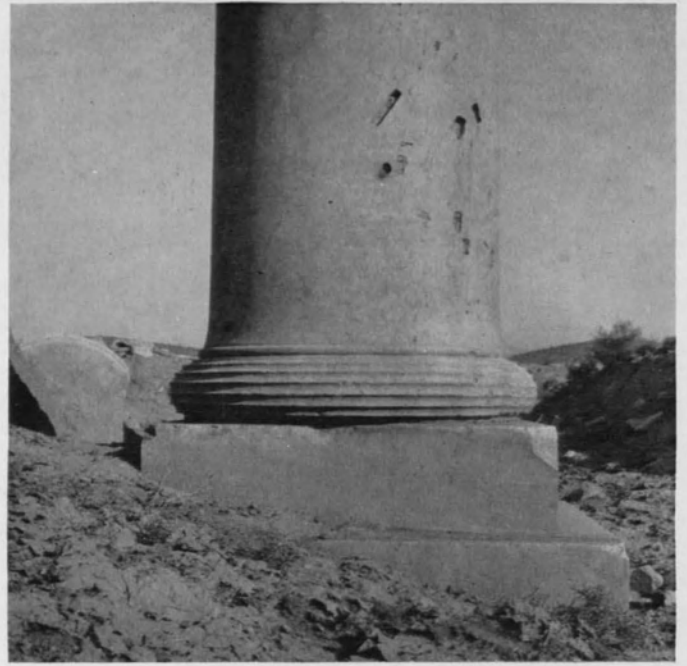
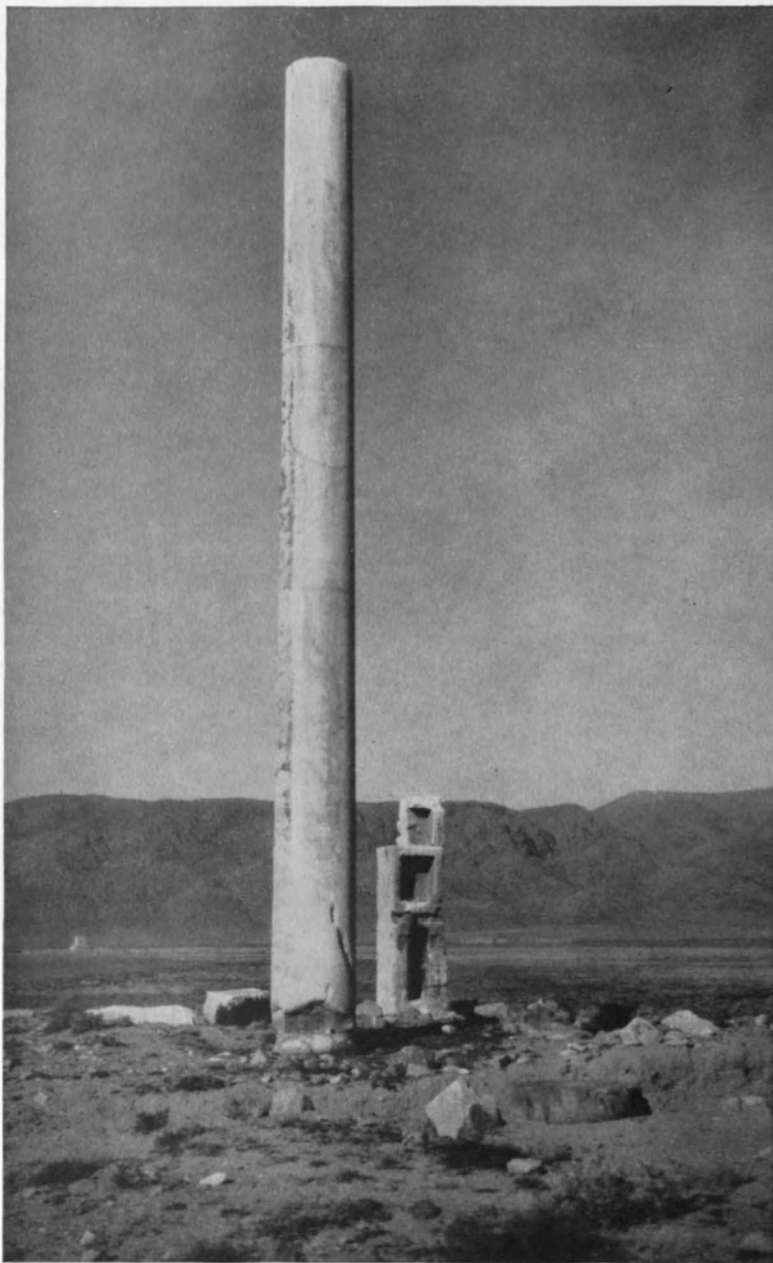




