

Expressing Identity and Power Through Dress in Achaemenid Art at Persepolis During the Reign of Darius I



Conor Mead

Defense Date: 4/9/18

Thesis Advisor: Elspeth Dusingberre, Classics

Diane Conlin, Classics

Theodore Stark, Theater, and Dance

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Intro: An Overview of the Thesis	5
Chapter 2: Historical Overview: Persepolis In Context	7
Chapter 3: Dress Theory	22
Chapter 4: Dress at Persepolis: The Tomb of Darius	49
Chapter 5: Dress at Persepolis: The Apadana Staircase	69
Chapter 6: Dress at Persepolis: The Persepolis Fortification Seals	85
Chapter 7: Conclusion	111
Appendix 1: Throne Bearers on the Tomb of Darius	120
Appendix 2: Delegation Parties on the Apadana Staircase	150
Appendix 3: Darius on Monuments	170
Appendix 4: Persepolis Fortification Archive seal drawings	172

Acknowledgements

Through the process of writing this senior honors thesis I have been fortunate enough to receive generous support from many people. I must first profusely thank my thesis advisor, Professor Elspeth Dusinger, without whom I may have never found my passion for Classics and Archaeology. The remarkable kindness, generous guidance, and patience that she has given me throughout my undergraduate career at the University of Colorado Boulder, and in the process of writing this thesis, goes above and beyond the professorial call of duty. Second, I would like to acknowledge the wonderful time and support given by the two other members of my defense committee, Professors Diane Conlin and Theodore Stark. To Emily Wilson, I must offer special thanks for first introducing me to the Persepolis Fortification Archive and encouraging me to consider my own research topic within this most fascinating field.

In the spring of 2018, I had the great pleasure of attending the 14th annual University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminar, “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identity Through Attire in the Ancient World.” This marvelous lecture series organized by Aleksandra Hallmann was a learning opportunity of a lifetime. I am forever indebted to the many brilliant scholars who shared their work at this symposium. I would like to express my uttermost gratitude to Professor Matthew Stolper for allowing me to take history into my hands and witness part of the archive myself. To Annalisa Azzoni and Wouter Henkelman, I sing their praises for most generously sharing their time and expertise. I would like to acknowledge the tremendous kindness shown to me by Professor Margaret Miller of The University of Sydney. First, for sharing her riveting lecture on “Regional Dress in the Imperial Rhetoric of Achaemenid Persia” and second, for her delightful company in the Persepolis museum galleries. Funding for

this awe-inspiring learning experience was provided by the incredible financial support of The Sportula, a group that awards microgrants for Classics students such as myself.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Julie and David Mead. Their hard work, unwavering determination, and love of learning is contagious. They always have been, and continue to be, my greatest inspirations and supporters. Thank you, Mom and Dad.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Personal adornment is a powerful way to express identities, whether individual or cultural. This thesis uses the lens of Dress Theory to explore adornment in visual culture at the Persian capital city, Persepolis, during the time of Darius I, c. 520 to 494 BCE. Careful analysis of the sculpted reliefs on the tomb of Darius and the buildings of the Palace Terrace, as well as the seals preserved as impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Archive, reveal that dress does four jobs. Adornment demonstrates authority, geographical or notional proximity to authority (status), ethnicity and power. Interestingly, dress is utilized in diverse — even divergent — ways. The individual expressions seen in the visual culture of seals show that dress is employed differently there than on the official imperial expressions of the sculpted reliefs.

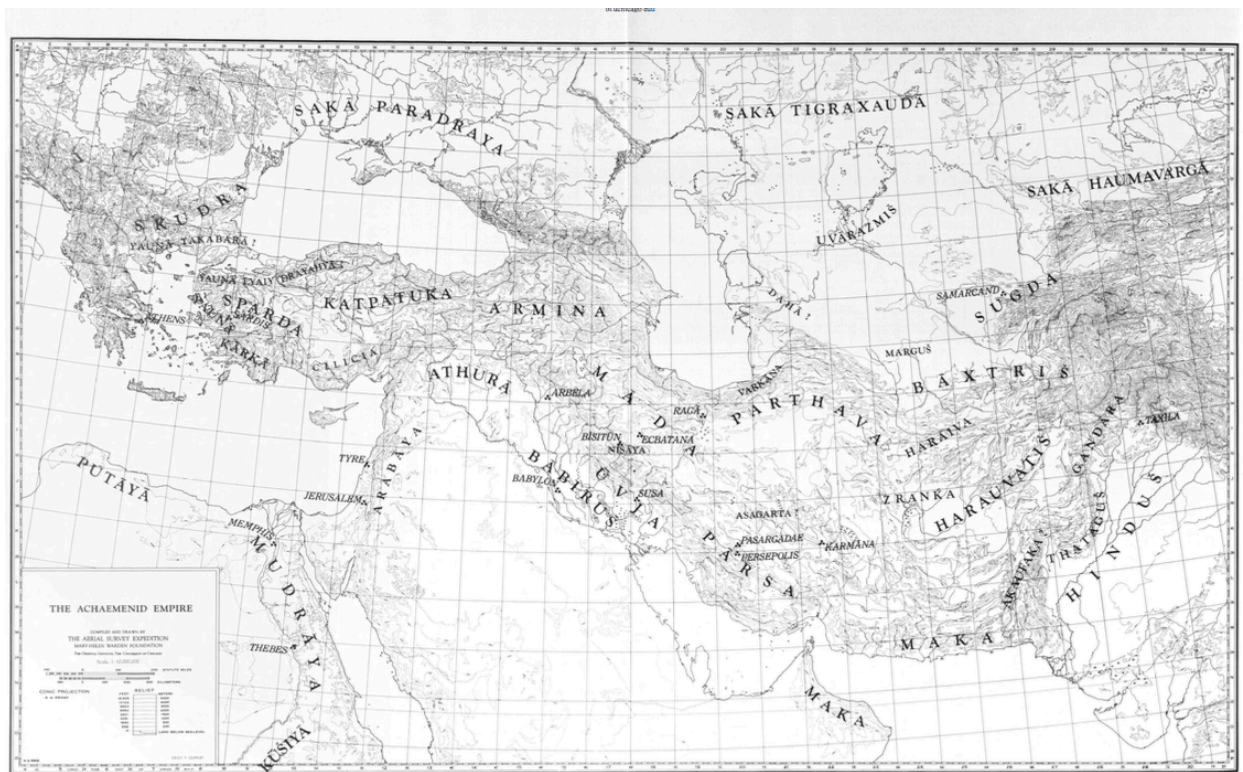


FIG. 53. MAP OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

Schmidt (1970), figure 53, p 118

To demonstrate the overarching uses of adornment at Persepolis, this thesis investigates the monuments of Darius, including the Fortification Archive. Chapter Two provides an overview of Achaemenid military and political history leading up to the reign of Darius I and the construction of Persepolis. Chapter Three supplies an introduction to Dress Theory and discusses its application to the concerns explored in this thesis. Chapter Four dives into the nitty gritty of official Achaemenid visual culture, investigating the sculptures of the Throne Bearers on the Tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam near Persepolis. In Chapter Five I analyze the adornment worn by the delegations representing the 23 subject peoples of the empire, shown in relief sculpture bringing gifts to the king on the staircases of the Apadana, or audience hall, at Persepolis. Chapter Six turns from the monumental to the minute, investigating the seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Archive, a collection of many thousands of government receipts written on clay tablets dating to the years around 500 BCE, and providing a few case studies of adornment analysis on the seals used to ratify the documents of the archive. Finally, Chapter Seven pulls together the conclusions presented in the chapters and highlights the insights provided by Dress Theory into visual culture and identity expression at Persepolis.

