

Two apparently identical Persian worshipers flank the altar on seal No. 22. The right hand, palm upward, is raised in the stereotype gesture of adoration, while the left holds a symbol which may be a three-lobed blossom.

Two men, a Persian (left) and perhaps a Susian, worship at the altar of seal No. 23. Both seem to wear the wide-sleeved candys;³⁹ but instead of the dentate tiara of the Persian the assumed Susian appears to wear a bashlyk. Only on this seal do we find the left arm (instead of the right) raised in worship. The right hand of the Persian holds a pitcher. An identical or similar object may be held by his counterpart, though it is not preserved on the impression.

The non-Persian seal (No. 21) with late Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian features apparently shows to the left the goddess Ishtar with her circle of rays, and a worshiper or another deity stands to the right of the altar or Nabu symbol.

The winged disk.—Above the altar of Nos. 20, 22, and 23 hovers the sacred symbol. On No. 22 the bust of the god rises in right profile from the winged circle, his right hand raised in the same gesture as that of the adorants. It is possible that the god's effigy is present above the symbol of No. 20, but there is a faint suggestion only of arms pointing to the right. Undulating lines, perhaps horns, spread above the symbol of No. 23. A crescent or circle takes the place of the winged symbol above the altar or Nabu emblem of seal No. 21.

Seal inscription.—There is one line of an Aramaic inscription behind the back of the main priest on seal No. 20. The inscription is oriented transversely to the axis of the rest of the pattern and mentions the name of the seal owner. It reads: "Seal of Datam. . ." (see p. 26, n. 122).

MISCELLANEOUS SCENES OF RELIGIOUS CHARACTER (Seals 24–27: Pl. 8, pp. 27–29)

The main actors in the scenes of this group, except perhaps for seal No. 27, have one thing in common—an attitude of respect or worship before a venerable symbol.

The palm tree in fruit is the focal object of seals Nos. 24 and 25. In one case a fully armed Susian(?) lancer below star and crescent stands at attention at either side of the palm, exalted by the horned and winged disk above it. The other instance shows, rather incongruously, an ibex superposed on a lion at either side of the palm tree. On two impressions of seal No. 24 appears an Elamite inscription carved in two vertical panels behind the left Susian(?) and oriented transversely to the axis of the seal pattern. The inscription mentions the seal owner—Appishmanda—who is the addressor in the tablets to which seal No. 24 is affixed.

On seal No. 26 an exceptionally small sacred symbol is placed between a seated and a standing Persian in identical dress including a crown-shaped tiara. It is an audience scene and not primarily a scene of worship. The seated Persian is presumably the king, and the standing one too is a member of the royal family—considering the identity of headdress and "royal" beard, combined with the fact that the heads of both persons are on approximately the same level.⁴⁰ Both raise their right hands, palms upward, toward the winged symbol, while their left hands hold blossoms—that of the king(?) almost closed, the other

open. It is possible that the standing Persian is the owner of the seal, invoking divine grace while respectfully approaching majesty.⁴¹ The gesture of the king(?), in this case, may be one of salutation, whereas the same gesture appears to be one of blessing when performed by the effigy of the god. An attendant standing behind the seated Persian and carrying a problematical flail-shaped device (whip?) balances the principal scene. He may lead the horse (or some other quadruped) which is walking behind him—as suggested by the right end of the sealing. The anterior part of the animal is not preserved.

On seal No. 27 a tall staff between two men perhaps represents a sacred symbol. There is a scroll on either side of its upper end; but it may actually continue upward, in some form, beyond the fragmentary impression. The basal part of the staff is incomplete. If this device was meant to be a religious symbol, the person to the left would not turn his back to it. The sequence of the pattern would be as follows: symbol, person, inscription, second person. The scene may have religious significance, although the attitude of the two apparently identical persons does not appear to express reverence. They seem to walk, one flexed arm at the side, the other suspended. Their non-Persian dress consists of a sleeveless robe. Between the two men there is an illegible, apparently Babylonian, inscription in two panels, oriented transversely to the axis of the seal pattern.

MARTIAL SCENES (Seals 28–32: Pl. 9, pp. 29–30)

This group includes the victor triumphant, battle duels, and a naval scene. The hero on seal No. 28 is undoubtedly a Persian, although his headdress is mutilated. He leads three Greek captives—identified by their helmets—by a rope tied around their necks, and he dispatches a fourth helpless Greek warrior, who kneels with averted face before the victor. A similar scene is shown on a seal attributed by some to Artaxerxes I, on which the hero—tentatively identified as that king—leads four bareheaded Egyptian captives by a rope and spears a crowned Egyptian, assumed to be the rebel King Inarus.⁴² Another seal of this character⁴³ pictures a fully armed Persian wearing a tucked candys and a dentate tiara and leading by a rope three bareheaded captives with long fringed garments that

41. On the other hand, one is tempted to interpret this scene as an informal variant of that shown in the king-crown prince reliefs (see *ibid.* pp. 116 f. and 163 ff.), representing Xerxes, the chosen successor to the throne, in this case standing before the seated Darius.

42. See A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948) p. 312. Enlarged illustration in Richard A. Martin, *Ancient Seals of the Near East* (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology Leaflet" No. 34 [Chicago, 1940]) No. 17. See also Joachim Mérent, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie: Recherches sur la glyptique orientale II* (Paris, 1886) Pl. IX 1 and pp. 168–69. According to Alexander S. Strelkov (American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, *Bulletin V* [New York, 1937/38] 20, n. 22) this seal was acquired in Kerch and measures 3.5 cm. in length, 1.8 cm. in diameter; he cites "*Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale archéologique pour l'année 1881*, St. Petersburg, 1883, Pl. V, Nos. 8 and 9, pp. 81–82." Mérent mentions that the seal is made of chalcedony. See also Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien* ("Klio," Beiheft XI.1, n.F. Heft 28 [Leipzig, 1939]) pp. 63–64, n. 4, identifying the Persian king as Artaxerxes III and the Egyptian king as Nectanebo II.

43. Illustrated on a loose plate of unknown publication, marked "The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts," with typewritten legend: "Cylinder Seal of Artaxerxes I Longimanus. Chalcedony, height: 2.8 cm., diameter: 1.5 cm. In Pushkin State Museum, USSR, since 1924." An article by Strelkov ("The Moscow Artaxerxes cylinder seal," American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, *Bulletin V* 17–21) deals with this seal and illustrates it—slightly distorted—in Fig. 2 (by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow); Strelkov (*ibid.* p. 20) suggests that the seal should be attributed to Artaxerxes III.

39. Worn by both Persians and Susians in the reliefs of Persepolis and Susa.

40. See Vol. I 164.

appear to be draped around the body. The victor holds his spear vertically in front of him, point downward. Behind the captives is a palm tree, and beyond is an Old Persian inscription in two lines, oriented transversely to the rest of the pattern. It reads: "I (am) Artaxerxes the Great King." A further example of this type of seal design⁴⁴ shows a fully armed victorious Persian with dentate tiara leading three roped captives dressed in trousers and wearing pointed helmets. The winged disk spreads above the entire scene.

A dual between an archer and a Susian or Persian lancer is shown on our seal No. 29. The archer wears a cap (presumably a bashlyk with raised flaps) with knobs in front, such as is worn by members of the Median, Armenian(?), Cappadocian(?), and Sagartian(?) delegations in the Apadana reliefs. Again, the headdress may be a Scythian cap. The archer seems to wear trousers of Median type. His bareheaded foe is dressed in the candys, which is worn by Persians and Susians alike. An indistinct figure lying between the duelists may be a fallen enemy.

The dress of the two antagonists on seal No. 30 gives no specific clue as to their origin. However, the image of Ahuramazda rising from the winged symbol protects and blesses the warrior to the left, who is obviously the victor, since his spear pierces the foe. The victor either is a Persian, or he belongs to an ethnic group closely related or allied to the head nation of the empire. In this connection it is interesting to note that on a seal in the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁴⁵ the victor in a battle with Greeks wears the same sort of chest armor (of leather or the like) and, as on our seal, a battle-ax protrudes behind and above the head. Its handle must be inserted in a sheathlike tube at the back of the armor vest. The warrior on the Metropolitan seal too wears a close-fitting bashlyk. This headdress may actually be a felt or leather helmet. The significant feature of the Metropolitan specimen is the garment below the chest armor. It is the Persian candys. There is also a seal showing two warriors who wear armor vest with inserted battle-ax, close-fitting headdress, and skirtlike garment.⁴⁶ On our seal No. 30 the well equipped victor contrasts strongly with the poorly armed, apparently half-naked savage whom he dispatches. A club (or sword?) and a shield seem to be his only weapons. The horse(?) without doubt is meant to stand behind the victor.

All impressions of seal No. 31 are faint and blurred. It is certain that there are two pairs of combatants, the farther warrior in each case slightly protruding in front of the nearer one. Some impressions of this seal suggest that the two spear-thrusting men to the left are Persians with flat-topped tiaras and that the spear-hurling adversaries to the right wear domed headdresses of Median type.

The naval scene of seal No. 32 does not show active combat; but on deck men-at-arms stand ready for battle. The ship, a galley, is presumably meant to be in motion, propelled by the oars while the square sail is reefed. Rowers are not visible, but the helmsman appears below the head of the carved monster curving from the stern. There is no

indication that the bowsprit, projecting from the deck above the pronounced ram spur or beak, is modeled in a similar manner.⁴⁷ Palm tree and fish symbolize land and water.

HUNTING SCENES

(Seals 33-36: Pl. 10, pp. 30-31)

The seal impressions of this group show persons and monsters hunting lion, ibex, and mouflon. On seal No. 33 a kneeling, bareheaded and beardless Persian or Susian youth (or eunuch?), clad in the candys, dispatches with his arrows an attacking rampant lion. A dead lion cub lies between the hunter and the erect lion. Star and crescent are above. The seal owner, Artadara, is mentioned in the Aramaic inscription carved in two lines in a horizontal subdivided panel behind the hunter.

The scene on seal No. 34 is more spirited. Arm raised in spear-throwing position, a hunter, clad in bashlyk or similar headdress and tight-fitting garments, rides on the bare back of a horse, which appears to leap over a prostrate ibex. The ibex is dead, and so the posture of horse and hunter is that of pursuit of further game not shown in the seal pattern.

On the partly distorted impression of seal No. 35 the game, a fleeing mouflon, is clearly identified by its horns curled sideways. The hunter may be a winged lion or a winged human-headed monster with the body of a lion.

The winged "centaurian" hunter of seal No. 36 has the body of a bull, as shown mainly by the characteristic tail raised like that of an angry attacking bovine. The man part spans a bow and aims at an erect lion, which is partly visible at the left end of the impression. Ahuramazda apparently blesses the action of the bull-man monster. The god's effigy rises above the winged disk, which hovers above and behind the hunter.

COMBAT SCENES

(Seals 37-39: Pl. 11, p. 32)

A non-Persian warrior, a genie, and a Persian are the intended victors of the combats pictured on seals Nos. 37-39. The scenes are related to those showing the hero triumphant (Nos. 1-13), who is always a Persian. However, in the group under consideration the hero of No. 39 only appears in Persian dress. He is duplicated, holding and stabbing a horned and winged human-headed monster, which rears in the center of the scene. An Aramaic inscription, oriented transversely to the axis of the scene, is unintelligible.

The warrior on seal No. 37, dressed in a belted sleeveless garment, has a grooved, truncated conoid headdress with knob, quite distinct from the Persian tiara. The lower part of the appendage of the hat may represent hair at the back of the neck. The hero strangles an erect lion with his left hand, while the right holds a dagger. A similar posture is shown by the four-winged skirted genie fighting a winged man-bull on seal No. 38. It is not known whether the latter design had additional features; but on No. 37 a palm tree stands behind the hero, and a definite base line forms the lower border.

MONSTERS AND ANIMALS

(Seals 40-43: Pl. 11, pp. 32-33)

The remaining patterns of cylinder seal impressions include a pair of antithetic winged man-ibexes with palm

44. William Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, D.C., 1910) p. 327, No. 1048.

45. *Ibid.* p. 328, No. 1053.

46. *Ibid.* p. 327, No. 1051; better illustration in Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets ...*, Pl. XXVIII 403; Junge, *op. cit.* p. 92, identifies the two antagonists of these warriors as Saka Haumavarga (see our p. 52, n. 49) and attributes the seal to the time after Darius I.

47. For ships of the Persian fleet see George Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (2d ed., New York, 1881) III 194-97.

tree (No. 40) and a pair (or two pairs) of identical gazelles, necks intertwined, with an inscription fragment at the side (No. 42). There are, finally, single animals: the humped bull of seal No. 41 and an ibex with tree symbol and base line (No. 43). The running boars of seals Nos. 73 and 74, tentatively classed as stamp impressions (pp. 40 f.), may actually be cylinder impressions belonging to this group.

THE OWNERS OF THE SEALS

The names of persons and the dates appearing in Table I and in the tabulations given in the catalogue of seal impressions (pp. 18–41) are taken from Cameron's translations of the tablet texts.⁴⁸ The writer has treated this material statistically in order to determine the relations of the seals impressed on the tablets to various items of the texts.

It was found that in each group of tablet texts of "letter type"⁴⁹ which bear the same seal the name always occurring in the documents is that of the speaker, that is, the addressor. We conclude that the addressor is the owner of the seal. In tablet texts of "memorandum type,"⁵⁰ which do not specify the name of the author, the seal owner may yet be definitely identified as one of the persons to whom the texts refer, once the meanings of expressions such as *sharamanna* and *kurmin* are established beyond doubt (see Table I, nn. 6 and 8).

We know the names of ten addressors of tablets and, consequently, the owners of the affixed seals:

Seal No.	Owner	Seal No.	Owner
1	Darkaush	8	Artasyras
2	Artataxma	14	Aspathines
3	Uratinda (= Rumatenda) ⁵¹	16	Megadates
4	Baradkama	24	Appishmanda
6	Cigavahush	25	Marrezza

In addition the owners of two seals have been identified by seal inscriptions (see below):

Seal No.	Owner
20	Datam[es]
33	Artadara

The identification of addressor with seal owner is verified by the Elamite inscriptions of seals Nos. 14 and 24 mentioning Aspathines and Appishmanda, who are the addressors in the respective tablet texts. Seal No. 33 also mentions the owner, in its Aramaic inscription: "Artadara who (is) chief. . . ."⁵² This seal, however, as likewise Nos. 5, 15, 26, 30, and 42, appears only on tablets of memorandum type, which do not specifically mention the author of the document. The tablet fragments bearing seals Nos. 35 and 36 are apparently illegible.

We have mentioned that all seal impressions occurring on the tablets of the Treasury group are those of cylinder seals. However, impressions of cylinders are found on clay labels as well, and two sealings (Nos. 5 and 8) are found on both tablets and labels (see pp. 16–17). The following cylinder seal impressions occur on labels only: Nos. 7, 9–13, 17–23, 27–29, 31–32, 34, 37–41, and 43. Since labels bear no texts, seal inscriptions would be the only means of identifying the seal owners. Nos. 20 and 39 were both inscribed, but the impressions of both are fragmentary and

preserve the beginnings only of the Aramaic legends: "Seal of . . ." (No. 39) and "Seal of Datam[es]" (No. 20; see p. 26, n. 122).

As far as is known at present, none of the texts of the Treasury tablets mentions the office or title of the person whose seal—and whose seal alone—is affixed to the document. There are a few clues, however, which shed some light on the position of the owners of the seals. These clues are mainly the positions and the functions of the other persons mentioned in the texts, and the inscriptions and patterns of the seals.

We have shown that the owner of the seals impressed on tablets of letter type is always the addressor of the document. The other persons with whom we are here principally concerned are the addressee of the letters (requisitions), the person who in letters and memoranda is responsible for supervision or payment (see Table I, n. 6), and—to a lesser degree—the person "by the hand of" whom payments have been made (see Table I, n. 8).

All letters of the Treasury group of tablets ranging in time from the 32d year of the reign of Darius I to the 20th regnal year of Xerxes are addressed consecutively to five persons, who whenever their title is mentioned are called "treasurer" or "treasurer of (or at) Parsa." We have no doubt, therefore, that the addressee is in each case the Treasurer of Persepolis, whether or not his title is indicated. Our Table I gives the names of these five treasurers and the regnal year or spans of years in which each definitely held office:⁵³

Shakka ⁵⁴	(32d year of Darius I)
Baradkama	(32d year of Darius I to 6th year of Xerxes)
Barishsha	(7th year of Xerxes)
Vahush	(13th to 19th years of Xerxes)
Ratininda	(19th and 20th years of Xerxes)

Altogether there are on the Treasury tablets the impressions of eighteen different cylinder seals, representing as many persons who had dealings with the Treasury or were actively engaged in its administration. Ten of these persons (see above) are known to us by name as the addressors of letter-type tablets, who corresponded with five men responsible for the "Treasury of the King."⁵⁵ The names of two of the seven persons whose seals are impressed on memoranda are also known. One of them, Baradkama (seal No. 4), was the addressor of a letter and during his tenure as treasurer the author of memoranda (see Table I, n. 7). Artadara is identified by the legend of his seal (No. 33; see above). In two instances we do not even know the nature of the fragmentary documents on which seals are preserved (Nos. 35–36).⁵⁶

The tenor of the letter texts suggests that their addressors—as a rule requesting the treasurer to transact payments for services rendered by various kinds of workmen, artisans, and officials⁵⁷—were the treasurer's peers or his superiors in rank.⁵⁸ The lack of continuity in our list of addressors (see Table I) contrasting with the uninterrupted sequence of addressees suggests that the former do

53. See also *OIP* LXV 32 f.

54. Whose title is not specified in the only tablet (PT4 601) which mentions him as addressee.

55. See *OIP* LXV, No. 27, p. 128.

56. The remnants of the texts are apparently illegible, for they are omitted in Cameron's list *ibid.* pp. 56 f.

57. See *ibid.* pp. 14 f.

58. *Versus* Cameron *ibid.* p. 96.

48. See p. 4, n. 1. See also Cameron, "Darius' daughter and the Persepolis inscriptions," *JNES* I (1942) 214–18, and Richard T. Hallock, "Darius I, the king of the Persepolis tablets," *JNES* I 230–32.

49. See *OIP* LXV 25 and 56 f.

50. *Ibid.*

51. See *ibid.* pp. 86 f.

52. Translated by Professor Raymond A. Bowman.

not represent one public office comparable with that of treasurer. On the other hand, the rather uniform character of the messages or requisitions shows that all addressors—that is, the owners of the ten seals with which we are here concerned—had the same or similar responsibility, namely (among other duties) the supervision of Persepolis constructions. Baradkama seems to be the only one of this group who appears also as addressee and treasurer. Shortly after addressing a requisition⁵⁹ to Shakka—undoubtedly the treasurer in the 32d year of Darius' reign—he appears as addressee and treasurer himself, retaining in this office his seal (No. 4⁶⁰) which he used as addressor. Aspathines the owner of seal No. 14 may be the same Aspathines who carries Darius' battle-ax and bow in the reliefs on the king's tomb⁶¹ and whom we identified as the bearer of the royal weapons in the Treasury reliefs.⁶² If the identification of the owner of seal No. 14 as Darius' weapon-bearer is correct, the position of this trusted dignitary of the king suggests the status of the other nine persons who had the same or similar functions in the Treasury documents. Another person of high rank appears as *sharamanna* who "is responsible for" workmen whose wages have been paid. He is Megapates (OP: Bagapāti), a cousin of Darius I and an admiral of the Persian fleet. To be sure, the tablet⁶³ mentioning his name is a memorandum sealed by "Artadara who (is) chief" (seal No. 33), and it is doubtful whether in this case the seal owner was the superior of the "responsible" official. In any event, the duties of Megapates apparently were the same as those of the ten officials mentioned above.

At this point we have to consult the patterns of the seal impressions for further information with regard to the status of the seal owners. As previously mentioned, among all the Persepolis seals, whether represented by their impressions or by the actual objects, the most distinguished ones are those which bear a royal name. Altogether there are seven such "royal" seals impressed on tablets of the Treasury group, and all show the hero triumphant as the principal feature of their patterns. These seals are not the king's own seals. They may be seals of office,⁶⁴ and they are certainly the seals of persons of high rank. By inference the famous "royal" seal of Darius⁶⁵ and the Artaxerxes

seals (see pp. 10 f.)—none of which is more impressive than our seals of the hero triumphant—are those of high dignitaries but not the kings' own seals. Five of the ten officials who are the addressors of our letter-type tablets—requisitions written at their command—were privileged to use the distinguished seals with royal names. The sealings of Darkaush (No. 1), Artataxma (No. 2), and Uratinda⁶⁶ (= Rumatenda; No. 3) bear the name of Darius (I), whereas Xerxes' name was engraved on the seals of Ciçavahush (No. 6) and Artasyras (No. 8⁶⁷). Although there is no trace of an inscription on the fragmentary sealings (No. 4) of Baradkama, the sixth official of this group (who subsequently became Treasurer of Persepolis), the hero triumphant of the seal pattern may also have been combined with a royal name. If so, it was the name of Darius (see Table I). All seals of the remaining four addressors of requisitions were engraved with scenes of religious character. Worship of Ahuramazda is represented on the seals of Aspathines (No. 14) and Megadates (No. 16), and venerable symbols are flanked by soldiers or animals on the seals of Appishmanda (No. 24) and Marrezza (No. 25) respectively.

We have pointed out that in our opinion the ten officials of this group were either equal in rank to the treasurer or (perhaps in most cases) his superiors. Those dignitaries whose seals bear the king's name presumably held the highest position or positions.⁶⁸

According to the extant sealings there are seven authors of tablets of memorandum type, but as far as we know, their names are never specifically indicated and linked with the seals. The purport of the memoranda—recording that payments have been effected⁶⁹—suggests that the authors are the successive treasurers or their subordinates. This assumption seems to be substantiated by tablets which bear the seal of Baradkama (No. 4) and which were written during his tenure as treasurer.

Among the seven seals of the assumed Treasury officials there is only one "royal" seal (No. 5) which definitely mentions the name of the ruler (Xerxes). It does not occur prior to Xerxes' 19th year, but is found on all extant memoranda of the 19th and 20th years of that king and on those of the beginning of Artaxerxes I's reign. It is doubtful, though possible, that this seal was the "Seal of the Treasury." If true, it was used in succession by treasurers Vahush and Ratininda (see Table I).⁷⁰ It is the only one of the seven memoranda seals which occurs on labels also (see also seal No. 8; n. 67 and pp. 16 ff.).⁷¹

The patterns of the other seals found on memoranda in-

66. We do not believe that a scribe called Uratinda who wrote Darkaush's requisitions in the 3d and 4th years of Xerxes (see Table I) is the same person as the owner of seal No. 3; the Uratinda who appears as *sharamanna* in memoranda of the 19th and 20th years of Xerxes and in the 1st year of Artaxerxes I may be a third official of the same name (see *OIP* LXV, No. 3, pp. 86 f.).

67. The only seal found on letter-type tablets which occurs on labels as well.

68. Walther Hinz suggests that the "royal" seals impressed on the letter-type tablets are those of the "grand viziers" (review of *OIP* LXV in *ZA* XLIX= n.F. XV [1950] 350).

69. *OIP* LXV 25.

70. Cf. Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 351. There is, however, no indication that a "Seal of the Treasury" existed prior to Xerxes' 19th year. Further, even if Baradkama's seal pattern (No. 4) did include the name of the king—which cannot be proved (see our pp. 12–13)—there would be only two "royal" seals in our group of seven used by authors of memoranda (vs. Hinz, *loc. cit.*: "Auch die *memoranda* tragen meist ein 'Königssiegel' . . .").

71. The seventh of the "royal" seals (No. 7, bearing the name of Xerxes) is known from one impression only, found on a label from the Treasury.

59. *Ibid.* No. 1, pp. 83 f.

60. Impressed on memoranda of Xerxes' 4th, 6th, and 7th years. Baradkama appears in these texts as *sharamanna* (see Table I), but he is mentioned in the same capacity on tablets of the 2d and 4th years of Xerxes bearing another sealing, namely No. 26, which in turn is used on a memorandum of Xerxes' 10th year mentioning Vahush as *sharamanna*. We disregard the faint possibility that the seal of Baradkama the addressor and the seal impressed on the memoranda mentioned belonged to two distinct officials but were so similar that the preserved portions of their impressions appear to have been made by one and the same seal (see Pl. 4).

61. See *OIP* LXV 103 f.

62. See Vol. I 169. The identification of the owner of seal No. 14 as Darius' weapon-bearer would be more certain if the two worshipers on the seal wore Median dress as do the relief figures. Again, the stately beard of these worshipers—who presumably both picture the same person—might suggest that they are meant to represent Aspathines' royal master (cf. also seal No. 26; p. 10 and n. 41).