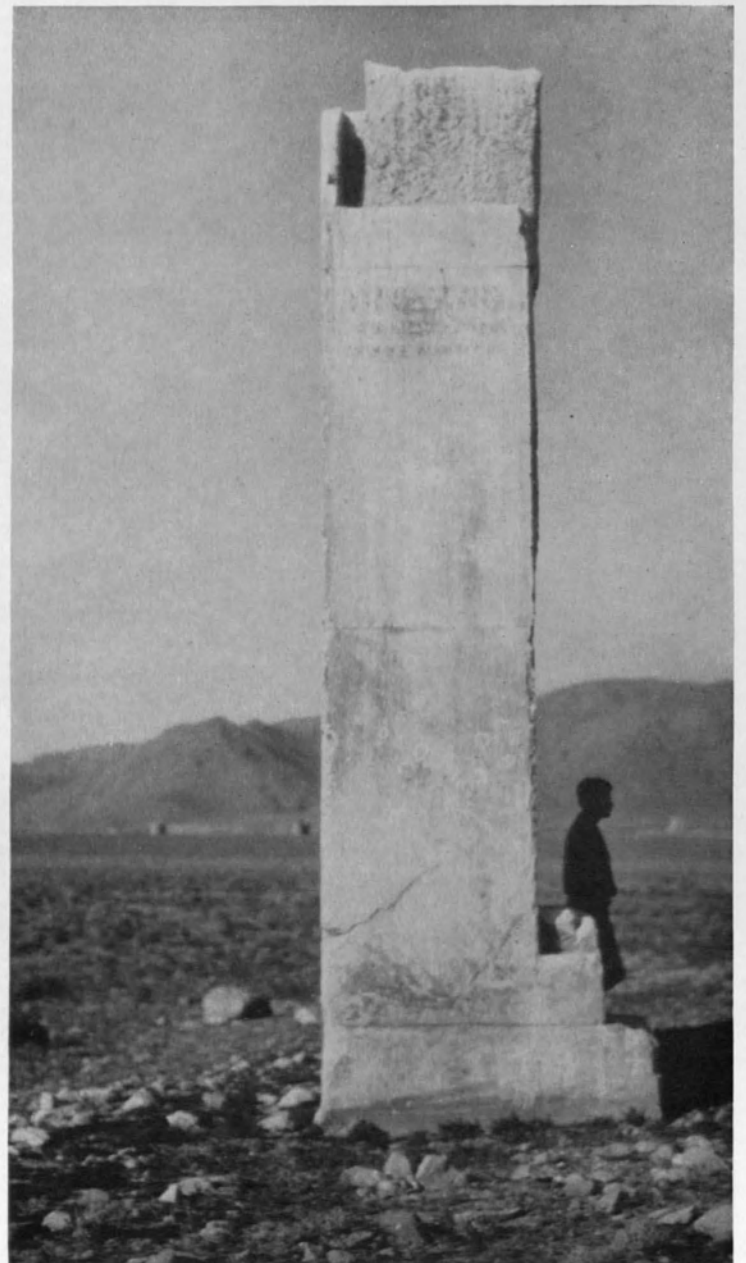
*A*



*B*



*C*



*D*

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



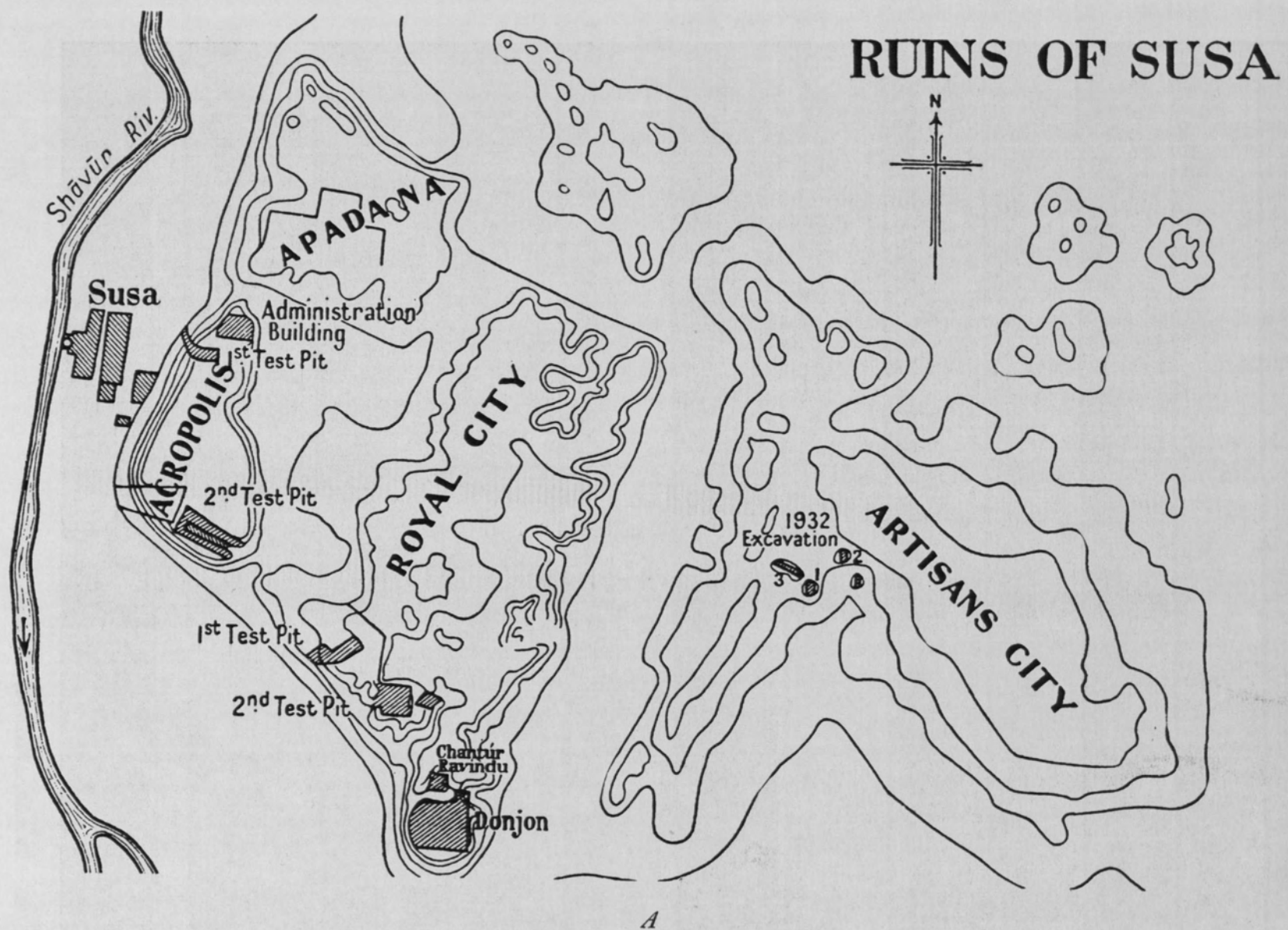


FIG. 9. SUSA. A. SKETCH MAP OF SITE. REPRODUCED FROM POPE, *A Survey of Persian Art I*, FIG. 6, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. B. AIR VIEW OF WESTERN SECTION (Oct. 23, 1935; 8:12 A.M.; direction, approximately NNE)





