

Elam and Persia

Edited by

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The Seal of “Kuraš the Anzanite, Son of Šešpeš” (Teispes), PFS 93: Susa – Anšan – Persepolis*

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§1. Overview; §2. Introduction; §3. Composition, Iconography, and Style of PFS 93*; §4. Contexts for PFS 93*; §4.1. Antique Seals in the PFS Corpus; §4.2. Assyria; §5. Conclusions

1. Overview

PFS 93* from the Fortification archive at Persepolis, the “heirloom” seal carrying an inscription of “Kuraš the Anzanite, Son of Šešpeš,” has figured prominently in almost all discussions of southwestern Iran in the late Neo-Elamite period (post-destruction of Susa by Aššurbanipal, ca. 646 B.C., down to the reign of Cyrus II, ca. 550–530 B.C.). Indeed, no other artifact from this period carries as many chronological, genealogical, ethnic, historical, and stylistic burdens as PFS 93*. This study will seek to move PFS 93* from its Susa/Elam nexus and (re)situate it in an Anšan/Fārs nexus, a (re)situation that both the find-context of the seal, a state archive at Persepolis, and the place-name mentioned in the inscription on the seal itself, Anšan, strongly suggest. Central to the thesis present here are critical examinations of (1) the thematic, compositional, and stylistic qualities of PFS 93*; (2) the chronological context of the seal, based upon the analysis of its theme, composition, and style; (3) the functional context of the seal in association with other antique seals used in the Fortification archive.

2. Introduction

Of the hundreds of seals preserved as impressions in the large archive of administrative tablets from Persepolis, known today as the Persepolis Fortification archive, by far the most often-discussed one is the seal designated as PFS 93* (figs. 1–12).¹ The scholarly interest in this seal

1. The Persepolis Fortification archive, found in chambers of the northern fortification at Persepolis (whence the name of the archive), represents the administration of a food-ration system that covered an amorphous area consisting of the environs of Persepolis (Parša), Pasargadae (Batrakataš), and Shiraz (Tirazziš) and a broad(?) expanse to the northwest along the royal road to Susa (see the discussion of the western extension of the administrative region represented by the Fortification archive in Henkelman 2008: 110–17). The texts from the Fortification archive concern the collection, storage, transfer, and disbursal of food rations to workers (mainly agricultural), administrators, some of the Achaemenid elite, animals, and deities in the various



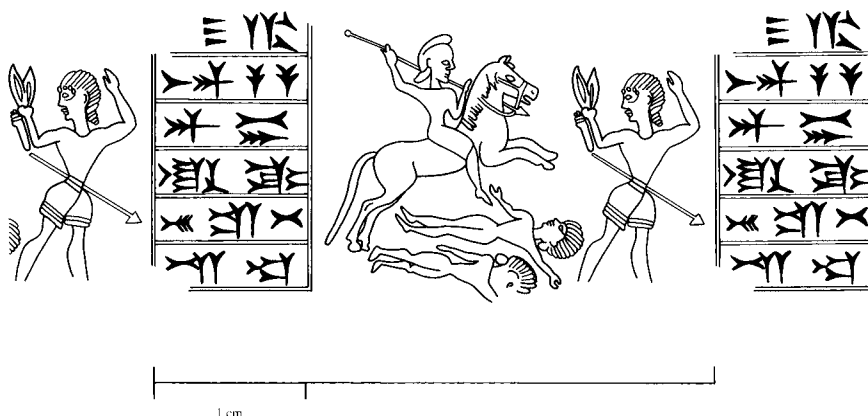


Fig. 1. Collated line drawing of PFS 93* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 2. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 692 (left edge).



Fig. 4. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 692 (upper edge).



Fig. 3. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 692 (reverse).

administrative regions of the system; the payments of food rations for travelers (of various social statuses and administrative ranks) moving on the royal road between Persepolis and Susa (often to locales in the far western and eastern edges of the empire) also figure very prominently in the archive. The archive dates to the thirteenth through twenty-eighth years in the reign of Darius the Great (i.e., 509–493 B.C.; see Henkelman 2008: 123–25 for these dates, drawing on evidence from the unpublished NN texts). The literature on the archive is now substantial. For general overviews and bibliography, see Garrison and Root 2001: 9–16; Briant 2002: 422–48, 456–69, 938–47; Briant 1997: 11, 43, 85–86; Briant 2001: 18, 103, 114, and 133–36. Henkelman (2008: 65–179) and Briant et al. (2008) now provide extensive and excellent introductions to the archive. For the seals applied on the PF tablets (i.e., the PFS corpus), see Garrison and Root 2001: 1–32; Garrison 2000.



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Fig. 5. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 693 (left edge).



Fig. 6. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 694 (left edge).



Fig. 7. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 694 (reverse).



Fig. 8. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 695 (reverse).

has been due almost exclusively to its Elamite inscription. That inscription, six lines contained within a panel with case lines, reads: “Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpeš” (Teispes).²

Naming in the inscription, as it appears, a ruler of the Teispid line of kings of Anšan, PFS 93*, more than any artifact from the period of the late 7th and early-middle 6th centuries B.C. in southwestern Iran, has been summoned to support wide-ranging discussions of chronology, genealogy, history, and social identity connected with the peoples and ruling elite of the Khūzestān lowlands, the Susianna, and highlands of eastern Khūzestān and Fārs, Anšan (see Maps

2. [DŠ] ¹ku¹-ráš / Aš²an-za- / an-x- / ra DUMU / še-iš-be- / iš¹-na, a slight emendation of the reading by Charles Jones found in Garrison and Root 1996/98: fig. 2a and Garrison 1991: 4. The exact reading and translation of the full inscription is still a matter of debate. See Henkelman 2003: 193 n. 39 on the epigraphic issues concerning the reading of the sign represented by -x- (note also Waters and Quintana, this volume); Henkelman (2008: 55 n. 135) now reads Aš²an-za-an-ir¹-ra, following Steve (1992: 89), and translates the word as ‘of Anzan’ (see also the comments of Waters, this volume). Hallock 1969 has the line spacing incorrect in his glossary (*Kuraš*, sv). The importance of the seal was recognized already by Herzfeld, who took at least three photographs of impressions of PFS 93* at Persepolis soon after the excavation of the archive in 1933/34 (Dusinberre 2005: 150–56). Those prints are now in the Herzfeld Papers archive in Washington D.C. As Dusinberre (2005: 155) notes, Herzfeld must have examined the tablets fairly carefully in order to isolate some impressions of this seal. His singling out of PFS 93* surely indicates that he had read the inscription and recognized its importance. By March 1950, Hallock had transliterated some 1400 tablets; he certainly would have encountered PFS 93* by then and knew of its importance. Of course, in 1969 he included the inscription in his glossary (*Kuraš*, sv). Hallock made sketch drawings of his “multiple occurrence” seals, and PFS 93* is included among those drawings. His sketch of PFS 93* is not dated.





Fig. 9. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 2033 (left edge).



Fig. 10. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 2033 (reverse).



Fig. 11. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 2033 (upper edge).



Fig. 12. Impression of PFS 93* on PF 2033 (bottom edge).

A and B).³ It is not my purpose here to review the considerable scholarship that has arisen over the identification of this Kuraš the Anzanite, his relationship, if any, to Kuraš, king of Parsuaš, who sent tribute and a son to Aššurbanipal following Aššurbanipal's sack of Susa (the latest edition of Aššurbanipal's annals, edition H2 II' 7'–13', ca. 643 B.C.), or to Kuraš the son of Teispes, grandfather of Cyrus the Great (Cyrus cylinder, line 21).⁴ Nor do I intend to address directly the difficult questions concerning the toponyms Parsua/Parsuaš/Parsumaš and Anšan, nor the complex and vexing issue of what it meant in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. to call oneself an "Anzanite" and/or a "king of Anšan."⁵ Rather, I want to address the remarkable visual

3. Not all commentators accept that the names are connected with the Teispid royal house (e.g., Quintana, this volume).

4. The linking of PFS 93* with Kuraš the son of Teispes (i.e., Cyrus I) and the dating of both the seal and the person to the time of Aššurbanipal have received much attention (cf., e.g., the discussions in Miroschedji 1985: 285–87; Bollweg 1988; Garrison 1991: 3–7; Vallat 1996: 392; Stronach 1997: 37–39, 40–41; Potts 1999: 287–88; Waters 1999: 104–5; Briant 2002: 16–18, 20–21, 877–78, 880; Stronach 2003: 257–58; Young 2003: 243–45; Waters 2004: 94; Potts 2005: 18–19; Henkelman forthcoming a; Waters, this volume). The very late dating of PFS 93* (based on stylistic grounds) proposed by Young (2003: 245) seems exceptionally difficult to support. I have rightly been criticized in my characterization (Garrison 1991: 6) of Cyrus II as an *Achaemenid* king (Henkelman 2003: 190 n. 32).