63. *OIP* LXV, No. 8, pp. 94 f.

64. The existence of a seal of office would imply that the possessor had a personal seal too. According to Cameron (oral information) the addressor of one of the tablet texts of the fortification group emphasizes that the seal impressed on the tablet is his new seal. It is not known, however, whether his old seal was lost, or whether it was replaced for other reasons.

65. Burned chalcedony cylinder in the British Museum. See Ménant, *op. cit.* Fig. 145 and pp. 166 ff.; Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVII d. The find-history of this seal is traced in an interesting communication by J. Yoyotte, "La provenance du cylindre de Darius [BM 89.132]," *RA* XLVI (1952) 165–67.

clude the hero triumphant (No. 4, the seal of Baradkama, occurring also on a tablet of letter type; see n. 70), worship of the sacred symbol (No. 15), a dignified audience scene (No. 26), a combat scene (No. 30), a lion hunt (No. 33, bearing the name of Artadara), and a fragment with intertwined gazelles (No. 42).

IMPRESSIONS OF STAMP SEALS AND SIGNET RINGS

SUBJECTS OF SEAL PATTERNS

PERSONS, COMBATS, ALTAR SCENES, DIVINE BEINGS (Seals 44–65: Pls. 12–13, pp. 33–39)

A glance at Plate 12 will show that we have left the sphere of Persian glyptique and entered the realm of Greek art. Compared with the animated little sculptures of human beings—unclad in many cases⁷²—which appear almost to have been carved after living models, the rigid stereotyped heroes of our Persian cylinder seals give the impression of lifeless though often well cut marionettes.

It is beyond the scope of this report to enter into the controversy regarding the Greek, East Greek, or Greco-Persian origin of certain seals of the Achaemenian period with non-Persian features.⁷³ Our sealings found in the Persepolis Treasury and pictured on Plate 12 are Greek (except perhaps No. 50), according to the style and subject matter of their patterns. It is plausible to assume that these seals were the products of Greek artists of western Asia Minor. Again, classical archeologists may be able to determine whether they originated rather on the mainland of Greece, on the islands of the Aegean, or in Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea. Chronologically our seals belong roughly to the period of Furtwängler's "late archaic transitional style" of Greek glyptique⁷⁴ and extend into his period of the "free style preceding Alexander."⁷⁵

There are no Persian seals, or—according to Miss Maximowa⁷⁶—even Greco-Persian seals, whose patterns show any relation to Greek life or to the mythology or pantheon of the Greeks. This fact alone indicates the purely Greek origin of our seals Nos. 44 and 45. The former seems to picture the nude Heracles⁷⁷ armed with his club and seated on a chariot which is drawn by two horses. Seal No. 45 represents Athena standing in a chariot which is hidden behind the horses of her quadriga.⁷⁸

Most of the other sealings shown on Plate 12 portray nude men, singly or in pairs, in various postures and activities. There is a helmeted warrior (No. 46), who kneels behind his shield and holds a drawn dagger in his right hand ready to stab a foe who is not shown. Seal No. 47 pictures a man, perhaps also meant to be a warrior, who leans against an object which is possibly a shield. His

hands are raised to his chest and to his lowered head in an attitude of devout prayer. The meaning of the group shown on No. 48 is problematical. A naked man, apparently a youth, kneels in front of a standing man, who holds some object almost above the head of the former. A tucked garment covers the loins of the standing man and is draped over his left arm. Another kneeling man is shown on seal No. 49, together with a problematical device. Seal No. 52 seems to picture two nude wrestlers, and No. 53 shows a man apparently struggling with his unruly horse. The label bearing seal No. 51 is instructive. At the right edge of the elliptical, almost circular, clay piece is an animated Greek design picturing a nude man with raised left arm, perhaps being attacked by a dog (see p. 35, n. 131). In strong contrast to this figure, the fragment of another seal pattern (without seal number) at the left edge of the same label shows a fully attired Persian in the rigid posture of the conventional Persian style. In the group of Greek seals we may include Nos. 54 and 56 of Plate 13. The former shows a nude man in a position similar to that of the standing man of No. 48. The man of seal No. 54 too carries a garment of some kind draped over his left arm. The greatly distorted impressions of No. 56 picture a nude standing man or woman.

There may be differences of opinion as to the origin of the rest of this group of stamp seals and signet rings, but there is hardly a doubt that they show influence of western glyptique. There is a bearded man's head (No. 50) with bushy hair (or fur cap) and coarse naturalistically carved features. On seal No. 55 a man is seated in front of a rod-like symbol with bifurcated top. He wears a conoid head-dress, from which a scarf seems to extend along the back. His left foot apparently rests on the table which carries the symbol. His right arm seems to extend to this foot, pulling at the low boot or fastening it.⁷⁹ Three seals show a Persian in kneeling-running position (Nos. 58–60). There is a close similarity between the pattern of seal No. 58—the running hero in Persian dress armed with bow and spear—and the design of the darics. Our numismatic collection includes coins from the reign of Croesus (561–546 B.C.) and others ranging in time from the 7th century B.C. to post-Alexandrian periods; but there is not a single example of the darics, which assumedly displaced the Lydian gold staters.⁸⁰ Thus, our seal No. 58 provides the only illustration of a daric pattern from Persepolis. The relationship of the kneeling-running Heracles of eastern Greek glyptique to the pattern of the darics has been pointed out previously.⁸¹ The patterns of Nos. 59 and 60 are closely related, and both resemble somewhat the focal scene of the Persian design on cylinder seal No. 1 (Pl. 3). In either case a Persian—one bareheaded, the other with plain tiara—is shown in kneeling-running position, combating a rampant lion, which on No. 60 is provided with wings.

There is no doubt as to the purely Persian origin of seal No. 57. A Persian in stereotyped attire and posture (as far as preserved) stands in front of an object which appears to be a fire altar. It is possible that this impression was made

72. Persian sculpture in general shuns the representation of the completely nude human body. Cf. Dio Chrysostom xiii. 24 as to the repugnance of the Persians to exposure of the body.

73. See Adolf Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* (3 vols.; Leipzig and Berlin, 1900) esp. III 78–146; also M. E. Maximowa, "Griechisch-persische Kleinkunst in Kleinasien nach den Perserkriegen" in *Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1928, cols. 648–77; Gisela M. A. Richter, "The late 'Achaemenian' or 'Graeco-Persian' gems," *Hesperia: Supplement VIII* (Baltimore, 1949) 291–98, Pls. 31–38 (with bibliography).

74. "About 500 and beginning of the 5th century"; *op. cit.* Vol. III 95.

75. *Ibid.* pp. 116 ff.

76. *Op. cit.* col. 676.

77. As suggested by Gisela M. A. Richter, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

78. For similar representations of quadrigae see Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Vol. I, Pls IX 10 and X 6; see also Vol. III 107.

79. A subject favored by Greek glyptique of this period; see e.g. *ibid.* Vol. I, Pl. XXXI 9.

80. Kurt Regling, *Die antiken Münzen nach Alfred von Sallet* (3. Aufl.; Berlin and Leipzig, 1929) p. 3.

81. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Vol. III 98. See also Anton Moortgat, *Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden* (Altorientalische Gesellschaft, "Mitteilungen" II 1 [Leipzig, 1926]) p. 16.

by a cylinder rather than a stamp seal, in spite of the curved outline of the sealing.

Winged genii are shown on seals Nos. 63 and 65. The pattern of the former, faint and indistinct, reminds one of the four-winged bifront bull-men of seal No. 19. It may be the sealing of either a cylinder or a stamp seal. Above the genie of No. 65 hovers the *hmhm*-crown of Egypt (see p. 39, n. 132). It is identical, as far as it can be recognized, with the crown of the four-winged genie carved on a doorjamb of the Gate Structure of Cyrus at Pasargadae.⁸² However, the wings of the genie on our sealing, upcurved in favored Achaemenian fashion, are distinct from the straight wings of the Pasargadae sculpture. At any rate, the presence of the Egyptian crown on the Pasargadae relief, undoubtedly carved at the site, suggests that our seal too may have been cut in Persia proper.

The Egyptian god Bes, pictured on seal No. 64 together with a canine and a cock, was a favorite subject for seal-cutters in various lands during the period under consideration.⁸³ Bes figurines, probably imported from Egypt, were found in the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 68 and Pl. 31:4, 6). Our seal too has the appearance of non-Persian workmanship.

Neo-Babylonian seals, presumably imported from Mesopotamia, are represented by Nos. 61 and 62, showing the stereotyped pattern of many such seals: a priest worshipping at the altar with the couchant *mušpuš* monster,⁸⁴ the spear of Marduk, and the styli of Nabu.⁸⁵

ANIMALS AND MONSTERS (Seals 66-77: Pl. 14, p. 39)

The heraldic schematism of seals Nos. 66, 68, 69, 71, 76, and 77 marks them as Persian seals. This group includes monsters such as the winged lion(?) with ibex horn (No. 66), reminding one of later (Sasanian) patterns of seals and stucco-work. A horned griffin is shown on No. 68,⁸⁶ and a winged bull on No. 69. The fragmentary sealing of No. 71 seems to picture a rampant bull. The cutter of No. 76 apparently had difficulty in placing his subjects. A lion couches on a ground line oriented along the long axis of the seal, while his prey, perhaps an onager, breaks down on a transversely oriented ground line. The pattern of No. 77 shows two antithetic sejant regardant lions above a ground line.

The remaining seals are non-Persian, either pure Greek or greatly influenced by Greek glyptique. But for the vessel balanced on its head, the graceful heron of No. 67, a seal of unusual form, has many counterparts in Greek glyptique during the Achaemenid era.⁸⁷ The running dog of No. 75 is very similar to the dog on a seal pointed out by Miss Maximowa⁸⁸ as an example of a Grecized multiple

pattern, which in addition to a fox and a lizard pictures also a heron resembling the bird of our seal No. 67.

There are finally some spirited little animal sculptures which belong to the sphere of Greek glyptique rather than to that of Persia. No. 70 seems to picture a gamboling or charging bullock. On No. 72 a running or jumping horse or similar animal is shown. Running boars appear on sealings Nos. 73 and 74; both may have been made by cylinder seals, for distinct stamp seal edges are missing.

Among the cylinder sealings discussed on preceding pages there are several belonging to this group of patterns which are closer to Greek glyptique than to Persian. We refer to the humped bull of No. 41 and the ibex of No. 43.⁸⁹ The animated scene of the mounted hunter (No. 34) also belongs to this group, and possibly the hunting bull-man of No. 36.

Nevertheless, in summarizing our impressions as to the affiliations of the seals whose patterns we found on tablets and labels in the Persepolis Treasury, we conclude that by far the greater proportion of cylinder seals have typically Persian designs. On the other hand, the majority of the patterns of stamp seals and signet rings are Greek, or at least Grecized. There are only a few designs of stamp seals and rings which we may call definitely Persian.

Thus, our Treasury sealings—most or all of which are probably to be assigned to the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes (see pp. 15-18)—document a late phase of the use of the traditional oriental cylinder seal with indigenous patterns, coinciding with the arrival of Greek or Grecized designs on sealing devices which were to displace entirely the ancient oriental cylinder seal after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire.

THE OWNERS OF THE SEALS

The impressions of the stamp seals and signet rings under consideration occur on uninscribed labels only, and none of the sealings have inscriptions. Therefore, we do not know the names of their owners, nor do we have documentary information concerning the owners' functions. We know, however, that seals were impressed on clay labels affixed to objects which were stored in the royal Treasury. While some of these goods may have been sent with sealings already affixed from distant parts of the empire, in many cases we have proof that the sealings were impressed at Persepolis. Such proof is furnished by the association of impressions of stamp seals and signet rings on labels bearing impressions of two cylinder seals (Nos. 5 and 8), with Xerxes' name, as listed in Table II. The owners of seals Nos. 5 (name unknown) and 8 (Artasyras), doubtlessly high officers at the Persepolis court, appear as authors of tablets—memoranda and letters (requisitions) respectively—which deal with Persepolis matters. We have no doubt, therefore, that owners of our Greek or Grecized seals were officials in Persian service. Many, presumably, were employed at the Persepolis Treasury. These conclusions concern primarily the owners of the stamp seals and signet rings whose impressions are associated with those of seals Nos. 5 and 8; but they may be valid with regard to most or all of the persons who impressed their seals on the clay labels which we found in the royal storehouse.

We are inclined to believe that the owners of our seals with Greek patterns were Greeks in Persian employ. On

82. See Vol. I 22 and Fig. 7 B.

83. See Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Vol. III 110.

84. See Benno Landsberger and Ingo Krumbiegel, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-ra hubullu* (Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen" XLII 6 [Leipzig, 1934]) pp. 48 ff.; Eckhard Unger, "Mischwesen" in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* VIII (Berlin, 1927) 213.

85. Cf. *OIP* XXII, Nos. 484, 486, 489, 491, 496.

86. Resembling the monster in the Achaemenian relief pictured in *IAE*, Fig. 362.

87. See Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Vols. III 145 and I, Pls. IX 29, XII 46, XIV 11 and 17, etc. Cf. the heron on a Greek chalcedony scaraboid from the Peloponnesus in Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, Pl. XCV 10.

88. *Op. cit.* cols. 673-74 and Fig. 28c.

89. Cf. a seal found in Greece: Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Vol. I, Pl. VIII 47.

the other hand, it is interesting to conjecture that Persians—ignoring customary rules of propriety (see p. 14, n. 72)—esteemed the products of Greek gem-cutters to such an extent as to prefer Greek seals as symbols of identification.

CHRONOLOGY OF SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM THE TREASURY

For dating the seal impressions of the Treasury group we have the following criteria:

1. The names of kings, either inscribed on seals or mentioned in the texts of the tablets to which the seals are affixed.
2. The tablet texts, often dated to a month of a year of reign of a king.⁹⁰
3. Association of otherwise undatable impressions on the same label with sealings occurring also on tablets and dated by points 1 and 2.

SEALS OF THE TIME OF DARIUS I (Nos. 1–4, 24, 33, and possibly 14)

The name of Darius engraved on the seals of Darkaush (No. 1) and Artataxma (No. 2) proves conclusively that these seals originated during the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.⁹¹) in spite of the fact that we found their impressions on tablets of the time of Xerxes solely. The seal of Darkaush occurs on tablets ranging in time from the 2d to the 4th year⁹² of Xerxes (484–482 B.C.). Artataxma's seal is impressed on records of the 4th to the 20th years of this king (481–466 B.C.). No. 3, the seal of Uratinda (= Rumatenda), also bears the name of Darius, but the dates of the tablets⁹³ to which it is affixed are uncertain or destroyed. Nevertheless, the name of the addressee—Baradkama—indicates the period during which the tablets bearing Uratinda's seal were inscribed, namely during Baradkama's tenure as treasurer, between 489 and 479 B.C. (see following paragraph). The attribution of the tablets with Uratinda's seal to the last years of Darius rather than to the first years of Xerxes is based on the names of persons otherwise mentioned in texts of Darius' time only. They are the scribe Hipirukka and a man by the name of Hitripella.

The date of Baradkama's seal (No. 4) is determined not by a royal name—which may or may not have existed on this seal—but by the date of the earliest tablet bearing his seal, namely the end of the 32d or the beginning of the 33d year of Darius I (489 B.C.). The latest tablet with the seal of Baradkama is dated in the beginning of the 7th year of Xerxes (479 B.C.).⁹⁴

Appishmanda's seal (No. 24) is dated in the same manner as that of Baradkama. It also occurs on a tablet⁹⁵ assignable to the 32d or 33d year of Darius I (489 B.C.).

No date appears in the texts of the tablets bearing the seal of "Artadara who (is) chief" (No. 33); but one tablet sealed by Artadara states that "Darius the King" gave the order (for the payments mentioned in the text), this king being without doubt Darius I. Another tablet with Artadara's seal simply mentions that Darius gave the order.⁹⁶

90. Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I; see Table I and *OIP* LXV 32 ff. For a bibliography of seal impressions on datable documents found at other locations see Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets* ..., pp. xli–xliii.

91. All Achaemenid dates given in this chapter and elsewhere are taken from *SAOC* No. 24.

92. For dating by months of all seals mentioned in this chapter consult Table I and the catalogue of seal impressions (pp. 18 ff.).

93. *OIP* LXV, Nos 3 and 3a, pp. 86–88.

94. See *ibid.* Nos. 1 and 24, pp. 83 f. and 124 f., respectively.

95. *Ibid.* No. 2, p. 85.

dara's seal simply mentions that Darius gave the order.⁹⁶

The seal of Aspathines (No. 14) was undoubtedly cut in the reign of Darius if its owner is correctly identified as the weapon-bearer of the king (see p. 13). The use of the seal in the beginning of Xerxes' reign (end of 2d year and 3d year,⁹⁷ i.e., 483 B.C.) also tends to attribute it to the reign of Darius (see p. 17).

These seven seals, attributed to the time of Darius I, are all cylinder seals. No impressions of them occur on clay labels, where they might have been associated with impressions of other cylinders, stamp seals, or signet rings, as is the case with certain seals of Xerxes' reign (see below). We are therefore deprived of the possibility of attributing further seals to Darius' time by their association with dated specimens, but we shall point out some clues suggesting that other seals of the Treasury group may be attributed to the reign of this king.

SEALS OF THE TIME OF XERXES

(Nos. 5–8, 16, 25–26, 30, and associated specimens)⁹⁸

Xerxes' name is never mentioned in the tablet texts of the Treasury group; but it appears on four seals (Nos. 5–8), three of which are affixed to records of the following years of his reign:

No. 6 (seal of Ciçavahush)	Years 15–18 (470–467 B.C.) ⁹⁹
No. 5 (owner unknown)	Years 19–20 (467–466 B.C.) ¹⁰⁰
No. 8 (seal of Artasyras)	Year 20 (466/65 B.C.) ¹⁰¹
No. 7 occurs once only, on a clay label without further data.	

These seals can be attributed with certainty to the reign of Xerxes. The *terminus a quo* is the date of his accession to the throne (486 B.C.).¹⁰² The *terminus ad quem* is the first documented use of the seal. Consequently, the four seals must have been cut during the following years:

No. 6 between 486 and 470 B.C.
No. 5 between 486 and 467 B.C.
No. 8 between 486 and 466 B.C.
No. 7 486–465 B.C.

Seals Nos. 16, 25, 26, and 30 do not bear Xerxes' name; but the dates and names mentioned in the texts of the tablets to which they are affixed—especially the treasurers' names—prove that these seals were used during the following years of Xerxes' reign:

No. 26 (owner unknown)	Years 2–10 (483–476 B.C.) ¹⁰³
No. 25 (seal of Marrezza)	Year 7 (478 B.C.) ¹⁰⁴
No. 30 (owner unknown)	Year 16 (470/69 B.C.) ¹⁰⁵
No. 16 (seal of Megadates)	Year 19 (466 B.C.) ¹⁰⁶

96. See *ibid.* Nos. 4–5, pp. 88–92. If the scribe (Dadumania) who wrote Artadara's tablets is the same person (Datam[es]) who is identified by the Aramaic inscription on seal No. 20, that seal too has to be assigned to the time of Darius I (see our p. 7, but cf. p. 26, n. 122).

97. See *OIP* LXV, Nos. 12, 12a, 12b, and 14, pp. 102 ff.

98. It is interesting to note the close similarity of seals Nos. 3 and 4 of the reign of Darius to Nos. 6 and 5 respectively of Xerxes' time (see Pls. 3–4).

99. For dates of first and last occurrences see *OIP* LXV, Nos. 28–29, p. 134, and No. 33, p. 138 (where "468" B.C. should be corrected to "467").

100. For earliest documentation of seal No. 5 see *ibid.* Nos. 34–35, p. 140. This seal occurs also on tablets of years 1–5 of Artaxerxes I (464–459 B.C.); for date of last occurrence see *ibid.* No. 79, p. 196.

101. See *ibid.* No. 68, pp. 182 f., and No. 75, pp. 190 f.

102. Darius I died in November, 486, that is, in the 36th year of his reign (*SAOC* No. 24, pp. 14 and 29). Xerxes evidently ascended the throne on his father's death. Thereafter all "royal" inscriptions—such as, for instance, the legends of our seals—would certainly mention Xerxes—and not Darius—during the remainder of the "accession year." Xerxes' 1st "regnal year" started April 6, 485 B.C. (*ibid.* p. 29).

103. See *OIP* XLV, Nos. 11, 20, 26.

104. See *ibid.* No. 25.

105. See *ibid.* Nos. 30 and 32.

106. See *ibid.* Nos. 36, 44, 44a.

The tablets bearing these seals give us the *terminus ad quem* only, that is, we know the seals were carved prior to their first documented use:

- No. 26 in or prior to 483 B.C.
- No. 25 in or prior to 478 B.C.
- No. 30 in or prior to 470 B.C.
- No. 16 in or prior to 466 B.C.

As to the *terminus a quo*, while there is no doubt that all four seals belong to the Achaemenian period, and while some of them may have been carved in Xerxes' time, those in particular which are impressed on tablets of the early years of this king's reign may actually have been cut during the reign of Darius I (cf. seal No. 14; p. 16).¹⁰⁷ We have shown that seals bearing Darius' name were used to endorse official documents during the entire reign of his successor, as late as 466 B.C., about twenty years after the great king's death (see Table I, seal No. 2).

A third group of seals used during the reign of Xerxes is represented by a considerable number of impressions of cylinder seals, stamp seals, and signet rings associated on clay labels directly or indirectly with seals of Xerxes' time (see Table II).

We have mentioned that no impressions of the seals which are definitely identified as seals of Darius' reign were found on clay labels of the Treasury; but three officials of Xerxes impressed their seals (Nos. 5, 7, and 8), bearing their king's name, on such labels.

Seal No. 7 (owner unknown) occurs once only, on a label without other seal impressions, which therefore does not help us in dating further material.

Seal No. 8, the seal of Artasyras, is associated on labels with No. 5, and with five other seals (Nos. 11, 29, 43, 50, and 53), all of which are also impressed on labels bearing impressions of No. 5.

Seal No. 5 (owner unknown) is the key specimen on which Table II is based. The table shows that impressions of No. 5 appear in direct combinations with twenty-three other seals out of the total of seventy-seven seals comprising the Treasury collection. Combinations of No. 5 with impressions of other seals on individual labels are tabulated in the catalogue (see p. 21).

The top line of Table II lists by number all sealings of the Treasury. The first line of the top register ("Direct Associations") enumerates the sealings occurring with No. 5 on the same labels and the frequency of such associations; for example, seals Nos. 8 and 11 are each found three times on labels with No. 5, whereas No. 12 is only once associated with No. 5 on the same specimen, etc. The following lines of the top register repeat the seals associated with No. 5 and list all seals associated with them in turn. In this manner we determine associations of the second degree. For instance, No. 17, occurring once on the same label with No. 5, is associated on another label with No. 10, which does not appear on labels with the impression of No. 5. Thus, through No. 17, and, as the table shows, through Nos. 32 and 38 as well, No. 10 is indirectly associated with No. 5. Other second-degree associations with No. 5 are formed by the following: Nos. 21 (through No. 70), 28 (through No. 72), and 37 (through No. 32).

¹⁰⁷ Seal No. 26, for instance, must have been cut toward the end of Darius' reign if its pattern actually represents the king and his successor (see p. 10, n. 41).

The second register of Table II tabulates the seals occurring on the same labels with sealings associated in the second degree with No. 5 and thus marks associations of the third degree, namely Nos. 18, 48, 56, 62, 65, and 66.

The third register, listing third-degree associations, determines finally one fourth-degree association, namely No. 75, which is impressed on eighteen labels and always paired with No. 62.

In this manner we determined the direct and indirect associations of impressions of thirty-four cylinder seals, stamp seals, and signet rings with impressions of seal No. 5.

One of these seals is dated, namely No. 8, the seal of Artasyras (see above); but the chronological position of the other seals hinges naturally on the date of the key seal, No. 5. We have shown that this seal must have been cut between 486 and 467 B.C. (see p. 16). This fact supplies the *terminus a quo* for the labels to which seal No. 5 and any of the twenty-three directly associated seals are affixed. These clay labels could not have been attached to royal goods or records and endorsed by the owners of our seals prior to the beginning of Xerxes' reign, that is, 486 B.C. However, the partial dating of the labels through No. 5 impressions does not date equally the seals associated with No. 5 on the same labels. Contemporaneity of use is proven beyond doubt; but even those seals directly associated with No. 5 on the same labels may have been carved during the reign of Darius I and owned by persons whose span of adult life or whose tenure of office extended over the reigns of both kings. A still earlier date is possible in a few instances, though implausible. Again, seal No. 5 was used on tablets as late as the 5th year of Artaxerxes I (459 B.C.). Theoretically, therefore, labels with seal No. 5 and associated impressions may belong to a period as late as the reign of this king. However, it is reasonable to assume that many or most of the seals directly or indirectly associated with seal No. 5 were cut during the time of Xerxes.