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



FOUILLES DE SUSE  
PALAIS  
DES  
ROIS ACHÉMÉNIDES

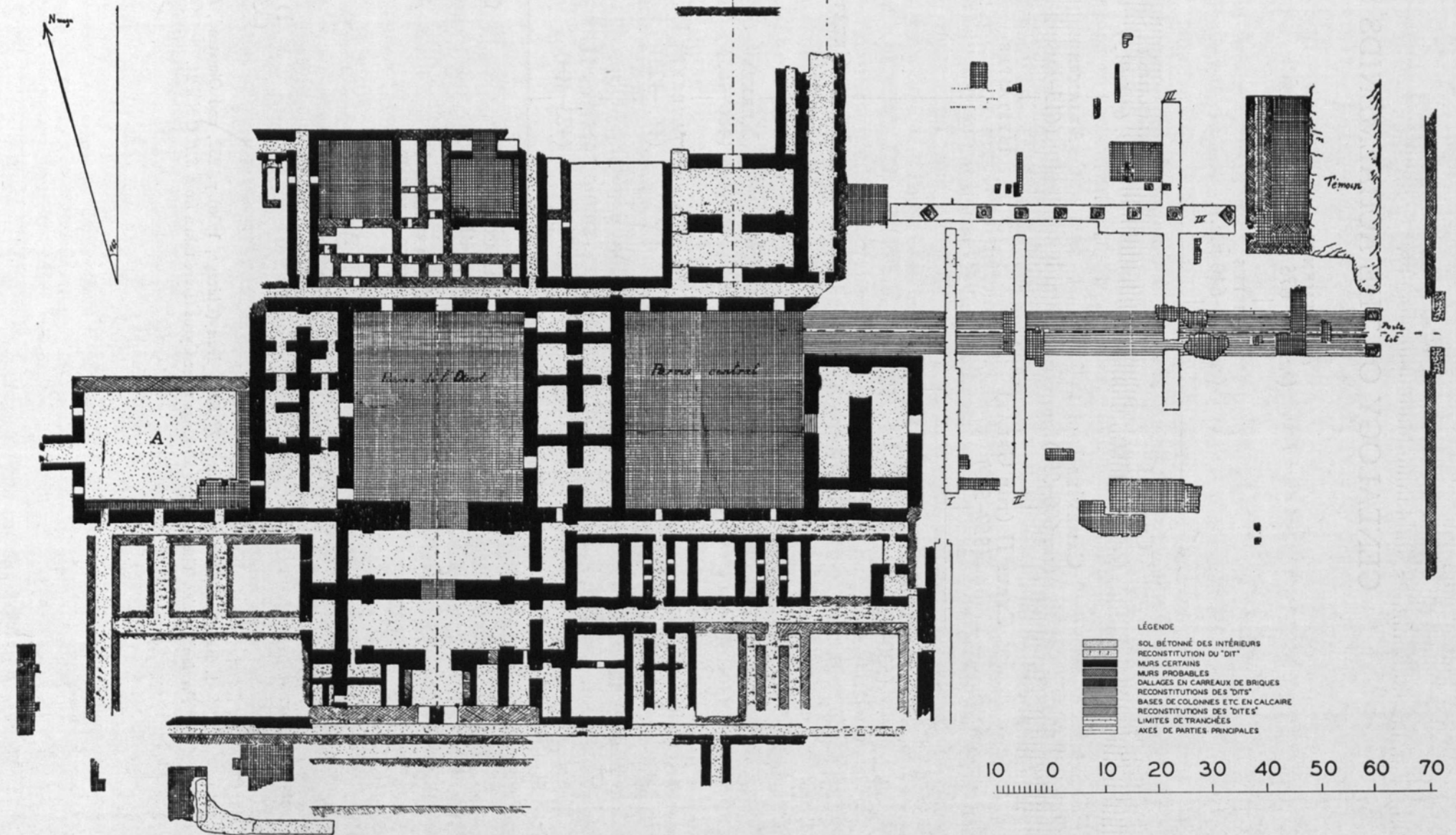
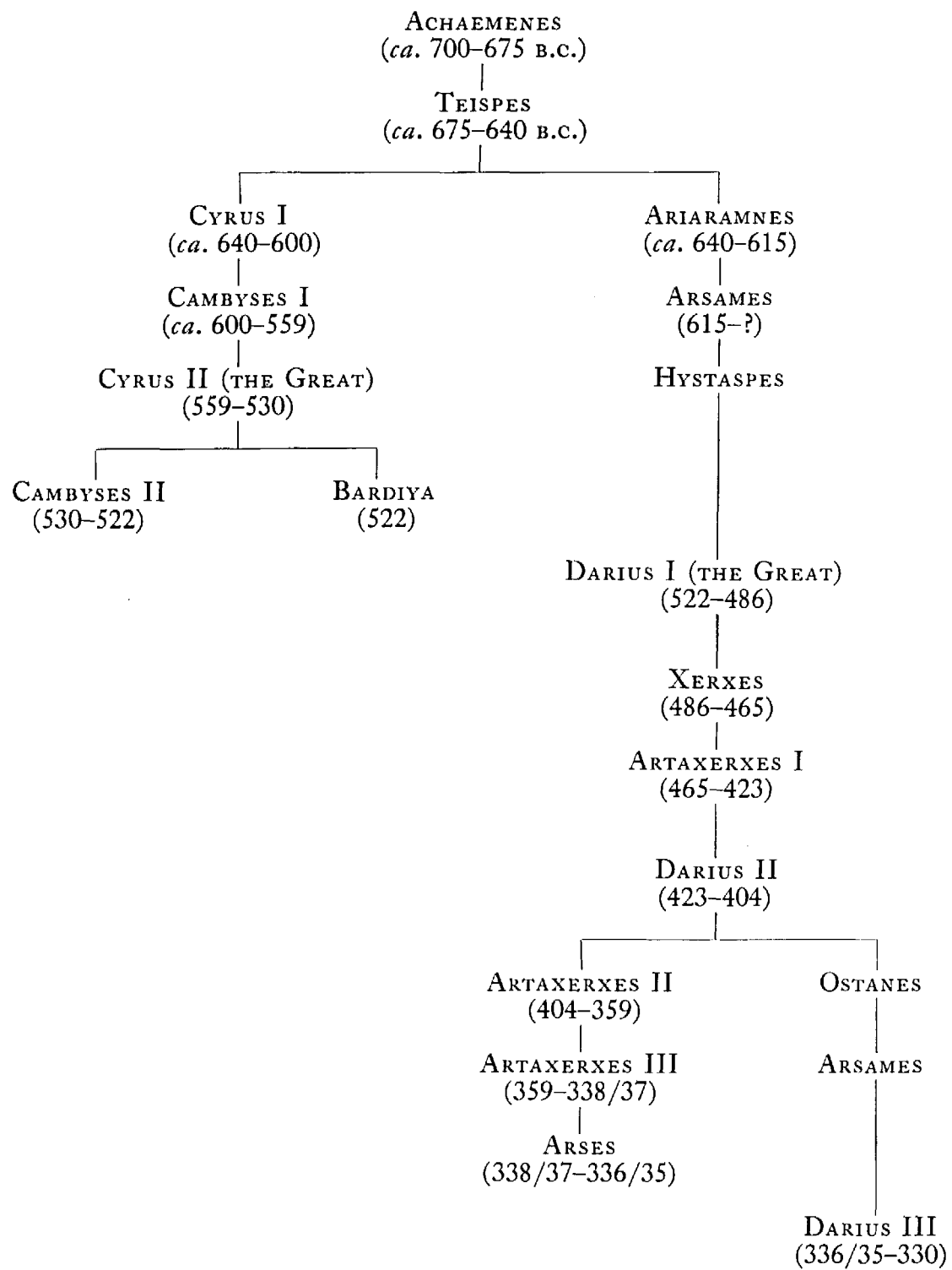