5. On the toponyms, see Potts 2005: 18–22, with recent bibliography. Note also the important comments by Miroschedji 2003: 36 on the Elamite royal titles, the need to differentiate clearly between Elam and Anšan,





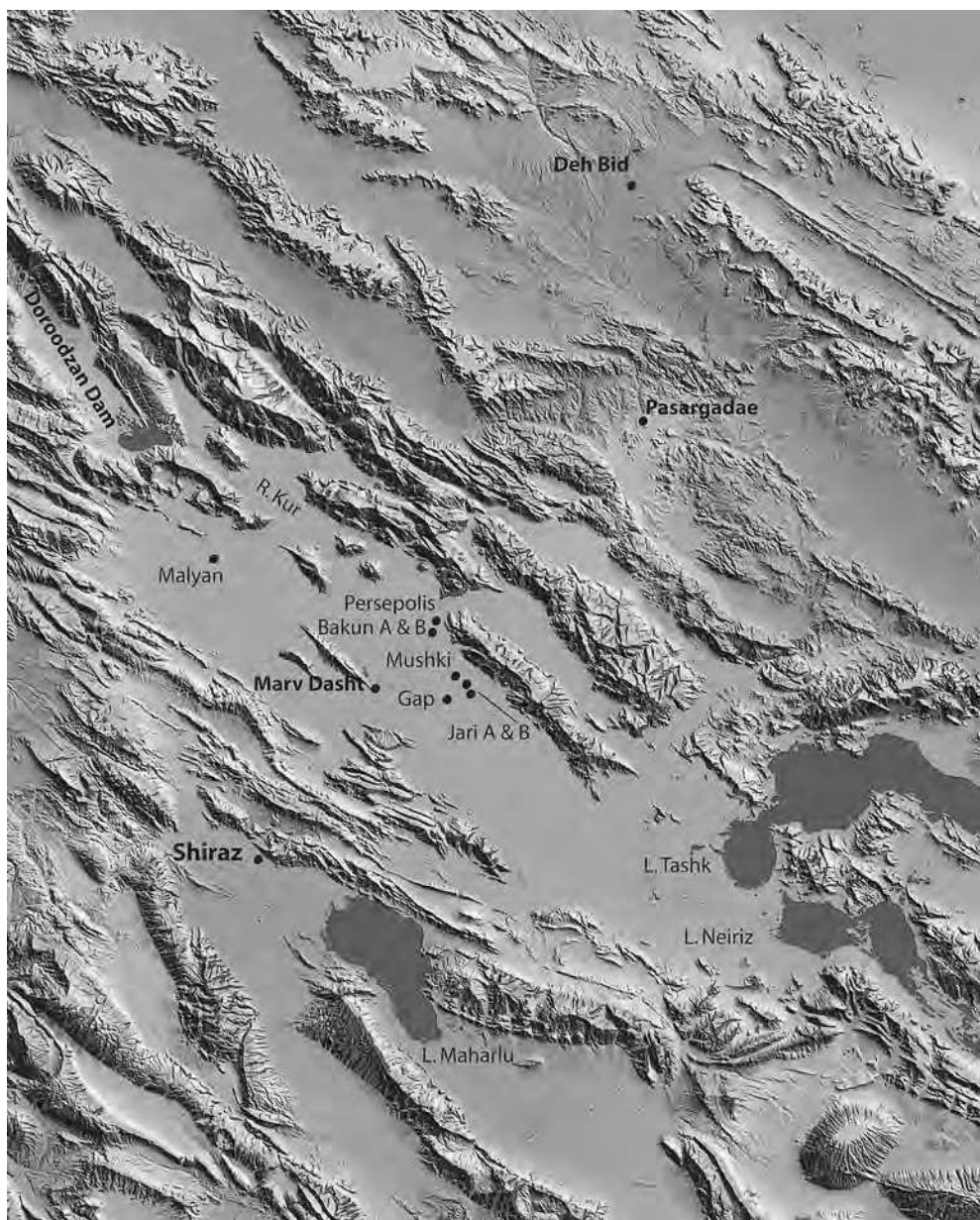
Map A. Map of ancient Iran and Iraq.

and the political independence of Anšan from Elam for much of the period post 1750 B.C. Waters 2004: 94–95 (and Waters, this volume) suggests that the toponyms Parsua/Parsuaš/Parsumaš and Anšan were by the time of Aššurbanipal synonyms for the same geographic region later called Parsa (Persis, by the Greeks); Young 2003 reiterates his earlier position that the toponyms Pasua/Parsuaš/Parsumaš refer exclusively to the western Zagros; Potts 2005: 16–20 argues strongly for keeping Parsua/Parsumaš and Anšan separate. On the tutelary, see, recently, e.g., Henkelman 2003: 193–94; Potts 2005: 18–23; Garrison 2006; Henkelman 2008: 55–57, forthcoming a.



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Map B. Map of Fārs showing Persepolis and Malyan (ancient Anšan). Map courtesy of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

imagery of PFS 93*, a visual imagery that, with rare exceptions, has been largely ignored or overlooked owing to the importance of the inscription. I shall attempt to reexamine PFS 93* with an eye toward establishing thematic, compositional, and stylistic contexts for the imagery on the seal. This examination leads us not to the lowlands of Khūzestān (Susa), but both westward toward Assyria and eastward toward Fārs. It is hoped that a careful analysis of the style and



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imagery of PFS 93* may contribute to the ongoing discussions about the place of this remarkable document in the culture of southwestern Iran in the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C.⁶

3. Composition, Iconography, and Style of PFS 93*

It was in the seminal article on late Neo-Elamite glyptic by P. Amiet (1973) that the first sketch drawing of PFS 93* was published. It appears to be a modified rendering of Hallock’s sketch drawing (the two drawings are not a one-to-one match) or, perhaps, one that Amiet made from photographs supplied by Hallock. Of critical importance are how Amiet saw PFS 93* within the context of his “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic corpus and his remarks on the quality of PFS 93* as a glyptic artifact. Amiet identified PFS 93* as an example of late Neo-Elamite glyptic, a classification that has had enormous significance on subsequent scholarship. It is interesting to note, however, his rather disparaging remarks on the use of the seal in the PF archive, its imagery, and the quality of the carving. Of the administrative use of PFS 93* in the Fortification archive, Amiet identifies the seal user as a “fonctionnaire quelconque” (“mediocre functionary”; Amiet 1973: 15).⁷ Of the imagery and style, he writes that the warfare scene is rich in details, but the human figures are of a “valeur artistique inégale”; while the horseman is elegant and comparable to a similar scene on one of the seals used on the Acropole series of tablets (i.e., Amiet 1973: no. 16; here fig. 13), the dead enemy on PFS 93* are “sommairement dessinés” (Amiet 1973: 15).⁸

I have recently attempted to reevaluate the glyptic corpora preserved in the two archives from Susa (the Acropole and Apadana archives), traditionally dated to the late 7th through middle of the 6th centuries B.C., the starting point of Amiet’s articulation of a late Neo-Elamite glyptic style (Garrison 2006).⁹ There I suggested that a case could be made for situating this glyptic phenomenon not in the lowlands of the Susiana but in the uplands of Anšan and for dating it probably no earlier than the middle of the 6th century B.C.¹⁰ The possibility of an

6. For recent surveys on the status of Elam post 646 B.C., see Miroschedji 1990; Carter 1994; Potts 1999: 288–302; Waters 1999; Waters 2000: 100–101; Henkelman 2003; Stronach 2003: 251, 255–58; Young 2003: 244–45; Miroschedji 2003: 35; Tavernier 2004: 20–21; Henkelman 2008: 1–40, forthcoming a.

7. Garrison 1991: 3–4 discusses the administrative use of PFS 93*. It is not a personal seal, but an office seal connected, in fact, with provisions for the king.

8. It is difficult to reconcile these stylistic comments with the preserved impressions of PFS 93*. Do these remarks indicate that Amiet had not in fact seen a photograph of the seal and was working purely from Hallock’s sketch drawing (see above, n. 2)? While Amiet’s reading of the inscription differs from the reading on Hallock’s sketch drawing only in the use of full brackets (where Hallock has half-brackets), Amiet’s copy of the inscription on PFS 93* is different from the copy on Hallock’s sketch drawing. Garrison and Root 1996/98: 5–7 track the early publication history of drawings and photographs of PFS 93*.