Indirect associations of seals with No. 5 indicate approximate contemporaneity of use with seal No. 5. They do not even supply us with the *terminus a quo* for the labels on which they occur, as is determined by impressions of seal No. 5 found alone or directly associated with other seals on labels. Contemporaneous use of certain seals of this group is of course proven by their occurrence on the same label, as tabulated in the catalogue of seal impressions (pp. 18 ff.). The period of origin of seals and labels alike may be the reign of any of the first three Persepolitan kings mentioned above in connection with direct associations; but in this case too we are inclined to attribute to the time of Xerxes the origin of the greater portion of these seals, indirectly associated with No. 5, and of the labels on which they are impressed.

Table II (bottom register) lists forty-two seals which do not occur in combination with No. 5 or with seals associated with it. Six of these seals, Nos. 1-4, 24, and 33, belong to the time of Darius (see p. 16). Three more may possibly be assigned to the same ruler: Nos. 14 and 20 (see p. 16 and n. 96) and 26 (see n. 107). Five of these seals (excluding here Nos. 14 and 26) either bear the name of Xerxes or were impressed on tablets of this king's reign: Nos. 6, 7, 16, 25, and 30 (see p. 16). Impressions of No. 9 associated with 31, of 27 with 34, and of 47 with 67 on labels indicate contemporaneous use of each pair; but there are no clues for

dating them or the remaining twenty-two seals except for the fact that they are impressed on tablets (seals Nos. 15, 35, 36, and 42) and labels (seals Nos. 9, 13, 22, 27, 31, 34, 39, 45-47, 49, 51, 57, 59, 60, 63, 64, 67-69, 71, 73, 76, and 77) found in rooms and halls of the Persepolis Treasury under conditions similar to or identical with those of tablets ranging in time from the 30th year (492/91 B.C.) of Darius I to the 5th year (459 B.C.) of Artaxerxes I.¹⁰⁸

CATALOGUE

On the preceding pages we have summarized our observations regarding groups of related seal patterns, attempted to define the positions of the owners of the seals, and determined, as far as possible, the chronological relations of the seals impressed on tablets and labels from the Treasury.

In the catalogue we describe the pattern of each seal and tabulate all instances of its use. The first section deals with the impressions of cylinder seals, that is, it includes all sealings of the Treasury tablets and those which are found solely on uninscribed labels and, therefore, are not referred to in *OIP* LXV. In using the tabulations of the seals affixed to tablets the reader should consult the explanatory notes to Table I. The tablet numbers are those used by Cameron in *OIP* LXV.

The second section of the catalogue deals with the impressions of stamp seals and signet rings, which—in the Treasury—were found on labels only.

IMPRESSIONS OF CYLINDER SEALS (NOS. 1-43)

SEAL NO. 1: THE SEAL OF DARKAUSH

(Pl. 3, PT4 673, PT4 652)

Pattern.—Hero in combat with griffin; two winged pedestal man-bulls; date palm; Darius inscription.

Hero.—Head and feet in left profile; body in front view. Long beard, bareheaded (or wearing fillet), hair bunched at back of neck. Tucked candies, right leg bare to knee. Left hand holds curved or offset weapon; ¹⁰⁹ right hand grasps throat of griffin. Feet rest on tiara and wing tip of right man-bull.

Griffin.—Right profile, erect, facing and attacking hero. Bird's face; horn(?) on top of head curves slightly forward; plain mane marked by line parallel to back of head and neck. Wing with feathers marked has upcurled tip. Both forelegs point straight at hero's waist; hind legs stand on wing tip (and tiara?) of left man-bull. Tail with arrow-shaped tip curves upward.

Pedestal man-bulls.—Identical, antithetic, forelegs in walking position. Bearded man's head, hair bunched at back of neck. Plain or slightly dentate tiara. Upcurved wing with faintly marked feathers. Bull's body; upcurved tail, tip looping forward. Right man-bull serves as pedestal for hero, left man-bull for griffin.

Date palm.—To left of scene. Convex-conoid crown; traces of leaf design. Bulbous date cluster suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.

Inscription.—Behind (to right of) hero; in impression on PT4 673 repeated to left of scene. Trilingual (OP, El., Bab.): "I (am) Darius . . ."¹¹⁰

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 1

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor	Addressee
PT4 158	10	Room 23, near N. doorway to Room 33, 1.95 above floor	(Xerxes)	2	6B	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 737	13	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	3	6	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 673	15	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	3	12	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 746	16	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	4	3	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 652	18	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	4	6	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 747	19	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	4	8	Darkaush	Baradkama
PT4 497	10a	Room 33, E. end, Plot HG 42	(Xerxes)			Darkaush	Baradkama, treasurer
PT4 1037	10b	Room 34, 2 m. E. of doorway to Room 33, floor	(Xerxes)			Darkaush	Baradkama, treasurer

SEAL NO. 2: THE SEAL OF ARTATAXMA

(Pl. 1, PT4 403, PT5 182; Pl. 3, PT4 658, PT4 726)

Pattern.—Hero strangling two horned griffins below winged Ahuramazda symbol; two date palms; Darius inscription.

Hero.—Head in left profile; body in front view (feet not preserved). Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candies. Grasps, with horizontally extended arms, throat of griffin at either side.

Griffins.—Identical (or almost so), in profile, erect. Body and head of lion. Wing straight back, feathers well marked. One hind leg ending in talon touches hero's thigh, forelegs touch his arm and side. Two goat horns in front view undulate horizontally from vertex; ear extends up and back; mane marked by serrate line. Short, bushy tail (unlike lion's tail; cf. No. 3) curves upward.

Ahuramazda symbol.—Centered above hero's head, bust of god in faintly marked circle, left profile. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Plain tiara. Near (left) arm raised. Wings at either side of central circle are oblong rectangles marked by parallel horizontal lines, each wing subdivided into three sections by vertical lines. Bird tail below Ahuramazda bust. Appendage with slightly upcurled tip at either side of bird tail.

Date palms.—Apparently identical, flanking scene. Convex-conoid crown; fronds well marked. Date cluster suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.

Inscription.—To left of scene. Trilingual (OP, El., Bab.): "I (am) Darius . . ."¹¹¹

108. We believe that seal No. 73 (together with the possibly earlier seal No. 20, but cf. p. 26, n. 122) was used synchronously with the Xerxes seal No. 5 (see p. 7). As to Nos. 49 and 69, each impressed on one label found in the earliest, rather sterile section of the Treasury, one might be justified in tentatively attributing both specimens to the reign of Darius I (see Vol. I 192 and 196).

109. Cf. e.g. Anubanini's curved ax with lunular blade in a Sarpul relief (*IAE*, Fig. 297, also Fig. 299) and weapons of Persian and Neo-Babylonian heroes on seals illustrated in Pope, *Survey* IV, Pl. 123 G, L.

110. See *OIP* LXV 55, n. 3.

111. See *OIP* LXV 55, n. 5.

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TABLE II
SEALS ASSOCIATED ON LABELS WITH SEAL NO. 5*

[illegible]

* See pp. 16–18.

† See pp. 17 f.

‡ Nos. 9 and 31 are associated on six labels.

§ Nos. 27 and 34 are once associated.

|| Nos. 47 and 67 are twice associated.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 2

FIELD NO.	TABLET NO.	FIND-SPOT IN TREASURY	KING	YEAR OF REIGN	MONTH		ADDRESSOR	ADDRESSEE
					Ultimate	Seal Date		
PT4 676	21	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	4	12	10*	Artataxma	Baradkama, treasurer
PT4 726	22	Above Room 39, Plot HG 40, center W. line	(Xerxes)	6		9	Artataxma	Baradkama, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 680	27	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	13		6	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 740	48a	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	(19?)			Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 394	38a5	Room 33, column base B4, floor	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 552a	38a1	Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.50 above floor, Plot HG 40	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 646	38a6	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 684	38a3	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 826	38a4	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 897	38a2	Room 33, at N. wall, N. of column bases A3 and A4, floor	(Xerxes)	19	10		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 686	38	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		10	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 741	37	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		11	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT5 182	42	Hall 38, at column base C5, .15 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		11	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 403	41	Room 33, above column base B4	(Xerxes)	19		11	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 700	38a7	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	11		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 689	42b	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	12		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 848	46	Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor	(Xerxes)	19	12		Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 439	49b1	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Xerxes)	19	11†		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 651	49b2	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	12		[Artataxma]‡	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 636	49	Room 33, at column base A4, .85 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	1		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 952	49a3	Room 33, NE. corner, floor	(Xerxes)	20	1		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 440	49a1	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Xerxes)	(20)	1		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 648	49a2	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	(20)	1		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 366	59a2	Corridor 31, SE. corner of Plot HG 50	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 406	59	Room 33, above column base B4	(Xerxes)	20		2	Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 437	56	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 438	53	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 645	55	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 677	58	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20		2	Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 656	52	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 407	54	Room 33, above column base B4	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 683	57	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 896	59a1	Room 33, between and N. of column bases A2 and A3, floor	(Xerxes)	20	2		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 647	63	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	3		Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer of Parsa
PT4 658	63a	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20			Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 849	68a	Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor	(Xerxes)				Artataxma	Ratininda, treasurer
PT4 649		Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor					[Artataxma]‡	

Further Tablets Mentioning Artataxma as Addressor (seal impressions destroyed or mutilated, but undoubtedly No. 2)

PT4 678	47	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		12	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 679	48	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		12	Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer
PT5 512	42a	Plot HF 49, loose dirt	(Xerxes)	(19?)			Artataxma	Vahush, treasurer of Parsa

* See Table I, n. 17.
† Tablet was evidently written in the 12th month or later, after Ratininda had displaced Vahush as treasurer.
‡ Name destroyed; identified by seal.

SEAL NO. 3: THE SEAL OF URATINDA (=RUMATENDA)
(Pl. 3, PT4 860, PT4 331)

Pattern.—Hero holding two inverted lions; two winged pedestal lions; date palm; Darius inscription.
Hero.—Head and feet in right profile; body in front view. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara encircled by fillet(?); tucked candies with folds marked. Grasps, with extended arms, one hind leg of lion at either side.
Inverted lions.—Identical, in profile, regardant. Open jaws, serrate mane. Paws of one hind leg and one foreleg touch hero’s hip and lower leg. Paw of other foreleg almost touches wing of pedestal lion. Tail loops upward and forward.
Pedestal lions.—Hero’s feet stand on heads of two antithetic winged lions, sejant or couchant. Upper part only of each lion is preserved: head with open jaws, dentate mane, and wing of right lion (PT4 860); wing, upcurled tail, and serrate outline of mane of left lion (PT4 331).
Date palm.—To left of left lion. Roughly semicircular crown with traces of leaf design. Bulbous date cluster suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.
Inscription.—To right of scene. Trilingual (OP, El., Bab.): “I (am) Darius”¹¹²

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 3

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Addressor	Addressee
PT4 331	3	Room 33, at center of W. wall, in charcoal layer, .50 above floor	(Darius?)	Rumatenda*	Baradkama
PT6 279 PT4 860	3a	Hall 41, SE. of column base E6, floor Room 33, at SE. corner of N. doorway, floor	(Darius?) (Darius?)	Uratinda* [Uratinda or Rumatenda]†	Baradkama

* See OIP LXV 86. † Name destroyed; identified by seal.

112. See OIP LXV 55, n. 6.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

SEAL NO. 4: THE SEAL OF BARADKAMA
(Pl. 4, PT4 332, PT4 601)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged man-bulls; date palm.
Hero.—Head in right profile; body in front view (feet missing). Long beard with horizontal lines, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, folds marked on lower right half; two horizontal dashes mark belt(?). Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping one foreleg of man-bull at either side.
Man-bulls.—Identical, rampant regardant. Head and headdress of man-bulls and hero identical. Upcurved wing, feathers marked. Bull's body, hind legs in walking position (PT4 601); one foreleg flexed in front, lower part vertical; other foreleg raised almost vertically and held by hero just below hoof. Tail not preserved.
Date palm.—Part of crown and globular trunk end to left of scene; leaves faintly marked. Faint globular date cluster suspended from crown base.

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 4

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor or Author	Addressee
PT4 601	1	Room 33, ca. 2 m. W. of column base A5, 1.20 above floor	(Darius)	32	12	Baradkama*	Shakka†
PT4 507	17	Room 33, Plot HG 41	(Xerxes)	4	4	(Baradkama)‡	
PT4 638	23	Room 33, at N. wall, .90 above floor, Plot HG 41, near NE. corner	(Xerxes)	6	12	(Baradkama)‡	
PT4 332	24	Room 33, at center of W. wall, in charcoal layer, .50 above floor	(Xerxes)	7	2	(Baradkama)‡	
PT4 370		Corridor 31, floor, Plot HG 50, SE. corner				(Baradkama)§	
PT4 786		Room 33, center, .30 above floor				(Baradkama)§	

* The only tablet of letter type mentioning Baradkama as addressor and thus identifying his seal.
† The treasurer, presumably.
‡ Tablet of memorandum type bearing (the treasurer) Baradkama's seal and thus identifying him as the author of the record.
§ Fragment of tablet whose extant sealing end shows the seal of Baradkama.

SEAL NO. 5

(Pl. 1, Tablet PT6 75; Pl. 2, Labels PT3 407, PT4 619, PT4 704, PT6 3; Pl. 4, Tablet PT4 650, Label PT6 215)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged man-bulls below winged disk symbol; date palm; Xerxes inscription.
Hero.—Head and feet in right profile; body in front view. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys with pronounced lengthwise fold between legs, incisions on upper part of garment. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping one foreleg of man-bull at either side.
Man-bulls.—Identical, rampant regardant. Head identical with that of hero. Tiara without dentate crown, but two minute disks flank central projection on top. Upcurved wing, feathers well marked. Bull's body, hind legs in walking position; one foreleg extends forward horizontally and almost touches hero's side; other foreleg raised vertically and held by hero just below hoof. Tail undulates backward, broadened tip loops back toward body.
Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered above hero's head; faintly curved line (crescent?) on tail below circle. Appendage with upcurled tip at either side of tail. A wing at either side of encircled disk, feathers indicated, straight top, curved lower edge.
Date palm.—Fronds marked individually. No date clusters but discoid knob at crown base, from which rises lanceolate top of trunk. Lower section of trunk has imbricate bark markings.
Inscription.—Meant to be to right of scene. Monolingual (OP): "Xerxes the Great King."¹¹³

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 5

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month
PT4 687	34	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	8
PT4 744	35	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	9
PT4 748	39	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	10
PT4 650	40	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	11
PT6 75	45	Hall 41, floor, Plot HG 70, center of W. line	(Xerxes)	19	12
PT4 599	51	Room 33, at N. wall, 1.60 above floor, Plot HG 41, near NE. corner	(Xerxes)	20	2
PT4 739	61	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	2
PT4 333	62	Room 33, at center of W. wall, in charcoal layer, .50 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	3
PT4 405	67	Room 33, above column base B4	(Xerxes)	20	3
PT4 654	66	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	3
PT4 905	64	Room 33, at N. wall, N. of column base A3, floor	(Xerxes)	20	3
PT4 672	70	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	4
PT4 477	72	Room 33, between column bases B2 and B3, near floor	(Xerxes)	20	6
PT4 842	73	Room 33, at column base A4, .70 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	7
PT4 693	74	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes)	20	7
PT4 441	76	Room 33, at column base B3, about floor level	(Artaxerxes I)	1	3
PT4 753	77	Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor	(Artaxerxes I)	1	4
PT4 681	78	Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor	(Artaxerxes I)	3	12
PT4 996	79	Room 34, center, 1.30 above floor	(Artaxerxes I)	5	12B
PT4 335		Room 33, at center of W. wall, in charcoal layer, .50 above floor			
PT4 396		Room 33, near column base B4, floor			
PT4 659		Room 33, center area, ±.75 above floor			
PT4 738		Room 33, center area, ±.45 above floor			

113. See OIP LXV 58, n. 8.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 5

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label																							
PT3 365	Room 11, SE. corner, floor																								
PT3 407	Room 11, floor																								
PT4 8	Portico 18, Plot HG 63																								
PT4 143	Portico 19, W. part, 1.40 above floor																								
PT4 175	Room 22, near doorway, .50 above floor																								
PT4 195	Corridor 31, Plot HG 61, NW. corner																								
PT4 329	Room 33, at center of W. wall, .50 above floor																								
PT4 428	Room 33, S. of column base B3																								
PT4 452	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above																								
PT4 481	Room 33, Plot HG 42, SW. corner																								
PT4 581	Room 34, near N. wall		11										43												
PT4 619	Room 33, N. of column base B5, ca. .80 above floor				17	19							44					54	55						
PT4 704	Room 33, between column bases A5 and B5, ca. .50 above floor					23		32	38															74	
PT4 790	Room 33, center, .30 above floor																								
PT4 804	Room 33, between column bases A4 and A5, floor	8					29								50										
PT4 810	Room 33, between column bases A4 and A5, floor																								
PT4 866	Room 33, at column base A3, floor					19							44					54	55				70		
PT4 894	Room 33, between and N. of column bases A2 and A3, floor					19												54					70		
PT4 913	Room 33, at center of N. wall																								
PT4 946	Room 33, NE. corner, floor					19																		72	
PT4 969	Room 34, near center, 1.70 above floor									38															
PT4 979	Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor			12							40	41													
PT4 1021	Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line	8	11				29						43												
PT4 1057	Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor	8	11										43		50		53								
PT6 3	Room 47, at center of E. wall, 1.90 above floor																								
PT6 5	Room 47, NE. corner, 1.90 above floor																						58		
PT6 7	Room 47, NE. corner, 1.90 above floor																	52					58		
PT6 8	Room 47, NE. corner, 1.90 above floor																	52					58		
PT6 21	Room 47, 1.90 above floor, Plot HF 19, near E. line																						58		
PT6 22	Room 47, at NE. corner of doorway, 1.50 above floor																						58		
PT6 23	Room 47, center of E. half, 1.30 above floor																						58		
PT6 111	Room 47, N. of doorway, near N. wall, .60 above floor																						58		
PT6 112	Room 47, N. of doorway, near N. wall, .60 above floor																						58		
PT6 113	Room 47, near NE. corner of doorway, .60 above floor																						58		
PT6 149	Room 47, at N. wall, .20 above floor, Plot HF 19, W. line																	52							
PT6 154	Room 47, at N. wall, floor, Plot HF 19, ca. 2 m. E. of W. line																	52							
PT6 164	Hall 41, ca. 1.00 above floor, Plot HF 69, SW. corner																								
PT6 215	Room 51, near center of E. wall, floor																							61	
Seals associated with No. 5		8	11	12	17	19	23	29	32	38	40	41	43	44	50	52	53	54	55	58	61	70	72	74	

SEAL NO. 6: THE SEAL OF CIÇAVAHUSH
(Pl. 4, PT4 749, PT4 862)

Pattern.—Hero holding two inverted lions below winged disk symbol; two winged pedestal monsters; two date palms; Xerxes inscription.
Hero.—Head and feet in right profile; body in front view. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping hind leg of lion at either side. Feet rest on heads of pedestal monsters.
Inverted lions.—Identical, in profile, regardant. Open jaws, serrate mane. Paws of one hind leg and one foreleg touch hero’s hip and ankle; paw of other foreleg touches wing tip of pedestal monster. Tip of undulating tail loops back toward body.
Pedestal monsters.—Probably man-bulls. Identical, antithetic, couchant. Bearded human head, apparently bareheaded. Upcurved wing with blunt tip. Upcurved tail looping forward. Foreleg (flexed?) straight forward, almost touching leg of counterpart; hind leg horizontal, beneath body (PT4 862).
Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered above hero’s head. Appendage with upcurled tip at either side of tail. Feathers indicated on wings with straight top and curved lower edge; lengthwise depression on either wing. Wavy line (horns?) above central disk.
Date palms.—Identical, flanking scene. Roughly semicircular crown, fronds drawn individually. Date clusters, marked by four minute disks, suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with serrate outline.
Inscription.—Preserved to right of scene. Monolingual (OP): “I (am) Xerxes the King.”¹¹⁴

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 6

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-spot in Treasury Room 33	King	Year of Reign	Month		Addressor	Addressee
					Ultimate	Seal Date		
PT4 749	28	Center area, ± .45 above floor	(Xerxes)	15	9		Ciçavahush	Vahush, treasurer
PT4 862	29	Between column bases A3 and A4, floor	(Xerxes)	15	10		Ciçavahush	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 883	31	Between column bases B2 and B3, floor	(Xerxes)	16		7	Ciçavahush	Vahush, treasurer at Parsa
PT4 975	33	At N. wall, Plot HG 41, near NE. corner	(Xerxes)	18	12		Ciçavahush	Vahush, treasurer of Parsa

SEAL NO. 7
(Pl. 4, PT6 12)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged bulls; date palm; Xerxes inscription.
Hero.—Head in right profile; body in front view (feet missing). Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate(?) tiara; tucked candys with pronounced lengthwise fold between legs. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping horn(?) of bull at either side.
Bulls.—Presumably identical, rampant regardant, back turned toward hero. Wing with upcurled tip, feathers and three sections marked. One foreleg raised almost vertically, other foreleg flexed with drooping lower part. Hind legs apparently in walking position. Long tail undulates toward hero, broadened tip loops back toward bull.

114. See OIP LXV 58, n. 9.

Date palm.—Two date clusters suspended from base of (missing) crown. Imbricate bark markings on trunk.
Inscription.—Preserved portion to right of scene; perhaps meant to be on opposite side, balancing palm tree. Trilingual: “Xerxes [the (Great?) King].” OP *xa-ša-ya-a-ra-š[a-a : xš . . .]*. El. [*i*]k-še-ir-šá [*sun*ki . . .]. Bab. [*m*]i-ši-²-a[r-ši šarru . . .].¹¹⁵

LABEL WITH TWO IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 7	
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 12	Room 45, in doorway to Hall 38, .35 above floor

SEAL NO. 8: THE SEAL OF ARTASYRAS
(Pl. 5, Tablet PT4 471, Label PT4 549a)

Pattern.—Two Persians (duplicated hero) stabbing two crossed lions below winged disk symbol; date palm; Xerxes inscription.
Persians.—Identical, facing two crossed lions, which form center of scene. Head and feet in profile, body in half profile. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, folds marked on lower part. Quiver visible behind back, three tassels hang from quiver top. Above quiver, curved top of bow. Distant arm raised, hand grasping forelock of lion; near hand holds dagger pointing at lion’s chest.
Lions.—Identical, symmetrically crossed at middle of body, in profile, erect, each facing a Persian. Open jaws. One raised forepaw touches Persian’s elbow; other forepaw points toward his chest, almost touching it; hind legs in walking position. Tail curves downward, tip close to ground level.
Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered above lions. Appendage with upcurled tip at either side of bird tail. Wings subdivided into three lengthwise sections, feathers marked by parallel dashes, upper edges straight with ends slightly upcurved, lower edges curving to pointed tips above Persians’ heads.
Date palm.—To right of right Persian. Individual neatly carved fronds. Date cluster suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.
Inscription.—To left of scene. Monolingual (OP): “I (am) Xerxes the [Great?] King.”¹¹⁶

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 8							
Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor	Addressee
PT4 436 PT4 471 PT4 701	68 75	At column base B3, floor to .50 above Between column bases B4 and B5, floor Center area, ±.75 above floor	(Xerxes) (Xerxes)	20 20	4 12	Artasyras Artasyras [Artasyras]†	Ratininda, treasurer Ratenda,* treasurer

* See Table I, n. 21. † Name destroyed; identified by seal.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 8							
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 549a	Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor	5		29		50	
PT4 804	Room 33, between column bases A4 and A5, floor		11	29			
PT4 980	Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor	5	11	29	43		
PT4 1021	Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line						
PT4 1040	Hall 38, N. of column base E5, 1.10 above floor	5	11		43	50	53
PT4 1057	Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor						
Seals associated with No. 8		5	11	29	43	50	53

SEAL NO. 9
(Pl. 2, PT6 62; Pl. 5, PT6 34, PT6 65)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged horned lions. Horizontal axis of design complete, as shown by right lion appearing to left of left lion on PT6 34.
Hero.—Head in right profile; body in front view (legs missing). Short pointed beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, double outlines on upper part, oblique folds marked on lower part. Arms raised to shoulder height, hands grasping lion’s throat at either side.
Lions.—Identical, in profile, erect, facing hero. Jaws open; dentate mane; horn undulates forward from forehead (PT6 65). One wing, feathers marked, dentate lower edge, medial lengthwise groove, tip upcurved. One foreleg raised obliquely behind hero’s arm; other foreleg points horizontally toward his side; hind legs in walking position. Tail loops upward toward body.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 9		
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT5 807	Hall 38, between column bases C17 and C18, Plot HF 37	31
PT5 820	Hall 38, E. of column base C19, Plot HF 37	31
PT6 34	Room 47, at N. wall, NW. of doorway, 1.30 above floor	31
PT6 62	Room 47, at N. wall, 1.10 above floor, Plot HF 19, near W. line	31
PT6 65	Room 45, Plot HF 26	31
PT6 147	Room 47, W. end, Plot HF 18	31

115. Read by Cameron.
116. See OIP LXV[58, n. 10.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

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SEAL No. 10

(Pl. 5, PT4 769)

Pattern.—Hero holding two lions, all standing on base line, impressions perhaps incomplete.