FIG. 11. SUSA. SKETCH PLAN OF ACHAEMENID STRUCTURES ON APADANA MOUND. REPRODUCED FROM *RA* XIX, PL. II, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE

# GENEALOGY OF THE ACHAEMENIDS<sup>1</sup>



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

## THE EARLY ACHAEMENIDS

## PRECURSORS OF CYRUS II, THE GREAT

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

Ariaramnes, great king, king of kings, king in Persia,<sup>8</sup> son of Teispes the king, grandson of Achaemenes.

Says Ariaramnes the king: This land Persia<sup>9</sup> which I hold, the (land) having good horses, having good men, (this) to me the great god Ahuramazda presented. By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this land.

Says Ariaramnes the king: May Ahuramazda bear aid to me. . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. *AI*: "der König über die Pārsā."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In October 539 Cyrus entered the city of Babylon, which had already been captured by Gobryas, the king's governor of Elam. We know that Cyrus restored the temples of

Babylonia, Assyria, and Elam and that he gave the order to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. He restored the city wall of Babylon also, but there is no information in regard to the construction of any new palatial building in this city.<sup>19</sup> Nothing is known, furthermore, of any Cyrus palace at Susa, which had been under Persian rule since 546.<sup>20</sup>

### PASARGADAE, THE CAPITAL OF CYRUS THE GREAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. Curzon, *Persia* II 70–90.

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

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

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

27. Stein in *Iraq* III 218.

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

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

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

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

32. *AMI* I 8–10.

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

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



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

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

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

The Platform, now called Takht-i-Sulaiman or Takht-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman ("Throne of the Mother of Solomon"), has often been described.<sup>40</sup> Our aerial survey strip (Fig. 3) shows that it juts out from the top of a truncated conoid hill rising about 50 meters above the plain. The height of the Platform proper is about 12 meters. Its principal, northwestern, façade is 78.84 m. long. The reported total length of its recessed southwestern face is 79.33 m. The shorter, northeastern, face has a similar, though smaller,

rectangular recess. The core of the Platform is probably just rubble, buttressed by a rather crude wall, which in turn is incased in a well constructed ashlar façade (Fig. 7 A).<sup>41</sup> Its light-colored stones were joined without mortar; but the use of iron clamps, presumably set in lead, is indicated by many holes left by the pilferers of the metal. The outer faces of the stones, many of which bear masons' marks,<sup>42</sup> show various stages of finish.<sup>43</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

44. *IF*, pp. 150 f. 45. *AMI* I 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

37. *Athār-e Irān* III 43 and 66 f.

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

39. *AMI* I 7 and sketch map.

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



traced in the northeastern and southeastern parts of this section.<sup>52</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

55. 2.35 m. high without headdress.

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

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

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

59. *AMI* I 11.

60. *IAE*, Pl. XLIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

66. *IF*, p. 184.

67. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 12.

68. *IAE*, p. 257.

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

70. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 12.

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

72. *IAE*, Pl. XLII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

75. *Ibid.* p. 13.

