their personal weapons—convince us that the armed delegation No. 11 in the Apadana procession represents a division of the Scythians beyond the sea, most plausibly the subgroup once ruled by Skunkha. Obviously, the chief who replaced Skunkha by the will of Darius must have been pro-Persian, encouraged in his loyalty by subsidies. His task, like that of the Hauma-drinking Scythians in the northeast, was the protection of the frontier zone in the northwest.

9. Finally, we have attempted to identify and interpret the reliefs of the Scythians wearing the pointed hat and to correlate our observations with historical or quasi-his-

torical records. Representatives of two principal divisions—peoples, tribal groups, or nations—are pictured with pointed hat in the tomb reliefs, namely the Sakā paradraya and the Sakā tigraxaudā. We propose that a western subgroup, that ruled by Skunkha, of the Sakā paradraya is actually depicted in the reliefs and suggest that a second subgroup, the Orthocorybantians, may have been located at the east end of the Caucasus. We believe that the chain of European Scythians wearing the pointed hat, that is, the Sakā paradraya, extended from the Ister as far as the Volga or perhaps to the Ural River. The Sakā tigraxaudā, since their representative on the tombs wears almost identical dress, certainly occupied a contiguous easterly tract, though not so extensive and exposed as implied by our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53). We are convinced that the Sakā haumavargā were the guardians of the northeastern, Asiatic, frontier and believe that we have disproved the notion that the Sakā tigraxaudā played a similar role. Undoubtedly these two peoples lived in neighboring areas, for their names, whenever mentioned in the royal inscriptions (DSe, DNa, and XPh), are listed consecutively, but the Sakā haumavargā always have precedence. We do not know the exact locations or the limits of their territories, but we believe that our map would indicate their relative importance more realistically if the name of the Sakā haumavargā were spread northwestward along the entire lower Jaxartes (Sir Daria) and even beyond the Aral Lake and if the name of the Sakā tigraxaudā were compressed between this lake and the northern part of the Caspian Sea.

#### THE UNARMED BABYLONIAN

The representatives of thirty nations of Darius' empire support the throne on his tomb and on the tombs of his successors. Twenty-nine throne-bearers bear weapons. Admittedly, some of these weapons do not correspond to those used in reality by the peoples represented. Nevertheless, the fact remains that twenty-nine throne-bearers, representing peoples of varied importance, are armed in contrast to the Babylonian throne-bearer (No. 16), who represents the nation which for many centuries held a pre-eminent position in southwestern Asia. The Babylonian is shown unarmed on the five tombs (I–III and V–VI) on which his relief is preserved (see Fig. 50). Evidently the omission of a weapon was deliberate and ordered by Darius or by Xerxes, who supervised and finished most of his father's architectural projects in the Persepolis area. This omission was meant to humiliate the proud Babylonians. It expressed disdain and, we believe, some measure of envy and apprehension. For possible clues as to its significance we must consider briefly certain events which throw light on the relations of the Persians and the Babylonians.

Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.) was the first Persian king to occupy Babylon.<sup>205</sup> He was received as liberator rather than conqueror. He was a benevolent ruler, who wisely understood the powerful priesthood and gained its support. There was no rebellion in Babylon during the reign of Cyrus, whose son and representative, Cambyses,

202. DB v 20–30.

203. Without doubt Darius is referring to the Bosphorus; cf. Herodotus iv. 83–89.

204. See Vol. I, Pl. 45.

205. For an account of the conquest of Babylon see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 49–58. For correct dating (Oct. 12 and 29, 539) see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) p. 13.



carried out the prudent policy of his father.<sup>206</sup> Babylon remained quiet, at least superficially, under the rule of Cambyses II (530–522) and even during the usurpation of the throne by Gaumata (Bardiya, Smerdis),<sup>207</sup> whose reign lasted about half a year.

Gaumata was slain by Darius on September 9, 522. Immediately Babylon rose in revolt, led by Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bel).<sup>208</sup> Darius defeated and killed the rebel king in December of 522, but his Behistun inscription mentions no punishment of the city or its inhabitants. In August of 521, less than a year after the first rebellion, Babylon rose again. Its leader, Nebuchadnezzar IV, is called Arkha, an Armenian, in the Behistun inscription. The second revolt ended in November of the same year with the capture of Arkha. On this occasion, to judge by Darius' laconic statement, not only the rebel king but also his foremost followers were killed. They were impaled at Babylon.<sup>209</sup>

The principal part of the Behistun inscription (cols. i–iv) deals with events of the first two years of Darius' reign (522–521). The text and the triumphal relief of Darius must have been carved soon thereafter.<sup>210</sup> The text reveals that almost all the provinces of the empire of Cyrus and Cambyses revolted against Darius. The relief undoubtedly illustrates the most important adversaries of Darius. In addition to Gaumata, it shows a second "false Smerdis" who claimed to be king in Persia, two rebel kings of Elam, single pretenders to the thrones of Media, Sagartia, and Margiana, and two rebel kings of Babylon.