Hero.—Head and feet in right profile; body in front view. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, double outlines, vertical folds marked on lower part. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping forelock of lion at either side.

Lions.—Identical, in profile, erect, facing hero. Jaws open. Forepaws touch hero's side; hind legs in walking position. Tail loops upward.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL No. 10

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label			
PT4 769 PT4 550a	At W. wall, near NW. corner, .70 above floor At center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor	17	18	32	38
Seals associated with No. 10		17	18	32	38

SEAL No. 11

(Pl. 5, PT4 830)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged bulls below winged disk symbol; date palm; inscription(?).

Hero.—Head and feet in right profile; body in front view. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara, with fillet(?) suggested by two horizontal lines; tucked candys, folds marked on lower part, two horizontal dashes marking belt(?). Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping horn of bull at either side.

Bulls.—Identical, in profile, erect, facing hero. Horn curves forward; ear slants backward from top of head. Two wings, feathers marked, tips upcurved. One foreleg touches hero's armpit, the other his waist; hind legs in walking position. Tail with broadened tip loops back toward body.

Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered above hero's head, touches his tiara. Appendage with looped tip at either side of tail. Wing feathers marked, almost straight upper edges, lower edges curve to tips. Vaguely marked projection above encircled disk suggests Ahuramazda bust with arms extended toward right side.

Date palm.—To left of left bull. Only circular date cluster impressed.

Inscription(?).—To right of right bull, line suggesting border of inscription.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL No. 11

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 551a PT4 581 PT4 830 PT4 880	Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor Room 34, near N. wall Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor	5		29	43		53
PT4 980 PT4 1016 PT4 1021 PT4 1057	Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor		8	29			
		5	8	29	43	50	53
Seals associated with No. 11		5	8	29	43	50	53

SEAL No. 12

(Pl. 5, PT4 979)

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged(?) lions below winged disk symbol.

Hero.—Head in right profile; body in front view (legs missing). Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Plain tiara; tucked candys. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping forelock of lion at either side.

Lions.—Identical, in profile, erect, facing hero. Jaws open. One foreleg with finger-like claws extends horizontally and touches hero's waist. Wing or other foreleg extends backward and ends in feathers or claws.

Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of faintly encircled disk centered above hero's head; faint crescent-shaped line on tail. Appendage at either side of tail, end of appendage bent to form short horizontal line. Wing at either side of disk subdivided into three sections, individual feathers not marked. Crescent (horns?) on top of disk.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL No. 12

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label		
PT4 451 PT4 979	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor	5	40	41
Seals associated with No. 12		5	40	41

SEAL No. 13

(Pl. 5, PT6 300)

Pattern.—Hero holding two(?) man-ibexes. Impressions incomplete, but there is hardly a doubt that the two monsters are identical.

Hero.—Head in right profile; body in front view (feet missing). Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Tiara (faint); tucked candys. Arms raised above shoulder line, hands grasping horn of man-ibex, presumably at either side.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

Man-ibexes.—Probably identical (forelegs only of left ibex impressed), in profile, erect, facing hero. Horn, held by hero, curves upward from forehead; ear slopes back and up; bearded man's face with long nose. One foreleg raised obliquely beyond hero's arm; other foreleg extends almost horizontally to his side, which it touches; hind legs missing.

LABEL WITH FOUR IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 13

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 300	Room 56, opposite E. doorway, floor

SEAL NO. 14: THE SEAL OF ASPATHINES

(Pl. 6, PT4 506, PT4 757)

Pattern.—Two Persians, standing on two goat-fish and worshipping Ahuramazda symbol; inscription.

Persians.—Identical, in profile, facing central winged disk symbol with bust of Ahuramazda. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, folds at sleeves and lower part of gown carefully carved (see PT4 757). Right hand raised, palm upward in gesture of worship, almost touching tip of winged disk symbol; left hand holds three-lobed blossom. Feet stand on tail and back of goat-fish.

Goat-fish.—Anterior part of goat with fish tail. Identical, antithetic, in profile except for long, spreading horns shown in front view. One ear slanting up and back; circular eye; beard indicated. One foreleg closely flexed below chest; other foreleg bent in rising position. Faint scale markings on fish part with bilobed caudal fin.

Ahuramazda symbol.—Centered above horns of goat-fish, whose anterior prongs almost touch it. Bird tail subdivided into two sections, feathers marked by vertical flutes. Appendage at either side of bird tail ends in complete circlet. Two wings, each subdivided into three lengthwise sections with well marked feathers, spread from encircled central disk. Above latter rises bust of Ahuramazda in left profile (preserved on PT4 757). Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara. Right arm raised obliquely, hand apparently in same position as that of flanking Persians, namely, palm upward; left arm straight forward, lying on upper edge of wing, hand seems to hold a ring.

Inscription.—To left of scene, outlined rectangle with five registers. Monolingual (El.): "Aspathines, son of Prexaspes."¹¹⁷

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 14

FIELD NO.	TABLET NO.	FIND-SPOT IN TREASURY ROOM 33	KING	YEAR OF REIGN	MONTH		ADDRESSOR	ADDRESSEE
					Ultimate	Seal Date		
PT4 752	12b	Center area, \pm .45 above floor	(Xerxes)	2	12		[Aspathines]*	
PT4 506	12	Near column base B4, floor	(Xerxes)	3		4	Aspathines	Baradkama, treasurer
PT4 757	12a	Center area, \pm .45 above floor	(Xerxes)	3		4	Aspathines	Baradkama, treasurer (at) Parsa
PT4 395	14	Near column base B4, floor	(Xerxes)	3		7	Aspathines	Baradkama, treasurer
PT4 742		Center area, \pm .45 above floor					[Aspathines]*	

* Name destroyed; identified by seal.

SEAL NO. 15

(Pl. 6, PT4 682)

Pattern.—Two men, standing on two winged monsters and worshipping Ahuramazda symbol; inscription.

Men (priests?).—Identical, in profile, facing central Ahuramazda symbol. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck, band or tassel suspended from hair (or headdress?). Plain robe with sleeves, fold apparently protruding in front. Right arm¹¹⁸ raised obliquely, palm apparently upward in gesture of worship, slightly above but close to tip of wing of symbol; left arm extends straight forward, hand holding rod, or the like, with globular head. Feet on wing of monster.

Monsters.—Identical, antithetic, in profile. Horned winged lion in walking position. Horn undulates forward from top of head; ear slants backward; jaws open; mane indicated. Wing slightly raised above back line. Tail curves up and forward forming semicircle.

Ahuramazda symbol.—Centered above and between heads of monsters. Ring partly inclosing Ahuramazda bust in left profile, details of head uncertain. One arm straight forward, hand perhaps grasping ring; other arm raised. Wings with horizontal grooves. Bird tail below ring; appendage suspended from ring undulates at either side of tail.

Inscription.—Traces of two-line(?) inscription in cuneiform—perhaps Elamite¹¹⁹—at left end of impressions.

TABLET WITH THREE IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 15

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Remarks
PT4 682	83	Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor	No chronological data obtainable from tablet text

SEAL NO. 16: THE SEAL OF MEGADATES

(Pl. 6, PT4 444, PT4 759)

Pattern.—Two Persians worshipping encircled Ahuramazda below winged disk symbol.

Persians.—Identical, in profile, at either side of encircled Ahuramazda. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara (PT4 759), with fillet(?) suggested by two horizontal lines; tucked candys with double outline on wide sleeves and oblique folds on lower part. Right arm raised

117. See *OIP* LXV, No. 12, pp. 102–4.

118. Of man to the right. It is doubtful whether the position of the arms of the man to the left is the same or reversed.

119. See *OIP* LXV, No. 83, p. 199.

obliquely, palm upward in gesture of worship; left hand holds three-lobed blossom in front of chest. Feet missing. Quiver with tripartite tassel behind back, top of bow behind head.

Encircled Ahuramazda.—Between worshipers. Large oval frame, base thicker than top, encircling image of Ahuramazda above knees; in right profile. Apparently identical in every feature with worshipers (including gesture of right hand and blossom carried in other).

Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered above Ahuramazda's head. Appendages not clearly impressed. Wing with feathers marked extends almost to right Persian's tiara (PT4 759).

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 16

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor	Addressee
PT4 244	36	At E. jamb of doorway to Room 23, 1.90 above floor	(Xerxes)	19	9	Megadates	Vahush*
PT4 444	44	At column base B3, near floor	(Xerxes)	19	12	Megadates	Vahush*
PT4 759	44a	Center area, ±.45 above floor	(Xerxes)	19		Megadates	Vahush*

* Simply addressed "in the fortress" in the three texts with Megadates' seal, written perhaps after Vahush's term as treasurer had ended (see Table I).

SEAL No. 17

(Pls. 2 and 6, PT4 704)

Pattern.—Two archers worshipping encircled Ahuramazda below winged disk symbol; pedestal animals or monsters.

Archers.—Identical, in profile, at either side of encircled Ahuramazda. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Apparently bareheaded; tucked Persian candies with double outline on wide sleeves and oblique folds marked on lower part. Right arm¹²⁰ raised obliquely, palm apparently upward in gesture of worship; left hand holds one end of bow, whose string is almost parallel to the forward leg. Both archers stand on backs or wings of animals or monsters, of which vague fragments only are extant.

Encircled Ahuramazda.—Between archers. Large oval frame, base thicker than top, encircling bust of god in right profile. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; upper part of candies with double outline on wide sleeves. Right arm raised obliquely, palm upward; left hand holds three-lobed(?) blossom in front of chest.

Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of symbol centered above god's head. Appendage with curled end at either side of bird tail. Serrate lower edges only of wings preserved.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 17

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 704	Between column bases A5 and B5, ca. .50 above floor	5	10	23	32	38	74
PT4 550a	At center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor				32	38	
Seals associated with No. 17		5	10	23	32	38	74

SEAL No. 18

(Pl. 6, PT4 976, PT4 805)

Pattern.—Two horsemen supporting winged disk symbol and flanking central person, who supports encircled Ahuramazda.

Horsemen.—Identical, front view, but head in profile facing center of scene. Bashlyk with drooping tip. Arms raised at either side, outspread hands supporting wing of disk symbol. Legs hang down at either side of horse, which is shown in front view, but head in profile turned toward center of scene. Mane, ear, and straps of harness indicated.

Winged disk symbol.—Encircled disk centered above scene. Bird tail in two sections, with feathers indicated, fans out below disk. Traces of appendage undulate at either side of bird tail. Wing subdivided into three sections, feathers indicated, at either side of encircled disk.

Encircled Ahuramazda.—Below and almost touching bird tail of winged disk. Frame with thickened base inclosing faint bust of Ahuramazda in right profile. Squared tiara; rest indistinct.

Central person.—Head in right profile; body (missing below chest) in front view. Hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded. Arms raised at either side, with outspread hands supporting base of ring which encircles god's bust.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 18

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seal on Same Label
PT4 976	At center of N. wall	10
PT4 769	At W. wall, near NW. corner, .70 above floor	
PT4 805	Between column bases A4 and A5, floor	

SEAL No. 19

(Pl. 2, PT4 619; Pl. 6, PT4 894, PT4 619)

Pattern.—Two winged bifront bull-men supporting winged disk symbol.

Bull-men.—Identical (as far as impressed), antithetic, erect. Upper body and bifront head of bareheaded man; nose, eye, mouth, and long beard marked on both faces. Double line (belt?) separates human part from posterior part of bull marked with oblique lines (hair?). Long drooping tail. Two wings with serrate lower edge and upcurled tip spread from either side of chest. Arms raised; outspread hands almost touch lower edge of wing of symbol, in gesture of support.

120. Of archer to left. It is doubtful whether the position of the arms of the archer to the right is the same or reversed.

Winged disk symbol.—Bird tail of encircled disk centered between bull-men. Center part missing. Wing to right preserved: two lengthwise sections, feathers marked, serrate lower edge.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 19

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 619	N. of column base B5, ca. .80 above floor	5	44	54	55		
PT4 771	NW. corner, floor						
PT4 866	At column base A3, floor	5	44	54	55	70	
PT4 894	Between and N. of column bases A2 and A3, floor	5		54		70	
PT4 946	NE. corner, floor	5					72
PT4 947*	NE. corner, floor						
Seals associated with No. 19		5	44	54	55	70	72

* With fragment of unclassified impression.

SEAL NO. 20: THE SEAL OF DATAM[ES]
(Pl. 7, PT3 384, PT3 363)

Pattern.—Two priests flanking fire altar and table with mortar and pestle below winged disk symbol; inscription.

First priest.—In left profile. Bashlyk with knobs in front; projection below chin, suggesting beard, is probably part of bashlyk.¹²¹ Mantle thrown over shoulders and extending to knees; trousers apparently of Median type. Right arm raised, hand holding three rods, presumably haoma twigs; left forearm straight forward, hand holding plain staff, which appears to rest on right (forward) foot.

Second priest.—In right profile, bent slightly forward. Round (mutilated) headdress, possibly bashlyk. Median dress: long-sleeved belted coat, tight trousers. Holds two sticks with extended lower arms toward fire on altar; ends of sticks touch left flame.

Fire altar.—To right of second priest. Inverted pyramidal, three-stepped top; shaft formed of three vertical lines; base mostly missing, perhaps pyramidal. Fire on altar top marked by five flames.

Table with mortar and pestle.—Between fire altar and first priest. Table with flat top, level with lowest step of altar top. Two legs shown connected by rung, upper half of each leg about twice as thick as lower half; lower end also thickened, suggesting animal paw or hoof. On center of table top stands mortar of same shape as those found in great numbers in Treasury (cf. Pls. 23:1 and 4, 24:10–12, 80:7) and usually bearing Aramaic inscriptions in ink. Upper part of pestle with characteristic discoid top (cf. Pls. 23:2–3 and 24:7–9) projects from mortar.

Winged disk symbol.—Centered above scene. Encircled disk; bird tail below subdivided into two sections. Appendage suspended obliquely at either side of tail. Wing of three or four lengthwise sections at either side of encircled disk, lower edges serrate, tips extend almost to heads of flanking persons.

Inscription.—Behind back of first priest. Monolingual (Aramaic): “Seal of Datam. . .”¹²²

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 20

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT3 363	Room 11, SE. corner, floor
PT3 373	Room 11, near center of E. wall, floor
PT3 384	Room 11, near center of E. wall, floor
PT3 385	Room 11, near center of E. wall, floor
PT3 408	Room 11, floor
PT4 5	Portico 18, at doorway to Room 11, floor

SEAL NO. 21
(Pl. 7, PT4 198)

Pattern.—Ishtar(?) with rays and second figure; altar or symbol below crescent or circle.

Ishtar(?).—At left end of impression. Torso and part of face recognizable in right profile. Six rays radiate from semicircle in front. One arm straight forward, other raised.¹²³

Second figure.—Near right end of impression. Badly distorted. In left profile. Apparently bearded. Gown covers one leg, other leg bare. One arm perhaps raised.

Altar(?).—Or possibly Nabu’s wedge-shaped symbol. Between Ishtar(?) and second figure. Conoid base tapering upward to expanding wedge-shaped top; globular expansion below top seems to be accidental. Crescent or circle above.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 21

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT4 198	Plot HG 51, loose dirt (Room 33?)	70

121. See bashlyk of dignitary behind Xerxes in Treasury reliefs (Vol. I, Pls. 121 and 123).

122. Read by Bowman. According to Cameron, this name is probably rendered in Greek as “Datames” (a hypocoristic form) and in Elamite as “Daddu-mania.” Thus, it is possible that the owner of seal No. 20 is the scribe Dadumania (also Daddamania) who wrote memorandum-type tablets sealed by Artadara in the reign of Darius I (see Table I, seal No. 33). According to Cameron (*OIP* LXV 93) the scribe Dadda who wrote a letter-type tablet for Aspathines (seal No. 14) in the 3d year of Xerxes is the same person as Artadara’s scribe. However, subsequently Cameron commented (by letter) that Datames may have been a fairly common name and that the identity of the owner of seal No. 20 with Artadara’s scribe is very doubtful. There is another point that seemingly speaks against the attribution of seal No. 20 to the reign of Darius or to the early part of Xerxes’ reign, namely the fact that none of the inscribed chert mortars and pestles from the Treasury can possibly be assigned a date prior to the 15th regnal year of Artaxerxes I (see p. 55 below). However, the specimens without inscriptions or the mortar and pestles of bronze (see p. 102) could have been used prior to that time.

123. For representations of Ishtar with ring of rays, see Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Figs. 752 ff., pp. 248–54; also Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, esp. Pl. XXXIII b (= Ward’s Fig. 752).

SEAL No. 22
(Pl. 7, PT4 706)

Pattern.—Two Persians at fire altar below Ahuramazda symbol.
Persians.—Identical (presumably), in profile, at either side of fire altar. Long square-tipped beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Fluted tiara; candys with wide sleeves. Right arm raised, hand with palm upward in gesture of worship; left hand holds symbol which may be three-lobed blossom.
Fire altar.—Similar to that of seal No. 23. Shaft marked by vertical lines; flat top, from which rises at either side a triangular process with terraced(?) inner edge; crescent or angle open at top in center, disk above it.
Ahuramazda symbol.—Centered above fire altar. Partly encircled bust of Ahuramazda in right profile. Bearded. Right hand raised, rest mutilated. Bird tail, with feathers marked, fans out below. Appendage visible to right of tail. Right wing with feathers marked and serrate lower edge. Left wing not impressed.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 22	
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT4 706	Room 33, near center of W. wall, .50 above floor

SEAL No. 23
(Pl. 2, PT4 704; Pl. 7, PT4 704, PT4 847)

Pattern.—Persian and Susian(?) flanking fire altar below winged disk symbol.
Persian.—To left of fire altar. In right profile (feet missing). Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; candys, folds marked on lower part, wide sleeves. Left arm raised, hand (missing) either in position of respect (in front of mouth) or in position of worship (palm upward); lower right arm straight forward, hand holding handle of pitcher with concave cylindrical neck, from which rises lateral tube spout (or second handle) at opposite side above oblong body. Problematical object, perhaps tree, behind his back.
Susian(?).—To right of fire altar. In left profile (legs missing). Bashlyk with one end drooping on back; gown similar to that of Persian or identical with it. Left arm raised, palm upward in gesture of worship; right arm straight forward, hand perhaps holding some object. Problematical object with broad lower part and lancelike top (PT4 847) behind his back.
Fire altar.—Bifurcate top with terraced inner edges; one vertical line, symbolizing fire, rises from interior (see p. 9, n. 33). Altar top rests on slightly narrower shaft; base missing.
Winged disk symbol.—Centered above fire altar. Encircled disk, bird tail fanning out below. Appendage with upcurled end suspended at either side of bird tail. Wing with two or three lengthwise sections at either side of encircled disk, lower edges serrate, tips extending slightly beyond heads of Persian and Susian(?). Undulating line (horn?) with upcurled end extends at either side of top of encircled disk.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 23						
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 343 PT4 704 PT4 847	Plot HG 51 Between column bases <i>A5</i> and <i>B5</i> , <i>ca.</i> .50 above floor Between column bases <i>A3</i> and <i>A4</i> , floor	5	17	32 32	38 38	74
Seals associated with No. 23		5	17	32	38	74

SEAL No. 24: THE SEAL OF APPISHMANDA
(Pl. 8, PT4 844, PT4 336a)

Pattern.—Two Susian(?) guards flanking small date palm under winged disk symbol; inscription.
Susian(?) guards.—Identical, in profile, at either side of date palm and winged disk symbol. Short pointed beard, hair bunched at back of neck, hairdress (if bareheaded) or fillet(?) marked by undulating lines. Candys with wide sleeves. One arm obliquely up, other straight forward; hands on lance held vertically at attention. Quiver with three tassels on back. Curled end of bow visible above quiver and behind head; opposite end of bow protrudes beyond low end of quiver, bowstring roughly parallel to back of guard (left). Eight-pointed star above head of left guard; crescent above head of guard at right.
Date palm.—Central position, fronds marked individually. Bulbous date cluster suspended obliquely from crown base at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.
Winged disk symbol.—Encircled disk centered above palm tree. Bird tail with two tiers of feathers fans out below disk. Appendage with two or three points spreads at either side of tail. Feathers marked on wings divided in three sections. Horns marked on top of encircled disk.
Inscription.—To left of left guard (see PT4 336a). Monolingual (El.):
1. "This (is) the seal of Appishman-
2. da, son of"124

124. See OIP LXV 53, n. 55.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 24

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor	Addressee*
PT4 639	2	Room 33, at N. wall, .90 above floor, Plot HG 41, near NE. corner	(Darius)	32	12	Appishmanda	Baradkama
PT4 844	9	Room 33, NW. corner, floor	(probably Darius)	(32?)	4	Appishmanda	Baradkama
PT4 690	9a	Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor	(probably Darius)			Appishmanda	Baradkama
PT4 692	9b	Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor	(probably Darius)			Appishmanda†	Baradkama
PT4 336a		Room 33, at center of W. wall, in charcoal layer, .50 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 371		Corridor 31, .50 above floor, Plot HG 50				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 615		Room 33, NW. corner, 1.00 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 698		Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 785		Room 33, center area, .30 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 828		Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 829		Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 982		Room 34, center, 1.20 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	
PT4 995		Room 34, center, 1.30 above floor				[Appishmanda]‡	

* Undoubtedly the treasurer.

‡ Contents of fragmentary tablet unknown; addressor identified by seal.

† Seal impression destroyed; owner identified by addressor.

SEAL NO. 25: THE SEAL OF MARREZZA

(Pl. 8, PT4 421)

Pattern.—Superposed animals at either side of date palm.*Animals in upper register.*—Ibex to right of central palm tree. Animal on opposite side perhaps identical. Both in profile, walking position; base line indicated. Ibex has long curved horn, ear, beard, short tail.*Animals in lower register.*—Lion to left of central palm tree. Animal on opposite side perhaps identical. Both in profile, walking position. Lion's jaws open. Animal to right has long upcurved tail. Base line perhaps indicated.*Date palm.*—Thick trunk (perhaps indicating protective fence) from which rises semicircular crown in slight relief with superposed individual fronds; three date clusters suspended at either side of trunk top.

TABLET WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 25

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month	Addressor	Addressee
PT4 421	25	Room 33, E. of column base B4	(Xerxes)	7	10	Marrezza	Barishsha, treasurer of Parsa

SEAL NO. 26

(Pl. 8, PT4 443, PT4 702, PT4 758)

Pattern.—Standing Persian received in audience by seated Persian; attendant; winged disk; horse(?).*Seated Persian.*—King(?) in right profile. Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; candys with wide sleeves. Right arm raised, palm upward; left lower arm straight forward, hand holding three-lobed blossom (almost closed). Seated on simple stool with thick squared top, legs broadened near upper ends.*Persian standing to right.*—Of royal(?) rank (see p. 10). In left profile, facing king(?). Long beard, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; candys with wide sleeves, oblique folds on lower part. Right arm raised, palm upward; left arm straight forward, hand holding three-lobed open blossom.*Attendant.*—Standing to left behind king(?). Head in right profile, body apparently in front view, lower part and one arm missing. Bearded, hair falling to shoulder and bunched at back of neck. Headdress mutilated; long garment. One arm, partly flexed, extends toward king(?), hand holding flail-like device (whip?) behind king's(?) shoulder.*Winged disk.*—Between heads of seated and standing Persians. Plain solid disk with superposed horns (curved line with raised ends). Oblong rectangular wing at either side of disk and bird tail below, no feathers marked. No appendages.*Horse(?).*—Behind standing Persian to right (meant to appear behind attendant to left). Quadruped, in right profile, posterior part only, walking position. Tail undulates down, tip upcurled or tied.

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 26

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month
PT4 745	11	Room 33, center area, \pm .45 above floor	(Xerxes)	2	12
PT4 443	20	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Xerxes)	4	10
PT4 674	26	Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor	(Xerxes)	10	9
PT4 387		Corridor 31, Plot HG 50			
PT4 702		Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor			
PT4 758		Room 33, center area, \pm .45 above floor			

SEAL NO. 27

(Pl. 8, PT6 179)

Pattern.—Two men; inscription.*Men.*—Almost identical, as far as preserved; separated by faint vertical staff which ends(?) in two scrolls. Head in left profile; body in front view; walking position (head and legs of person to right missing). Hair apparently bunched at back of neck (person to left). Bareheaded; sleeveless(?) garment from shoulder to knees. One arm flexed, hand at waist; other arm suspended, elbow outward (person to left of staff) and inward (person to right).