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

77. Herzfeld, *AMI* I 13.

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

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

80. *IAE*, Pl. LXXII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There can no longer be doubt that the stone structure called by the natives Qabr-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman ("Tomb of the Mother of Solomon")<sup>90</sup> is the Tomb of Cyrus the Great, mentioned by ancient historians and frequently described in modern times (Figs. 5 A and 6 A).<sup>91</sup> A terraced pyramidal basis of six steps, varying in height, carries the tomb proper: a small house with gabled roof.<sup>92</sup> Cyma moldings encircle the cornice and the base of the house and the base of the substructure also.<sup>93</sup> The tomb is built of blocks of yellowish-white limestone. As usual, the stones were set without mortar; but holes left by metal-pilferers indicate that here as elsewhere iron clamps had been used to strengthen the fabric. The plan of the structure is oblong rectangular. According to the records of Flandin and Coste<sup>94</sup> the axes of the pyramid base (without foundation of stone slabs which is shown as a seventh step) measure about 12.45 × 13.30 m., and the corresponding measurements of the tomb cella are 5.30 × 6.34 m. Walls 1.50 m. thick inclose the small windowless and flat-ceiled chamber,<sup>95</sup> in which the body of Cyrus had once rested in a golden sarcophagus beside the mortuary equipment described by Aristobulus.<sup>96</sup> The total height of the tomb cella (to the theoretically reconstructed gable top) is 5.55 m., that of the substructure about 5.50 m. Dieulafoy proposes that the entrance to the chamber—facing roughly northwest—had two separate doors, one of which had to be shut before the other could be opened.<sup>97</sup> We cannot accept his suggestion. A look at the measurements of the entryway<sup>98</sup> convinces us first of all that doors of this kind could not have been in their places when the king's body was carried inside; there was simply not enough room.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, the latest survey of the tomb<sup>100</sup>

shows a minute semicircular recess in each of the two corners of the small vestibule which are situated nearest to the exit. There are no explanatory notes to the plan concerned, but we must assume that these recesses mark the locations of the pivoting devices of a door with two leaves. If our assumption is correct, the wings of the door when opened fitted into the lateral recesses,<sup>101</sup> leaving a clear passage for the transport of such objects as did not exceed the dimensions of the exit (.78 m. wide and 1.30 m. high). Such an arrangement is convincingly demonstrated by the eastern entrance of the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 170), whose cruciform plan resembles that of the entryway to Cyrus' tomb.

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

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

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

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

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

103. Herodotus ii. 1.

104. *Anabasis* vi. 29. 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

92. Sloping more than 36°.

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

94. Pls. 195-96.

95. Measuring 2.30 × 3.18 m. and 2.10 m. high.

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

98. Flandin and Coste, Pls. 195-96.

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

100. *IAE*, Fig. 325.



of Alexander.<sup>111</sup> Neither the historians nor the extant remains of structures inform us whether any buildings were added by the successors of Cyrus.

Anahita's shrine at Pasargadae, mentioned in connection with the traditional inauguration of Artaxerxes II,

probably existed from the beginning of the site. It is conjectural, however, whether this shrine, in which Cyrus the Younger supposedly planned to assassinate his brother,<sup>112</sup> coincides with the remnants of the Sacred Precinct (see pp. 20–21).

### CAMBYSES II AND BARDIYA

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

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

Cambyes died in Palestine,<sup>116</sup> perhaps by his own hand, after he received word of the revolt of Bardiya.<sup>117</sup> Only two structures in Iran have been mentioned in connection

with Cambyes' name; both are tombs. We have cited Arrian's puzzling reference to the "tomb of Cyrus and Cambyes" (p. 24), and we have pointed out that a stone platform—Takht-i-Rustam, near Persepolis—has been suggested as Cambyes' unfinished burial place (n. 106). If this assumption should ever be verified, one would have to conclude that Cambyes, not Darius, originated the idea of transferring the capital of the homeland from Pasargadae to the Persepolis plain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

112. Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3. 4.

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

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

## DARIUS I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

## EGYPT

## DARIUS I

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

granite, measured at least 3 meters in height, 2.30 m. in width, and .78 m. in thickness. The engraving on one face includes the double image of the king beneath the winged sun disk. Darius' name is written in Old Persian cuneiform on two central tablets (Dar. Sz. a) held by the royal figures. His name and titles (Dar. Sz. b) appear in Old Persian on one side of the scene and in Elamite and Babylonian on the opposite side. The foundation record of the canal (Dar. Sz. c), also written in cuneiform characters in the same three languages,<sup>127</sup> covers the rest of the surface. The principal part of this document states that, after seizing Egypt, Darius ordered this canal to be dug from the river, Nile by name, which flows in Egypt, to the sea which extends to Persia. Darius emphasizes that the task was actually completed and that ships went from Egypt through the canal to Persia.<sup>128</sup> On the opposite face of the stela, crowned by the winged sun disk and the two Niles, a longer though mutilated text is engraved in Egyptian hieroglyphs. It includes a fragmentary list of nations of the Achaemenid empire and mentions, finally, a flotilla of twenty-four (or thirty-two) ships carrying tribute (or proceeds from taxation) from Egypt to Persia.<sup>129</sup>