9. The seal impressions from Susa have also been discussed in several other publications: e.g., Miroschedji 1982; Vallat 1984: 4–7; Carter and Stolper 1984: 185–86; Miroschedji 1985; Steve 1986; Stolper 1992: 259–60 and 267–69 (cat. nos. 187–88); Potts 1999: 294–302; Waters 2000: 92–97, 100–101; Henkelman 2003: 183, 187, 190; Henkelman 2008: 53–56; Álvarez-Mon, this volume. Amiet 1994: 63–65 added to the corpus that he assembled in 1973 the seals published by Miroschedji 1982 and some seals (exactly which ones Amiet did not specify) from Chigha Sabz and Surkh Dum-i-Luri in Luristan (Schmidt et. al 1989: 413–74), as well as the unprovenanced seal published in Amiet 1994: fig. 7. He also appeared to suggest usage of the descriptive phrase “élamo-perse” in lieu of “la glyptique de la fin de l’Élam.” Periodically isolated, unprovenanced seals in museum collections have been attributed to the corpus of “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic; e.g., van Loon 1988.

10. Cf. Henkelman 2008: 53–56, who restates the traditional attribution of this glyptic phenomenon to Susa.





Fig. 13. Impression of a seal (Amiet 1973: no. 16) on tablet Sb 12792 (Delaporte 1920: pl. 48, no. 7; Scheil 1907: no. 22) from the Acropole series of tablets from Susa. Photo: Courtesy of the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre.

upland context (and, indeed, a dating in the 6th century B.C.), in fact, was noted by Amiet in his 1973 article. He suggested that the upstart dynasts at Anšan perhaps had been able to attract (dispossessed?) Elamite artists and to provide an environment in which these artists would have been able to generate and elaborate upon a new glyptic style. The style, thus, may have only subsequently reached Susa. Amiet suggested that PFS 93* might be the first indication of the birth of a new style of glyptic in Elam (Amiet 1973: 24–27).

As mentioned, Amiet specifically related PFS 93* to a seal preserved as impressions on the Acropole tablets (Amiet 1973: no. 16; here fig. 13). This seal, showing an archer on the back of a quadruped, perhaps a composite creature, shooting at a fleeing quadruped, does exhibit some compositional similarities to PFS 93* (figs. 1–12). On the Susa seal, both the mounted archer and the quadruped move to the right. One can compare the spearman on horseback on PFS 93* moving to the right toward a human figure who flees to the right (but turns his head back to the left while holding in his right hand a broken bow and quiver). Both Amiet 1973: no. 16 and PFS 93* have open compositions punctuated with space, although on Amiet 1973: no. 16 this feature is much more pronounced. On PFS 93* one is struck less by the negative space in the composition than by the distinctive conceptualization of space where the horse strides over two dead enemies who are themselves superimposed one above the other. This is, to my mind, one of the most interesting and potentially diagnostic features associated with PFS 93* (see the discussion below, pp. 390–399).

I find myself in disagreement with Amiet's stylistic analyses of his seal no. 16 and PFS 93* (see above). My reading of his brief analysis is that PFS 93* is a poor cousin to the seal from the Acropole archive (i.e., Amiet 1973: no. 16). I see just the opposite. The Acropole seal is carved in a rather nervous manner, highlighted by the placing of the figures diagonally in the field. The forms are elongated (especially the animal bodies), the surface treatment smooth and unadorned. The carving employs both some modeling (especially in the animal hindquarters) and linear treatment (e.g., facial features of the rider, animal legs). Animal forms have a distinctive emphasis in the hindquarters, which are strongly delineated from the middle bodies of the animals. The torso of the human figure has a distinctive triangular shape with a narrow waist and large, puffy shoulders. In PFS 93* the carving is much heavier and more modeled. The



body of the horse is thick and heavy, especially in the chest. While the chests of all the human figures have the distinctive triangular shape, the modeling is much more active, especially in the arms and shoulders. The surface treatment is quite detailed on PFS 93*; note the mane and snout of the horse, the hairstyles and facial features of the humans, the belted garment of the standing figure, and the careful rendering of the spears, reigns, quiver, and broken bow. In almost every way, PFS 93* is exceptionally well conceived and executed, a virtuosic example of glyptic carving from the first half of the first millennium B.C. The connections that PFS 93* has to the Acropole seal or, indeed, to any of the seals collected by Amiet in his corpus of “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic are refracted at best.

Freeing PFS 93* from its traditional context within “late Neo-Elamite glyptic” may allow us to pursue other lines of inquiry so as better to situate the seal compositionally, stylistically, iconographically, and thematically.

4. Contexts for PFS 93*

4.1. Antique Seals in the PFS Corpus

Already in 1991 I suggested that there existed in the PFS corpus other antique seals that are closely related to PFS 93* (Garrison 1991: 4–7). Chief among these is PFS 51 (figs. 14–19), another spectacular seal that, unfortunately, has been eclipsed owing to the more famous (inscription on) PFS 93*.¹¹ I continue to believe that PFS 51 is a “companion” seal to PFS 93*; indeed, one could make the argument that they were executed by the same workshop, perhaps even the same “hand.” Since I have articulated the similarities in composition and style between these two seals previously, I shall not repeat that analysis here (Garrison 1991: 4–5). As regards the usage of the two seals, it does, however, bear repeating that, while administratively distinct (PFS 93* used as an office seal; PFS 51 as a personal seal), the seals are intimately related via their direct association with the royal family (Garrison 1991: 6–7; see also the comments of Garrison forthcoming).

Another antique seal that potentially reflects a glyptic environment similar to that of PFS 93* and PFS 51 is PFS 77* (figs. 20–22).¹² The scene shown on the seal is unique within the PFS corpus. A seated female faces right. Her right hand rests in her lap, her left hand is raised before her chest, bent at the elbow, to hold a bowl/cup.¹³ She has a thick, long coiffure; locks of hair are indicated along the outer edges of the coiffure by a serrated edge. She wears a long garment

11. As stated in Garrison 1991: 4–5, PFS 51 is used as the personal seal for a royal woman, Irdabama. Her activities in the PF archive have been treated in detail by Brosius 1996: 127, 129–44. Since this article has gone to press, several new seals that bear striking iconographic and stylistic links to PFS 93* have been identified in the archive. These seals unfortunately could not be included in the present study.

12. Brosius 1996: 86 and 2006: 41, fig. 9 mention PFS 77*. See Henkelman forthcoming a, forthcoming b, and forthcoming c for insightful commentary on the social/political implications of the use of PFS 77* in the Fortification archive. Both Brosius (2010) and Lerner (2010) address the composition and iconography of the seal in some detail, especially as regards its significance for scenes of women in Achaemenid art. Banquet scenes have, of course, a long history in the glyptic of ancient Iran and Iraq and are especially popular in the Neo-Assyrian period (e.g., Collon 2001: 64–78, nos. 103–49 provides a representative survey in the Assyrian glyptic repertoire; note, especially, for comparative purposes with regard to PFS 77*, no. 149, which includes a banqueter on either side of a table; the one at right is probably a seated female [who holds a dish] behind whom stands an attendant with a fly-whisk).

13. Brosius (2010: 148) suggests that the object may also be a stylized flower.



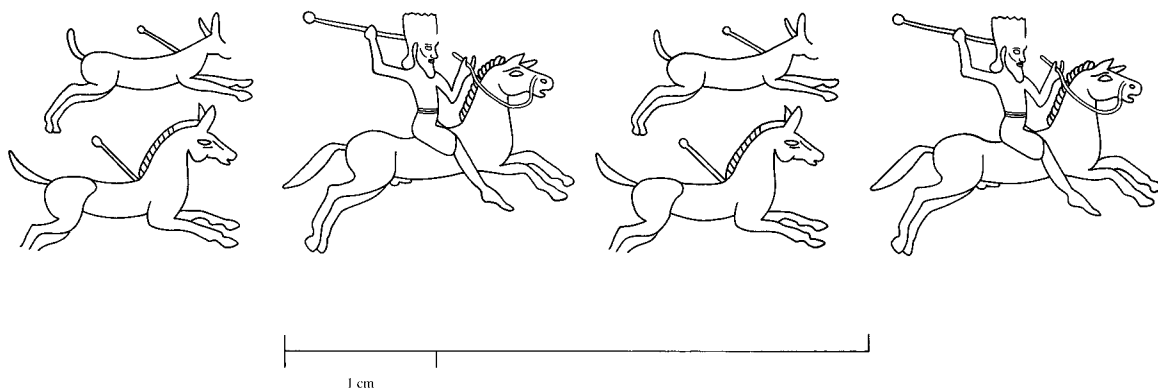


Fig. 14. Collated line drawing of PFS 51 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 15. Impression of PFS 51 on PF 735 (left edge).



Fig. 17. Impression of PFS 51 on PF 736 (reverse).

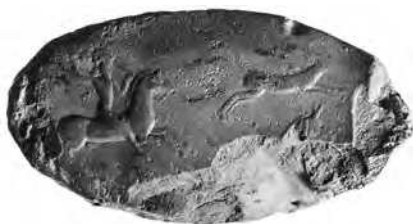


Fig. 16. Impression of PFS 51 on PF 736 (left edge).



Fig. 18. Impression of PFS 51 on PF 738 (left edge).



Fig. 19. Impression of PFS 51 on PF 1185 (reverse).