<i>Key</i>	
Ⓐ Northeast Sector of Fortification: Location of Fortification Archive	J Final Ceremonial Entrance to Gate of All Lands
B Upper Fortifications: Location of Jar with Anepigraphic Sealed Tablets (Tadjvidi 1970; 1976)	K Apadana ("Audience Hall")
C Section of Eastern (Lower) Fortification and Garrison	L Palace of Darius
D Treasury in Final Form: Location of the Treasury Archive	M Palace of Xerxes
E Garrison Street along East of Takht	N Central Building ("Council Hall")
F Service Access at Southeast	O Hall of One Hundred Columns ("Throne Hall")
G Service Access at Northeast	P Unfinished Gateway
H Service Access at Northwest	Q Indications of Fortifications in the Plain (Possibly a Series of Enclosures)
I Originally Planned Ceremonial Entrance	R Palatial Installations in the Plain

Figure 3. Persepolis Citadel (Takht) and Immediate Surroundings (adapted from Kleiss 1992)

Garrison and Root (2001), figure 3

Chapter 2

Historical Overview: Persepolis In Context

The Achaemenid empire was the earliest and largest Persian dynasty in the Near East. The Achaemenid rulers reigned for the better part of two hundred years from 550 – 330 BCE.¹ The empire gets its name from the dynastic founder 'Achaemenes,'² from whom all subsequent Achaemenid rulers claimed ancestral lineage. The Persian realm began small, existing first as a nation on the peripheries of other great powers like the Assyrian Empire.³ The heartland of Persian territory, particularly the city of Anshan, was once part of the Elamite kingdom. When the realm of Elam was crushed in conflict with Assyria in 646 BCE, a power vacuum was created in the region that allowed the Achaemenid family to claim power.⁴ Achaemenid rule expanded Persian influence across the Near East, spanning from Hellespont (in modern north Turkey) to north India, from Egypt to central Asia. The Achaemenid dynasty would come to establish unrivaled power in the realm.⁵ This small population flourished into the largest empire the world had seen, until it was ultimately defeated by Alexander the Great in his Persian conquests from 334 to 323 BCE.⁶

The analysis of adornment and its meanings presented in this senior honors thesis only concerns itself with the art produced by Darius I at the palace he founded, Persepolis. However, to understand the art found at the site, first we must make sense of the kingdom, culture, and

¹ Kuhrt (1995), p 647; see also Dusinberre (2013)

² Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.*

³ Root (1979), p 32

⁴ This theory is by Miroschedji 1985 and Carter 1994; found in Kuhrt (1995), p 653

⁵ Kuhrt (1995), p 647

⁶ Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.* Alexander's conquest of Persia is well established in historical sources. Callisthenes reported on Alexander the Great's Asiatic campaigns first hand.

rulers that preceded Persepolis. I will begin by exploring the rich pre-Achaemenid history that is the foundation for the emerging Persian Empire.

The Persians and the Medes

The Persian peoples were begotten of the Iranian population that gradually migrated from central Asia to Iran.⁷ It is argued that this migration had taken place by at least the end of the second millennium BCE.⁸ The Iranian people, categorized by their linguistic group, settled in various local communities. The Persians came to occupy what is now the Fars region. Of interest are the Persians' neighbors, the Medes of the Zagros Mountains. Written accounts left by the cultures who came in contact with the Medes and the rare archaeological evidence⁹ of the Median empire are commonly utilized by scholars of this region to gain insight into this culture that the Achaemenid empire assimilated when it rose to prominence under Cyrus (II) the Great.¹⁰ Examining the Median culture helps to establish Persian history before the Achaemenid floruit because the Medes played a more active role in Near Eastern culture than the Persians did before they conquered the region. Additionally, the Medes are analytically meaningful due to their geographic, ethnic, and linguistic similarities shared with the Persian people. It should be noted that the Medes were the first people conquered when the Achaemenids began their Persian conquests under Cyrus II.¹¹

The Medes and Persians both stem from the Iranian linguistic group that mass migrated to the region. This linguistic classification is the basis for identifying an overarching Iranian

⁷ Young (1998), p 93-99

⁸ Young (1976), p 11-34

⁹ Kuhrt (2007), p 19; *see also* Dusiaberre (2002)

¹⁰ Dusiaberre (2017), p 8; *see also* Kuhrt (1995) and Kuhrt (2007)

¹¹ Kuhrt (1995), p 656; *see also* Schmidt (1953) p 26

ethnic identity that is broken into smaller community identities.¹² Thus, they are ethnically related through their shared language group, as well as settling close geographically to one another. "To Parsuash (Persia) I descended. The city rulers of Namri, Sangibuti, Bit Abdadani and the land of the mighty Medes, heard the coming of my expedition."¹³ This excerpt written in the king's voice establishes the physical connection between neighbors by grouping legs of Sargon II's annual campaigns together based on accessibility of travel between close territories.

The Median people appear earlier and more often in Assyrian texts than their Persian neighbors, who do not appear in textual evidence before the seventh century.¹⁴ This is indicative of a stronger international presence by the Medes. Significantly, the Median and Persian populations are differentiated in Assyrian texts. "I placed my eunuch (as governor) over the land of Parsua and my eunuch (as governor) of the land of Hamban."¹⁵ This separation indicates that prior to Achaemenid rule the Medes and Persians were thought of as ethnically diverse. There is later evidence of a gradual Persian- Median identity confluence, regardless of the delineation found in Assyrian texts. As we shall see, by the end of the sixth century the two groups are rendered in art at Persepolis with similar elements to their adornment. "As to postures, gestures, paraphernalia, and types of weapons of the dignitaries, the Persian and the Median processions are almost alike."¹⁶

¹² Kuhrt (1995), p 652

¹³ From Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 BCE) in the eighth year of his reign (714 BCE); Accounts from the Assyrian king, Sargon II, in his annual military expeditions from 716- 713 BCE establishes that Persia and Media were neighboring one another. Translated by Mayer (1984); found in Kuhrt (2007), p 25

¹⁴ Kuhrt (1995) p. 652/3

¹⁵ From Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745- 727 BCE) in the second year of his reign (744 BCE) on a fragmentary Akkadian stela. Translated by Tadmor (1994), p 91; Hamban is another name for the ancient Median capital, Ecbatana.

¹⁶ Schmidt (1953), p 111

The Medes were a prominent power in pre-Persian Near Eastern history.¹⁷ The Medes had an arduous relationship with the larger Assyrian empire that their kingdom abutted.¹⁸ The Medes and Assyrians were in a near constant state of unrest in the seventh century BCE, including military conflicts over the border, disputes concerning tribute collections, and attempted peace negotiations.¹⁹ This thorny relationship was attested in contemporary documents: "The troops of the Medes, or the troops of the Mannaeans, or any other enemy strive and plan?"²⁰ The Medes wielded such power in the region that they later contributed significantly to the fall of Assyria, with Babylonian allies. This military upheaval is documented in a Babylonian Chronicle of war leading up to the fall of Nineveh from 616 - 609 BCE. "In Abu (July-August), the Medes [...] against Nineveh [...] hastened and captured Tarbisu, a city in the district of Nineveh... They inflicted a terrible defeat upon a great people."²¹

Before Achaemenid rule, the Medes thus played a larger role in the political atmosphere of the region than the Persians by means of military action.²² However, military conflict was not the only method of interaction with the international community for the Persian and Median peoples. There is evidence of Persian and Median artisans at other Near Eastern courts. "Medes and Persians are known to have worked as craftsmen at Nebuchadnezzar's court alongside others from Egypt, Elam, Ionia, Lydia, and Byblos."²³ Because of military actions and international practices the Persians and Medians had to have been exposed to the cultures of surrounding

¹⁷ Kuhrt (2007), p 19

¹⁸ Kuhrt (2007), p 20

¹⁹ Kuhrt (1995), p 654; *see also* Kuhrt (2007) and Root (1979)

²⁰ Excerpt from Akkadian tablet, 7th century, Nineveh; found in Kuhrt (2007), p 27

²¹ From the "Fall of Nineveh" Babylonian Chronicle; written in Akkadian in 614 BCE; Translated by Glassner (1993/ 2004); found in Kuhrt (2007), p 30

²² Based on more substantial chronicling in Assyrian and Babylonian sources on Median military efforts

²³ Root (1979), p 32

realms. This exposure in pre-Achaemenid Persian history is later reflected in the ethnic representations created by the imperial art program.

Cyrus II: The Founding Father

The Persian people did not gain prominence in the region until the conquests of Cyrus (II) the Great in 550 BCE. He ascended the throne, according to Herodotus, around 559 BCE.²⁴ And based on Babylonian sources Cyrus's death is dated to August 530 BCE.²⁵ Cyrus was the offspring of a Median princess, Mandane, and the Persian king Tishpish.²⁶ Cyrus the Great was responsible for massive economic, territorial, and population growth in the Persian empire because of his imperialist expansion program. "Cyrus' achievements can only be described as spectacular: in less than thirty years, he brought a vast territory under the control of a kingdom which, at the beginning of his reign, had been tiny."²⁷ For these accomplishments, Cyrus II is remembered by history as a celebrated ruler among his people. He could be described as a Persian Romulus and Remus. Much like the legendary founders of Rome, there was a swift creation of narratives about the founding ruler's life, remodeled as a hero's tale. "They are typical of the tales told about culture-heroes and founders of great empires."²⁸ The creation of such myths is indicative of the protagonist's significance in the culture that generates such heroic narratives.