Considering the rebellious actions of most of the nations, we find that the Behistun monument does not explain the humiliation of the Babylonians reflected by their weaponless representative on Darius' tomb. To the contrary, we are quite convinced that Babylonia, mentioned in the third place, after Persia and Elam, in Darius' list of the twenty-three "countries which came unto me,"<sup>211</sup> enjoyed an eminent position at the time the principal part of the Behistun record was composed and engraved. Apropos, it is interesting to note that Media (see below) is here mentioned in tenth place. In order to test the significance of the Babylonians' position in the Behistun roster, we must compare it with the subsequent rosters of nations so far known to us (see pp. 108 and 110).

The canal stelae (D Egypt) and the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscription DPe are approximately contemporaneous.<sup>212</sup> In the DPe roster Babylonia is still close to the head of the list, preceded only by Persia, Elam, and Media. In D Egypt, as in the subsequent DSe, DNa, and XPh inscriptions, the list is headed by Persia, Media, and Elam. In D Egypt, Babylonia occupies thirteenth place

but heads the second of two parallel columns of twelve provinces each and is aligned—either by accident or intentionally—with Persia at the top of the first column. Considering the Iranian inscriptions only, we find that the position of Babylonia in the rosters of nations barely changed from the time Darius recorded the nations of his empire at Behistun until he commemorated the founding of the Persepolis Terrace by the engraving of DPe and three other inscriptions (DPd, DPf, and DPg).<sup>213</sup> Then came a radical change. Babylonia is listed in tablets from Susa (DSe) as the seventeenth of thirty(?) provinces, in Darius' tomb inscription (DNa) as the sixteenth of thirty, and in Xerxes' "Daiva" text (XPh) as the twelfth of thirty-two. For our purposes the most pertinent records are DPe and DNa. We must assume that these two texts reflect deterioration of Babylonia's status between the completion of the Persepolis Terrace foundation (*ca.* 511 B.C.)<sup>214</sup> and the engraving of the DNa inscription with the relevant reliefs on Darius' tomb.

Since the Iranian records yield no further clues, we must turn to the Greek historians. Herodotus tells a romantic story of the reconquest of Babylon.<sup>215</sup> He states that Darius destroyed the walls and tore down the gates, "neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon." In one respect Herodotus' narrative agrees with Darius' account of the second rebellion, that is, in the killing of the foremost citizens, but we suspect that this was rather common procedure on such occasions. We do not know whether Herodotus' story refers to the first or the second revolt of Babylon. There is serious doubt whether part of it has bearing on either of the two insurrections, since Ctesias<sup>216</sup> assigns all but one of the details of the account to the rebellion of Babylon against Xerxes, a climactic event which is only casually implied by Herodotus.<sup>217</sup> It is difficult to reconcile these stories. Herodotus tells us that Darius destroyed critical parts of the defense system of Babylon. How then was the city able to rise against Xerxes? Darius, according to a hearsay account of Herodotus,<sup>218</sup> did not dare to remove from the temple "a statue of solid gold" which was finally taken away by Xerxes, yet Darius forced "Babylon and the rest of Assyria" to provide, in addition to a thousand talents of silver, the humiliating tribute of "five hundred boys to be eunuchs."<sup>219</sup>

It appears, however, that the final eclipse of Babylon occurred after Darius' death. We are informed<sup>220</sup> that at the beginning of Xerxes' reign the Persian king's titulary, as used by Babylonian scribes, was still "king of Babylon, king of lands," but that shortly thereafter it was prefixed by "king of Parsa and Mada." In Xerxes' fourth regnal year (482 B.C.) Babylon, led by two successive pretenders,

206. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 86–87.

207. *Ibid.* pp. 92 f.; Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* pp. 14 f.

208. Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 15; DB §§ 16–20 (see *OPG*, pp. 120–23); see also Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II 30 ff.

209. DB §§ 49–50 (see *OPG*, pp. 126 and 128); see also Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 16.

210. Col. v, recording the third rebellion of Elam and the Scythian campaign, and the relief of Skunkha were added later.