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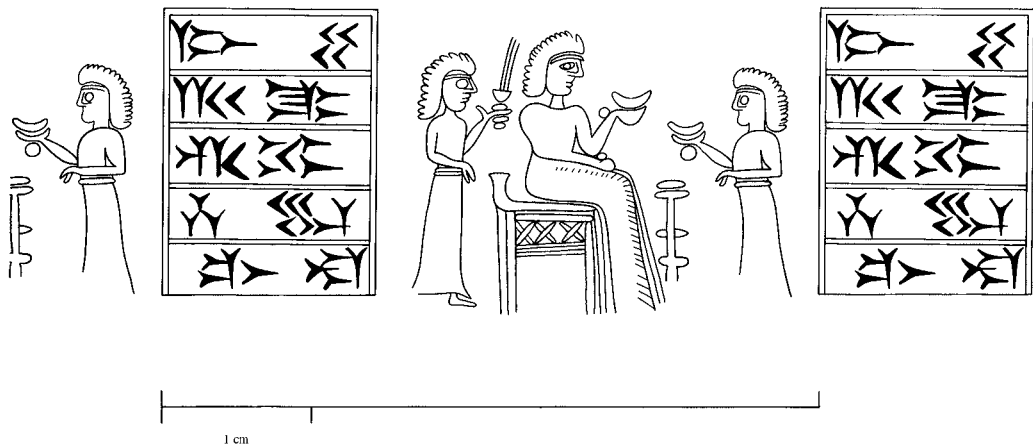


Fig. 20. Collated line drawing of PFS 77* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 21 (above). Impression of PFS 77* on PF 1029 (left edge).

Fig. 22 (left). Impression of PFS 77* on PF 1029 (reverse).

with fringing indicated along the front edge; a long sash falls from her waist along the front of her lower body. She sits on a low-backed chair; a cross-hatched design, perhaps representing struts, runs between the legs of the chair. Immediately in front of the seated woman there is an upright T-shaped device. It has two horizontal appendages; a flattened oval-shaped object rests on the top of the device. Based on similar types of scenes from Achaemenid (and earlier) contexts, the device could be an incense burner, altar, or stand.¹⁴ At right, a standing female figure, smaller in scale than the seated female, faces toward the seated figure. Her left arm is bent and held at her waist; her right arm is extended in front of her chest, bent at the elbow, to hold an object similar to that held by the seated figure; there is, however, a circular object immediately below this figure's right hand (perhaps representing the stem of a cup?). Her coiffure is similar to that of the seated figure. The standing figure also wears a long garment, but it has a double

14. Brosius (2010: 148) suggests an incense burner.



belt (and no fringing or sash). At left, immediately behind the seated figure, is another standing figure (again, smaller in scale than the seated figure) who faces to the right. Her right arm is bent and held at her waist; her left arm is extended in front of her chest, bent at the elbow, to hold the handle of what appears to be a fly-whisk (only partially preserved). Her coiffure is, again, similar to that of the seated figure. Like the standing figure at right, she wears a double-belted long garment (here, we can see that it runs down to the ankle, flaring outward at the hem).¹⁵ In the terminal field, there is a paneled Elamite inscription in five lines:

SAL^še-
 ráš DUMU
 hu-pan
 a-ah-
 pi-na

All of the signs are clear and unambiguous. The inscription reads: ‘(The woman) Šeraš, daughter of Hupan’ahpi.’¹⁶

PFS 77* is stylistically very similar to PFS 93* and PFS 51; the smooth, rounded qualities of the shoulders of human figures and the interesting emphasis in delineating locks of hair are perhaps the most striking similarities. So, too, the use of very large, paneled Elamite inscriptions in PFS 93* and PFS 77* is noteworthy. PFS 77* exhibits, however, some distinctive qualities that distinguish it stylistically from PFS 93* and PFS 51. The figures on PFS 77* are big, the composition exceptionally quiet and hierarchical. Compare PFS 93* and PFS 51, where much smaller figures are arranged in a very free manner in the field. The two standing figures in PFS 77* are rendered in profile, with the forward arm sharply drawn back, the chest seemingly extended. This particular manner of rendering a profile view of a figure recalls a similar convention often used in the so-called Late Babylonian worship scenes.¹⁷ While all three seals share a modeled carving style, that in PFS 77* is deep and does not exhibit the same active outline as in the other two seals.¹⁸ The emphatic pinched waist of human figures in PFS 93* and

15. The scene strongly evokes the famous “la fileuse,” a bitumen compound relief that shows a seated female spinning, behind whom there is a fan-bearer (Harper et al. 1992: 200–201). The relief, from Susa, is dated variously within the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.

16. I thank Charles Jones and Wouter Henkelman for the inscription transliteration and translation. Hallock had read the inscription and included both names, Šeraš and Hupan’ahpi, in his glossary (Hallock 1969). His suggestion of perhaps *v.Kur-še-raš* seems unlikely. The occurrence of the name Šeraš on PFS 77* is the only known occurrence of the name in the whole of the PF archive. The name Hupan’ahpi occurs also on the inscription on PFS 4* (Cat. No. 292). The inscription on PFS 77* is, to my knowledge, the only one in the PFS corpus that employs the female determinative (SAL). The logogram DUMU is gender specific (‘son of’) but when qualified by the logogram SAL means ‘daughter of’. In the inscription on PFS 77*, the scribe has presumably assumed that the SAL at the beginning, before the personal name, was also to be transposed after DUMU (my thanks to Wouter Henkelman for these epigraphic comments).

17. E.g., see Ehrenberg 1999: nos. 20–153, although in these scenes the forward arm is generally indicated coming across the profile torso in a V-shape (rather than as in PFS 77* where the biceps of the forward arm is thrown back behind the outline of the back). Note also Collon 2001: 78, no. 149, where she identifies the stance with the “chests thrust forward” as Babylonian in origin (to this seal Collon [2001: 66–67] relates her nos. 139–40, again said to represent a Babylonian style of the 7th century B.C.).

18. But note the very similar sinuous outline of the backs of the riders on PFS 93* and PFS 51 and of the seated female in PFS 77*. The outline of the back of the seated female in the “la fileuse” relief (see above, n. 15) is especially close to that seen in the seated female in PFS 77*.



PFS 51 is missing (or very much lessened) in PFS 77*. Finally, a distinctive geometric approach is used to render facial details in PFS 77*.

Based on these observations, I would suggest that these three seals—PFS 92*, PFS 51, and PFS 77*—emerge from the same general glyptic environment and probably are roughly contemporary.

The issue of seal praxis concerning PFS 77* may potentially contribute to the analysis of these antique seals. PFS 77* seems to be one of several seals used by a *šaramanna* official (‘provisioner/apportioner’) by the name of Rašda.¹⁹ The seal always occurs alone and is applied to multiple surfaces of tablets, a sealing protocol that is generally characteristic of individuals and offices of relatively high status/rank. PFS 77* occurs on ten tablets identified to date, two K1 texts (rations for individuals with religious functions), three K3 texts (rations for persons without qualification), and five L2 texts (regular monthly rations with ‘*galma*’). The receivers in the religious texts NN 1184 and NN 1955 are Makuba and Mamnakka, respectively, both of whom receive wine for a *daušiyam* for a *lan* ceremony. In the K3 ration texts, PF 800–802, Mannuka, for whom Rašda is *šaramanna*, receives grain rations; the transactions are all characterized by *iyān-ma*, ‘at the court’(?) (translation following Wouter F. M. Henkelman). The L2 ration texts, NN 1294, 2489, 2567, PF 1029–30, all concern receipt of grain by workers, in some cases large numbers of them, for whom Rašda is *šaramanna*. In NN 1294 and 2489 and PF 1029, the workers are qualified as associated with/belonging to the royal woman Irdabama. In NN 1294, the place is Karamiš. The work groups in PF 1029–30 and NN 1294 and 2489, 244 *kurtaš*, 241 *kurtaš*, 248 *kurtaš*, and 247 *kurtaš*, respectively, are presumably the same group, documented from year 22.8 to year 25.2. It is thus intriguing to note that Rašda and Irdabama, who uses PFS 51, are closely linked via the administrative activities that he performs.²⁰ Is it a coincidence that both of them employ antique seals that have exceptional imagery and share some stylistic qualities?

To this small group of seals we may want also to add PFS 1308* (figs. 23–25). Like the other antique seals discussed here, PFS 1308* is a remarkable design. A seated figure faces to right (nothing of the chair/stool is preserved). As explained in the next paragraph, this figure is probably female. The right arm is bent, the hand held above the lap. The left arm is extended upward diagonally in front of the body, the hand holding a mace. She wears an elaborate polos headdress that has a serrated upper edge, a horn projecting from the front brim, and a rectangular-shaped extension with horizontal striations on the back. An elongated, teardrop-shaped coiffure emerges from the back of the neck below the headdress. She appears to wear a long garment (no detailing is preserved). She sits inside a rectangular canopy/structure. The edges of the structure are decorated with an alternating pattern of striations and circles. In front of the seated figure is a standing figure facing to the left. The figure is also probably female, although this is by no means certain. This figure raises both arms, palms cupped upward, in

19. For *šaramanna* officials, see now Henkelman 2008: 127–29, with previous bibliography. Hinz 1971: 281 had already established the connection between PFS 77* and Rašda; Koch 1990: 44 concurs.