²⁴ Kuhrt (1995), p 656; Kuhrt is dubious concerning the accuracy of Herodotus's dating of Cyrus II, but the confidence that Kuhrt observes in Herodotus around said dating suggests he accessed reliable information, potentially written?

²⁵ Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.*

²⁶ Root (1979), 34

²⁷ Kuhrt (1995), p 661

²⁸ Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.*

Cyrus the Great began his sweeping conquests with the Persian neighbor, the Medes. A Babylonian chronicle attests to Cyrus's 550 BCE defeat of Astyages of Media. "(Astyages) mustered (his army) and marched against Cyrus, King of Anshan, for conquest [...] The army rebelled against Astyages and he was taken prisoner. Th[ey handed him over?] to Cyrus. Cyrus marched to Ecbatana, the royal city."²⁹ With this military victory came control over the strategically located Ecbatana, which would later be used as the capital of the Median satrapy (province) in the Achaemenid empire. In addition to taking the city, the Persian victory also increased the new empire's supply of resources and manpower.³⁰

After the successful Median campaign the Lydian king Croesus challenged Cyrus's authority, provoking Cyrus's overwhelming military response.³¹ Cyrus pursued the Lydian army to their capital of Sardis. There he besieged the Lydians for two weeks before taking the city, and subsequently the "whole of western Anatolia" lay open to Cyrus.³² The precise date of the victory is unknown, but a Babylonian chronicle places Cyrus' Lydian campaign in 547/6 BCE.³³

Babylon was the final sizable territory to fall to Cyrus II. As formerly mentioned, the Babylonians allied with Medians to bring about the fall of the Assyrian empire. Some scholars consider this alliance a potential motive for Babylonian military action.³⁴ Whatever the case, there is no evidence for prior Babylonian-Persian conflict before the confrontations that ended the Babylonian empire.³⁵ Cyrus defeated King Nabonidus and positioned himself as the next

²⁹ Kuhrt (1995), p 657

³⁰ Kuhrt (1995), p 658

³¹ Kuhrt (2007), p 48; *see also* Kuhrt (1995), p 659 and Dusinberre (2013), p 8

³² Kuhrt (1995), p 658; *see also* Dusinberre (2013)

³³ Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.* It should be noted that this text is problematic in that it is broken and Cyrus's destination is not preserved (Cargil 1977)

³⁴ Kuhrt (2007), p 21

³⁵ Kuhrt (1995), p 659

rightful ruler of Babylon. He did so by appeal to the religious authority of the gods, stressing that he had been selected by the Babylonian gods and particularly Marduk, patron god of Babylon itself.³⁶ The policy of cultural preservation and appropriation during conquest became tradition among Achaemenid kings.

This practice generally lends itself to seeing the Achaemenid rulers as culturally sensitive, cosmopolitan rulers. However, just because a foreign conqueror does not impose new cultural norms does not mean that they are accepting the ethnic diversity of the region without imperial agendas. When a foreign ruler preserves cultural practices, and appropriates traditional titles as rightfully his, said ruler has effectively guaranteed local stability after a war. "Cyrus guaranteed Babylonia's socio-political status quo, which provided a means for the local elite to rally to the side of the conqueror."³⁷ It was a strategic action to ensure peaceful acquisition of territory, people, and resources.

Cyrus the Great is notable beyond his substantial military career. He was also the founder of the palatial complex at Pasargadae.³⁸ Founded sometime before 530 in southwestern Iran, Pasargadae was built to serve as a new royal center and to establish the Persian heartland.³⁹ It also established a new palatial form for the Achaemenid empire, one that included many-columned halls and gardens as well as sculpted reliefs.⁴⁰ Cyrus died shortly after his conquest of Babylon and the completion of his palace. As in all things in Cyrus II's reign he set the precedent of Achaemenid transfers of power by leaving his domain to his elder son Cambyses II.

³⁶ Root (1979), p 37

³⁷ Kuhrt (2007), *ibid.*

³⁸ Kuhrt (1995), p 661

³⁹ Dusiinberre (2013), p 8-15

⁴⁰ Stronach (1978)

Cambyses II: The Persian Pharaoh

Cambyses II reigned from 530 to 522 BCE.⁴¹ His most notable achievement was his conquest of Egypt, thereby consolidating Achaemenid power in the Near East. Cambyses began his strategic Egyptian invasion by establishing a Persian navy, which was accomplished by investing in building triremes and harbors. This effort took considerable time; therefore, Cambyses was not ready to engage with Egyptian military until 526/5 BCE.⁴² He was not content to conquer Egypt partially; he strived to capture the entire Egyptian territory as shown by his attempt to reach the Kharga oasis. In Egypt, Cambyses sought to legitimize his newly usurped throne by establishing himself as a legitimate and accepted Egyptian pharaoh.⁴³

Beyond the Persian seizure of Egypt, Cambyses II is most notable for the scandals surrounding his death and the identity of his successor. The end of Cambyses' reign is not well preserved in the artistic record, which adds the ambiguity of how Darius I came to power on the Achaemenid throne. There are no first-hand accounts of the events that transpired in transferring the regency to Darius.⁴⁴

Both accounts from Darius and Herodotus's tell fantastic tales of fratricide, a 'fake' king, and subsequent regicide. Herodotus relates that Cambyses killed the second son of Cyrus, his brother, Bardiya (also called Smerdis). "The first evil thing he did was to eliminate his brother

⁴¹ Kuhrt (1995), p 662; *see also* Kuhrt (2007) and Dusinger (2017)

⁴² Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.*

⁴³ Kuhrt (2007), 105; He was accepted as pharaoh by the elite members of society which is visible in (1) his regular use of the traditional Egyptian royal title (2) the later story told by Herodotus, in which Cambyses was supposedly the grandson to a previous Pharaoh.

⁴⁴ Only reports that survive are from Darius and Herodotus; Translation of Darius from Kent (1953)

Smerdis, who had the same father and mother as himself."⁴⁵ He is said to have done so before leaving on campaign in Egypt. It was because of his fratricide that Cambyses identified a pretender to the throne when someone started rallying Persians to his cause in Persian territory while Cambyses was in Egypt.⁴⁶ Cambyses attempted to rush home to Persia but died en route.⁴⁷ Herodotus reports that Cambyses warned his courtiers of this pretender with his dying breath. This pretender was Gaumata, a Persian learned man, called a 'magus,' who took advantage of a likeness to the late prince in an attempt to usurp the throne. It now seems more likely to scholars that the 'pretender' was the legitimate heir and brother to Cambyses, Bardiya himself.⁴⁸ This story of a counterfeit king is more likely a cover up for the killer's regicide of the rightful king.

The story continues that a group of seven nobles heard of the king's warning, and banded together to kill the magus, the fake king. Among, and arguably leading, these noblemen was a young Darius I. Darius was a Persian nobleman, and once the spear bearer to Cambyses.⁴⁹ In Darius's account of the murder, preserved in a great trilingual inscription on the cliff face at Behistun overlooking the primary road through the Zagros Mountains to Ecbatana, he killed Gaumata himself and claimed kingship in 522 BCE,⁵⁰ having been called to this position by an "omen"⁵¹ from the gods. Darius' lineage is ambiguous and so calls to question if he was a member of the royal family at all.⁵² Regardless, he proclaims his genealogy on the Behistun relief in inscriptions. There, Darius justifies his rise to power by claiming that his family line is a

⁴⁵ Herodotus III, 30; found in Kuhrt (2007), p 159

⁴⁶ Kuhrt (1995), p 664

⁴⁷ Root (1979), p 40

⁴⁸ Kuhrt (1995), p 665; *see also* Dandmaev 1976; Bickerman and Tadmor 1978

⁴⁹ Root (1979), p 39

⁵⁰ Kuhrt (2007), p 181

⁵¹ From Herodotus's writing; Found on Kuhrt (1995), p 664

⁵² Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1982) and Miroschedji (1985) both discuss the artificial nature of Darius's genealogy

branch from the same Achaemenid tree as the Great Cyrus II.⁵³ Darius declares this lineage to legitimize his claim to power. He had just usurped power from the son of the most beloved ruler in the kingdom's short history to go against the Achaemenid family's royal claim would be political suicide. Even with this propaganda program, Darius spent the first year of his reign quelling revolts in Elam, Babylonia, and Media.⁵⁴ If Darius had not claimed Achaemenid ties then he risked the whole of Persia rejecting his campaign for the throne. This incident demonstrates the significance of "the deep dismay felt by the populace at the murder of the legitimate Persian ruler, son of the empire's founder."⁵⁵ Darius made a calculated choice in preserving the claim to Achaemenid dynasty, one that ultimately delivered him a long reign as Persian king.