Inscription.—Probably meant to be between the two persons (see p. 10). Cuneiform: unintelligible.¹²⁵

LABEL WITH TWO IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 27

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 179	Room 47, near S. wall, W. of doorway, floor	34

SEAL No. 28

(Pl. 9, PT4 948, PT4 865, PT4 330)

Pattern.—Persian leading three Greek captives and spearing kneeling Greek.

Persian.—In right profile; walking position. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Headdress doubtful (or bareheaded?); tucked candys with wide sleeves. Raised right arm thrusting spear into neck of Greek kneeling in front; left arm extends obliquely down, hand grasping elbow of Greek. Quiver and bow (lower end) preserved on back. Rope apparently attached to belt and curving upward to neck of nearest captive.

Greek captives.—To left of (behind) captor. Apparently identical, in right profile marching in step. Nearest Greek shown in full; fronts of two others shown beyond and in front of nearest one and parallel to latter. Helmet with erect plume crest continued as appendage behind neck. Apparently garment of knee length, belted(?). Wrists seem to be tied together behind back; rope attached to captor's belt appears to be tied around captives' necks.

Kneeling Greek.—To right (in front) of captor. Body apparently in back view, kneeling leg in left profile, head in right profile turned away from captor, whose spear is thrust into Greek's neck. Plumed helmet; garment not marked. One limp arm held at elbow by captor; other arm holds circular or oval shield, faintly marked on overlapping impression.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 28

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 330 PT4 840 PT4 865 PT4 871 PT4 948	In charcoal layer, .50 above floor, Plot HG 51, NW. corner S. of column base A4, .70 above floor S. of column base A4, floor Between column bases A2 and A3, floor NE. corner, floor	37	48	56	65 65	66 66	72
Seals associated with No. 28		37	48	56	65	66	72

SEAL No. 29

(Pl. 9, PT4 830)

Pattern.—Combat of two warriors; problematical object between them.

Left warrior.—Head and legs in right profile facing second warrior, body in front view leaning forward. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Headdress apparently knobbed in front;¹²⁶ coat and trousers distorted, perhaps of Median type. Position of arms suggests that left hand grasps (missing) bow while right hand pulls bowstring.

Right warrior.—Head and feet in left profile facing other warrior, rest in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded; tucked Persian candys, double outlines on upper part, two horizontal dashes above waist, oblique folds marked on lower part. Arms flexed in front and behind, both hands grasping long spear which points obliquely at body of foe.

Object.—Indeterminate figure—perhaps dead foe—on base line between combatants.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 29

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 804 PT4 830 PT4 980 PT4 1016 PT4 1021	Room 33, between column bases A4 and A5, floor Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line	5	8	11		50	53
Seals associated with No. 29		5	8	11	43	50	53

SEAL No. 30

(Pl. 9, PT4 655)

Pattern.—Combat of two warriors; horse(?); Ahuramazda symbol; inscription(?).

Left warrior.—In right profile (feet missing), facing second warrior. Bashlyk covering chin (or helmet with chin guard); stiff jacket (leather[?] armor) marked with lozenge pattern and extending upward behind head, crosspiece at point presumably being head of battle-ax inserted in armor (see p. 11); form of garment below waist doubtful. Right arm raised, hand holding spear, which is thrust obliquely at enemy; left arm bent in front of chest, hand seizing top of antagonist's shield.

Right warrior.—Head in left profile facing left warrior, body in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded; upper body apparently nude, perhaps belted skirt. One arm raised, hand holding club (or sword?); other arm bent in front of chest, hand holding shield with almost semicircular cross section. Spear of antagonist pierces shoulder.

Horse(?).—Head of animal, in right profile behind left warrior. Upright ear; eye and mane marked; forelock apparently tied into ornamental tassel. Rump partly preserved to right of (behind) right warrior.

125. According to Cameron, apparently in Babylonian script.

126. Cf. e.g. bashlyks of Median delegation (Vol. I, Pl. 27) or, perhaps more appropriately, hats of Scythian type worn, e.g., by the assumed Sogdians (*ibid.* Pl. 43).

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

Ahuramazda symbol.—Between left warrior and animal's head and partly above latter. Partly encircled bust of Ahuramazda in right profile. One arm flexed in front of chest; other arm apparently forward, hand holding three-lobed blossom. Wing with two lengthwise sections at either side, feathers marked. Bird tail with two grooved sections below semicircle. Appendage with upcurled tip at either side of tail.

Inscription(?).—Faint unintelligible markings above warriors resemble Aramaic characters.

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 30

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King	Year of Reign	Ultimate Month
PT4 655	30	Room 33, center area, \pm .75 above floor	(Xerxes)	16	4
PT4 1014	32	Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line	(Xerxes)	16	11

SEAL No. 31
(Pls. 2 and 9, PT6 62)

Pattern.—Combat of two pairs of warriors.

Left pair.—Identical, as far as shown, in right profile facing foes. Front part of second warrior including arm beyond and in front of near warrior. Details vague, but Persian tiara suggested on several impressions. One arm raised in spear-thrusting position.

Right pair.—Identical, as far as shown, head in left profile facing foes, body in front view. Front part of second warrior beyond and in front of near warrior; raised arm and outline of shield also duplicated. Apparently bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Domed (Median?) head-dress; tight, belted garment. One arm holds shield in front of body; other arm raised behind head in spear-throwing position.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 31

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT5 807	Hall 38, between column bases C17 and C18, Plot HF 37	9
PT5 820	Hall 38, E. of column base C19, Plot HF 37	9
PT6 34	Room 47, at N. wall, NW. of doorway, 1.30 above floor	9
PT6 62	Room 47, at N. wall, 1.10 above floor, Plot HF 19, near W. line	9
PT6 65	Room 45, Plot HF 26	9
PT6 147	Room 47, W. end, Plot HF 18	9

SEAL No. 32
(Pl. 2, PT4 704; Pl. 9, PT4 704, PT4 847)

Pattern.—Galley, two fish, date palm.

Galley.—Curved keel continuing as ram spur at prow. Stern upcurved and ending in head of problematical monster (PT4 847) in left profile, looking toward prow. Ribs indicated by paired lines. Central mast with furled sail below spar. One vertical and one oblique rope connect prow (bowsprit) and stern with sail. Twenty-one oars extend from side of ship obliquely downward and backward. On PT4 704 three rows of oar blades, suggesting three banks of oars, are apparently due to faulty (multiple) impression. Two large rudder blades below stern. Helmsman seems to sit at stern below monster head. At either side of mast, two bareheaded(?) persons in left profile. Forward part of ship seems to be higher than rest, except for monster's head.

Fish.—In left profile below oar blades (PT4 704). Eye, fins, and tail marked.

Date palm.—Behind stern of ship. Fronds marked individually. Pair of date clusters at either side of trunk with imbricate bark markings.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 32

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label						
PT4 550a	Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor	5	10	17	23	37	38	74
PT4 704	Room 33, between column bases A5 and B5, ca. .50 above floor							
PT4 847	Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor	5	10	17	23	37	38	74
PT4 1072	Hall 38, Plot HG 21, SW.							
PT4 1058	Hall 38, 1 m. N. of column base E5, 1.10 above floor							
Seals associated with No. 32		5	10	17	23	37	38	74

SEAL No. 33: THE SEAL OF ARTADARA
(Pl. 10, PT4 675, PT4 385, PT4 262, PT4 784)

Pattern.—Archer shooting lions; star and crescent; inscription.

Archer.—Beardless youth (or eunuch?). Kneeling, head and legs in right profile, body in front view. Facial features well carved. Hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded; tucked candys, wide sleeves hanging below shoulders and leaving arms bare, folds marked, belt, left lower leg bare (PT4 784). Right arm flexed, pulling bowstring and holding arrow, which extends alongside and above left arm; left hand holds center of bow, which has hook-shaped ends.

Lions.—One erect lion facing archer, head and legs in left profile, body in front view. Jaws open. Mane indicated by imbricate pattern (PT4 784). Forelegs raised at either side. Tail looped back toward body. Struck by two arrows, one sticking in throat, second in belly. One small dead lion (best example on PT4 784) lying on back between legs of archer and erect lion. Head turned toward ground; two hind legs and one foreleg pointing obliquely upward. Tail horizontal. One arrow sticking in neck, one in belly.

Star and crescent.—Eight-pointed star behind head of archer. Crescent (PT4 385) between top of bow and head of erect lion.

Inscription.—To left of archer (best example on PT4 262), also to right of erect lion (PT4 784, PT4 850). Monolingual (Aramaic): “Artadara who (is) chief”¹²⁷

TABLETS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 33

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	King*
PT4 262	7	Room 33, at NW. corner of S. doorway, 1.80 above floor	(Darius)
PT4 385	4	Corridor 31, Plot HG 50	Darius
PT4 445	6	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above	(Darius)
PT4 675	5	Room 33, center area, ± .75 above floor	Darius
PT4 743	8	Room 33, center area, ± .45 above floor	(Darius)
PT4 715		Room 33, near center E. wall, .70 above floor	
PT4 784		Room 33, center area, .30 above floor	
PT4 850		Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor	

* See Table I, n. 2.

SEAL No. 34

(Pl. 10, PT6 179, PT6 40)

Pattern.—Mounted hunter; dead ibex.

Hunter.—In left profile, chest in front view. Bearded (or chin covered by bashlyk), hair or part of bashlyk at back of head and neck. Soft conoid headdress or bashlyk with pointed tip; tight-fitting coat and trousers. Mounted on horse without saddle; one hand seems to hold rein, other hand raised in spear-throwing position, but weapon not impressed.

Horse.—In jumping position, left profile. Forelegs and hind legs shown individually, parallel, close together; hoofs of forelegs seem to touch neck of ibex. Mouth open. Mane indicated. Long broad tail.

Ibex.—In right profile, prone. Curved horns below horse’s chest; legs extend obliquely backward and touch ground line (PT6 40).

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 34

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 40	Room 45, W., Plot HF 26	27
PT6 42	Room 45, Plot HF 26	
PT6 179	Room 47, near S. wall, W. of doorway, floor	

SEAL No. 35

(Pl. 10, PT4 605)

Pattern.—Winged lion(?) pursuing mouflon.

Lion(?).—Erect, in left profile. Head vague, jaws perhaps open.¹²⁸ One foreleg obliquely forward and upward; other foreleg straight forward; both ready to strike mouflon in front. Two wings backward from shoulder, dentate lower edges, tips slightly upcurled. Hind legs in walking position. Tail forms reverse S curve between hind legs. Problematical curved line (foreleg of mouflon?) behind lower wing.

Mouflon.—In front (to left) of lion(?). Running in left profile, but head reversed; curled horns in front view. One ear marked.

TABLET WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 35

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Remarks
PT4 605	Room 33, at N. wall, 1.60 above floor, near NE. corner, Plot HG 41	No data obtainable from tablet text, which is illegible

SEAL No. 36

(Pl. 10, PT4 841)

Pattern.—Winged bull-man hunting lion; Ahuramazda symbol.

Bull-man.—Human above waist, rest winged bovine. In right profile, but chest in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bare-headed. Right arm flexed, hand holding bowstring and butt of arrow; left arm straight forward and slightly raised, hand holding center of bow with hook-shaped ends; arrow extends alongside and above left arm. Animal part in running position, two forelegs thrown forward horizontally, two hind legs close together. Wing, starting below waist of human part, has upcurled tip. Bull tail undulates obliquely upward, tip looping back toward body.

Lion.—To left of (behind) bull-man hunter on impression, meant to be to right (in front). In left profile, but chest presumably in front view, erect. Head missing. One foreleg raised obliquely; other foreleg missing, presumably in same position on opposite side. Tail loops back toward body. Entire position presumably similar to that of erect lion on seal No. 33 (cf. PT4 385).

Ahuramazda symbol.—Centered above rear end of bull-man. Bust of Ahuramazda in right profile. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Tiara. One arm raised obliquely; other arm straight forward. Solid disk below Ahuramazda. Wing with two or three lengthwise sections and serrate lower edge at either side of disk. Bird tail below with appendage undulating at either side.

TABLET WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 36

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Remarks
PT4 841	Room 33, at column base A4, .70 above floor	No data obtainable from tablet text, which is illegible

127. Translated by Bowman. See *OIP* LXV, No. 4, pp. 58 and 92.

128. Or reversed human(?) head.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

SEAL No. 37

(Pl. 11, PT3 383)

Pattern.—Man in combat with lion; date palm; base line indicated.*Man.*—Head and feet in right profile, body in front view. Bearded. Truncated conoid turban-like headdress with central knob on top and two horizontal grooves, part of headdress (or hair?) extending to shoulder; belted sleeveless garment, V-shaped grooves on upper part, oblique folds on lower, tucked above left knee. Right arm suspended and pulled backward, hand holding dagger with pommel and guard; left arm straight forward, hand grasping throat of lion.*Lion.*—To right of man and facing him, in left profile, erect. Jaws open, mane marked. One forepaw grasping man's elbow; other foreleg straight forward, paw touching man's chest. Tail loops up and back toward body.*Date palm.*—To left of man. Almost circular crown with serrate outline. From center of crown rises line ending in small solid disk; three lines (without date clusters) suspended from crown base at either side of trunk with serrate outline.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 37

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT3 372	Room 11, near center of E. wall	28	32	48	56	62	65
PT3 383	Room 11, near center of E. wall						
PT4 817	Room 33, center, .50 above floor						
PT4 871	Room 33, between column bases A2 and A3, floor						
PT4 920	Room 33, between column bases A1 and A2, floor						
PT4 1072	Hall 38, Plot HG 21, SW.	28	32	48	56	62	65
PT6 191	Room 50, Plot HG 01						
Seals associated with No. 37		28	32	48	56	62	65

SEAL No. 38

(Pls. 2 and 11, PT4 704)

Pattern.—Four-winged genie in combat with winged man-bull.*Genie.*—Head and legs in right profile, body in front view. Facial features distinct; bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded or domed hat; belted kilt. One arm suspended and pulled backward, hand holding dagger with pommel and guard; other arm straight forward, hand grasping throat or beard of man-bull. One pair of wings rising from shoulders, one wing drooping at either side between body and arms; feathers marked on all wings.*Man-bull.*—To right of genie, facing latter, in left profile. Man's head, bull's body, winged, erect. Facial features distinct; bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Tiara with dentate(?) top. One foreleg flexed in front of chest; other foreleg extending obliquely upward, hoof almost touching tip of upper wing of genie. Wing extends straight backward, tip upcurled. Lower hind legs missing. Tail straight back, tip curling back toward body.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 38

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 550a	Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.00–1.50 above floor	5	10	17	23	32	74
PT4 704	Room 33, between column bases A5 and B5, ca. .50 above floor						
PT4 847	Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor						
PT4 832	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor	5	10	17	23	32	74
PT4 969	Room 34, near center, 1.70 above floor						
Seals associated with No. 38		5	10	17	23	32	74

SEAL No. 39

(Pl. 11, PT4 857, PT4 870)

Pattern.—Two Persians combating horned, winged monster; inscription.*Persians.*—Apparently identical, or almost so, in profile, at either side of monster. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; candys with wide sleeves. Persian to left: one arm raised, hand grasping horn of monster; other arm lowered, hand holding dagger pointing at back of monster below its wing. Persian to right: one arm raised, hand apparently grasping horn of monster; other arm lowered, hand holding dagger stabbing monster in belly. Quiver with tassels (three?) visible on back of both Persians. Beak-shaped upper end of bow behind head of Persian to right. Lower end of bow visible below quiver of left Persian.*Monster.*—Body in right profile, erect, regardant. Bearded human head. Ibex(?) horn curves from forehead backward. Curved wing extending backward from shoulder, feathers marked, tip upcurled. One foreleg raised vertically, hoof apparently touching right Persian's arm; other foreleg flexed in front of chest, hoof touching right Persian's dagger. Hind legs in walking position. Short tail apparently curves down.*Inscription.*—Behind back of Persian to right. Monolingual (Aramaic): "Seal of . . ."; rest unintelligible.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 39

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33
PT4 857	S. of column base A4, floor
PT4 870	Center, floor

SEAL No. 40

(Pl. 11, PT4 979, PT4 1022)

Pattern.—Two winged man-ibexes; date palm.*Man-ibexes.*—Identical, antithetic, in profile, sejant. Human face with long curved nose; bearded, long hair covering back of neck. Long pointed ear rises obliquely from top of head; ibex horn curves from forehead over ear. Animal body, undulating tail resembling that of bovine.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

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Foreleg with hoof marked braced obliquely against ground; hind legs vague. Wing with upcurled tip, feathers marked, subdivided into two sections.

Date palm.—Behind left man-ibex. Trunk with imbricate bark markings; semicircular crown with angular concave base. Two lines (without date clusters) at either side of trunk.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 40

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label		
PT4 451	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above		12	41
PT4 979	Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor	5	12	41
PT4 1022	Hall 38, Plot HG 31			41
Seals associated with No. 40		5	12	41

SEAL No. 41

(Pl. 11, PT4 1022, PT4 979)

Pattern.—Humped bull: In right profile, but curved long horns in front view, walking position. Pronounced hump on back. Large ear, eye, nostril, long chest hair, ribs, muscles, genitals, and part of tail indicated. Base line apparently marked.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 41

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label		
PT4 451	Room 33, at column base B3, floor to .50 above		12	40
PT4 867	Room 33, at column base A3, floor			
PT4 949	Room 33, NE. corner, floor			
PT4 979	Room 34, near center, 1.20 above floor	5	12	40
PT4 1022	Hall 38, Plot HG 31			40
Seals associated with No. 41		5	12	40

SEAL No. 42

(Pl. 11, PT4 610)

Pattern.—Two intertwined gazelles (or two identical pairs of such); inscription.

Gazelles.—Identical, in profile, legs in jumping position. Necks intertwined, each gazelle looking backward.

Inscription.—To right (or left) of gazelles (or between pairs). Cuneiform: illegible.

TABLET WITH THREE IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 42

Field No.	Tablet No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Remarks
PT4 610	82	Room 15, center, 1.70 above floor	No pertinent data obtainable from tablet text

SEAL No. 43

(Pl. 11, PT4 831, PT4 581)

Pattern.—Ibex and tree symbol; base line indicated.

Ibex.—In right profile, walking position. Long curved horn, tip overlapping back of neck. Ear, eye, and nostril indicated. Short tail (tip distorted).

Tree symbol.—In front of animal. Stalk with two oblique branches on one side and horizontal branch with upcurled end on opposite side.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 43

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 581	Room 34, near N. wall	5		11			
PT4 831	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor						53
PT4 1021	Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line	5	8	11	29		
PT4 1057	Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor	5	8	11		50	53
Seals associated with No. 43		5	8	11	29	50	53

IMPRESSIONS OF STAMP SEALS AND SIGNET RINGS (NOS. 44-77)

SEAL No. 44

(Pl. 2, PT4 619; Pl. 12, PT4 866)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.¹²⁹

Pattern.—Herakles¹³⁰ on chariot drawn by two horses.

Herakles.—Head and legs in left profile; body almost in front view. Beardless. Bareheaded, nude. Right arm extending forward, hand holding reins; left arm bent at side, hand holding club-shaped object which protrudes beside shoulder. Problematical objects behind neck and to right of body. Left leg slightly forward; right thigh almost horizontal, rest of leg not shown.

129. As indicated by the seal impression.

130. As suggested by Gisela M. A. Richter.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

Chariot.—Traces of vertical and horizontal lines mark anterior part. Part of one wheel. Rest missing.

Horses.—Overlapping, in left profile, galloping. Mane marked. Harness not impressed. Ground line perhaps faintly indicated.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 44

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 604	Near center of W. wall, Plot HG 41	5	19	54	55	70
PT4 619	N. of column base B5, ca. .80 above floor					
PT4 705	Near center of W. wall, .50 above floor, Plot HG 41	5	19	54	55	
PT4 866	At column base A3, floor					
Seals associated with No. 44		5	19	54	55	70

SEAL NO. 45

(Pl. 12, PT6 134)

Type.—Stamp seal with ovate base.

Pattern.—Athena on quadriga.

Athena.—Only upper part visible. Head in right profile; chest in front view. Greek helmet (with ornamental crest?); chest armor. Part of circular or oblong shield held to right of Athena by left arm. Right arm not impressed.

Quadriga.—Chariot not shown. Horses identical but for heads in alternating left and right profile, bodies in front view, standing. Head ornaments or hair locks shown between ears. Leg joints (and hoofs?) suggest use of drill.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 45

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 134	Room 50, SW. corner, floor

SEAL NO. 46

(Pl. 12, PT4 509)

Type.—Stamp seal (or signet ring?) with elliptical or ovate base.

Pattern.—Greek warrior in defensive posture: Head and legs in right profile; chest almost in front view. Beardless. Greek helmet with ornamental crest(?); otherwise nude. Squatting on right leg, left leg in kneeling position. Right arm suspended, slightly bent, behind body, hand holding dagger horizontally. Left hand protrudes beyond left knee and holds circular or oblong shield, segment of which extends from chin to right edge of impression.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 46

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT4 509	Room 33, Plot HG 41

SEAL NO. 47

(Pl. 12, PT6 43, PT6 116)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.

Pattern.—Man in gesture of prayer: In left profile, head lowered, standing. Beardless. Headdress doubtful, nude. Right arm flexed in front of chest, hand touching hair or headdress above forehead; left arm flexed touching side and chest, hand slightly cupped on chest below chin, palm toward body. Right leg (mutilated) probably vertical; left leg slightly bent and set back. Leaning against curved object, perhaps shield, which extends toward lower edge of impression.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 47

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 45	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 43	W. end, Plot HF 26	67
PT6 116	W. end, floor, Plot HF 26	67

SEAL NO. 48

(Pl. 12, PT6 316, PT4 871)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical or circular base.

Pattern.—One kneeling and one standing man.

Kneeling man.—Head and legs in right profile, head slightly raised, facing standing man; chest almost in front view. Beardless. Nude. Right arm flexed, lower arm raised vertically, hand perhaps holding some object; left lower arm extended obliquely toward standing man (PT6 316). Apparently squatting on both legs, perhaps kneeling on low stool.

Standing man.—Head and legs in left profile, head apparently slightly lowered, facing kneeling man; chest almost in front view. Beardless.

Nude, except for fabric draped about loins and left arm. Right arm extended forward (flexed?), hand holding problematical object above and in front of head of kneeling man. Left arm bent, touching side of body. Right leg almost vertical; left leg slightly bent and set back.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 48						
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 871	Room 33, between column bases A2 and A3, floor Hall 41, Plot HF 79, between column bases H4 and I4, .85 above floor Room 56, ca. 1 m. S. of E. doorway to Hall 41, .60 above floor Room 56, N. part, at E. wall, floor Room 56, near PT6 316, but .20 above floor	28	37	56	65	66
PT6 121*						
PT6 303						
PT6 316						
PT6 320						

* Same impression on three sides.