20. Rašda and Irdabama are linked directly by name in a total of 28 texts from the archive. Ten of these transactions are sealed by PFS 36* (Cat. No. 5), an important seal connected with the *šaramanna* officials Rašda and Uštana. In the long journal PF 1944: lines 28–29, Rašda is mentioned as the *šaramanna* official for workers qualified as *abbakkanaš*, which, Brosius (1996: 132–41) argues, is, with the term *abbamušna*, identical to workers qualified as *Irdabamana* (‘of the woman Irdabama’). See Brosius 1996: 137, table 4, where the reader can track more instances of Rašda acting as the *šaramanna* official, potentially, for Irdabama.



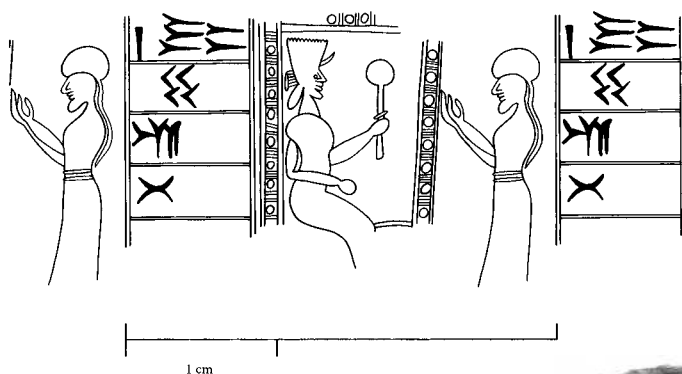


Fig. 23. Collated line drawing of PFS 1308* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 24. Impression of PFS 1308* on PF 1385 (upper edge).



Fig. 25. Impression of PFS 1308* on PF 1385 (reverse).

front of her(?) chest. A rounded cap (or coiffure?) rests on the head; from the back of the cap dangles a long plait or ribbon. The chin is rounded.²¹ The figure wears a long garment that is double-belted. In the terminal field there is a paneled Elamite inscription in five (preserved) lines. The DIŠ sign at the beginning of the first preserved line appears to mark the actual first line of the inscription, and the first sign in line 2 appears to be *še*. The other signs are mostly illegible as preserved.²²

The horned headdress of the seated figure, the elaborate framework in which the figure sits, and the figure standing at right with upraised arms seem to identify the scene as that of a worshiper before a seated deity (or a statue of a seated deity). In fact, a somewhat similar scene is very popular in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic.²³ In many of these scenes, there is a table between the seated deity and the worshiper.²⁴ The seated deity is often identified as female, when there is no beard. In the Assyro-Babylonian examples, she often holds a ring and sits in an elaborate, high-backed chair. The worshiper in these Assyro-Babylonian examples, rather than holding the arms together in front of the face with the palms cupped upward, as seen on PFS 1308*, generally raises only one arm, with the index finger on the hand pointing. Other aspects of style and iconography of PFS 1308*, such as the stance, pose, garment, and hairstyle/headgear

21. The rounded chin does not seem to indicate a short beard.

22. I thank W. Henkelman for these epigraphic comments.

23. E.g., Collon 2001: nos. 133–43, 146, 233–34; Herbordt 1992: pls. 2 (nos. 1–3, 5–7, 9) and 14 (no. 4).

24. Collon 2001: 65–66 categorizes these scenes as banquets.



of the standing worshiper, the thrown-back arm and puffy chest of the seated deity, and the general cutting style, again evoke the Late Babylonian worship scenes discussed above in connection with PFS 77*.²⁵

While PFS 1308* is obviously connected to Assyro-Babylonian glyptic, it most certainly is not a product of those glyptic environments. The unmediated confrontation of deity and worshiper is not a feature of seated deity and worshiper scenes in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic. So, too, PFS 1308* lacks the filler motifs (stars, seven *sibitti*, etc.) that are such a prominent feature of these scenes in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic. Exact parallels for the framework in which the deity sits do not readily come to mind.²⁶ The conventions for rendering the cap and head of standing figure and the facial details of both figures are distinctly non-Assyro-Babylonian. So, too, it is interesting to note that in the so-called Late Babylonian worship scenes almost invariably only the forward arm of the worshiper is shown (cf. the worshiper on PFS 1308*, where both arms and both hands are indicated).²⁷ Of course, the paneled Elamite inscription most definitely removes us from an Assyro-Babylonian context and points in the direction of southwestern Iran. I suspect that PFS 1308* belongs in the same general glyptic milieu as PFS 93*, PFS 51, and PFS 77*.

PFS 1308* occurs on only one tablet, PF 1385. This transaction belongs to Hallock’s Q category, the ration texts for travelers on the royal road. PF 1385, following Hallock 1969, reads:

12 (BAR of) flour supplied by Mirayauda, Bakabadada received for rations. He carried a sealed document (*halmi*) of the king. He went from Susa to Arachosia. First month.

PFS 1308* is applied on the reverse, upper, and left edges. PFS 24 (Cat.No. 298) is also applied on the left edge.

These travel ration texts are interesting and important for many reasons. For our purposes, I note only the following. The Q texts are one of only a handful of transaction types where seal praxis appears in almost all cases straightforward: the supplier seals on the left edge and the receiver on the reverse (and, potentially, upper, right, and bottom edges). Thus, PFS 1308* appears to belong to Bakabadada. It is interesting to note that, in a very unorthodox manner for Q texts, he has applied PFS 1308* to the left edge as well (where the supplier, Mirayauda, has also placed his seal, PFS 24 [Cat. No. 298]). One wonders whether his sealing on both the left edge and the reverse reflects a sealing protocol in which a counter-seal is normally *not* expected (owing to Bakabadada’s social status and/or administrative rank). Bakabadada is also distinguished in the text by having a *halmi* (i.e., a document that permits him to draw daily provisions at post-stations along the royal road on his travels) issued directly by the king and by his long-

25. See above, n. 17. In these scenes, there is often an extension at the back of the head, as seen on the standing worshiper in PFS 1308*. Ehrenberg 1999: 16 identifies this as a fillet with a pendant ribbon (e.g., Ehrenberg 1999: nos. 39, 44–48, 54–56, 65, 87, 90, 102–6, 119–21; the one example of these where the worshiper is not bearded, no. 102, Ehrenberg 1999: 71 identifies as potentially female).

26. Cf. the frameworks seen in Collon 2001: nos. 204, described as a crenellated shrine, 277, a canopy, 278, canopies or niches. Collon (2001: 142–43) gives comparanda and suggests that the framework in these Assyrian examples may represent a “temple setting”; Pittman and Aruz 1987: nos. 65 and 70 describe it as a “precinct.”

27. In many worship scenes in the PFS corpus, both of the raised arms and hands are indicated. This potentially diagnostic aspect of the pose of the worshipers deserves a fuller analysis than can be given here.





Fig. 26. Aššurbanipal hunting onagers (bottom register of slabs 12–11, room S, North Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

distance travel to Arachosia. In other words, Bakabadada appears to be of high social status and/or administrative rank.²⁸

Before summarizing the significance of these stylistic and administrative relationships among these four antique seals, it may be useful to examine other potential lines of evidence with regard to PFS 93*. For this, we turn now to Assyria.

4.2. Assyria

It is clear that these four antique seals are deeply informed/shaped by Assyrian art of the late 7th century B.C. This is especially true of PFS 93* and PFS 51. The use of space in these scenes is, as remarked above, striking, indeed, almost unique in glyptic art of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. (see below, pp. 397–399). The scenes are punctuated with air and employ stacking of figures. I continue to be struck by similar spatial arrangements in the reliefs of Aššurbanipal from the Southwest Palace and North Palace at Nineveh.²⁹ In particular, I would highlight the famous scenes in the North Palace where Aššurbanipal hunts onagers (room S; here fig. 26), gazelles, (room S), stags (room S), and lions (rooms C, S, and the slabs reportedly fallen into room S from above [the so-called room S¹]).³⁰ The hunt on PFS 51 in particular is

28. This particular Bakabadada occurs in no other transaction (the Bakabadada named in PF 206 and NN 1085 is not the same individual).

29. As remarked in Garrison 1991: 5. See also the comments of Reade 1980: 74 on the use of space in the Assyrian reliefs.