Darius I

Darius' reign from 522 until about 490 BCE⁵⁶ was characterized both by a time of geographical expansion and of imperial establishment. He increased the might of the Persian empire, adding northwest India to the sphere of Persian control. At the western frontier of Persian territory, Darius conquered Balkan territory, even bringing into the fold several Aegean islands like Samos.⁵⁷ He furthered his predecessor's efforts in Egypt and built a temple at the

⁵³ Root (1979), p 59

⁵⁴ Kuhrt (1995), p 665

⁵⁵ Kuhrt (1995), *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Herodotus' reports about Darius almost completely stop following the battle of Marathon. Darius' final years seem to have been spent transitioning his son, Xerxes, into his role as king

⁵⁷ Kuhrt (1995), p 667

Kharga Oasis.⁵⁸ And most famously, Darius was the monarch at the time of Greek triumph over Persian forces at Marathon in 490 BCE.⁵⁹

Beyond his military prowess, Darius was an enormously important monarch based on the changes he made to imperial organization and art programs. Darius implemented a pragmatic internal order of affairs to run the vast empire.⁶⁰ This organization included artistic programs portraying what would have been external expressions of the administration. "All outward manifestations of the imperial order had also been formulated and canonized."⁶¹ Examples of artistic elements that have been formulated or reshaped by Darius include the formula for royal inscriptions, a monarchical building program, and a specific repertoire of royal architecture, sculpture, and glyptic design. The culmination of these efforts can be seen in the palatial structure that Darius built at Persepolis.

Darius and Persepolis

Darius began his reign in political upheaval; it was not until the revolts were suppressed and the kingdom secure that he began the building program whereby he would establish the artistic program that would define Achaemenid Persian visual culture. Darius built a new ceremonial, dwelling, and administrative center for himself and his successors at Persepolis in southwestern Iran, probably starting by 520 BCE.⁶² Inscriptions on the southern terrace wall

⁵⁸ Schmidt (1953), p 26; Darius created some of his living quarters in superficially similar styles according to Schmidt

⁵⁹ Kuhrt (1995), p 667

⁶⁰ Substantiated by the content of the Persepolis Fortification Archive which documents the administrative happenings of the vast empire

⁶¹ Root (1979), p 34

⁶² Schmidt (1953), p 156

confirm that the Darius was the founder of the site.⁶³ Darius constructed his palace to immortalize his place in Achaemenid history on his terms, by defining the role of a king and the administration of the empire. Persepolis was not only a royal residence but also a working seat of power in the Persian empire, "a simultaneously ceremonial and working capital."⁶⁴

Persepolis contains five structures of note originally planned by Darius I: the Apadana, the Council Hall, the Palace of Darius, the Treasury, and the tomb of Darius (at nearby Naqsh-e Rostam). Each structure and its decorative reliefs help to express and enshrine the physical, diplomatic, and pious components of kingship.

Interestingly, one of the first structures built by Darius I was his tomb, cut into the limestone cliff at Naqsh-e Rostam near the Palace Terrace itself.⁶⁵ Constructed early in Darius' reign,⁶⁶ around 519 BCE, the reliefs predate his architectural reliefs at Persepolis.⁶⁷ The Tomb of Darius is a culmination of the motif which propagates examples of kingship throughout structures at Persepolis contemporary to Darius. It is a tripartite, cross-shaped relief, the central part of which displays a palace façade with the entrance to the rock-cut tombs between its columns; atop this section is a representation of Darius facing a fire altar and the god Ahuramazda, the omnipotent creator of the universe in old Persian religion. There are no known prototypes for this scene in Achaemenid art, nor for this form of royal burial. All of Darius' successors adopt this style of tomb.⁶⁸

⁶³ Schmidt (1953), p 39

⁶⁴ Garrison and Root (2001), p 10

⁶⁵ Six kilometers from the terrace at Persepolis

⁶⁶ Root (1979), p 75

⁶⁷ Root (1979), p 162

⁶⁸ Schmidt (1953), p 41

On the Palace Terrace itself, the great multi-columned hall called the Apadana served as an audience hall for the king.⁶⁹ Reliefs on the east and north stair facades display the king receiving tribute. Tribute was brought either as tax payments from conquered nations or as political gifts to express gratitude and signify continued allegiance.⁷⁰ The northern and eastern facades are almost exact mirror images of one another. This artistic scene emphasizes the administrative function of the palace, as recipient of glorious and precious artifacts and creatures brought from all parts of the empire to the King.

The Council Hall is closely tied, spatially and in use, to the Apadana.⁷¹ The Council Hall was utilized for noble assembly. This structure bridged communication between the residential structures and the public spheres of the palace.⁷² Reliefs on this building highlight repetitive motifs at Persepolis by emphasizing the similarities of Persians and Median dress and showing dignitaries in procession. The east and west facades of the stairway show guards heavily armed with a lance, bow, and quiver. Those guards wearing tunics and trousers, previously considered "Median" garb but now recognized as the riding (thus hunting and fighting) gear of the Achaemenid armies, notably also carry short swords, whereas those guards wearing the Persian court costume are equipped with daggers.⁷³

The Palace of Darius I is covered in proof of its builder. Inscriptions can be found on the doorways, windows, niches, and reliefs that are attributed to Darius I.⁷⁴ The doorjamb reliefs in

⁶⁹ Schmidt (1953), p 70

⁷⁰ This is substantiated by the original central panel of the staircase, which was removed and enshrined in the Treasury intended to show tribute procession brought to the king

⁷¹ The dedication to administrative function and the sitemaps indicate this closeness; observed from Schmidt (1953)

⁷² Schmidt (1953), p 107

⁷³ Schmidt (1953), *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Schmidt (1953), p 222

the Palace of Darius are a beautiful example of Darius's interest in creating an artistic program to display a template Achaemenid king, thus providing structure and organization to this imperial role. In the doorjambs of the Palace of Darius, the king is removed from temporal and narrative context, meaning there is nothing carved to contextualize the figures and their actions. This allows for Darius to be rendered as a figure of kingship incarnate. Moving through royal space, both publicly and privately, Darius is providing a uniform, dignified image of kingship for his successors to emulate in coming years.

Darius was careful in rendering his innovations in authority through art at the Palace. The Palace doorjambs serve to tell audiences here various qualities of a Persian king as he moves through the palace. Rooms twelve and thirteen in the residential areas of the palace contain doorjambs adorned with relief sculptures of this kind.⁷⁵ Darius is accompanied by two Persian attendants carrying a towel and cosmetic bottle, most likely indicating the room was used in a residential capacity, possibly for hygiene or readying for a banquet. The doorjamb reliefs are excellent case studies in Darius' attitudes on kingly behavior away from the public eye.

Of the structures built by Darius, the original Treasury and its first addition are thought to be the buildings first begun at Persepolis.⁷⁶ Post completion, the Treasury served as the administrative center of Persepolis. "The date of the earliest Treasury tablet (492/91) should mark approximately the opening of administrative quarters in the newly completed first addition to the Treasury, which is embellished with audience reliefs of the king and crown prince."⁷⁷ Interestingly, the Treasury was not finished in Darius's lifetime but rather completed by his son

⁷⁵ Schmidt (1953), plate 140a/b and plate 141 a/b

⁷⁶ Schmidt (1953), p 40

⁷⁷ Schmidt (1953), p 41

and successor Xerxes.⁷⁸ The fortune at Persepolis provides archaeologists with essential insights to palatial function. This is in part due to the administrative necessity of running a storehouse that far exceeded any other contemporary Achaemenid capital's riches. "Persepolis was not only the dynastic home of the Persian kings, but it was also the principal storehouse for their treasures, protected in the heartland of the empire by its remoteness and inaccessibility."⁷⁹

As we shall see, the monumental reliefs adorning the structures at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam provide extraordinary insight into Achaemenid notional structure of the empire. The propaganda Darius created at Persepolis was carefully constructed and took minute detail into account. Nowhere is this so clear as in the use of dress and adornment to express identity and imperial authority.