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

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

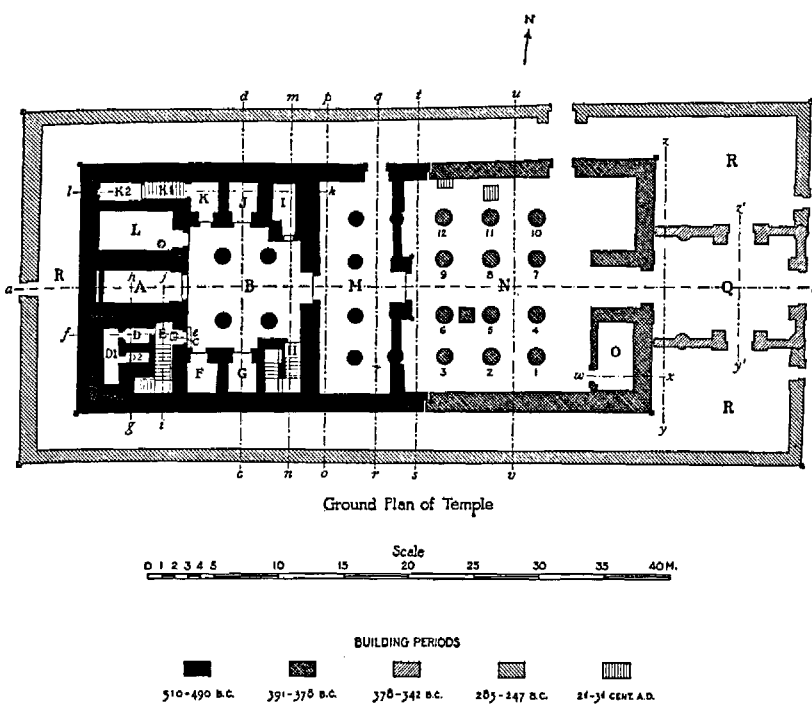


FIG. 12. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF HIBIS. SCALE, ABOUT 1:600. REPRODUCED FROM WINLOCK, *The Temple of Hibis*, PL. XXXII, WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

the Gulf of Suez. Its completion was commemorated by a number of large stelae erected along its course.<sup>125</sup> The extant stelae (four or five) are badly mutilated. The least injured specimen, that of Shaluf (or el-Kabrit), has to serve as an example for the others.<sup>126</sup> It was discovered 33 kilometers north of Suez on the west bank of the modern successor of the Darius canal. The stela, made of reddish

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

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

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

127. Bab. version destroyed.

128. Versus Diodorus Siculus i. 33. 9.

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

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

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

132. *Ibid.* p. 7.

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

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

#### XERXES

A short time before the death of Darius Egypt revolted; but within a year after Xerxes' accession to the throne the country was pacified again. The king's brother Achaemenes was appointed satrap. Xerxes himself, we are told, never visited Egypt. Architectural activities in the Nile Valley during his reign are suggested by six inscriptions—mentioning his name and dated from the second to the thirteenth year—in the quarries of Wadi el-Hammamat.<sup>139</sup> However, according to the most recent information, no extant buildings in Egypt can be assigned to any Persian ruler of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty after

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

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

135. E.g. *ibid.* Pl. VII.

136. See *OIP* LXV 14.

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

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

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

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

140. Winlock, *op. cit.* p. 8.

141. See *ibid.* n. 4.

Darius I.<sup>140</sup> The stone quarried in Wadi el-Hammamat was supposedly used for sarcophagi, not for structures.<sup>141</sup>

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

#### ARTAXERXES I

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

#### DARIUS II AND ARTAXERXES II

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

#### ARTAXERXES III, ARSES, AND DARIUS III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## BABYLON

### DARIUS I

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

Red flooring, presumably indicating a secondary occupation during the Persian period, was noticed in the

150. *Ibid.* pp. 430 f.

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

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

153. *Ibid.* pp. 720 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

161. *Ibid.* p. 215.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

175. Ezra 6:1.

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

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

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

## XERXES

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

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

## ARTAXERXES I

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

## DARIUS II

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

## DARIUS I

At Susa the ruins of the Achaemenid palaces are clustered on the Apadana Mound (Figs. 9–11) of the extensive site.<sup>193</sup> We are not informed which parts of the "Royal City" and of the "Artisans' City" were occupied by the contemporaneous town of Susa. It is known, however, that the mound of the Royal City is capped by a thick stratum of Achaemenian, Parthian, and Arab debris, and some fragments of marble columns were here found.<sup>194</sup> We are told that the highest debris mass of the site, the Acropolis Mound (formerly called the "Citadel"), ap-

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

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

181. *Ibid.* p. 230.

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

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

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

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

186. *Ibid.* p. 369.

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

## ARTAXERXES II

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

## ARTAXERXES III

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

## DARIUS III

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

## SUSA

parently was not inhabited during the Achaemenian period,<sup>195</sup> although this section revealed important pre-Achaemenid remains, such as Elamite temples, the famous stela with the code of Hammurabi, the triumphal stela of Naramsin, and so forth. The Achaemenian stratum of the Apadana Mound, as far as it is known to us, consists of three principal groups of structural remains: fortifications, a palace compound, and a hypostyle hall (the apadana).