SEAL No. 49
(Pl. 12, PT6 441)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical or ovate base.
Pattern.—Kneeling man: In right profile, head slightly lowered, facing vaguely impressed rodlike device to right. Beardless. Nude. Right arm bent, extending down and forward. Squatting on right leg.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 49	
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 441	Hall 73, Plot IG 31, NW. corner

SEAL No. 50
(Pl. 12, PT4 1017)

Type.—Stamp seal with circular base.
Pattern.—Man's head: In right profile. Ungroomed beard, mustache, fleshy nose and lips; bushy hair or fur cap. Neck not indicated.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 50						
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 804	Room 33, between column bases A4 and A5, floor Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor	5	8		29	
PT4 1017		5	8	11		43
PT4 1057						53
Seals associated with No. 50		5	8	11	29	43

SEAL No. 51
(Pl. 12, PT5 248)

Type.—Probably stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Running man; problematical object.
Man.—Head and right leg in left profile; body and left leg in front view. Probably beardless and bareheaded, nude. Right arm distorted on impression; left arm bent and raised above head. Right leg bent in running position; left leg straight, set back.
Problematical object.—To right of man.¹³¹

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 51		
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT5 248	Hall 38, near column base C5, Plot HG 20	Fragmentary impression of unnumbered (cylinder?) seal: stereotyped Persian with hair bunched at back of neck, tiara, tucked candies (see p. 14)

SEAL No. 52
(Pl. 12, PT6 8, PT6 154)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Two wrestlers(?).
Left wrestler.—In right profile, possibly kneeling, body bent forward over back of other wrestler. Beardless. Bareheaded, nude. Arms seem to hold other wrestler's neck, pressing his head against abdomen.
Right wrestler.—In left profile, body bent forward at right angle. Head indistinct. Nude.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 52		
Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 47	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 7	NE. corner, 1.90 above floor	5
PT6 8	NE. corner, 1.90 above floor	5
PT6 149	At N. wall, .20 above floor, Plot HF 19, W. line	5
PT6 154	At N. wall, floor, Plot HF 19, ca. 2 m. E. of W. line	5

131. Miss Richter's comment: "Is there a dog on one side of the man, or perhaps even two dogs? (Aktaion?)"

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

SEAL No. 53

(Pl. 12, PT4 831)

Type.—Signet ring with pointed elliptical bezel (left end of impression on PT4 831 nicked by hoop).*Pattern.*—Man and horse.*Man.*—In left profile, standing, head raised, facing head of horse. Apparently beardless. Bareheaded, probably nude. Left arm obliquely forward and up, hand holding horse's head, probably at reins (not visible). One leg bent and set forward. Entire position suggests struggle with unruly animal.*Horse.*—In right profile, standing, head perhaps thrown back. Foreleg possibly raised in partial rearing position. Bushy tail.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 53

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 830	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor			11	29		
PT4 831	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor					43	
PT4 880	Room 33, between column bases A3 and A4, floor			11			
PT4 1057	Hall 38, N. of column base E5, .60 above floor	5	8	11		43	50
Seals associated with No. 53		5	8	11	29	43	50

SEAL No. 54

(Pl. 2, PT4 619; Pl. 13, PT4 894, PT4 705)

Type.—Signet ring with pointed elliptical bezel (illustrated impressions nicked by hoop).*Pattern.*—Standing man: Upper body in right profile, lower body in half profile. Beardless, nude. Right arm flexed and raised; object (garment?) hanging from left lower arm along thigh. Right leg straight, left leg slightly bent and set forward.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 54

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 619	N. of column base B5, ca. .80 above floor	5	19	44	55		
PT4 705	Near center of W. wall, .50 above floor, Plot HG 41			44	55		
PT4 866	At column base A3, floor	5	19	44	55		70
PT4 894	Between and N. of column bases A2 and A3, floor	5	19				70
Seals associated with No. 54		5	19	44	55		70

SEAL No. 55

(Pl. 2, PT4 619; Pl. 13, PT4 705, PT4 619)

Type.—Signet ring with circular or elliptical bezel (illustrated impressions nicked by hoop).*Pattern.*—Man and symbol.*Man.*—In right profile, seated. Bearded. Bashlyk with conoid top, one end hanging parallel to man's back; rest of dress doubtful except for low boots. Horizontal dash marks seat of stool. Right leg slightly bent, foot resting on ground line. Left leg pulled up, foot seems to rest on second stool, top and one leg of which are visible. Right arm seems to extend to left boot top as though pulling at it; left arm hidden behind left leg.*Symbol.*—Vertical rod beside left foot of man. Crescent-shaped head (horns or bird?).

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 55

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 619	N. of column base B5, ca. .80 above floor	5	19	44	54		
PT4 705	Near center of W. wall, .50 above floor, Plot HG 41			44	54		
PT4 866	At column base A3, floor	5	19	44	54		70
Seals associated with No. 55		5	19	44	54		70

SEAL No. 56

(Pl. 13, PT4 871)

Type.—Probably signet ring with pointed elliptical bezel.*Pattern.*—Standing person: Nude. One hand in front of face; other hand at pubic region. One leg slightly advanced. Distorted impressions.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 56

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 871	Between column bases A2 and A3, floor	28	37	48	65	66	
PT4 899	At N. wall, between and N. of column bases A3 and A4, floor					66	
Seals associated with No. 56		28	37	48	65	66	

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

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SEAL No. 57
(Pl. 13, PT6 100)*Type.*—Stamp seal (or cylinder seal?) of unknown shape.*Pattern.*—Persian at altar(?).*Persian.*—Upper part mutilated, lower part in right profile. Tucked candys. Left leg forward.*Altar(?)*.—Gatelike façade with paired vertical lines at either side. Foundation (terraced?) blurred. Two triangular(?) projections on top, similar to tops of altars of seals Nos. 22–23 and cylinder seal PT6 699 (Pl. 15).

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 57

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 100	Room 47, NE. corner, .10 above floor

SEAL No. 58
(Pl. 2, PT6 3; Pl. 13, PT6 22, PT6 3)*Type.*—Stamp seal with elliptical base.*Pattern.*—Persian archer (see p. 14): In left profile. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara; tucked candys, right leg bare to knee. Kneeling-running position (right leg almost kneeling; left leg, balancing on toes, in running position). Right arm, slightly bent, extended forward, hand holding bow, which is bent (illogically; cf. left hand) to semi-elliptical form. Arrow not shown. Left arm flexed at side, hand holding spear (well marked on PT6 22), which slants backward across near shoulder.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 58

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 47	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 3	At center of E. wall, 1.90 above floor	5
PT6 5	NE. corner, 1.90 above floor	5
PT6 6	NE. corner, 1.90 above floor	
PT6 21	1.90 above floor, Plot HF 19, near E. line	5
PT6 22	At NE. corner of doorway, 1.50 above floor	5
PT6 23	Center E., 1.30 above floor	5
PT6 111	N. of doorway, near N. wall, .60 above floor	5
PT6 112	N. of doorway, near N. wall, .60 above floor	5
PT6 113	Near NE. corner of doorway, .60 above floor	5

SEAL No. 59
(Pl. 13, PT6 168)*Type.*—Probably stamp seal with elliptical base.*Pattern.*—Persian in combat with lion.*Persian.*—In right profile, but chest in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded; candys(?) perhaps tucked above left knee. Position of legs similar to No. 58 (kneeling-running). Right arm, slightly bent, extends backward, hand probably holding dagger (not impressed). Left arm straight forward, hand seems to grasp forelock of lion.*Lion.*—Erect, in left profile, facing man. Jaws open. Forelegs extend toward chest and left arm of Persian.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 59

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 168	Room 50, loose dirt, Plot HG 01

SEAL No. 60
(Pl. 13, PT4 501)*Type.*—Stamp seal with elliptical base.*Pattern.*—Persian in combat with winged lion.*Persian.*—In right profile. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Plain tiara; tucked candys, left leg bare to knee. Kneeling-running position (see No. 58). Right arm drawn back, hand holding dagger. Left arm straight forward, hand grasping forelock of monster.*Winged lion.*—In left profile, erect, facing Persian. Jaws open. Ear indicated behind forelock. Forepaws curve forward and upward. Body of lion, but bushy (blurred?) tail. Wing with serrate edge and slightly upcurled tip. Hind legs may end in talons. Lion stands on lower level than Persian.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 60

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label
PT4 501	Room 14, N., in charcoal layer	Two vague impressions

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

SEAL No. 61
(Pl. 13, PT6 215)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical, almost circular base.
Pattern.—Neo-Babylonian. Priest at altar with *mušhuš* monster; miscellaneous symbols.
Priest.—In right profile, standing. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Domed headdress; long robe. Right arm raised, palm upward.
Altar.—Only top and row of vertical rungs preserved.
Mušhuš.—Couchant on top of altar, in left profile. Slender body; long neck; pointed muzzle; one ear; one horn (or two horns). Tail undulates obliquely upward.
Miscellaneous symbols.—Spear of Marduk and two styli of Nabu rising from back of *mušhuš*. Crescent near upper edge of impression, above head of *mušhuš*. Crook behind back of priest.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSIONS* OF SEAL NO. 61

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 215	Room 51, near center of E. wall, floor	5†

* In pairs on two sides. † On two sides.

SEAL No. 62
(Pl. 13, PT4 774, PT6 293)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Neo-Babylonian. Priest at altar with *mušhuš* monster; miscellaneous symbols. Drill used extensively.
Priest.—In right profile, standing. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Domed headdress; long robe. Right arm raised.
Altar.—Two horizontal lines each at top and base; row of vertical rungs.
Mušhuš.—Couchant on top of altar, in left profile, conventionalized. Long neck and head; one ear or horn. Tail undulates upward.
Miscellaneous symbols.—Spear of Marduk and two styli of Nabu rising from back of *mušhuš*. Crescent touching priest's headdress.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 62

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label	
PT4 774	Room 33, NW. of center, .30 above floor	37	
PT4 920	Room 33, between column bases A1 and A2, floor		
PT6 48	Hall 41, between column bases H3 and H4, .80 above floor, Plot HF 79		75
PT6 118	Hall 41, .25 above floor, Plot HF 77, near SE. corner		75
PT6 148	Room 47, W. part		
PT6 261	Hall 41, between column bases F9 and G9, .30 above floor, Plot HF 77		75
PT6 262	Hall 41, between and E. of column bases F9 and G9, .35 above floor, Plot HF 77		75
PT6 284	Room 55, N. of doorway, near floor		75
PT6 291	Room 56, loose dirt		75
PT6 293	Room 56, S. part, near W. wall, floor		75
PT6 298	Room 56, S. part, near E. wall, .40 above floor		75
PT6 301	Room 56, in N. doorway		75
PT6 306	Room 56, at SW. corner of E. doorway, .75 above floor		75
PT6 307	Room 56, at SW. corner of E. doorway, 1.10 above floor		75
PT6 308	Room 56, NE. corner, .40 above floor		75
PT6 309	Room 56, NE. corner, .40 above floor		75
PT6 311	Room 56, in E. doorway, .35 above floor		75
PT6 314	Room 56, in E. doorway, floor		75
PT6 317	Room 56, at E. wall, N. of E. doorway, .20 above floor		75
PT6 318	Room 56, at E. wall, N. of E. doorway, .20 above floor		75
PT6 323	Room 56, ca. 2 m. NW. of E. doorway, floor		75

SEAL No. 63
(Pl. 13, PT5 91)

Type.—Stamp seal of problematical shape or cylinder seal.
Pattern.—Winged genie: Human head in left profile, body perhaps in front view (legs missing). Bearded, hair apparently bunched at back of neck. Perhaps domed headdress. Traces of one pair of wings at right, one wing obliquely upward, one obliquely downward, meeting at shoulder. Wings to left of genie vague (impression faint).

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 63

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT5 91	Hall 38, Plot HG 10, SE. Corner

SEAL No. 64
(Pls. 2 and 13, PT4 950)

Type.—Stamp seal with circular base.
Pattern.—Bes with canine and cock.
Bes.—Front view. Circular, rather monstrous face with fleshy nose and spongy cheeks. Two lines above hair-covered forehead suggest wad of feathers or horns. No neck; muscular chest. Loin cloth (animal skin) from waist to lower thighs; tail of animal skin marked between legs. Right arm at side, hand resting on thigh; left arm straight out and slightly up, hand grasping neck of cock. Legs bent, knees outward, toes pointing outward.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

Canine.—Jackal or dog with upcurled tail sits to left of Bes on level slightly above latter's knees.
Cock.—Stands to right of Bes in crowing position, chest and head raised, wing lifted.

LABEL WITH FIVE IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 64

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT4 950	Room 33, NE. corner, floor

SEAL No. 65
(Pl. 13, PT4 865)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.

Pattern.—Winged genie with crown: Head in right profile. Hair apparently falling to shoulder. Bareheaded. One upcurled wing at either side (distorted impression on label PT4 871 faintly suggests two wings at either side). Crown—perhaps connected with vertex of genie by faint line—composed of two horns which spread and form base and sides, inclosing three feathers(?) which end on top in three circular disks.¹³² Rest of design missing or mutilated.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 65

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 901 PT4 865 PT4 871	At center of N. wall S. of column base A4, floor Between column bases A2 and A3, floor	28 28	37	48	56	66
Seals associated with No. 65		28	37	48	56	66

SEAL No. 66
(Pl. 14, PT4 948, PT4 871)

Type.—Stamp seal with ovate base.

Pattern.—Winged, horned lion(?): Anterior part only, in right profile. Head of lion or similar animal. Open jaws. Knobby ibex horn, one ear. Short upcurled wing. One foreleg raised almost vertically; other foreleg may extend downward (impression on PT4 871 partly covered by impression of seal No. 28).

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 66

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 871 PT4 899 PT4 948	Between column bases A2 and A3, floor N. wall, between and N. of column bases A3 and A4, floor NE. corner, floor	28 28	37	48	56 56	65
Seals associated with No. 66		28	37	48	56	65

SEAL No. 67
(Pl. 14, PT6 43)

Type.—Stamp seal with base in shape of sandal or footprint.

Pattern.—Heron balancing pitcher.

Heron.—In right profile. Standing on right leg; left leg raised and flexed, talon pronounced (or grasping fish or similar object?). Wings at rest. Gracefully curved neck, head and beak horizontal. Pitcher balanced on top of head.

Pitcher.—Oval body, flaring neck, one handle at left from lip to shoulder.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 67

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 45	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 43 PT6 116	W. end, Plot HF 26 W. end, floor, Plot HF 26	47 47

SEAL No. 68
(Pl. 14, PT6 101)

Type.—Signet ring with pointed elliptical bezel (impression nicked by hoop).

Pattern.—Horned griffin: In left profile, walking position. Eagle's head; one horn curves forward from vertex; mane(?) along back of neck; curved wing. Body and legs of lion or similar animal. Two (possibly three) parallel upcurved tails.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 68

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 101	Room 47, NE. corner, near floor	Traces of unidentifiable impression, suggesting seal No. 5

132. Comment by Professor Richard A. Parker: "The crown worn by the genie is a somewhat debased example of the *hmhm*-crown, which first occurs under Akhnaton and is common to the end of Egyptian history. Cf. Abd el Monem Joussef Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen* (Glückstadt etc., 1937) pp. 63-65."
For the crown of the Pasargadae genie see our p. 15, also Vol. I 22 and Fig. 7B.

OBJECTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS TERRACE

SEAL No. 69
(Pl. 14, PT4 255)

Type.—Signet ring with elliptical bezel (right end of each impression nicked by hoop).
Pattern.—Winged bull: In right profile, walking position. Muzzle pulled hard toward neck. Traces of horn and ear. Oblique wing with upcurled tip and one serrate edge. Tail upcurled, tip touching wing.

LABEL WITH TWO IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 69

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT4 255	Room 8, floor, Plot HG 83, <i>ca.</i> center E. line	Fragment of unclassified cylinder seal impression: heads of two bareheaded foes armed with spears

SEAL No. 70
(Pl. 14, PT4 944)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Bullock(?): In right profile. Head lowered (in charging position?), one ear straight up, other ear (or horn) straight forward. Both forelegs thrown forward as though bracing; hind legs in walking position. Long bovine tail with bushy tip. Genitals marked. Hind legs and right foreleg touch ground line.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 70

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label					
PT4 198	Plot HG 51, loose dirt (Room 33?)			21			
PT4 671	Room 33, <i>ca.</i> 2 m. S. of N. doorway, .80 above floor						
PT4 866	Room 33, at column base A3, floor	5	19		44	54	55
PT4 894	Room 33, between and N. of column bases A2 and A3, floor	5	19			54	
PT4 944	Room 33, NE. corner, floor						
PT4 945	Room 33, NE. corner, floor						
Seals associated with No. 70		5	19	21	44	54	55

SEAL No. 71
(Pl. 14, PT4 1018)

Type.—Stamp seal, probably.
Pattern.—Rampant bull(?): In left profile (head and right hind leg missing). Right foreleg obliquely upward; left foreleg bent downward, parallel to left hind leg. Stump of tail obliquely upward.

LABEL WITH IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 71

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label
PT4 1018	Hall 38, at S. wall, Plot HG 31, center W. line	Unclassified fragments

SEAL No. 72
(Pl. 14, PT4 840)

Type.—Probably signet ring with pointed elliptical bezel.
Pattern.—Running horse(?): In left profile. Head indistinct. Forelegs thrown forward; hind legs flexed; tail indicated.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 72

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury Room 33	Other Seals on Same Label		
PT4 840	S. of column base A4, .70 above floor			28
PT4 859	N. of column base A4, floor			
PT4 946	NE. corner, floor	5	19	
Seals associated with No. 72		5	19	28

SEAL No. 73
(Pl. 14, PT3 386)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base (suggested by curved edge above pattern) or cylinder seal.
Pattern.—Charging boar: In right profile. Legs in running position, parallel in pairs. Jaws open, one tusk marked. Two ears; bristles on forehead and back; hair on body marked by wavy rows of dashes.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 73

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT3 386	Room 11, near center of E. wall, floor

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

SEAL No. 74
(Pl. 2, PT4 704; Pl. 14, PT4 832)

Type.—Stamp seal or cylinder seal.
Pattern.—Charging boar: In left profile. Legs in running position, parallel in pairs. Head indistinct. Row of bristles marked on head and back. Tail points obliquely upward.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 74

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seals on Same Label				
PT4 704 PT4 832	Room 33, between column bases A5 and B5, ca. .50 above floor Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor	5	17	23	32	38 38
Seals associated with No. 74		5	17	23	32	38

SEAL No. 75
(Pl. 14, PT6 261)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Running dog: In left profile. Details of head unclear, but eye marked. Forelegs thrown forward in running (or jumping?) position; hind legs indistinct, appear to slant down and back. Tail seems to point down.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 75

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT6 48	Hall 41, between column bases H3 and H4, .80 above floor, Plot HF 79	62
PT6 118	Hall 41, .25 above floor, Plot HF 77, near SE. corner	62
PT6 261	Hall 41, between column bases F9 and G9, .30 above floor, Plot HF 77	62
PT6 262	Hall 41, between and E. of column bases F9 and G9, .35 above floor, Plot HF 77	62
PT6 284	Room 55, N. of doorway, near floor	62
PT6 291	Room 56, loose dirt	62
PT6 293	Room 56, S. part, near W. wall, floor	62
PT6 298	Room 56, S. part, near E. wall, .40 above floor	62
PT6 301	Room 56, in N. doorway	62
PT6 306	Room 56, at SW. corner of E. doorway, .75 above floor	62
PT6 307	Room 56, at SW. corner of E. doorway, 1.10 above floor	62
PT6 308	Room 56, NE. corner, .40 above floor	62
PT6 309	Room 56, NE. corner, .40 above floor	62
PT6 311	Room 56, in E. doorway, .35 above floor	62
PT6 314	Room 56, in E. doorway, floor	62
PT6 317	Room 56, at E. wall, N. of E. doorway, .20 above floor	62
PT6 318	Room 56, at E. wall, N. of E. doorway, .20 above floor	62
PT6 321	Room 56, loose dirt	
PT6 323	Room 56, ca. 2 m. NW. of E. doorway, floor	62

SEAL No. 76
(Pl. 14, PT6 130)

Type.—Stamp seal with elliptical base.
Pattern.—Lion striking onager(?).
Lion.—In left profile, couchant with legs horizontal on ground line. Jaws dug into back of onager or similar animal. Mane marked. Lashing tail forms loop above rump.
Onager(?).—In right profile, at right angle to lion. Ground line marked. Anterior part collapsing under lion's attack. Forelegs (marked by two sketchy dashes) perhaps meant to kneel; hind legs in standing position. Both ears indicated. Tail loops up and forward, tip touching back.

LABEL WITH SINGLE IMPRESSION OF SEAL NO. 76

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury
PT6 130	Room 50, center, loose dirt, 1.0-2.0 above floor

SEAL No. 77
(Pl. 14, PT6 64)

Type.—Stamp seal with circular base.
Pattern.—Two antithetic lions: Identical, sejant, regardant, chests touching. One vertical foreleg and one horizontal hind leg shown in each case. Tails curl up above rumps. Ground line marked.

LABELS WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SEAL NO. 77

Field No.	Find-Spot in Treasury	Other Seal on Same Label
PT4 838 PT6 45 PT6 64	Room 33, N. of column base A5, floor Excavated dirt from Rooms 45 and 46 (probably from Room 45) Room 45, loose dirt, Plot HF 26	Traces of unidentifiable impression

CYLINDER SEALS

FIND-CONDITIONS, TECHNICAL DATA

Because of the character of the site—absence of domestic quarters and graves of townspeople—our collection of actual seals is small. There are only twenty-three cylinder seals, and these furthermore are much less representative of Achaemenian glyptique than the cylinder sealings impressed on the tablets and labels from the Treasury, not to mention the fact that the tablet sealings are more communicative through their association with written records.

Fifteen cylinder seals were found in the Treasury, and the remaining eight specimens occurred in various parts of the Persepolis Terrace, specified in the catalogue (pp. 43–46). We do not learn much from their distribution. The Persian seals presumably had been lost by their owners. The Mesopotamian seals of pre-Achaemenian periods may have found their way to Persepolis as trophies of war, or they may have been carried there by foreign artisans who owned them as heirlooms or had found them in their native soil.

The shapes and the dimensions of the seals concerned are shown on Plates 15–16. Most cylinders are of average size. Three exceptionally large specimens include a seal (PT4 873) tentatively attributed to the Achaemenid period and two Assyrian cylinders (PT5 415, PT6 1). An unusually squat specimen (PT7 204) is presumably a Jamdat Nasr seal.

All cylinders are perforated lengthwise, and none have any other device for suspension. However, the perforation of one Assyrian specimen (PT6 1) is incomplete. Its device for suspension could have been a rod, perhaps of bronze, inserted in the partial perforation and ending in a ring. As to the materials used for our seals, four of the fourteen specimens which are definitely or tentatively attributed to Achaemenid Persia are made of baked clay, the rest of common stones. Chalcedony was used for the one Neo-Babylonian cylinder. The four Assyrian seals are made of chalcedony, steatite, nondescript stone, and baked clay. Steatite and hematite were used for the two seals of the 1st Babylonian dynasty, and the two specimens which we tentatively consider Jamdat Nasr seals are made of bone and serpentine.

PATTERNS AND CHRONOLOGY¹³³

There are few definite resemblances between the patterns of the fourteen seals which we attribute—tentatively in most cases—to the Achaemenid period (Pl. 15 and top row of Pl. 16) and the cylinder sealings impressed on tablets and labels from the Treasury (Pls. 3–11). This is due partly to the fact that we are dealing with seals which belonged to persons of different social classes. Many of the seals affixed to the Treasury documents and to the labels which were once attached to royal stores or records belonged to high dignitaries of the court and well-to-do officials, whereas most of the seals lost in the dust of the buildings, passages, and streets of Persepolis were presumably those of artisans, laborers, and soldiers. There is seldom a doubt as to the Achaemenid origin of the cylinder seal impressions on tablets and labels, primarily because of the characteristic Persian dress of the persons depicted; whereas in the case of the seals proper we are uncertain in

a number of instances whether they should not be attributed to the end of the pre-Achaemenid era.

The most frequent subject of the tablet sealings, the hero triumphant (Pls. 3–5), often distinguished by the presence of a royal name, is represented on only one cylinder (PT5 413), but the pattern is conventionalized and the hero's dress is not distinctively Persian. He is bareheaded, except perhaps for a fillet. He wears a skirtlike garment instead of the wide-sleeved *candys*, and his upper body is either bare or covered with a tightly fitting vest. The tree symbol in this case seems to represent the cypress instead of the palm tree of the tablet and label sealings. On the other hand, the wings of the monsters held by the hero are upcurled in Achaemenian fashion, as are those of the monsters on the designs of PT3 111, PT5 351, and PT6 673.

Worship of the sacred symbol (cf. sealings on Pl. 6) is represented on one fragmentary seal (PT4 939). Although the lower parts of the two apparently identical, bareheaded worshipers are missing, the relation of the pattern to the group of sealings referred to is clear. Both extend one hand—palm upward in the gesture of adoration—toward the winged symbol.

There is one stylized seal pattern (PT4 873) picturing ritual or worship at the altar such as is shown on the sealings of Plate 7. The design of a horseman at an altar-shaped structure (PT6 699) is close to the pattern of seal No. 57 (Pl. 13), which pictures a standing Persian in front of a similar structure with two conoid projections on top. A crudely drawn, unfinished religious scene shows an animal sacrifice (PT5 36)—a subject not appearing on any tablet or label sealings.

Neither martial scenes (cf. Pl. 9) nor human hunters (cf. Pl. 10) are represented in the patterns of the Achaemenian cylinders with which we are here dealing. In one case a winged man-bull or man-lion is shown hunting an ibex (PT3 111). The lion as hunter appears not less than six times in this group of cylinder patterns. In one case (PT5 743) an antithetic pair, perhaps a male lion and a lioness, both rampant regardant, attack a mouflon. In the other patterns ibex (PT7 33, PT4 191 [or antelope]), winged man-ibex (PT6 673), and stag (PT4 527, PT6 51) are the lion's prey.