⁷⁸ Schmidt (1953), p 157

⁷⁹ Schmidt (1953), p 156

Chapter 3

Dress Theory

What is Fashion Theory?

The Oxford English Dictionary supplies nine definitions of the word *fashion*. Malcolm Barnard simplifies those meanings into two main senses of the word: the noun and the verb.⁸⁰ As a noun, *fashion* can be defined as a kind, a sort, or shape. As a verb, *fashion* describes a form of action, making, or doing.

Colloquially, *fashion* is often used synonymously with *adornment*, *style*, and *dress*. These words all share several linguistic commonalities. All the synonyms can be used as both nouns and verbs, and each word refers to an activity or action in both forms. The noun form of each word can define the products, or resources, of the verbal activity. Wittgenstein refers to these shared traits as "family resemblance."⁸¹ Fashion exists within a network of familial congruency that clarifies its meaning further. There is no one agreed upon definition of fashion, but each one carries with it certain connotations depending on the linguistic customs and the context culture of a user.

The etymology of fashion sheds light on understanding dress theory. Fashion has changed in meaning over time. The modern use of the word first appears in the 16th century. As the word evolved in meaning and increased in usage, the latest sense of the word incorporated former iterations. *Fashion* comes from the Latin word *Factio*, *Facere*, meaning to do or to make. Other English words that share this root include fetish, and faction. Barnard argues that "items of fashion and clothing are the most fetishized commodities produced and consumed within

⁸⁰ Barnard (2002), p 8

⁸¹ Wittgenstein (1958), p 66-7

capitalist society."⁸² *Fetish* remains visible in modern definitions of fashion in its ability to carry messages of desire. Whether a person adopts a fashion in order to gain attention or to blend in and become anonymous, style adjusts to an individual's preference. *Fetish* is relayed in modern definitions of fashion in the implied desire for the accumulation of fetishized clothing. Fashion retains its shared root with *faction* in its capacity to delineate social groups.⁸³ Whether a group may comprise the dominant culture or one of many sub-groups, fashion marks an individual's social group membership as much as his/her identity. *Faction* highlights the inherent politics of fashion within a culture that practices social stratification. This is to say that adornment is utilized within a society to communicate social class.

Fashion Theory is a complex concept to define. For the purposes of my analysis, "fashion theory" is defined as the application of psychological, sociological, and linguistic theories in the scholarship of personal adornment. Fashion is being used in the modern sense of the word to mean clothing that operates in and reflects the culture by which it is produced.

With a better understanding of how fashion, the word, operates, let us turn to how a culture develops fashion beyond mere functionality. Some arguments limit production of sign systems (of non-verbal communication) through personal adornment to complex societies. However, evidence supports the opposing view, that individual ornamentation is among the most fundamental forms of decoration known to humans.⁸⁴ Evidence of unique adornment is found among many examples of early art, and this thesis explores one instance of that, at Persepolis in the years around 500 BCE.

⁸² Barnard (2002), p 1

⁸³ Barnard (2002), p 38

⁸⁴ Carlyle (1931), p 48

Cultures develop fashion based on human needs, but fashion can move beyond the obvious physical conventions of dress. According to sociologist Georg Simmel,⁸⁵ there are two social factors needed for the societal development of fashion: first, the need for union; and second, the need for isolation.⁸⁶ These conflicting needs are innate to all humans. People desire to "do" culture "right." We do this by adhering to socially agreed upon rules, such as those associated with adornment. For example, for much of western modern history a socially agreed upon fashion rule was that women did not wear pants. As a woman in these periods, to step out of the skirts was to step out of the culture of being a woman.

At the same time, people in some kinds of societies covet individual recognition. Appearance may be our most individual characteristic. Individualized appearance is achieved by breaking social rules and adhering to individual preference. The severity of the break depends on the desired amount of personally distinct expression. In some cases, adhering to a specific sub-group's prescribed dress automatically distinguishes people as unique from the dominant culture. Fashion can offer both membership in "various social and cultural groups," and "individual, personal identity."⁸⁷ In performing membership within cultural sub-groups through dress, individuals satiate their need to belong, as well as their need to stand out, thus achieving Simmel's necessary social factors. Because of the social safety found in groups, this deviance is performed in societally accepted ways.

Such group delineation is only possible through a system of comparisons. I base this claim on observations made by Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), that fashion's meaning

⁸⁵ Simmel (1971), p 301

⁸⁶ Barnard (2002), p 10

⁸⁷ Barnard (2002), p 11

is tied to the culture, context, and the individual.⁸⁸ Thus to recognize a dominant fashion for groups' resistance is only possible by comparison between the groups within the cultural context where their adornment has meaning. The significance of choices made in fashion is thereby dependent on the context of the culture producing both the garments and the wearers. For instance, red is used in various Indian cultures as a bridal color and thus carries meaning that is not evident for European or North American brides, for whom white is the traditional bridal color. This wasn't always the case, but the now-conventional white gown was made popular when Queen Victoria wore white at her wedding in 1840.⁸⁹ This evolution of bridal color in European and North American culture exemplifies a dependency on space as well as on time to efficiently interpret messages communicated by fashion. Essentially, to take clothing out of the confines of the time and location where it originates strips fashion of its original significance.⁹⁰ Fashion is used socially and is therefore dependent on the society for its meaning.

The social experience of dress creates an intrinsic potential for goods to be weaponized. Douglas and Isherwood define products as "neutral, and their uses are social," arguing that commodities can either propagate division or unity, "fences or bridges."⁹¹ This view removes the potential for products to bear neutral cultural agendas and beliefs. It is for this reason that Barnard states, "the uses and function of garments are social and cultural and therefore neither neutral nor innocent."⁹² Fashion removed from context cannot communicate as initially intended. Conversely, within its society, fashion carries messages that are coded in cultural significance and therefore cannot be neutral in function, use, or meaning.

⁸⁸ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 28

⁸⁹ Begley (2015), from <http://time.com/3698249/white-weddings/>

⁹⁰ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999); *see also* Barnard (2007) and Sapir (2007)

⁹¹ Douglas and Isherwood (1979), p 12

⁹² Barnard (2002), p 38

Barnard pinpoints eleven functions of fashion. The most significant among these when considering visual culture are communication, individualistic expression, social worth or status, definition of social role, and political symbolism.⁹³ It is tempting to relegate the importance of dress in social interactions to functioning solely for necessary protection and modesty. But these two functions, like many functions identified by Barnard, are flexible between cultures. Not all cultures value or define modesty and protection in identical ways.

Charles Darwin observed this in his 1845 publication *The Voyage of the Beagle*. Darwin left western culture to witness an isolated community "in one of the most inclement regions of the world,"⁹⁴ the Yaggans or Yahgans peoples of Tierra del Fuego, Argentina. These peoples wore very little clothing, with a piece that barely covered the body. Darwin observed a woman dressed in nothing in a canoe and noted that even when it started to rain, she added no other clothing, choosing to let water run down her back. This example of a woman seeming impervious to getting wet raises the question of function. Was staying dry a functional aspect of clothing in this culture in the same way water-proofed or protective garments are for us? Protection from change of elements was apparently not part of the definition of this culture of functional adornment, meaning this group of people may not have intended to make their clothes useful by these aspects of modern western standards.

Darwin provides a further anecdote on the differences of how clothing is treated between the people he was observing and his own contemporary society. "We were well clothed, and though sitting close to the fire were far from too warm; yet these naked savages, though farther off, were observed, to our great surprise, to be streaming with perspiration at undergoing such a

⁹³ Barnard (2002), p 47-66; The other functions named by Barnard are: protection, modesty and concealment, immodesty and attraction, economic worth, social rituals, and recreation

⁹⁴ Wilson (2007), p 20

roasting."⁹⁵ In the case of these villagers, Darwin observes that his clothing functioned in ways not familiar to or needed by this community. From this account, it is apparent that the individuals of this society had bodies adapted to their culture of relative nakedness, while Darwin's body had adjusted to his cultural definitions of modesty and elemental protection provided by clothing.