Marcel Dieulafoy's elaborate reconstruction of the defense system of Achaemenid Susa<sup>196</sup> has not been verified

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

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

190. *Ibid.* p. 376.

191. See *ibid.* p. 437.

192. See *ibid.* p. 517.

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

194. M. L. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius 1<sup>er</sup> à Suse, V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C.* (Paris, 1914) p. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

The palace referred to in the record under consideration is called *hadish*, a term which Xerxes used at Persepolis in designating his own residential palace in one set of inscriptions (see p. 238), whereas he calls the same palace *tachara*

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

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

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

197. MDP I, Pl. II; see esp. p. 88.

198. *Op. cit.* Fig. 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

206. The term is completely preserved in line 27.

207. Herzfeld: "material" (*AI*, p. 16).

208. Presumably by water.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

219. See Pillet, *Le palais de Darius I<sup>er</sup>*, pp. 55 and 87.

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

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

222. *Ibid.* Nos. 14–19 (pp. 59–70).

223. *Ibid.* Nos. 20–21 (pp. 71–76).

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

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

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

228. *Ibid.* No. 13:4; see also Pillet, *Le palais de Darius I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

242. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 44.

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

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

Whereas stone relief—presumably painted in most cases—was the principal ornamentation of the palatial structures of Persepolis, the *hadish* of Susa was embellished mainly with polychrome friezes or panels of glazed bricks, often duplicating, or at least resembling, individual or grouped persons, animals, monsters, and floral motifs of the Persepolis repertoire. Bricks forming the figure of a winged bull were found scattered near a row of eight column bases in the eastern part of the *hadish*<sup>249</sup> and further fragments of the same subject lay in the southeast corner of the westernmost hall (A on Fig. 11).<sup>250</sup> A frieze of walking lions bordered by rows of palmettes, triangles, and rosettes was found between the apadana and the *hadish* on a pavement corresponding to the level of the former and therefore assignable to the time of Artaxerxes II (see p. 35).<sup>251</sup> Near the northeast corner of the central courtyard occurred many fragments of an impressive panel showing the winged disk symbol above two winged sejant and regardant man-lions.<sup>252</sup> Glazed bricks picturing parts of horned griffins were found in the pavement of the western courtyard.<sup>253</sup> Many fragments of the same pattern occurred in the large western hall (A on Fig. 11).<sup>254</sup> Frag-

ments of winged bulls mentioned above and parts of a frieze showing a row of guards were found at the same spot.<sup>255</sup> The figures of the soldiers are not raised in relief, and they are somewhat smaller than those attributed to the founder of the palace (see below). Many additional fragments of guard friezes uncovered near the east gate to the palace area have been tentatively attributed—for reasons not specified—to Artaxerxes II.<sup>256</sup> Other files of guards—some white, others brown—were discovered “beneath substructures of a gate belonging to the palace of Artaxerxes (II) Memnon” and have been assigned with a good measure of certainty to the reign of Darius I.<sup>257</sup> Brick inscriptions mentioning Darius were found to have been flanked by antithetic files of such soldiers.<sup>258</sup> Combined geometrical and floral patterns had once decorated the upper sections of the friezes.<sup>259</sup>

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

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

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

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

245. Herzfeld, *AMI* III 53 f.

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

247. Pillet, *Le palais de Darius I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 73.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from these questionable fragments and, possibly, remnants of such columns as may have been reused by Artaxerxes II, nothing remains of the apadana of Darius I at Susa.<sup>274</sup> However, it is reasonable to assume that the audience halls of Susa and Persepolis, founded by the same

royal builder, were similar, or in essential features even alike, in plan and elevation. It is significant in this respect that the extant portions of the Artaxerxes apadana at Susa almost exactly duplicate the corresponding parts of the Darius apadana at Persepolis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

266. De Mecquenim in *RA* XIX 112.

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

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

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

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

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

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



## XERXES

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

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

## ARTAXERXES I

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

## DARIUS II

Our information with regard to structures erected at Susa by Darius II is derived entirely from a few pieces of column bases on which fragments of controversial inscriptions are preserved. One text mentioning stone parts of a building made by Darius the king has been assigned to

Darius I<sup>293</sup> and to Darius II.<sup>294</sup> The text of a second column base is assumed to refer to a palace started by Artaxerxes I and finished by Darius II.<sup>295</sup>

## ARTAXERXES II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

297. *Ibid.* p. 376.

298. *Ibid.* p. 375.

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

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

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

302. See Pillet, *Le palais de Darius I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 61.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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