30. Onagers (room S, slabs 12–6): Barnett 1976: 51–52, pls. 47–48, 51, 53; gazelles (room S, slabs 16–13): Barnett 1976: 51, pls. 46, 49–50, 52; stags (room S, slabs 18–17, 21–22[?]): Barnett 1976: 49–50, pl. 44; lions (room C, slabs 4–17, 20–28, 29[?]): Barnett 1976: 37–38, pls. 5–13; lions (room S, slabs 16–10, 5–3,

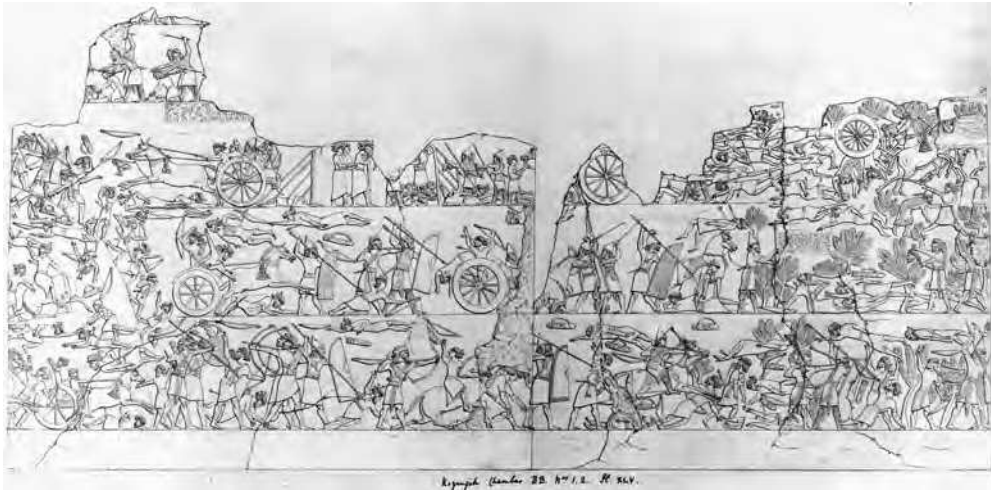


Fig. 27. Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umman (Tempt-Humban-Inšuinak), king of Elam (drawing of slabs 1–2, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

especially evocative of Aššurbanipal's hunt of onagers (room S; here fig. 26), not only in its open-field and stacked animals, but also in the galloping pose of the equids (hindlegs together, on the ground, forelegs together, raised), spent missiles in the field (spears for the rider on PFS 51, arrows for Aššurbanipal), and hierarchical scale.

Hunt (PFS 51) and warfare (PFS 93*) are, of course, common themes in monumental wall relief of the Neo-Assyrian period.³¹ This is especially true of the late Neo-Assyrian period in the reliefs of Sennacherib and Aššurbanipal at Nineveh. Given the rarity of such scenes in glyptic in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., and given what appears to be an Assyrian inspiration for the treatment of space in PFS 93* and PFS 51, it seems only natural to look to these Assyrian scenes of hunt and warfare as potential models for the imagery on PFS 93* and PFS 51. I have already noted the close thematic and compositional parallels for PFS 51 in Aššurbanipal's hunt of onagers in room S of the North Palace. For PFS 93*, we may do well to investigate the famous scenes of Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umman (Tempt-Humban-Inšuinak), king of Elam, preserved in both the Southwest Palace (figs. 27–34) and the North Palace at Nineveh.³² While these scenes have generated much

probably also 9–7): Barnett 1976: 50–52, pls. 46–47, 49–54; lions (room S¹, slabs A–E): Barnett 1976: 53–54, pls. 56–59.

31. And, I would note, exceptionally rare in glyptic.

32. The battle is dated ca. 653 B.C. The scenes are preserved on slabs 1–3 from room XXXIII of the Southwest Palace (Barnett et al. 1998: 94–95, pls. 286–99) and, presumably (slabs 2–4 and 8 are now lost), slabs 1–6 from Room I of the North Palace (the whole Elamite cycle is on slabs 1–10; Barnett 1976: pls. 24–26). Russell 1999: 154–209 is, I think, the clearest presentation of the evidence from both of the palaces. Barnett et al. 1998: 94–95 contains an excellent bibliography. The reliefs figure prominently in the recent publication of the papers delivered at the 2003 *Rencontre*, where the reader can find copious bibliography on the scenes: Bonatz 2004; Watanabe 2004; Bahrani 2004; Dolce 2004. Assyrian and Elamite sources for Te-Umman and the battle at Til-Tuba are collected by Waters 2000: 47–55.



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Fig. 28. Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Uлай, against Te-Umma (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (drawing of slab 3, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

scholarship along multiple tracks, I wish to highlight here the following: semantic contexts of the bow and arrow, spatial and compositional formulae, and, finally, style.



Fig. 29. Detail of fleeing Elamites, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umman (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (slab 1, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

Many commentators have noted the prevalence of bows and arrows in the battle scenes (figs. 27–32).³³ While both Assyrians and Elamites use the bow and arrow, it is above all the Elamites with whom this weapon is connected. The bows and quivers of the dead Elamites are strewn though the field, echoing the dead Elamite warriors. In one case (second register from the bottom, slab 1) we see an Elamite fleeing in a chariot, his driver apparently having just been killed (figs. 27 and 29). He turns back toward the pursuing Assyrians, raising one hand to his head while offering up his bow in his other hand; clearly, both gestures are acts of surrender and supplication. A little further to the right in the same register, another Elamite in a chariot, again with a dead driver, strikes a similar pose, this time one arm held up to one side of his head, the other, holding the bow, to the other side of the head (fig. 27).³⁴ The pleading

33. The following comments and comparisons are directed specifically at the better preserved and studied version of the battle from room XXXIII in the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (see above, n. 31). The comments *generally* are also applicable, however, to the preserved evidence from room I in the North Palace. See also closely related comments by Waters in this volume.

34. This act of raising the arms in surrender and supplication appears elsewhere in the scene, employed by Elamites on foot, in chariots, and on horse; note especially the scene taking place on a mountainous terrain at the far left of slab 1.



Fig. 30. Detail of Elamite cutting his bow, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Uлай, against Te-Umma (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (slabs 2–3, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.



Elamite warrior in both scenes, but especially the latter, strikes a pose remarkably similar to that of the fleeing figure on PFS 93*. This figure on PFS 93*, fleeing to the right, turns his head back toward the pursuing horseman, raising one hand to the side of his head, his other extended upward to the other side of his head to offer up his quiver and broken bow.³⁵ In another case (second register from the bottom, at the join of slabs 2 and 3), an Elamite warrior is in the act of cutting his bow while an Assyrian grabs him by the top of his head and prepares to strike him (fig. 30).³⁶ While compositionally distinct, the semantics of the offered bow and the broken bow, “the sign of his strength,” clearly are the same in these scenes from the Assyrian reliefs and that on PFS 93*.

35. Note also the same directionality: victors at left moving to the right, defeated at right moving to the right but turning back to the left.

36. See also the comments of Waters in this volume. The corresponding scene from room I in the North Palace (WA 124941, a large fragment from slab 1 or 2; Barnett 1976: pl. 24) is accompanied by an epigraph: “Ituni, the šūt rēši of Teumman, king of Elam, whom he insolently sent against me, saw my powerful onslaught. With his own hand he drew the iron dagger from his belt and cut his bow, the sign of his strength” (Russell 1999: 182 for the translation).





Fig. 31. Detail of fleeing Elamites, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umman (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (slab 3, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

There are important compositional parallels between PFS 93* and certain vignettes within the version of the battle of Til-Tuba from the Southwest Palace.³⁷ The preserved sections of the battle in the scene from the Southwest Palace (slabs 1–3) moves from a free field composition (mountainous terrain) at left, to registers in the center, and then back to free field (river) at

37. The preserved evidence from room I in the North Palace suggests a greater degree of reliance upon registers and, accordingly, less spatial freedom than seen in the reliefs from room XXXIII in the Southwest Palace.