This nakedness not only challenges localized definitions of functional protection but also of modesty. If the woman Darwin observed in the rain had walked down the rainy streets of 19th-century London with the same (lack of) clothing, she would have scandalized pedestrians. Modesty by covering was a crucial function of 19th-century English clothing. Notice that Darwin does not observe this woman experiencing any ridicule or shame from people of her culture, indicating that this was not a strange choice of the individual, but rather this was an example of how this woman does her culture "right." Covering deemed modest in Darwin's contemporary practice was not included in this culture's collective idea of modesty. This is not to say this culture, and ones similar to it, are immodest or do not understand modesty; they simply do not conform to foreign notions of modesty. Havelock Ellis, a pioneering sexologist, states, "many races which go absolutely naked possess a highly-developed sense of modesty."⁹⁶ The primary functions of protection and modesty in clothing held by 19th-century European culture created a societal 'need' for clothes. This need cannot be applied cross-culturally, as Darwin's 1845 expedition and many other instances exemplify. Fashion cannot be explained solely by 'need,' and to do so is to deny the sociological and psychological interactions between fashion and self.

⁹⁵ Darwin (1959), p 210

⁹⁶ Quoted in Laver, James (1969), *Modesty in Dress: An Enquiry into the Fundamentals of Fashion*, London: Heinemann, p 9

Fashion as a Communication System

Fashion behaves as a communication system within a culture. This belief is the foundation of fashion theory as a subject. Fashion's inherent complexities presents issues in discussion that linguistic analysis aids to solve. Unlike other modes of communication, fashion has no dictionary. This lack of documented meanings leads to difficulty in interpreting messages embedded in different physical elements of the garments. "The chief difficulty of understanding fashion in its apparent vagaries is the lack of exact knowledge of the unconscious symbolism attaching to forms, colors, textures, postures and other expressive elements in a given culture."⁹⁷

There is a staggering number of complex cogs moving within the system of fashion as it communicates identity and other messages to members of the culture. These gears include the garments we wear and the design elements that create said clothing. This complexity proves problematic when attempting to interpret signs and codes of specific instances of personal adornment. Symbolic fashion is intuitive and not always conscious, so it is difficult to assign motivations behind symbols communicated. The difference between deliberate and unconscious choices in expressions of identity or power, make motives often unclear. "Although dress is a form of communication, the meanings tied to dress are continually negotiated and renegotiated. They vary dramatically from culture to culture, context to context, and person to person."⁹⁸

Many scholars agree that the main function of fashion within society is to communicate embedded meanings to other members of the culture. This allows fashion to be described in linguistic terms and explained by linguistic principles. Roland Barthes describes fashion as a language and uses linguistics and semiology (the science of signs) in scholarship of what he

⁹⁷ Sapir (2007), p 42

⁹⁸ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 28

considers to be a system largely based on irrationality.⁹⁹ In so doing he is defining language as a system of arbitrary signs that only gain meaning through distinction.¹⁰⁰ In this analogy articles of adornment are words, and ensembles equate to sentences that follow cultural norms, which may be likened to the grammatical structure of sentences. Eco maintains that "the laws of communication are the laws of culture."¹⁰¹

Style does have limitations to what it can do within a culture, since "personally unique inventions embellish or modify the 'tongue' learned from human associates, but do not represent a new language of dress."¹⁰² The language system is created by a collective and cannot be changed by the individual. Roach and Eicher go so far as to compare linguistic dialects to different prescribed dress of sub-groups within a culture.¹⁰³ This assumes that fashion correlates identically to spoken and written language, with strict rules and meaning systems. Davis speculates that approaching dress in the same way as a verbal or written language could be too literal an interpretation. Instead, Davis suggests fashion could communicate like music, where emotions and fluidity are supreme.¹⁰⁴ Eco agrees with Davis in recognizing that fashion signs, or codes, are more ambiguous and less articulate than other forms of non-verbal communication — perhaps similar to facial expression, gestures, and body position.¹⁰⁵ Fashion and language are not entirely analogous, but fashion approximates something like a code, which can be productively discussed in linguistic terms.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Wilson (2007), p 22; *see also* Barthes (1967)

¹⁰⁰ Barthes (1967), found in Wilson (2007), *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Eco (2007), p 147

¹⁰² Roach and Eicher (2007), p 109

¹⁰³ Roach and Eicher (2007), *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Davis (1992), p 3

¹⁰⁵ Eco (2007), p 144

¹⁰⁶ Davis (1992), p 5

Our examination of fashion as a communication system will begin by introducing some linguistic terms that will facilitate more in-depth analysis. Pierce defines a sign as "anything which determines something else (the *interpretant*) to refer to an object to which itself refers (its *object*) in the same way, the interpretant becoming in turn a sign, and so ad infinitum."¹⁰⁷ A simplistic description of this complex theory of language is the convention that language requires words to define other words, such that words, or signs, gain meaning only by means of comparison. Because signs only hold the capacity for meaning through contrast, signs are therefore arbitrary devices until context makes them unambiguous.¹⁰⁸

This theory and these terms do not exist within a vacuum; they have features that dictate how the sign system can function, as well as its dependencies. The primary features are context-dependent. A message communicated through dress depends on the wearer, the occasion, the place, the company, and mood of the wearer.¹⁰⁹ Barnard and Davis define the same three distinguishing features of the fashion code as follows: (1) physical aspects of a garment, (2) the signifier-to-signified relationship, and (3) undercoding.¹¹⁰

(1) Many physical facets of a garment, including color, texture, pattern, and material, contribute to codes embedded in garments. Black lace in western culture is an excellent example of how context around a fabric type affects the clothing's communication. Black lace, when used

¹⁰⁷ Eco (2007), p 143; Peirce (1931), p 303

¹⁰⁸ This system of signs can be further broken down into the units of *code*, *sign-medium*, *meaning*, *signifier*, and the *signified*. *Code* works with *the sign-vehicle* or the *medium* by which a sign is communicated. The person doing the communication is the *signifier*, and the message being translated can be called the *signified*

¹⁰⁹ Davis, In Barnard (2007), p 151

¹¹⁰ Davis, in Barnard (2007), p 148-154

on a widow's veil, has a very different meaning than when it is sewn onto a brassiere.¹¹¹ The same material can convey different messages in different contexts, even within the same culture.

(2) The second feature of the code is high social variability in the signifier to signified relationship. Take a US president's adornment for example. When Barack Obama would get dressed for a press conference, his clothing communicated several identities he held as a president. He was displaying his identity as a leader, specifically of western culture, by wearing a suit as a uniform of the powerful. This dress is accepted and reinforced in American society. He was showing his identity as an American, often accomplished through color schemes and the American flag pin. He was displaying his status as a man, achieved from the cut and fit of his suit. These are just three identities that President Obama communicated in a professional setting. The context for which he was dressed highlighted or shadowed the various aspects of his identity.

High social variability in the signifier and signified can be explained as akin to the concept that multiple identities are contained within a single person. Sheer population size then compounds these amounts of identities within the culture. There are virtually endless signifier-to-signified relationships in the world. It becomes easier to understand that this can make a non-verbal, highly subjective, communication method such as fashion challenging to decode.

(3) The final feature discussed by Bernard and Davis is called *undercoding*. *Undercoding* means that interpretations of fashion are not fixed, and are therefore highly variable. Individual taste affects the message of the wearer. Sapir says that fashion "differs from a given taste in suggesting some measure of compulsion on the part of the group as contrasted with individual

¹¹¹ Davis, In Barnard (2007), p 151

choice."¹¹² Because there are no rules for taste, meaning must be presumed or inferred by the audience. In this sense, fashion is performative; one must perform fashion so that others will see their identity as they do. Roach and Eicher note the language of dress is dependent on environmental resources, technical developments, and cultural standards for judging what is beautiful.¹¹³

Fashion is Consistent yet Manipulable

Subjectivity is not the only means by which to contemplate fashion. Sapir argues that fashion is objective and should be treated as such.¹¹⁴ He substantiates this claim by explaining trends and customs of fashion as weaknesses and strengths. In this theory, the strengths of fashion create a baseline dress, called *customs*, within a culture. These customs are frequently challenged and replaced by changes called *trends*. A garment must differ from "true fashion," what is customary, to be a *fad*. The object of adornment must do something "unexpected, irresponsible, or bizarre."¹¹⁵ Strong fashion creates a relatively permanent kind of social behavior. Fashion is semi-resistant to the ebb and flow of continual change of trends, but will evolve with the times.