One assumedly Achaemenid seal shows a double-tailed and winged lion-stag and a winged man-bull(?) opposed at either side of a bird (PT5 351).¹³⁴ The last seal of this group pictures two rampant goats at opposite sides of a crescent-shaped symbol or a snake (PT5 266).

A design fragment of Neo-Babylonian (or Neo-Assyrian¹³⁵) type showing two winged genii is preserved on PT4 908 (Pl. 16).

Our collection includes four Assyrian seals (see Pl. 16), two of which (PT5 415, PT6 1) may have been wrought in the 9th or 8th century B.C.,¹³⁶ whereas the other two (PT5 791, PT4 484) are later. Seal PT5 415, well cut and showing extensive use of the drill, pictures the hero in

134. Dr. Porada is inclined to consider this seal, as also PT5 413 and PT3 111, "late peripheral Assyrian."

135. As suggested by Dr. Porada. See *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. I. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, catalogued and edited by Edith Porada . . . ("The Bollingen Series" XIV [Washington, D.C., 1948] pp. 71 ff.

136. As suggested by Dr. Porada. Cf., further, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXIV a.

133. The writer's thanks are due to Dr. Edith Porada for suggestions concerning the dating of certain seals of this group.

combat with a winged monster. The latter, in execution and detail, is quite similar to a pair of antithetic winged bulls on a seal cylinder which was found by our second Luristan Expedition in the pre-Achaemenid sanctuary at Surkhah Dum¹³⁷ in Kuhdasht ("Mountain Plain"). Seal PT6 1 pictures a ritual repast—a frequent subject of Assyrian seals, where the vessel on a stand, on our seal only subsidiary, often appears in the center of the scene.¹³⁸ An altar scene is pictured on PT5 791, showing a seated deity at one side of the altar balanced on the opposite side by a lion and his prey. Seal PT4 484, finally, shows a hunter dispatching a winged ibex with a mace, or the like, in front of a panel filled with problematical symbols.

The Old Babylonian seals (Pl. 16, 4th row) have the common patterns of ritual character frequent during this period and before.¹³⁹ Seal PT5 238 pictures a worshiper before two deities, one enthroned and the other standing, together with various symbols and at least one cuneiform sign ("god") behind the deities (see p. 45). The vague pattern of PT6 268 shows the remnants of a presentation scene, namely, an interceding deity leading a worshiper to an apparently seated god or goddess.

Two of the cylinders found at Persepolis are tentatively classed as Jamdat Nasr seals (Pl. 16, bottom row), but we admit that we hesitate less in so identifying the squat serpentine cylinder with a file of animals (PT7 204) than the bone seal of usual proportions with a pattern of two running ibexes (PT4 1096).¹⁴⁰

CATALOGUE

PT6 699 (Pl. 15). Light brown baked clay.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Plot IG 34, surface layer.

Pattern.—Horseman at altar(?).

Horseman.—Triangular head; body in front view, one leg hanging from near side of horse. One hand holding rein, one arm flexed at right angle.

Horse.—Bucking (or badly carved), in left profile. One line marks reins. Line projecting from forehead probably marks ear; curved line extending from ear(?) toward waist of rider, perhaps indicating mane. Long tail with pointed tip.

Altar(?).—Rectangle with three vertical panels. Top formed of two triangular projections; cf. altars on Plates 7:22–23 and 13:57.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT5 36 (Pl. 15). Black stone.

Find-spot.—Throne Hall, portico debris, Plot GF 23, SE. corner.

Pattern.—Sacrificial scene: priest, two attendants, mouflon, dead animal, crescent.

Priest.—Standing, in left profile, body in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Domed headdress; skirt reaching to knees, oblique folds on lower part; belt (or sash) marked by two lines. Right arm obliquely upward, hand apparently grasping one horn of mouflon; left arm obliquely downward, hand holding scimitar.

Attendants.—Apparently intended to be identical but of second attendant outline of upper part only marked, in left profile. Headdress perhaps identical with that of priest. Apparently bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Details of dress and position of arms doubtful.

137. To be published.

138. Cf. *OIP* XXII, Pls. XXVII, XXIX, XXX; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) Pl. 78:663 and similar scenes on the same plate and on Pl. 79.

139. Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pp. 147 ff.; Moortgat, *op. cit.* pp. 31 ff.; Porada, *op. cit.* pp. 39 ff.

140. For recent studies of Jamdat Nasr seals see Moortgat, *op. cit.* pp. 5 ff.; Frankfort, *op. cit.* pp. 30 ff.; Porada, *op. cit.* pp. 4 ff. See now, especially, Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (*OIP* LXXII [1955]).

Mouflon.—Couchant, in front of priest, body in right profile, head in profile turned backward but two curled horns in front view. Head not connected with neck, apparently severed by priest's sword.

Dead animal.—Below posterior part of mouflon; decapitated (head not shown); lying on back, one hind leg pointing obliquely upward.

Crescent.—Below forelegs of mouflon.

Period.—Achaemenian?

PT4 873 (Pl. 15). White calcareous stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 33, at center of N. wall, floor.

Pattern.—Two persons, one at either side of altar and stand; border lines marked above and below.

Person to right.—Priest(?), standing, in left profile. Bashlyk, end hanging down on back; chin either covered by bashlyk or bearded. Belted robe, fringe design marked on chest, two oblique lines across lower part, fringe at lower edge. One hand, with palm apparently turned upward, in front of abdomen; other arm almost straight forward from shoulder; hand seems to hold faintly marked branch in front of face.

Person to left.—Priest(?), standing, in right profile. Headdress uncertain; chin either covered by bashlyk or bearded. Dress identical with that of person to right. Both arms straight forward; lower one extending from chest with palm of hand turned upward; other extending from shoulder, hand holding some problematical object (mostly chipped off).

Altar.—Simple flat-topped table, two legs marked. On top: two horizontal lines, one above the other, each with one end turned down and other end turned up. From upper line extend two additional vertical lines (upper ends missing).

Stand.—Between altar and person to left. Vertical shaft tapering upward, small flat top.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT4 939 (Pl. 15). Black stone (lower half missing).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 33 or 34, loose dirt, Plot HG 41.

Pattern.—Adoration scene: winged disk symbol flanked by two worshipers, miscellaneous elements.

Winged disk.—Circular knob inclosed by blank circle, horns marked above. One wing at either side, each having curved lower edge, vertical line subdividing each wing into two sections, horizontal grooves. Bird tail, subdivided by curved line into two sections, feathers marked by flutes.

Worshipers.—Identical as far as preserved, in profile, facing winged disk. Hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded; dress problematical. One hand extended toward lower edge of wing, palm apparently upward.

Miscellaneous elements.—Between backs of worshipers: crescent superposed on small disk and conical object (head of symbol?). Above entire scene: faint row of parallel angles.

Period.—Achaemenian or slightly earlier.

PT6 673 (Pl. 15). Dark gray limestone(?).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 83, NW., 1.00 above floor.

Pattern.—Lion attacking winged man-ibex, bird, tree symbol, sun; small drill circles on various elements of design.

Lion.—Leaping at ibex, in left profile. Two ears; open jaws; serrate mane. One foreleg raised to strike; one hind leg pulled up to body. Tail with broad tip curls forward above rump.

Man-ibex.—Running, in left profile. Bearded man's face. Knobbed horn rising straight above forehead, tip curled; two long ears; serrate mane. Long wing rises obliquely from shoulder, tip upcurled, feathers marked. Genitals indicated. Long tail with broad bifurcate tip curls forward above rump.

Bird.—In front (to left) of man-ibex, top view, wings spread. Three lines mark tail.

Tree symbol.—In front (to left) of bird and man-ibex. From base of four parallel lines rises frame subdivided by paired lines into two main sections. Frame seems to inclose cluster of tree trunks with common crown of individual branches ending in small knobs. Branch at either side of base and frame top curves outward and ends in blossom or fruit cluster. Two pairs of branches with bifurcate ends curve outward from central subdivision of frame.

Sun.—Disk with nine rays above man-ibex.

Period.—Achaemenian.

PT5 266 (Pl. 15). Yellowish-brown and red-brown calcareous stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, floor, Plot HG 10, SE. part.

Pattern.—Two goats, miscellaneous elements.

Goats.—Almost identical, antithetic, rampant, regardant. Horn resembling that of bovine curves forward and upward, but beard marks animal as member of goat family. One ear marked. Forelegs extend forward and upward. One hind leg raised forward; goat balanced on other hind leg. Tail curves downward.

Miscellaneous elements.—Between backs of goats: upright lunate symbol with irregular top (snake?). Between fronts of goats: four staggered oval dashes.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT5 743 (Pl. 15). Red-brown baked clay.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 43, near center of W. wall, floor.

Pattern.—Two lions attacking mouflon.

Lion to left.—Probably male, larger than second lion, in right profile, rampant, regardant. Large ear; open jaws; serrate mane. Drill used for eyes and nostrils. One foreleg raised vertically; other extending forward, paw almost touching tail of mouflon. One hind leg also slightly raised; animal balanced on other hind leg. Long tail with broadened tip curves up and back toward body, almost touching nostrils. Prominent muscles and two skin folds at neck.

Lion to right.—Lioness(?), in left profile, rampant, regardant. Open jaws; small ear; mane faintly marked by some dots. Jaw line and one skin fold at neck indicated. Drill used for eyes and nostrils. One foreleg obliquely upward, other horizontal, pointing at neck of mouflon. Hind legs in walking position. Tail either missing (lack of space) or faintly indicated by line between hind legs. Muscles not emphasized.

Mouflon.—Male, between two lions, in right profile, regardant. Large curled horns in front view; two ears. Forelegs in running position; hind legs in walking position. Short tail. Prominent muscles outlined.

Period.—Achaemenian.

PT5 351 (Pl. 15). Purplish red-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Harem, service quarters, Room 4, floor, Plot HF 43.

Pattern.—Winged lion-stag, winged man-bull(?), bird, star, crescent.

Lion-stag.—Standing, in right profile. Comb-shaped crescent marks antlers. Lion's head with open jaws; mane marked. Body and long legs cervine rather than feline; odd offset hoofs or claws. Steeply upcurved wing, feathers marked by fluting in same manner as mane. Two steeply upcurved club-shaped tails.

Man-bull(?).—Standing, in left profile, but forelegs slightly raised. Human head, bareheaded, apparently bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Bull(?) body. Hoofs offset in manner similar to those of lion-stag. Right foreleg almost touches bird's leg. Steeply upcurved wing, feathers marked in same manner as those of lion-stag. Steeply upcurved tail, broad tip curling back toward body.

Bird.—Standing, in right profile, between lion-stag and man-bull(?) at slightly higher level, facing man-bull(?). Feathers marked on long neck. One wing. One leg but two claws.

Star and crescent.—Eight-pointed star between hind parts of lion-stag and man-bull(?). Crescent above star and tails of monsters.

Period.—Achaemenian probably, but see p. 42, n. 134.

PT5 413 (Pl. 15). Dark red-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38.

Pattern.—Hero holding two winged monsters, tree symbol.

Man.—Standing, in left profile, upper body in front view. Bearded; drill used for hair bunched at back of neck. Bareheaded (fillet?); upper body perhaps bare or covered with tight jacket, skirtlike belted garment tucked up leaving lower right leg bare; vertical folds and pattern of horizontal dashes on skirt. Arms raised and slightly bent at either side, each hand holding foreleg of monster.

Monsters.—Identical, antithetic, erect, in profile at either side of man. Head identical with that of man; drill used for hair at back of neck. Lion's body with upcurved wing, feathers marked. Claws marked on all legs. One foreleg obliquely upward and held by man, other foreleg obliquely downward. One hind leg slightly raised, claws pointing toward legs of man. Tail curves down between legs.

Tree symbol.—Between monsters. Small symbol suggesting cypress, circular base (drilled) on top of line.

Period.—Achaemenian probably, but see p. 42, n. 134.

PT7 33 (Pl. 15). Gray and red-brown baked clay.

Find-spot.—Apadana, SE. tower, Passage 9.

Pattern.—Lion striking ibex, miscellaneous elements.

Lion.—Erect, in left profile. Drill circles on head. Two ears; open jaws; mane marked. Fur on body marked by short dashes. Right forepaw striking rump of ibex in front, other forepaw raised, ready to strike; claws indicated. Hind legs in walking position. Tail curls up and back toward body.

Ibex.—Running but apparently breaking down under lion's attack; in left profile, head (with drill circles) in right profile turned back toward lion. Long exaggerated horn, knobs suggested by dentate outline; two ears; mane indicated. Double outline at belly. Hair marked on rump. Short angular tail, tip horizontal.

Miscellaneous elements.—Above lion: angle with central dot and two horizontal dashes. Above ibex: crescent with dot in center and second dot above it, small cross below crescent. In front of ibex: two oblique dashes. Dots on angle and crescent made by drill.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT3 111 (Pl. 15). Red-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Eastern fortification, surface layer above moat, Plot HG 78, NE. corner.

Pattern.—Winged monster chasing ibex, miscellaneous elements.

Monster.—Half erect, in left profile. Roughly carved human head, bushy hair, face marked by two slanting dashes. Body of bull or lion. Wing rising obliquely from shoulder, feathers marked, tip upcurled. One foreleg almost straight up as though to strike ibex in front; other foreleg aligned with raised one, slanting down and back. Hind legs in running or jumping position. Tail straight back, tip upcurled.

Ibex.—Half erect, in left profile, to left of monster, head turned back toward latter. One horn marked; large circular (drilled) eye; mouth open; mane marked. One foreleg obliquely upward, other foreleg slanting down and back; hind legs in jumping or running position. Short tail, almost horizontal.

Miscellaneous elements.—Pair of dashes between lowered foreleg of monster and hind part of ibex; angle below tail of monster.

Period.—Achaemenian probably, but see p. 42, n. 134.

PT4 527 (Pl. 16). Brown stone.

Find-spot.—W. of Throne Hall, Plot GE 89.

Pattern.—Lion attacking stag, tree.

Lion.—In right profile, rampant, regardant. Two ears; jaws apparently open. One foreleg obliquely upward, paw striking at stag's muzzle; other foreleg obliquely downward, paw touching stag's hind leg. One hind leg on ground; other straight forward, paw apparently touching hind leg of stag. Tail curls up and back toward body.

Stag.—Running, in right profile, regardant. One long comb-shaped antler, other short (for lack of space) or perhaps continued to left of treetop in front. One ear; pointed muzzle; long neck; short tail.

Tree.—To right (in front) of stag. Stylized branches obliquely at either side of trunk, which seems to end in knob.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT4 191 (Pl. 16). Baked clay, yellowish-brown paste, dark red-brown slip.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 22, Plot HG 72.

Pattern.—Lion attacking ibex (or antelope), tree (or bird), circles.

Lion.—In left profile, rampant, regardant. Open jaws; serrate mane. Forelegs raised obliquely; claws marked. Rest mutilated except for parts of hind legs.

Ibex (or antelope).—Almost exactly paralleling lion as to posture of head and body. Long curved horn with upcurved tip (antelope?). Mouth open; mane marked by short dashes. Forelegs flexed in front of chest; hind legs mutilated. Short tail, slightly raised.

Tree (or bird).—Elliptical, almost vertical strip in front of ibex(?) shows oblique hatching (on plaster impression). Possibly a bird with tail feathers indicated by fanlike dashes below chest of ibex(?).

Circles.—Several drilled circles near ground level below forelegs of lion.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT6 51 (Pl. 16). Red-brown stone with gray scorched stains.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Plot HG 10.

Pattern.—Lion attacking stag, tree.

Lion.—In left profile, rampant, regardant. Open jaws; mane marked by line; eye and paws marked by drill circles. Forelegs raised, ready to strike stag; one hind leg also slightly raised. Tail curves downward between hind legs.

Stag.—To left (in front) of lion, running, in left profile, regardant. Long oblique antlers in front view; eye marked by drill circle; mane marked by line. Short tail. Prominent muscles outlined in same manner as those of lion.

Tree (cypress?).—In front (to left) of ibex (or behind lion). Raised above ground level. Trunk rises from short base line; branches indicated by oblique parallel lines.

Period.—Achaemenian probably.

PT4 908 (Pl. 16). Gray and black chalcedony.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 33, at center of N. wall, floor.

Pattern.—Two winged genii (fragmentary): Identical, as far as preserved, in profile, facing opposite directions,^{143a} chests in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Conical headdress; long robe, open in front leaving one leg exposed (genie to right). Two wings from shoulder, one obliquely upward, other obliquely downward, feathers marked by parallel dashes. One arm obliquely downward and forward, hand holding pail-like object (genie to right); other arm flexed in front of chest.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian (see p. 42, n. 135).

PT5 791 (Pl. 16). Baked clay, light red paste, brown slip.

Find-spot.—"Garrison Street," Plot HG 12.

Pattern.—Deity seated at altar, lion striking animal.

Deity.—In left profile, facing altar. Serrate headdress or hairdress; long gown with ornamented front (drill marks). One arm flexed in front of chest (hand missing); other arm obliquely downward, hand holding vessel(?). Seated on chair with low back, four rungs parallel to seat, two oblique rungs; drill marks.

Altar.—Irregular pyramidal base of three horizontal lines with drill circles; shaft of two vertical lines; inverted pyramidal top of three horizontal lines. Offering is problematical object marked by three irregular semicircles with central dot (drilled); outer semicircle is serrate.

Lion.—To left of altar, in left profile, rampant, back turned toward altar. Lower part and most of head mutilated. Mane marked. One paw raised; other obliquely downward. Upcurled tail almost touches altar.

Struck animal.—To left of lion, in profile. Head perhaps marked by two lines ending in two drilled circles. Mane apparently indicated by row of dashes. Forelegs may be marked by two vertical lines, one running upward, other downward from assumed head end; one hind leg seems to be oblique line touching downward foreleg.

Period.—Late Assyrian.

PT4 484 (Pl. 16). Red-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, E. end of Room 32, refuse.

Pattern.—Person, winged ibex, panel with symbols, miscellaneous elements.

Person.—Standing, head in right profile, marked by drilled circle, facing ibex. Hair or headdress marked by dashes and body by vertical line or two lines connected by pairs of cross-dashes. Right arm raised behind head, hand holding mace or the like; left hand holding one foreleg of ibex. Legs highly stylized.

Ibex.—To right of person, erect, in left profile, regardant. Horn marked; serrate mane. Short wing straight backward, lower edge serrate. One foreleg (held by person) almost straight upward; other foreleg continues in same orientation downward. Hind legs in walking position. Hoofs marked by paired dashes. Short tail.

Panel.—To left of person, paired outline, three sections. In uppermost section, zigzag line at either side of central rod with circular top suggests thunderbolt symbol; drill circle at either side of symbol. Other two sections filled with crossing lines and drill circles. Lower section chipped.

Miscellaneous elements.—To right of ibex. Eight-pointed star; above it, pair of oblique dashes; topmost, symbol suggesting sun above crescent.

Period.—Late Assyrian.

PT5 415 (Pl. 16). Greenish-white chalcedony.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HF 29.

Pattern.—Hero in combat with winged monster, miscellaneous elements.

Hero.—Standing, in right profile, facing monster, chest in front view (face and left arm chipped off). Bearded(?), long hair falling on

140a. In complete design facing each other, presumably at opposite sides of unknown central object (probably a tree).

shoulder. Convex conoid helmet or the like; long garment partly tucked above left knee, leaving leg bare; two oblique lines across chest. Right arm raised, hand holding mace with globular head. Sword with dot at either side of tip extends obliquely downward behind back. Drill holes mark joints, hand, curls of hair and beard(?), mace, knob on helmet(?), etc.

Monster.—Rearing, in left profile, facing hero (head chipped off). Body and tail of bull(?), forelegs ill defined. Wings and talons of bird. Almost vertical portion of wing marked on side of chest, main part with straight upper edge slanting up and back. Tail drooping in reversed sigmoid curve. Drilled circles mark end of tail, angle of wing, and nostrils.

Miscellaneous elements.—Plant below anterior part of monster, five stalks ending in drilled circles; cluster of such circles may mark fruit or flower. Crescent between plant and left knee of hero. Two "rays" of star(?) at fracture above neck of monster. Ground line marked.

Period.—Assyrian, 9th–8th centuries B.C.

PT6 1 (Pl. 16). Black steatite.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 41, Plot HG 70 or HF 69, loose dirt.

Pattern.—Seated person and standing attendant at opposite sides of table with fish, vessel on stand, miscellaneous elements.

Seated person.—God or king(?), seated in right profile on chair with curved back and two rungs, fringe (of seat cover?) marked below seat. Probably bearded, long hair falling on shoulder. Bareheaded; elaborate coat marked with paired lines, fringe at lower edge; skirt, with fringe at lower edge, reaching to ankles. Left arm straight forward, palm apparently upward, thumb and two fingers marked; right arm obliquely upward, hand holding saucer-shaped vessel in front of mouth.

Attendant.—Priest(?), standing, in left profile, facing seated person. Bearded, hair groomed in waves, falling on shoulder. Bareheaded; long robe with fringe at lower edge, pair of curved lines at side; broad sash(?). Left arm flexed in front of chest, hand holding object with four prongs, probably fan or fly-whisk; right hand in front of waist, holding towel, or the like, marked by two vertical lines.

Table.—Between seated person and attendant. Raised above ground by means of platform, suggesting sacred purpose. Slightly concave top, sides marked by double lines, curved animal (bovine?) legs, one rung, thick molded central support. One large fish, eye and fins marked, above table, head pointing toward seated person.

Vessel.—Behind attendant. Large oval body, three ridges on tall cylindrical neck. Stand with curved top (presumably ring-shaped) and sides, one rung.

Miscellaneous elements.—Eight-pointed star in front of seated person's face, above fish. Crescent behind seated person's head. Two wedges above fish, one wedge below crescent. Three stipples below crescent. Border filled with oblique strokes above and below design.

Period.—Assyrian, 9th–8th centuries B.C.

PT5 238 (Pl. 16). Grayish-green steatite.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Plot HF 49, loose dirt from Hall 38 or Room 39.

Pattern.—Ritual scene: seated deity, standing deity, worshiper, miscellaneous elements.

Seated deity.—In right profile. Fluted headdress in form of barret (top mutilated); flounced garment. Right arm forward, slightly bent, hand holding cuplike object in front of chest. Seated on stool, apparently covered with flounced blanket, bottom rung shown.

Standing deity.—Behind seated deity, in right profile. Headdress uncertain; flounced garment. Both hands raised.

Worshiper.—Standing, in left profile, facing seated deity, shoulders in front view. Fluted barret; almost plain garment with fringed lower edge; belt. Arms bent in front of chest.

Miscellaneous elements.—Between worshiper and seated deity: problematical objects below crescent (or double lion mace?). Behind standing deity: cuneiform sign for "god" (Sumerian DINGIR) above two indeterminate signs or symbols. Ground line indicated.

Period.—Old Babylonian.

PT6 268 (Pl. 16). Dark brown hematite with reddish stains.

Find-spot.—Outside NE. corner of Treasury, Plot HG 02.

Pattern.—Presentation scene: two standing persons, seated deity(?), miscellaneous elements.

Standing person to left.—Worshiper, chest in front view, rest appar-

ently in right profile. Details vague. Conoid(?) headdress; long flounced garment.

Standing person to right.—Interceding deity, chest in front view, rest perhaps in right profile. Flounced garment. One arm seems to hang down beside body.

Seated deity(?).—Two bent arms and traces of head to right of other persons suggest seated deity in left profile.

Miscellaneous elements.—Behind standing person to left or behind seated deity(?), vertical rod tapering upward above problematical object. Another rod seems to be between standing persons.

Period.—Old Babylonian.

PT4 1096 (Pl. 16). Cream-colored bone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, .40 above floor, Plot HG 22.

Pattern.—Two running ibexes: Almost identical, but ibex to left slightly larger, both in profile, head in outline only. Long beard; long

curved horn; large ear. Legs flexed in running position.

Period.—Jamdat Nasr probably.

PT7 204 (Pl. 16). Grayish-green serpentine.

Find-spot.—Harem, west wing, Room 2, Plot IE 59, W. part.

Pattern.—File of three bovines or cervines and problematical animal(?), miscellaneous elements.

Bovines or cervines.—Almost identical, male, walking, in left profile. Horns indistinct.

Problematical animal(?).—In front (to left) of foremost bovine(?); irregular roughly quadrangular object, perhaps animal in left profile, standing on hind legs, forelegs partly raised.

Miscellaneous elements.—Indistinct element above each bovine(?). From left to right: perhaps bird, fish, small animal with fur marked by serrate back line.

Period.—Jamdat Nasr probably.