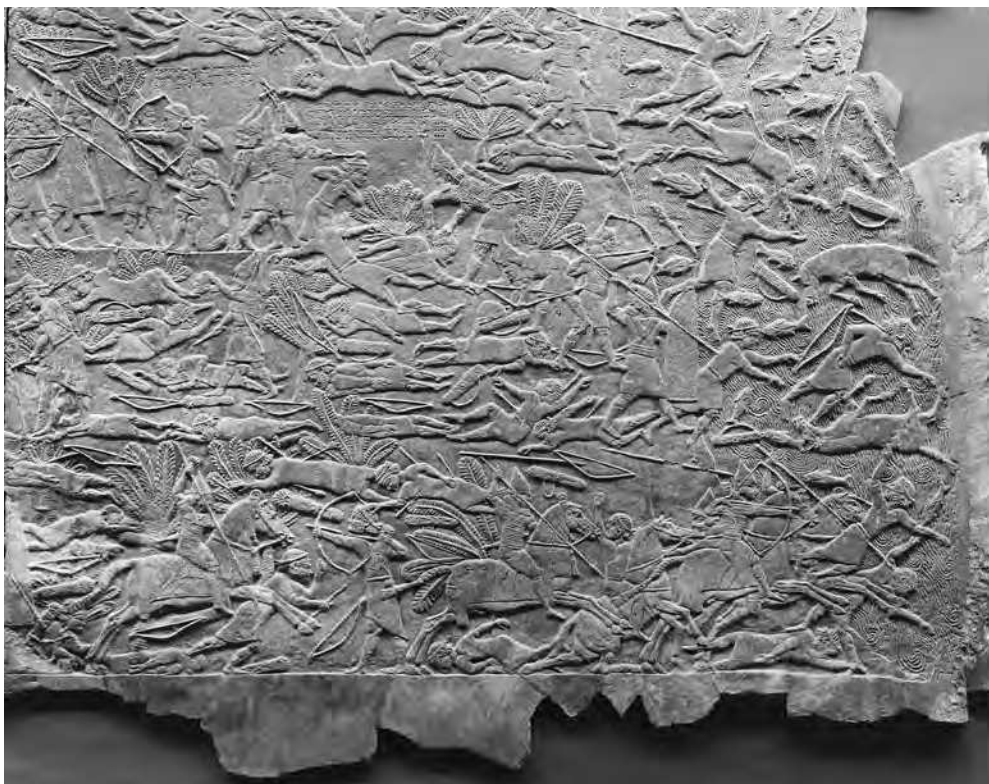


Fig. 32. Detail of Elamites being trampled by Assyrian horsemen, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umma (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (slab 3, room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

right (figs. 27–28). This, of course, is much more complex than what we see in the restricted field of PFS 93*. Nevertheless, the two scenes both exhibit the trope of dead foes “floating” in the field. In several vignettes within the Assyrian reliefs, we see passages that are very similar to the overall composition of PFS 93*. For example, on all three slabs from the Southwest Palace, Assyrians in chariot or horseback ride over dead or dying Elamites (note in particular the passage on the bottom register in slab 3 where three Assyrian horsemen, two holding a spear, one shooting a bow, ride over dead or dying Elamites; figs. 28, 31–32). At the left of slab 1 and in all three registers on slabs 2 and 3, the dead Elamites are stacked one above the other. These features are so evocative of the scene on PFS 93* that one could easily transpose the scene of PFS 93* as a vignette into the relief and it would require little or no special commentary.³⁸

Before leaving these reliefs, I want to make a few comments on stylistic connections with PFS 93* and PFS 51. In select passages of the Assyrian reliefs, one sees a smooth, modeled style of carving similar to that used in the two seals. I am struck especially by, for instance, the modeling in the horsemen and their mounts in the bottom register on slab 3 (fig. 32), the

38. In a similar manner, the epigraph preserved on WA 124941, from slab 1 or 2 in room I of the North Palace (see above, n. 35, for a translation), could easily be transposed onto the scene in PFS 93*!





Fig. 33. Fragment WA 124807, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umma (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (probably room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 34. Fragment WA 124805/131126, Aššurbanipal's battle of Til-Tuba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umma (Tempt-Humban-Inšušinak), king of Elam (probably room XXXIII, Southwest Palace, Nineveh). Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

horseman in the fragment WA 124807 (fig. 33) and, particularly, the horseman in the bottom of the large fragment WA 124805/131126 (fig. 34).³⁹ This style can also be documented, somewhat sporadically, in other relief work from the Assyrian period such as, for example, the famous clay model (WA 93011) of a king killing a lion from Nineveh (fig. 35).⁴⁰

In addition to the evidence provided by monumental palace relief from Nineveh, two stamp seals from Nineveh, preserved as impressions, are exceptional documents attesting to direct links between artifacts circulating in Assyria and Anšan/Fārs.⁴¹ One, WA 84823 (fig. 36, left),

39. Both WA 124807 and WA 124805/131126 have been attributed to room XXXIII based upon the type of stone; see Barnett et al. 1998: 97 (no. 388), 98 (no. 94), pls. 314–15.

40. E.g., Curtis and Reade 1995: 97 (no. 41). The carving of the figure of the king in this clay model certainly exhibits the same restrained modeling with smooth surface treatment seen in PFS 93* and PFS 51. The lion, preserved only fragmentarily at right, may have been executed in the baroque, modeled style of carving so commonly found in the hunt scenes from the North Palace.

41. The following comments are based upon study of photographs of the two impressions. Examination of the artifacts in person would undoubtedly reveal much more detail than contained in the following descriptions. The seals have been published in Herbordt 1992: 141, pl. 31 (nos. 1 and 2) and Mitchell and Searight 2008: nos. 234 (WA 84529) and 254 (WA 84823); Mitchell and Searight date both seals to the late 8th–7th centuries B.C. Of the provenance, both publications state simply that they are from Nineveh. Records in the British Museum seem to contain no further information on their discovery. Based, apparently, on their quality of execution, virtuosic compositions, and her identification of the rider on WA 84529 as Aššurbanipal, Herbordt identifies the seals as “Amtsiegel.” She notes, however, that the scenes are unique in the Assyrian glyptic corpus.





Fig. 35. Clay model (WA 93011) of a king killing a lion, from Nineveh. Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

fragmentarily preserved, shows a hunter on horseback moving to the right. His right arm is raised, presumably to hold a spear (the extension of which appears in front of the chest of his mount). Below the hunter are the hindquarters of a quadruped, presumably a wild horse or deer/goat.⁴² The hunter apparently wears breeches. A sword/scabbard projects backward from his waist. There appears to be a tasseled saddle and an elaborate bridle. The other seal, WA 84529 (fig. 36, right), also fragmentarily preserved, shows a man on horseback moving to the left. He raises one arm to hold a spear. Traces below the belly of the horse suggest that the lower field contained either animals or humans. The rider appears to wear a belted garment.⁴³ He has a long beard with horizontal striations. His hair curls upward at the back of his neck in a mass.

42. Herbordt 1992: 141 says that there are remains of antlers along the right edge of the impression. The antlers, along with the tail and indications of ribs on the body of the animal, lead Herbordt, on analogy with the hunts from the North Palace, to identify the animal as a stag. Mitchell and Searight 2008: 106 also identify the animal as a stag.

43. Herbordt 1992: 141 suggests that the rider wears a tight-fitting coat. I cannot confirm this based on the photograph of the seal. Although there clearly is no royal headgear preserved, Herbordt identifies the rider on WA 84529 as the king Aššurbanipal.





Fig. 36. Impressions of two stamp seals showing horsemen, from Nineveh: at left, WA 84823, at right WA 84529. Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

A sword/scabbard projects backward from his waist. The chest, head, and snout of the horse appear to be elaborately treated with a bridle and decoration.

These two seals are so strikingly similar in theme, style, composition, and treatment of space to PFS 93* and PFS 51 that one is compelled to reach the conclusion that all four seals originated from the same glyptic environment, if not the very same workshop. Herbordt (1992: 141) already recognized the linkages to PFS 93* in the two seals from Nineveh. This led her to suggest that PFS 93* dated to the time of Aššurbanipal and that the Assyrian seal(s) may have served as a model for PFS 93*.

The similarity of these seals from Nineveh with those from Persepolis is thought-provoking. My own sense is that the two examples from Nineveh are shockingly out of place in (what we currently understand as) an Assyrian glyptic context. Indeed, the four seals, while together constituting a brilliant, but small, glyptic assemblage, remain outliers in the glyptic arts of Iran and Assyria in the first half of the first millennium B.C. That the four seals are contemporary seems beyond question. That they originated from the same workshop, almost certain. That they employ a sense of space seen only in monumental art of the late Assyrian period, remarkable. I am especially intrigued by the fact that the two examples from Nineveh are stamps, those from Persepolis cylinders. One wonders whether this distinction in seal shape codes the particularity of Assyrian versus Anšan/Fārs functional contexts.

5. Conclusions

While one would like to have more (provenanced) evidence about the particular glyptic style represented by PFS 93*, the closely related PFS 51, and the two stamp seals from Nineveh, one may begin to make some suggestions on the origins and significance of this material. Based on the Assyrian evidence, both in monumental relief and glyptic, presented in this study, the chronological context for this style seems securely Late Assyrian—indeed, most likely at the time of Aššurbanipal. This represents an important chronological context and, thus, a priori, a starting point for any discussion of the significance of the imagery and inscription on PFS 93*.