Through the repetition of customs, fashion can become more functional and almost akin to *anti-fashion*. *Anti-fashion* is a term used in dress theory to describe types of adornment that do not function as regular fashion.¹¹⁶ For example, Queen Elizabeth's II coronation crown is *anti-*

¹¹² Sapir (2007), p 39

¹¹³ Roach and Eicher (2007), p 109

¹¹⁴ Sapir (2007), p 39

¹¹⁵ Sapir (2007), *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Barnard (2002), p 11

fashion rather than *fashion*. The crown operates as *anti-fashion* because it is made for a functional purpose; its meaning is fixed and cannot change, thus rejecting the mandates of fashion.

Davis argues that "Antifashion is as much a creature of fashion as fashion itself is the means of its own undoing."¹¹⁷ For Davis, anti-fashion is still fashion in that it is a vehicle for communicating messages, but the way in which it does this diametrically opposes fashion. Davis further explains the origins of anti-fashion as springing from "diverse cultural sources."¹¹⁸ He describes six forms of anti-fashion: utilitarian outrage, health and fitness naturalism, feminist protest, conservative skepticism, minority group dis-identification, and counterculture insult.¹¹⁹

Looking at adornment through the lens of linguistics implies that people will vary in their literacy of how to perform fashion "right." The correct performance of fashion does not truly exist. However, a psychological effect of social groups instills a *feeling* of doing fashion "right," and this can include anti-fashion as much as fashion itself.

Fashion is much more subjective than spoken language in how it communicates meaning. What does exist is a dialogue between the signs and meanings, signifier and the signified, and between the wearer and the viewer of fashion. Fashion functions as a system of arbitrary signs gaining importance through comparison to other arbitrary signs. In this way, it is similar to language and therefore useful to examine clothing through the eyes of a linguist when studying how clothing and garments are utilized for communication.

Fashion Theory as Communication

¹¹⁷ Davis (1992), p 161

¹¹⁸ Davis (1992), p 168

¹¹⁹ Davis (1992), p 168-186

Scholarship concerning fashion is still relatively new, not having gained scholastic validity until the 1960s.¹²⁰ There are multiple reasons why fashion was not taken seriously academically until this time. The primary reason for trivializing fashion studies, is the connection between fashion and women.¹²¹ Fashion was and for the most part still is viewed as having predominantly inherent feminine qualities. As such it is often discussed with the cultural trivialization and unimportance typically used when talking about women and women's interests.

Of the nine possible definitions of fashion,¹²² there are no gender-specific definitions. The same holds true for definitions of fashion theory. So how did fashion enter the sphere of "woman" and exit the sphere of "importance"? Sapir argues that the historical keeping by men of women is responsible for fashion being deemed a woman's topic. "Woman has been the kept partner in marriage and has had to prove her desirability by ceaselessly reaffirming her attractiveness as symbolized by novelty of fashion."¹²³ But to reject the masculine use of fashion is to deny half the data set for understanding how adornment communicates identity.

In an almost uniformly patriarchal world, it should be obvious that the adornment messages of men's fashion carry immense significance. Marx and Engels argued that for a class to rule, as men do in patriarchal societies, "the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force."¹²⁴ This force includes power over technologies, materials, machinery, and labels. Groups that cannot materially dominate are, by default, subordinated. "Generally, the struggle for power involves formal and informal relations of

¹²⁰ Barnard (2007), p 35

¹²¹ Most scholars agree; *See*

¹²² From Barnard (2007), p 2; Definitions of Fashion: 1.the action or process of making, 2. Dress 3. Manner, 4. Style, 5. A particular shape or cut, 6. Characteristic or habitual practice, 7. Form, 8. Consumer goods in the current mode, 9. The latest and most admired style

¹²³ Sapir (2007), p 44

¹²⁴ Marx and Engels (1970), p 64

domination and subordination that govern resources, opportunities, and respect within society."¹²⁵ Thus in a patriarchal culture the ruling class, men, must have power over material expression, including fashion, to dominate the culture.

Fashion was controlled by men for much of history, but it has been disenfranchised and undercut by men as a women's issue. Fashion and clothing are ideological in this sense; they can be weaponized to make your ideals dominate in culture if you belong to the dominant class. Fashion is an integral part in the procedures of social groups in establishing, sustaining, and reproducing positions of power and subservience. "They are, moreover, part of the process in which those positions of dominance and subservience are made to appear natural and legitimate, not only to those in positions of dominance, but also to those in positions of subservience."¹²⁶ Fashion can be used to communicate gender identity, but scholarship of dress needs to be genderless. In many cultures through the world, material control and fashion, in particular, help men express and maintain positions of dominance over women.

Female subordination via dress code still occurs in 21st century North America. School dress codes perpetuate a social hierarchy that disadvantages young girls and will later disadvantage women. Dress codes across America focus nearly entirely on regulating female students' clothing, with little to no mention of their male counterparts' dress. Such rules are put in place by the school, that claims that non-compliance with the code will distract (male) students and educators from education.¹²⁷ These practices teach young girls to value their appearance over

¹²⁵ O'Neal (1999), p 127

¹²⁶ Barnard (2002), p 40

¹²⁷ I myself have vivid memories from middle school about the fear of being accused of wearing too short of shorts, or too thin of straps; Countless other students have been protesting the dress code across the country. Sara Boboltz of the Huffington Post compiles these experiences of women with the primary school dress codes. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/06/25/dress-code-problems_n_5420985.html

their education. It is not unheard of for girls to be sent home or removed from class as punishment failing to comply with school dress policy. Such removal means the young women are not experiencing their education to the same degree as their male peers.

Being pulled from class for clothing may not seem like an example of males dominating females, but it has lasting effects. Control over female cultural expression teaches future professional women that how they look is more important than their work. This teaches men and women that women can only appear in spaces if they are "doing culture right" by male standards.

This tiny aspect of culture contributes to the overarching dominance of men in the modern patriarchy. It is not shocking that the lessons ingrained in adolescents result in adult attitudes and behaviors. Such lessons around socialization are then carried into the workplace where men are often still dominant. This is done in such a way that women start to believe they are a *distraction*, rather than thinking men are *distracted*. The dominant convinces the subordinate that they belong on their lower rung in the social hierarchy; that resistance is useless.

Fashion Theory and History

Fashion theory interacts with history in three primary ways.¹²⁸ The first position considers history as the backdrop to fashion. In this tradition, history can be explained as having direct, simple, effects on fashion. Laver observes this relationship in the fashion changes that rode on the rising tides of World War II, noting that skirt lengths in 1930's France lengthened as tensions in Europe grew.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Barnard (2007), p 34

¹²⁹ Barnard (2007), *ibid*.

The second fundamental position considers history as the context for fashion. This is the most commonly held position, and it can be understood as history either being reflected by or pointed to by fashion. "Fashion is itself a historical concept insofar as a particular example of fashion is utterly meaningless if extracted from its place in a temporal or chronological sequence."¹³⁰ Context remains supreme in its effects on communication of fashion.

The final position is that history is a product of fashion. In this account, fashion makes history possible. For example, in 1920's America the drop-waist, short, 'flapper' silhouettes defined the era just as much as the gains in women's rights. As the trend gained popularity, it helped to normalize a more natural form of the woman's body in popular culture. This liberation from the corset coincided with the unbinding of women politically. While women had the right to vote in various places prior to the ratification of the 19th Amendment, it wasn't until it was ratified in 1920 that the right was assured across the country.

History and dress have always interacted in profound ways. The need to express oneself through adornment connects individuals between all eras of human history. Personal adornment pre-dates all other forms of decoration. "The first purpose of Clothes... was not warmth or decency, but Ornament... for Decoration [the savage] must have clothes."¹³¹ This decoration of self descends from an "ancient religious, mystical and magical past of ritual and worship."¹³² Dress was used in rituals to create relationships between the wearer and the desired outcome of the ceremony. Many societies have used dress for rituals of season, fertility, war, and celebration.¹³³ While there are still some religious functions to clothing, over time adornment has

¹³⁰ Barnard (2007), *ibid.*

¹³¹ Carlyle (1931), p 48

¹³² Wilson (2007), p 21

¹³³ Wilson (2007), *ibid.*

progressed to be secular. Other performing arts like theater, music, and dance undergo the same transition through their respective histories.