211. DB i 14 (see *OPG*, pp. 117 and 119).

212. See Cameron in *JNES* II 309.

213. See Vol. I 62 f., Fig. 24, and Pl. 7.

214. See *ibid.* p. 39.

215. Herodotus iii. 150–60.

216. See *Persica* 39a. 5–14.

217. Herodotus i. 183.

218. *Ibid.*

219. Herodotus iii. 92. Gifts of children were also contributed by the Ethiopians and the Colchians (Herodotus iii. 97), but only the Babylonians are specified as eunuchs.

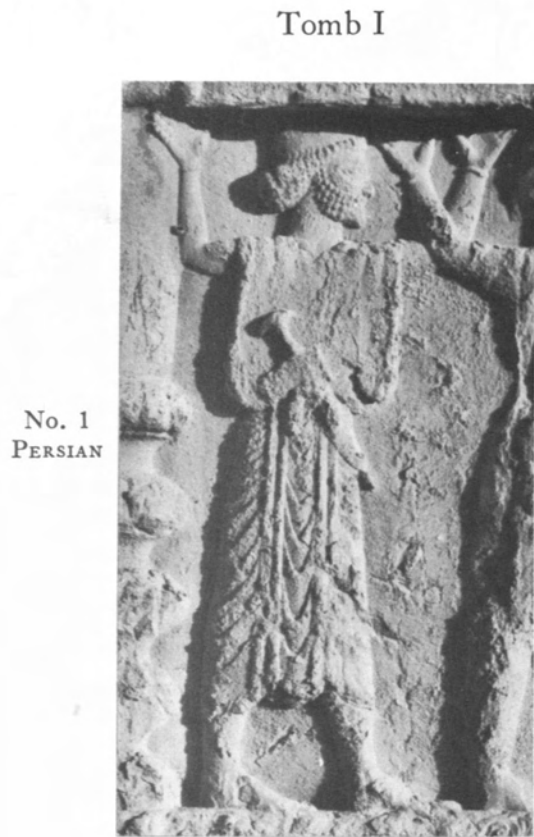
220. For convenient reference see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 236 f. For correct dates see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) p. 17.

Bel-Shimanni and Shamash-Eriba, revolted once more. The city was speedily reconquered by Xerxes' general Megabyzus. Its fortifications and sanctuaries were destroyed, and the golden statue of Marduk was removed. The city was so thoroughly destroyed that it never rose again. While the revolt of 482 is undoubtedly the last event which could be reflected by the manner in which Baby-

lonia is represented on Darius' tomb, it is conceivable, nevertheless, that Darius' tomb had been completed by the end of his long reign and that the humbled status of Babylonia—as evidenced by its position in the DNa inscription and by its weaponless throne-bearer—has bearing on an event or events that occurred during the great king's life.