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The physical location where this glyptic style represented by PFS 93*, PFS 51, and the two stamp seals from Nineveh originated is more difficult to pinpoint with absolute certainty. While much of this study has been devoted to documenting what I have identified as the prominent connections that PFS 93* and PFS 51 have with Assyrian art, I want to emphasize that I am not advocating an Assyrian origin for the seals or the style that they document. Indeed, as I have commented, stylistically the seals show little connection to what we would classify as Assyrian glyptic based on our current understanding of the multiple carving styles employed in that time and place. The Elamite inscription on PFS 93* (and related seals in the PFS corpus) seems clearly to suggest that these seals are most at home in southwestern Iran. The question then seems to hinge on whether within southwestern Iran one looks westward, to Susa (traditionally identified as the origin of “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic art), or eastward, to Anšan/Fārs.

It may be instructive to review the functional contexts of the antique seals from the Fortification archive discussed earlier in this study. It seems significant that all four of the antique seals discussed here, PFS 93*, PFS 51, PFS 77*, and PFS 1308*, belong to individuals/offices of exceptional status/rank. PFS 93* and PFS 51 have, moreover, direct connections to the royal family. PFS 77* is also linked to the royal family via the Rašda-Irdabama relationship. The owner/user of PFS 1308*, although we know little of him, clearly was an elite individual (traveling under a *halmi* issued directly by the king). These antique seals, then, do not appear to be artifacts haphazardly preserved from the past and randomly reused, but artifacts carefully handed-down from one generation to the next. In this case, we may properly speak of them as heirloom seals. In the case of PFS 93*, PFS 51, and PFS 77*, the practice is taking place within the royal family itself. The careful preservation of these heirloom seals, especially the royal-name seal PFS 93*, seems to reflect the ruling elite’s (conscious) memory of, and connection to, its predecessors in southwestern Iran. Those predecessors, significantly, are not the kings of Susa, but, as declared so boldly in PFS 93* (and in Darius’ inscription at Bīsotūn!) the Teispid line of kings from Anšan.⁴⁴

The pedigree of PFS 93*, as documented by its inscription and its superb conception and execution, the careful preservation of the emphatic and declarative Anšanite-centered PFS 93* (and related seals) within the Achaemenid royal family at the new, capital city in Fārs, and the “Anzanite” (as opposed to Susian) focus of Darius’ claim to legitimacy at Bīsotūn, lead me to suggest that PFS 93* and the other seals discussed in this study are the remnants of a nascent glyptic art whose origins are to be found not in Susa of the post-Assyrian destruction period, but in the (re)emerging political state of Anšan/Fārs under the Teispids in the second half of the 7th century B.C.⁴⁵ The quality of these glyptic artifacts, coupled with the occurrence of the personal names Kuraš and Šešpeš and the ethnic/topographic label “Anzanite/of Anzan” in the inscription on PFS 93*, may even suggest that we are seeing remnants of a nascent “court

44. Note the often-quoted DB I.2–3 (OP version). Darius I does not, of course, identify his Teispid ancestors as kings of Anšan but, as part of his program of legitimization, Teispes has become the son of the eponymous founder Achaemenes (similar to what Darius was apparently trying to achieve with Cyrus II by the additions of the inscriptions CMa [aka DMA], CMb [DMb], and CMc [DMc] at Pasargadae; for the history on the debate of the date of these inscriptions from Pasargadae, see Stronach 1990; Waters 1996; Stronach 1997). Further along, at DB I.10, Darius mentions Cambyses also, identifying him as “a son of Cyrus,” “of our family,” and “king here” (translations from Kent 1953: 119). Darius’s inclusion of Teispes within his own ancestry in DB I.2–3 has been the subject of much modern commentary; see, recently, e.g., Waters 1996; Briant 2002: 107–13, 888–901; Stronach 2003: 256–58; Waters 2004; Potts 2005: 22–23; Henkelman 2008: 55–57; forthcoming a.



style” associated with the Teispid royal house.⁴⁶ I accordingly suggest that we conceptualize the phenomenon represented by these seals as “Anzanite” rather than Elamite.⁴⁷ By this term what I hope to convey is the critical role of this eastern, highland “Elam.” “Anzanite” may also better conceptualize the complex process that represents the highland experience, an experience that was for hundreds of years multi-cultural and multi-lingual, consisting of acculturated Iranians and Elamites living cheek-by-jowl, intermarrying, etc.; indeed, the concept of “Anzanite” seems to articulate and encapsulate well the process so aptly described as the “*éthnogenèse des Perses*.”⁴⁸ As Potts (2005: 22–23) and Henkelman (2008: 10–57) have recently reiterated, “Persia” was forged in the highlands of Elam.⁴⁹

By the use of this term “Anzanite” I seek also to separate PFS 93*, PFS 51, and other seals from the corpus of material that has traditionally been called “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic (as surveyed in Garrison 2006). Certainly, the chronological distinction seems clear: PFS 93* and the rest date to the late Assyrian empire period; the so-called “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic as documented in the Susa archives is considerably later, by most accounts certainly into the 6th century B.C. and in my opinion as late as ca. 550–520 B.C. (Garrison 2006). I have previously suggested that this “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic (as preserved in the Susa archives), owing to its intimate connection with the glyptic evidence from the PFS corpus, might itself better be conceptualized as “Early Persian” (Garrison 1991: 5–7).

The terms “Anzanite” and “Early Persian” thus designate chronologically distinct glyptic assemblages and, if I may hazard a historical observation, distinct phases of the complex and rapidly accelerating process of acculturation between Elamites and Iranians (and, potentially, other folk) in southwestern Iran in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., the one representing the mature phases of “*éthnogenèse*,” the other its endpoint (i.e. a “Persian” phenomenon).⁵⁰

45. Following Potts (2005: 21), it seems premature to dismiss the reality of a lived “Anzanite” experience at the site of Anšan in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. based solely on the lack of stratified levels from excavations conducted to date at Anšan (cf. Sumner 1986: 11, who classified the site as “a small Achaemenid site” on the basis of a few sherds; Abdi 2001: 91–93, fig. 27, for the recent discovery of a column base of probable Achaemenid date in the old Malyan village). As several commentators have noted, Anšan is a place where commodities are delivered and from which individuals travel in the PF texts (Henkelman 2008: 348 n. 817 briefly discusses the texts and Hallock’s suggestion that the designation *anzanra* may mean “Anšanite”); PF 1, 27 (Anzar), 548 (Anzar), 1112, 1780, and NN 218, 420, 880, 1803; note also Vallat 1993: 10, 14–15).

46. This is an issue that deserves fuller treatment in another venue.

47. Note in this context the comments of Potts (2005: 21) on the use of the adjective “Anshanite (rather than Elamite, which in the later Assyrian period tended simply to describe lowland Susiana and its immediate environs)” to indicate the “realm ruled by Shishpish and his descendants.”

48. As articulated already by Briant (1984) and Miroschedji (1985) in their seminal studies, now reemphasized most recently by Potts (2005: 22–23) and Henkelman (2008: 41–57). In this sense, note also Potts 1999: 306–7 on the rise of the Achaemenids as simply a change of leadership in Elam “via an ethno-classe dominante” (following Briant 1990: 53–54; 1988); Waters 2004 on the role of intermarriage between the Achaemenids and the Teispids.

49. The highlands of Elam would include Fārs.

50. This scheme perhaps runs the risk of conflating what Potts (2005: 18–22) stresses that we keep separate. Potts (2005: 22–23) himself notes, however, that Cyrus II’s own family would have been a blend of elite bloodlines of both Iranian and Anzanite cast. Thus, I conclude, while the Teispids were “Anzanite” in tutelary, they were “Persian” in ethnicity (if by that term we designate this thoroughly acculturated highland population of “Elamites” and “Iranians”). In this context, note the remarks of Henkelman 2008: 57, arguing from evidence in the Acropole texts, that “the inhabitants of the highlands styled themselves ‘Persians’ (or ‘inhabitants of Parsa’) when they came into contact with the lowland Elamites.” See also Waters 2004 on the complexity of the ethnic mix in the house of Cyrus II.



Amiet's (1973: 24–25) vision of an Anšan-centered glyptic phenomenon may thus find some confirmation in the evidence examined in this study. I suggest, however, that rather than folding this material into the glyptic evidence from 6th century Susa, we consider the authority of PFS 93* as an artifact documenting a chronologically and stylistically distinct phenomenon associated with the (re)emerging polity of Anšan.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| CMA | Cyrus II (or Darius), Pasargadae (Murghab), inscription a |
| CMb | Cyrus II (or Darius), Pasargadae (Murghab), inscription b |
| CMc | Cyrus II (or Darius), Pasargadae (Murghab), inscription c |
| DB | Darius I, Bisotūn, main inscription |
| NN | Unpublished tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive edited by Hallock (see Hallock 1978: 109) |
| PF | 2,087 tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive published in Hallock 1969 |
| PFa | 33 tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive published in Hallock 1978 |
| PF–NN | see NN |
| PFS | Persepolis Fortification Seal numbers (cf. Garrison and Root 1996/1998) |
| PFS* | Inscribed seal from the PFS corpus |
| PFSs | Stamp seal from the PFS corpus |

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