STAMP SEALS AND SIGNET RINGS

FIND-CONDITIONS, TECHNICAL DATA

Our records of five excavation seasons list only twenty-two stamp seals and nine signet rings, in addition to some fragments and totally abraded specimens. Most of these objects, namely fifteen stamp seals and six rings, occurred in the debris of the Treasury. However, the two most valuable specimens, a gold ring (PT3 60; Pl. 18) and a scaraboid set in gold (PT7 67; Pl. 17) occurred in other parts of the Persepolis Terrace. The former had been hidden in a baked clay canteen (Pl. 72:12) in the garrison quarters, and the latter was lost, during the pillage presumably, in a passage south of the Apadana. The distribution of the stamp seals and signet rings, whether inside the Treasury or in other parts of the site, gives us no more information than that of the cylinder seals (see p. 42). Most of the seals had probably been lost by their owners; but one stamp seal (PT4 519; Pl. 17) may have been part of a votive deposit. It lay in the depression prepared for the door socket at the doorway connecting Room 22 with Portico 20 of Treasury Court 17, together with a sixteen-petaled gold rosette, a trapezoid and three buttons of the same material, and two eye stones of onyx. Of course these small objects could have become associated accidentally in any depression of the rifled Treasury; but if they actually were deposited at this spot when the doorway was made, then our seal must belong to the time of Darius I, during whose reign this part of the Treasury was built.¹⁴¹

The signet rings of bronze are almost identical in shape—one which may prove to be rather typical for rings of the Achaemenid period. The elliptical (rounded or pointed) sealing bezel forms one piece with the hoop—a three-quarter circle of wire—of the stirrup-shaped ring. Only the gold ring mentioned above (PT3 60) was made in two parts. The elliptical, almost circular, signet disk was welded to the flattened ring wire.¹⁴²

There are various forms of stamp seals, but the cone, usually truncated, prevails. Irregular pyramidal specimens also are common. Next follow scaraboids and disks. One neatly carved effigy seal with Neo-Babylonian pattern (PT5 1; Pl. 17) has the form of a bovine. Another Neo-Babylonian seal (PT5 212; Pl. 17) was valued enough by

its owner to be attached to a bronze wire for suspension after it had lost its upper, presumably perforated, part.

The materials used for the stamp seals include lapis lazuli (1), chalcedony (3), onyx (2), serpentine (1), steatite (1), gypsum (1), limestone (4), nondescript stones (5), baked clay (4).

PATTERNS AND CHRONOLOGY

In comparing the designs of the actual cylinder seals with those of the cylinder seal impressions on Treasury tablets and labels, we emphasized the rareness of typically Persian features on the seals themselves as compared with the predominance of characteristic Persian designs in the impressions on tablets and labels. A comparison of the patterns of stamp seals and signet rings with the impressions of the same devices on clay labels from the Treasury (Pls. 12–14) shows another interesting discrepancy, namely the lack of Greek and the rareness of Grecized designs on stamp seals and signet rings as compared with the relative frequency of such designs in the impressions of the same types of sealing devices.

We have to emphasize here again, as we did when dealing with the cylinder seals, that the majority of the stamp seals and signet rings lost by their owners in various parts of the Persepolis Terrace belonged to a less privileged and poorer class of people than the seals of officials which we find impressed on labels of the royal storehouse. The Greek seals of the latter group were either seals of Greeks in Persian employ (see p. 15) or booty of war or costly gems imported from the distant West. The absence of seals with Greek patterns comparable with those impressed on Treasury labels makes it improbable that Greek seal-cutters pursued their art at Persepolis, notwithstanding the fact that Greek sculptors worked at the monumental reliefs.

The patterns of signet rings and those of stamp seals are so closely related that we can combine them in one group. Their sealing areas are about equal. The sealing faces of some stamp seals are even identical in shape with the elliptical ring bezels, whereas other stamp seals leave circular, roughly rectangular, or trapezoid impressions.

There are two Grecized patterns. One represents a nude dancer, probably female, three times repeated on two opposite sides and the base of a crude, roughly pyramidal amulet or seal of baked clay (PT3 68; Pl. 17). The design must have been impressed into the soft clay before baking. The narrow, elliptical outline of the uppermost of the three patterns in our illustration suggests the impression of a signet ring. After baking, the object could be used as a

141. See Vol. I 173.

142. But for their ribbed hoops, two gold rings of the Oxus Treasure (O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work* [2d ed.; London, 1926] Nos. 108–9, p. 29 and Pl. XVI) are close in shape to our specimen, whose design—a stag—is also the subject of a third ring pattern (*ibid.* No. 107). A fourth gold ring (*ibid.* No. 106), whose bezel form is considered early by Dalton, closely resembles the shape of our bronze specimens.

seal or worn as an amulet. Considering the fact that Achaemenid-Persian sculpture does not represent the nude human body, and—at least at Persepolis—never pictures a woman,¹⁴³ the portrait of a nude dancing girl (or boy?) must have appeared rather bawdy to Persian eyes. Our amulet, or seal, was found in the soldiers' quarters!

The second Grecized pattern is that of a signet ring (PT5 808; Pl. 18). The graceful bodies of an animal mother and its suckling young remind us of the Grecized design of sealing No. 70 (Pl. 14), picturing a charging or gamboling bullock.

There are five stamp seals of Neo-Babylonian type (Pl. 17, PT5 1, PT4 554a, PT5 501, PT5 212, and PT6 453). It is a known fact that seals of this type persisted during the Achaemenian period,¹⁴⁴ and our Treasury labels also show impressions of Neo-Babylonian seals (Pl. 13:61–62). It is possible, therefore, that the stamp seals under consideration were made during the Achaemenian era. On the other hand, cylinder seals much older than the Neo-Babylonian period have been found at Persepolis (see pp. 42–43). Our stamp seals of Neo-Babylonian type show extensive use of the drill. Two almost identical designs (PT5 212 and PT6 453) merely represent symbols: two crescents, the Pleiades (seven dots), and a cross with one dot.^{144a} A priest(?), perhaps in front of an altar (missing), is shown on a seal fragment (PT5 501). Ishtar encircled by a halo of rays forms the pattern of a lapis lazuli scaraboid (PT4 554a). The design of effigy seal PT5 1 pictures a bearded hero with domed headdress and long non-Persian gown. He strangles a rampant gazelle with his left arm, intending, presumably, to kill it with the dagger held in his right hand.

We consider the remaining seal patterns Achaemenian, although it must be admitted that the main criterion for attributing some seals to this period is the fact that they were found at Persepolis. The crudeness of some specimens excludes at least their value as objects of trade or articles of vertu. We are referring to such seals as the last three specimens of Plate 19, which are marked with simple scratchings, perhaps of magical meaning. Some of the animal patterns shown on Plate 18 are almost equally crude: a beast of burden? (PT4 167), two superposed problematical animals (PT5 495), and, on a bifacial seal (PT6 439), a lion's head and a winged cervine.

On the other hand, there are some seals with characteristic Achaemenid features: the gold-framed scaraboid (PT7 67; Pl. 17) shows a typically Persian sphinx¹⁴⁵ with dentate tiara. Seal PT4 519¹⁴⁶ pictures on one side a rather clearly drawn Mede holding two inverted stags, whereas the opposite side is filled with an animal pattern: an eagle attacking a cow with a calf.

143. For exceptions in peripheral parts of the empire see the representation of women in the relief of Erghili (Ernst Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien: Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit* [Berlin, 1920] Pl. XII); also Dalton, *op. cit.* for several objects representing women and nude persons. See also Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXXVII e; the design, showing women, closely resembles the pattern of a gold pendant—a seated deity or queen with female attendant—excavated by F. F. C. Lehmann-Haupt at Toprak Kale of Van and illustrated in his *Armenien einst und jetzt* II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926) 265. Lehmann-Haupt mentions the frequent representation of women in Haldian art, a feature which may well have survived in this area into the Achaemenid period.

144. See Ménant, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* II 130 ff., and Frankfort, *op. cit.* p. 220.

144a. Cf. similar element on Neo-Babylonian stamp seals published by Porada in *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals* I, Nos. 810–11, pp. 99 f. and Pl. CXXI.

145. Cf. sphinxes on façades of Persepolis stairways (Vol. I, e.g. Pl. 127).

146. Perhaps of the time of Darius I; see p. 46.

Schematized monsters, beasts, and birds of heraldic appearance are shown on a number of seals—on Plate 17: the above-mentioned sphinx (PT7 67) and a monster or bird with upcurled wing (ring PT5 283); on Plate 18: animal and sun symbol (PT4 263), animal and crescent (PT4 236), antelope and rod-shaped symbol (PT3 218), ibex with upcurled wing and bird (PT3 268), stag (gold ring PT3 60), lion, altar(?), and bird (PT4 1087), lion, crescent, and sun symbol (PT7 368); on Plate 19: hawk(?), sun symbol, fox(?), and tree? (PT4 321), bird (ring PT4 269), peacock? (PT4 414).

The patterns of signet rings PT6 364, PT6 338, and PT5 86 (Pl. 19) are vague; but the form of these rings, as mentioned above, may prove to be characteristic for the Achaemenian period. If so, the ring form rather than the blurred pattern of PT5 734 (Pl. 18), apparently showing a gazelle struck by a lion, and of PT6 231 (Pl. 17), perhaps picturing a warrior with a shield, attributes these seals to Achaemenian glyptique.

CATALOGUE

Signet ring PT6 231 (Pl. 17). Elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 53, at N. wall, near NE. corner, .40 above floor.

Pattern.—Blurred; perhaps warrior with shield. Apparently standing man, in right profile. Conoid headdress. Thick oblique line extending from shoulder to right edge of impression may represent shield.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Theriomorphic stamp seal PT5 1 (Pl. 17). Couchant bovine; groove at either side and rear above base; central perforation through short axis; slightly convex base. White, gray, and black banded onyx.

Find-spot.—Treasury, doorway between Rooms 37 and 40, floor.

Pattern.—Hero strangling gazelle.

Hero.—Standing, in right profile, facing gazelle, chest in front view. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dome-shaped headdress; long gown from shoulder to ankle of right foot but tucked up to knee of left leg. Right arm straight down and back, hand holding dagger; left arm flexed tightly around neck of gazelle. There may be a symbol (star?) behind neck of hero, above fractured spot.

Gazelle.—Rampant, regardant. Two straight horns and perhaps one ear indicated. Forelegs not shown; hind legs in walking position. Short tail.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian (Achaemenian?).

Stamp seal or amulet PT3 68 (Pl. 17). Roughly pyramidal; pierced near top. Baked clay, black surface. Identical signet ring(?) impressions on two narrow opposite sides and base.

Find-spot.—Garrison quarters, Room 16, near S. doorway.

Pattern.—Grecized. Nude dancer, in right profile, chest in front view. Head blurred, hair perhaps bunched at back of neck. Arms raised at either side, each hand holding some object, perhaps piece of fabric. Right leg bent; left leg raised and flexed.

Period.—Achaemenian.

Signet ring PT5 283 (Pl. 17). Elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated.

Find-spot.—Secondary structure in "Harem Street," southern room, near center of S. wall, Plot HF 35.

Pattern.—Bird or winged monster. Standing, in left profile. Head indistinct. Long wing, tip curled forward. Individual feathers marked on wing and oblong body. Claws indicated by dashes.

Period.—Achaemenian.

Scaraboid stamp seal PT7 67 (Pl. 17). Elliptical base and domed back. Light gray, translucent chalcedony; set in yellow-gold frame with suspension loop.

Find-spot.—Passage 14 (S. of SE. tower of Apadana), floor at S. wall, Plot HE 35.

Pattern.—Sphinx, miscellaneous elements.

Sphinx.—Sejant, in right profile. Man's head. Bearded, hair bunched at back of neck. Dentate tiara. Body probably that of lion.

Wing with serrate lower edge and slightly curved tip rises obliquely from shoulder. One foreleg marked by vertical dash; other foreleg, raised obliquely forward and up, ends in three digits. Slanting hind leg probably meant to be horizontal. Upcurled tail.

Miscellaneous elements.—Crescent above and between tiara and wing tip. Trilobed blossom in front of vertical foreleg.

Period.—Achaemenian.

Stamp seal PT4 519 (Pl. 17). Disk; lateral perforation. Polished, black limestone. Patterns on both slightly convex faces.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 22, in floor depression for socket at SW. corner of doorway, Plot HG 71.

Pattern a.—Mede holding two stags.

Mede.—Standing, in left profile, chest and arms in front view. Bearded(?), hair bunched at back of neck. Domed Median headdress; long belted coat; trousers. Arms raised above shoulder height, hands grasping hind leg of stag at either side. One leg set back.

Stags.—Identical, inverted, suspended from hands of Mede. Small dashes beside curved horns mark them as antlers of stag (rather than horns of antelope). One foreleg and one hind leg marked. Short tail.

Pattern b.—Eagle, cow, calf.

Eagle.—In flight, wings spread and filling upper segment of circular surface, feathers marked; head and curved neck in left profile, long beak striking neck of cow.

Cow.—Running, in left profile. Head with double outline; one end of horns upcurled, other end straight forward (unfinished for lack of space?). Pairs of legs marked by oblique parallel lines. Long tail raised above rump undulates downward. Problematical open triangle in front parallel to chin line and forelegs.

Calf.—Perhaps meant to be suckling though shown in running position but in right profile. Head blurred, but at cow's udder. Forelegs marked by two oblique parallel lines; hind legs blurred. Tail perhaps indicated above rump.

Period.—Achaemenian (Darius I[?]; see p. 46).

Scaraboid stamp seal PT4 554a (Pl. 17). Rounded oblong, slightly beveled sides, domed back; pierced lengthwise. Bluish-gray lapis lazuli.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 33, at center of W. wall, 1.50 above floor.

Pattern.—Ishtar with halo. Standing, in left profile. Head and headdress shown by one solid circle; smaller circle (representing star) above vertex. Nose indicated; hair bunched at back of neck marked by circle. Circles also mark chin, shoulders, and heels. Long garment from shoulders to ankles. One arm (indicated by plain line) raised obliquely in front; other arm protrudes from chest and ends in circle (presumably representing ring held by hand). Halo of rays ending in solid circles (representing stars) fans out from large ring, parts of which are visible in front and behind figure. Drill used for head and all small solid circles.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian (Achaemenian?).

Stamp seal PT5 501 (Pl. 17). Half missing; elliptical, biconvex; pierced lengthwise. White, brown, and black banded onyx.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, loose dirt, Plot HF 39.

Pattern.—Priest(?). Highly conventionalized, standing, apparently in right profile. Large solid circle may represent head; smaller circles below, staggered in size. Long gown extends to ankles. One arm raised obliquely. Problematical object to right is destroyed. Rays of star perhaps in front of head. Circles made with drill.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian (Achaemenian?).

Stamp seal PT5 212 (Pl. 17). Elliptical base; three grooves at side, fragment of bronze wire in central groove; top broken. Bluish-white chalcedony.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, 1.60 above floor, Plot HG 11, near SW. corner.

Pattern.—Miscellaneous symbols (see almost identical design of PT6 453). Pleiades (seven solid circles); cross-shaped symbol with solid circle near top; two crescents. Circles made with drill.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian (Achaemenian?).

Stamp seal PT6 453 (Pl. 17). Conoid; pierced near apex. White translucent chalcedony.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 81, at center of S. wall, floor.

Pattern.—Miscellaneous symbols (see almost identical design of PT5 212). Pleiades (seven solid circles); cross-shaped symbol with solid

circle near top; two crescents, upper with double outline. Circles made with drill.

Period.—Neo-Babylonian (Achaemenian?).

Stamp seal PT4 263 (Pl. 18). Truncated cone; slightly convex base; lateral perforation. Baked clay, brown surface.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 33, SW. part, Plot HG 51.

Pattern.—Animal, sun symbol.

Animal.—Walking, in left profile. Horns (or horn and ear) indistinct. Drill circles mark eye, muzzle, and jaw, also joints of legs. One foreleg raised to horizontal position; other foreleg and one hind leg vertical; one hind leg set back obliquely. Tail undulates horizontally.

Sun symbol.—Above rump of animal. Solid central circle inclosed by eight stipples, all made by drill.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 236 (Pl. 18). Fragmentary; truncated, slightly concave cone; lateral perforation. Baked clay, red-brown and black surface.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Plot HG 83, loose dirt.

Pattern.—Animal, crescent.

Animal.—Only upper part preserved. Body in right profile; head reversed. Jaws appear to be open (lion?). Eye, muzzle, and upper jaw marked by drill holes. Two problematical dashes above head.

Crescent.—Above rump and in front of muzzle of animal, slanting, angular.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT3 218 (Pl. 18). Conical (apex missing), slightly convex base; lateral perforation. Yellowish-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Eastern fortification, Courtyard 20, at W. side of tower wall, Plot HG 97, W. of center.

Pattern.—Antelope, symbol.

Antelope.—Running, body in left profile, head reversed. Two undulating horns ending in drill circles; three more drill circles along forward horn. Eye, muzzle, and jaw also marked by drill circles. One ear shown. Dashes mark hair on neck and side of body. Belly line serrate. One foreleg thrown up; other foreleg and one hind leg in running position; second hind leg not shown. Short knobby tail.

Symbol.—Problematical line extending from rump of animal obliquely upward. Three drill circles, at ends and center.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT3 268 (Pl. 18). Irregular pyramid, top missing, rounded rectangular base; perforation at fracture. White translucent gypsum.

Find-spot.—Eastern fortification, tower debris, Plot HG 98, center E. side.

Pattern.—Winged ibex, bird.

Ibex.—Sejant(?), in right profile, head reversed. One long curved horn; one long ear marked by horizontal line from back of head. Wing with serrate lower edge curves back from shoulder, tip upcurled. One foreleg raised almost vertically; other foreleg obliquely down. Hind legs unclear, apparently in sitting position.

Bird.—Obliquely above wing tip of ibex; in flight. Spread wings and tail feathers marked by oblique dashes.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 167 (Pl. 18). Truncated cone, convex base; perforation near top. Baked clay, red-brown surface.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Courtyard 17, Plot HG 52, SW. part.

Pattern.—Indistinct; apparently animal. Walking, in left profile. Long ear extends forward. Irregular lines at either side of muzzle may be reins; oblique lines may represent legs. Row of oblique dashes on back may mark hair. Dome-shaped object with row of vertical stipples above paired horizontal lines seems to indicate load carried by animal.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Signet ring PT5 808 (Pl. 18). Pointed elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HF 38.

Pattern.—Grecized. Animal nursing young.

Animal.—Standing, in right profile. Undulating body and one hind leg indicated. From region of head gently curved line (horn?) extends parallel to back.

Young.—Apparently couchant, in left profile. Head steeply raised

toward udder of mother animal. One ear visible. One foreleg perhaps marked, pointing forward. Short tail lies on back.

Period.—Achaemenian.

Signet ring PT3 60 (Pl. 18). Elliptical bezel. Yellow gold.

Find-spot.—Garrison quarters, Room 16, at center of S. wall, inside baked-clay canteen PT3 59 (Pl. 72:12).

Pattern.—Stag. Walking, in right profile. Head slants down in continuation of sloping, serrate back line. One long undulating antler with two or three branches; one oblique ear. Ground line marked.

Period.—Achaemenian.

Signet ring PT5 734 (Pl. 18). Elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 38, 1.50 above floor, Plot HF 37, NW. part.

Pattern.—Lion(?) striking gazelle(?).

Lion(?).—Running, in left profile. One ear (or horn of monster?) points forward from vertex. One foreleg raised to strike; one hind leg flexed in running position. Raised tail curls forward.

Gazelle(?).—Broken down below and in front of lion(?), in left profile. Oval body, long neck marked by line, one ear and one slightly curved horn in front of lion's(?) head. Angular line behind animal may be hind leg.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT5 495 (Pl. 18). Irregular pyramid. Light brown limestone, crudely wrought.

Find-spot.—Courtyard N. of Apadana, loose dirt from area of Plot GE 20.

Pattern.—Two superposed animals (in combat?).

Upper animal.—Standing, in right profile, head lowered. Legs are vertical pairs of lines. Short horizontal tail.

Lower animal.—Apparently running, in left profile, but head probably reversed. Horizontal line extending from head toward left may be ear or horn. One foreleg thrown horizontally forward; one hind leg vertical. Tail slopes obliquely down.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 1087 (Pl. 18). Irregular truncated pyramid; lateral perforation. Reddish stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 36, loose dirt, Plot HG 32.

Patterns.—Lion on base, altar(?) on two opposite sides, eagle on top.

Lion.—Couchant, in left profile, head reversed. Two oblique ears; open jaws. Eye, nose, and jaws marked by drill circles. One foreleg and one hind leg flat on ground. Rump raised; obliquely lifted tail with tip curled forward.

Altar(?).—Two superposed triangles with paired outlines in trapezoid frame; vertical line in center of lower triangle.

Eagle.—In flight, wings and tail spread, feathers marked. Long neck and head point obliquely toward right lower corner of impression.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT7 368 (Pl. 18). Truncated cone; lateral perforation. Brown-red stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Vestibule 27, NE. corner, Plot HG 93.

Patterns.—Lion and crescent on base, sun symbol on top.

Lion.—Couchant, in left profile, head reversed. Mane marked by parallel dashes; eye, nose, and jaws marked by drill circles. Right foreleg raised to strike; left foreleg and two(?) closely flexed hind legs below body. Claws indicated at forelegs. Muscles at upper left foreleg and on rump encircled by lines and marked by crosshatching. Long tail loops forward and touches back.

Crescent.—Above lion.

Sun symbol.—Small solid circle with twelve rays (usual number of petals of Achaemenian rosettes).

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT6 439 (Pl. 18). Elliptical disk, beveled edge. Dark red stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 73, W. of doorway to Room 74, Plot IG 31.

Patterns.—Lion's head on smaller face, winged cervine on opposite face.

Lion's head.—In right profile. Large circular eye, neck with mane.

Cervine.—Standing, in right profile. Head indistinct; two horns, one

vertical, one slanting forward. Wing extends obliquely from shoulder backward. Legs slant pairwise forward and backward respectively.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 321 (Pl. 19). Truncated cone, convex base; pierced near top. Black and light brown limestone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Courtyard 29, floor, Plot IG 03, center.

Pattern.—Bird, sun symbol, canine, tree(?).

Bird.—Hawk(?) standing, in left profile, head reversed facing sun symbol. Curved beak; encircled eye disk. Feathers on body marked by crosshatching. Bent legs; claws indicated by horizontal strokes. Bifurcate tail.

Sun symbol.—Above back of bird. Centered circle with radiant dashes.

Canine.—Fox(?), in front of bird, running, in left profile. Jaws open; one long ear. Forelegs thrown forward; hind legs set back. Long tail. Fur marked by faint crosshatching.

Tree(?).—Line with short branches at either side curves from point near mouth of canine along edge of design to point near sun symbol.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Ring bezel PT4 269 (Pl. 19). Pointed elliptical. Bronze, patinated.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 8, Plot HG 83, center.

Pattern.—Bird. Walking or standing, in right profile. Straight beak. One leg set forward, other backward; claws marked by horizontal lines.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 414 (Pl. 19). Truncated cone; lateral perforation. Red-brown limestone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Courtyard 29, Plot IG 13, near center N. line.

Pattern.—Peacock (probably). In left profile. Straight beak; eye marked by drill circle; crest of plumules indicated by knobs above head. Wing feathers marked by crosshatching, separated from true tail feathers (group of horizontal lines) by two vertical dashes. Raised train coverts marked by two parallel lines rising from back of bird and curving backward. Legs are two oblique parallel lines pointing backward.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Signet ring PT6 364 (Pl. 19). Pointed elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Hall 62, Plot IF 09.

Pattern.—Problematical (stag with two-knobbed antler?).

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Signet ring PT6 338 (Pl. 19). Pointed elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 58, W. part, Plot HF 98.

Pattern.—Problematical (helmeted head?).

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Signet ring PT5 86 (Pl. 19). Pointed elliptical bezel. Bronze, patinated (chemically cleaned).

Find-spot.—Throne Hall, portico, W. part, floor, Plot GF 30, NE. part.

Pattern.—Problematical (boar?).

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT7 40 (Pl. 19). Rounded rectangular base; pierced through domed back. Greenish-gray serpentine.

Find-spot.—Apadana, S. portico, loose dirt, Plot HE 24.

Pattern.—Three diagonal lines, problematical scratches.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT5 113 (Pl. 19). Irregular pyramid; pierced near apex (broken). Grayish-green steatite.

Find-spot.—Harem, service quarters, Room 5, in N. doorway, Plot HF 34.

Pattern.—Scratched, resembling foot impression. Five "toes" separated by four lines; paired lines across center; "heel" marked by crudely drawn square.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.

Stamp seal PT4 1032 (Pl. 19). Irregular truncated pyramid; pierced near top. Red-brown stone.

Find-spot.—Treasury, Room 36, center, .50 above floor.

Pattern.—Carelessly scratched cross-shaped figure, each angle filled with one circlet.

Period.—Achaemenian presumably.