Tomb IV

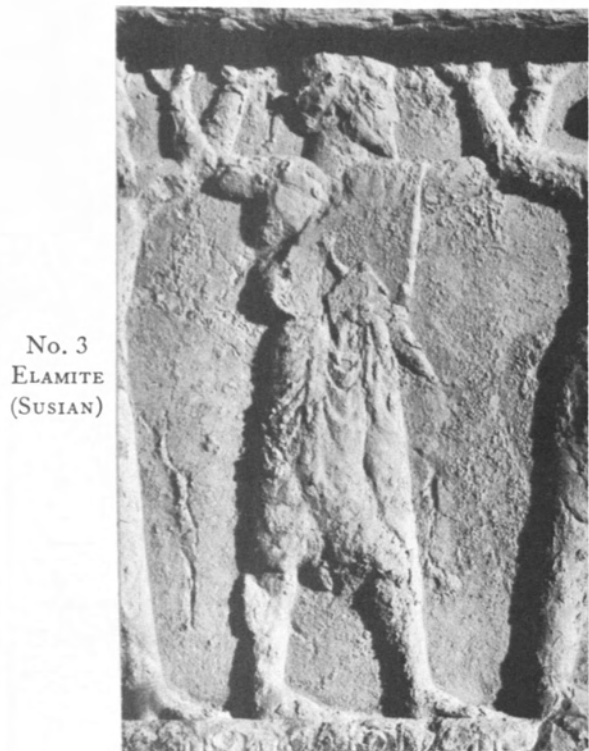


FIG. 39. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP I: PERSIAN (*see facing table*)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 1 Persian	I	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	low fillet-like cidaris	tucked candys, ridge along edges of top part, lower part marked by oblique folds at sides, V-shaped folds in center flanked by two pairs of vertical folds	doubtful; toes straight	Persian dagger tucked into belt in front, domed pommel, asymmetrical scabbard top; belt ends diverging	plain ring on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	as on Tomb I but fuller	probably as on Tomb I	as on Tomb I but with plain top and only traces of V-shaped folds	low shoes; toes straight	as on Tomb I but dagger larger	as on Tomb I	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	as on Tomb I but plain hairline above forehead	as on Tomb I	as on Tomb I but with three pleats along edges of top part	low shoes, four straps, thongs; toes straight	as on Tomb I but dagger shorter and belt ends parallel	band on each wrist	solid disk	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	preserved parts as on Tomb I	tall flaring cidaris	as on Tomb I but with two pleats on top part and no V-shaped folds	low shoes, traces of straps; toes straight	remnants of long Persian dagger	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	preserved parts as on Tomb I but beard longer	doubtful	as on Tomb I but with plain top and no V-shaped folds	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb I	one on each wrist	ring	none	as on Tomb I
No. 3 Elamite (Susian)	I	hair bunch at back; beard	probably as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	doubtful; toes straight	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	as on No. 1 of Tomb II	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb II but V-shaped folds unclear	half-boots, straps and buttons on instep and shaft	as on No. 1 of Tomb II but belt across	one on right wrist, two plain on left	none	none	as on Tomb I
	III	details not carved; contours as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb III	doubtful; toes up-turned	remnant, as on No. 1 of Tomb III; belt ends parallel	one on each wrist, unclear	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	abraded; hair bunch at back; beard	tall cylindrical cidaris	candys top probably as on No. 1 of Tomb V, no V-shaped folds	doubtful; toes straight	abraded	abraded	?	none	probably as on No. 1 of Tomb V
	VI	as on No. 1 of Tomb VI	doubtful	as on No. 1 of Tomb V	half-boots; toes straight	as on No. 1 of Tomb VI but dagger longer	one on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP I (see Fig. 39)



Tomb I

Tomb II

Tomb III

Tomb IV

Tomb V

Tomb VI

No. 2  
MEDIAN



No. 20  
ARMENIAN



No. 21  
CAPPADOCIAN



FIG. 40. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIA: WEST MEDIAN (*see facing table*)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELET	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 2 Median	I	hair unclear, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, stringy tip	domed hat, cheek flap pulled up, tassel at back	remnant of Median coat; long Median trousers, end of left trouser leg marked	combined with trousers (?); toes straight	trace of dagger	plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long curly beard; mustache	domed hat, probably no flap, tassel at back	as on Tomb I but end of right trouser leg probably marked	low shoes(?); toes straight	trace of dagger	two plain rings on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb I
	III	details doubtful, perhaps not carved	domed hat, flaps pulled up and overlapping at back, long neckguard	Median knee-length coat and long trousers, parallel ends of coat belt in front, ends of trouser legs not marked	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear suspended from dagger belt	band on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	doubtful except short beard	domed hat, details doubtful except tip of long neckguard	as on Tomb III but belt ends unclear	as on Tomb III	traces of dagger gear	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	curled hair at back; long beard curled on cheek, plain or stringy tip	domed hat, neckguard or tassel at back	Median coat and trousers, belt ends parallel	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb III but thigh strap slack	unclear	?	none	as on Tomb I
No. 20 Armenian	I	?	?	trouser leg preserved	abraded; toes straight	?	?	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	domed hat, probably no flap, tassel at back	Median knee-length coat and rather tight trousers, coat belt destroyed, ends of trouser legs marked and left leg notched	probably low shoes; toes straight	as on No. 2 of Tomb III	apparently two plain rings on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	?	?	lower edge of Median(?) coat preserved; long Median trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	?	?	?	?	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	as on Tomb II	domed hat, flap pulled up, long neckguard and tassel at back	Median coat and trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear	one on preserved wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	doubtful except beard	contours as on Tomb V	Median coat and trousers, belt ends parallel, ends of trouser legs not marked	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard; thigh strap slack, dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	?	?	?	?
No. 21 Cappadocian	I	?	?	Median trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II but belt ends omitted and end of left trouser leg unclear	probably low shoes; toes straight	as on No. 20 of Tomb II but dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain rings on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	doubtful except short beard	domed hat, flap at side, tassel at back	Median coat and trousers suggested by contours	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	traces of hilt and scabbard tip	?	?	?	right hand as on Tomb II
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	as on No. 20 of Tomb V	as on No. 20 of Tomb V but more stylized	as on No. 20 of Tomb V but details unclear	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	remnants of Median dagger and gear	one on each wrist, undulating	apparently disk	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	doubtful except beard	domed hat with neckguard suggested by contours	as on No. 20 of Tomb VI	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	as on No. 20 of Tomb VI	?	?	none	left hand probably as on Tomb II

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIA (see Fig. 40)