Early in dress history the primary function of clothing converts from mystical to common. Wilson argues that dress itself is "a kind of performance, would seem to have followed this trajectory from sacred to secular."¹³⁴ From this initial instinct to ornament self, societies develop it further to create cycles of trends built off culturally specific rules of dress.

In stable societies, fashion is less likely to change frequently.¹³⁵ China is an example of a stable society retaining similar fashion meanings over more extended periods of time. A painting done in 1626 has adornment that closely resembles late 18th c. engravings.¹³⁶ In some cultures, the rules of dress are explicit rather than implicit. These are called "sumptuary laws" and is an approach that has been practiced by a variety of societies. Sumptuary laws prescribe or forbid specific styles worn or displayed by specific classes of people. An ancient example is a Greco-Roman tradition to "control the type, color and number of garments worn and the sorts of embroidery with which they could be trimmed."¹³⁷ Sumptuary laws are often established to make social hierarchy not only visible but articulated in legal terms. Sumptuary laws were also practiced in European courts of the 14th century.¹³⁸ There was more leniency in these rules between small separations on the hierarchy, for instance, the separation between the courtiers and the royalty.¹³⁹ Courtiers could emulate the highest status dress without punishment. People

¹³⁴ Wilson (2007), *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Braudel (1981), p 312

¹³⁶ Braudel (1981), *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Laurie (1981), p 115

¹³⁸ Davis (1992), p 58; Rich new fabrics and gems came from the east with the return of crusaders. Certain fabrics and styles became symbolic vehicles for the elite. By the 14th century clothing was so intimately tied to displaying one's status that there were laws made as to which social classes could use which styles and fabrics

¹³⁹ Davis (1992), *ibid.*

with lower status than the courtiers could not utilize their fashion in this way. The similarities of dress between people of similar status indicates that clothing was employed to make clear the broader variance between the top and the bottom of the hierarchy.

Implications and Impacts

A wide array of studies and experiments in fashion theory contributes to understanding better how dress is used to make inferences or convey information. People use dress to understand and project sex, attractiveness, group membership, and power.¹⁴⁰ One of the most critical implications of garments is in relation to power and authority. Bushman proved in both his 1984 and 1988 studies that compliance could be influenced by the manipulation of clothing to create arbitrary perceptions of power.¹⁴¹ Two specific case studies considered here highlight the implications of fashion theory as applied to power and communication.

The first study, *Survivors of Rape: Functions and Implications of dress in context of Coercive Power*, was conducted by Kim K.P. Johnson, Jane E. Hegland, and Nancy A. Schofield.¹⁴² The idea for this study stemmed from the rape culture myth that a woman asks for sex or sexual contact non-verbally through clothing. This may be used as an excuse employed by a perpetrator or defense lawyer to dismiss accusations of rape and sexual assault. Rape survivors unanimously report that their clothing in no way asked for sex, that clothing does not have that power, only humans do. This is the basis for consent, a verbal confirmation of willing participation in sexual acts and activities. Of the sixty-seven women included in this case study,

¹⁴⁰ Johnson and Lennon (1999), p 2

¹⁴¹ Johnson and Lennon (1999), p 7

¹⁴² Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 11-32

fifty-eight participated in descriptions of their clothing at the time of their rape. Of them twenty wore jeans, five wore pajamas, while four survivors were in uniforms. Forty-eight of the fifty-eight participants reported wearing clothing that was similar to what they regularly wore.¹⁴³

Prostitutes, who are often thought to be wearing clothes that are "asking for it," are not consenting to sex with every person they meet.¹⁴⁴ They might be advertising sex with their bodies, but they are not implicitly consenting. That is an important distinction. Dress is not imbued with the power to communicate consent to sex.

Despite these reports, the majority of survivors change their clothing after being assaulted. "If the participant believed there was little relationship between the clothing worn and their experience of rape, why did they change their appearance?"¹⁴⁵ The researchers found that the answer to this question was for protection. Despite logically recognizing that their rape was not triggered by their clothing choices, the women were subconsciously encouraged not to wear those types of clothes again to ensure that they did not experience abuse again.

Consider an analogy to taste aversion. If a particular food makes you sick, you won't want to eat it again. This is a psychological phenomenon evolved from a time when poor choice in the menu could result in death, so the body responds instinctively and gets sick as a warning mechanism. Even if you know logically that a particular food won't make you sick every time you eat it, people will choose alternative options to avoid the repetition of negative experiences. It's a form of psychological self-preservation. Humans are genetically programmed to seek positive experiences and not repeat negative experiences as a means of survival.

¹⁴³ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 23-4

¹⁴⁴ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 28

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 29

The issue that the rape survivors are picking up on is one of miscommunication. "Communication is a two-way process."¹⁴⁶ The victims went into their experience of rape believing that their clothing did not encode anything that would provoke an attack. The assault could be completely unmotivated by clothing but the societal message to the women that they were "asking for it" will still most likely trigger a response in the victim. Such responses are an intervention to try to prevent the repetition of negative experiences that threaten the women's survival. This two-way process of communication requires that "information *encoded by the sender* needs to match information *decoded by the perceiver*."¹⁴⁷ In the case of the rape survivors, the initial encoded and decoded information was not the same and resulted in violation of human rights. It is a mark of the male-dominated fashion coding in our society that rape victims take away from their experience a changed sense of coding and alter their behavior to match the preconceptions of the predator.

G. Hofstede conducted the second case study, published in *The Cultural Relativity of Organizational Practices and Theories*, and *The Cultural Relativity of the Quality of Life Concept*.¹⁴⁸ This is an experiment on constructed appearance of power in the workplace, as it intersects with ethnicity and cultural diversity.¹⁴⁹ In this study, university employees were chosen via systematic sampling. The final sample consisted of sixteen Hispanic men, twenty-three Hispanic women, fourteen White men, and thirty White women. The ages ranged from twenty-six to fifty-five with a median of forty-six. The median amount of time at the job was ten years.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 28

¹⁴⁷ Johnson, Hegland, and Schofield (1999), p 28

¹⁴⁸ I am examining studies from both 1983 and 1984

¹⁴⁹ Hofstede (1983, 1984), p 64-74

Hofstede found that on average Hispanic people rated clothing as more important, citing the need to be twice as good at everything as their white counterparts (due to being a person of color). Participants, both Hispanic and White, commonly reported that professional appearance reflected how much someone cared about their job responsibilities and that clothing became more critical in a public capacity. Hofstede's studies prove that clothing affects the perception of performance at work and that it is ethnically motivated. "Clothing symbols are especially potent for member of ethnic minorities as they use them to fit in and move up in the established power structure."¹⁵⁰

My Strategy to Apply Fashion Theory to the Analysis of Visual Culture at Persepolis

Who:

- Ethnic portrayals on the Tomb of Darius, the Apadana Staircase reliefs, and the doorjambs of the Palace of Darius.
- Renditions of the king on these same examples.
- Persepolis Fortification Archive (PFA) seals, published in OIP 117 (Persian court robes and riding clothes, Assyrian garments, ethnic hybrid garments, and headdresses, beards, and weapons).

What:

- I will employ Veblen's theory of symbolic superiority in my consideration of visual culture at Persepolis. Fashion utilized as a vehicle for social status is a commonly discussed facet of dress theory. "In the scholarly study of fashion

¹⁵⁰ Hofstede (1983, 1984), p 73

clothing's role in effecting invidious class and status distinctions has been accorded preeminent importance."¹⁵¹ Veblen believes that the social elite could "symbolically establish its superiority over persons of lesser means" by using fashion.¹⁵² This holds true when studying Darius' imperial art as he visually displays his authority.

- In Veblen's framing of theory, fashion gains significance through comparison. Darius had two choices, either to reproduce previous power visualizations of power (e.g., the Assyrians') via clothing, or to diverge and establish his own customs.¹⁵³ He chose the latter option, apparently feeling a ruler must define himself via comparison with those whom he succeeds by symbolically breaking from them. In doing so, Darius implied superiority over the previous king's legacy.
- Fashion can be used to disrupt norms or as a tool for carrying the connotations of previous rulers. I will be focusing on delineation among Darius' peers at Persepolis, not on the variances between Achaemenid kings, although, such an investigation would undoubtedly yield finds that Darius changed and built off previous rulers to establish his own royal dress customs. Those customs then in turn informed subsequent rulers on

¹⁵¹ Davis (1992), 58

¹⁵² Davis (1992), p 59

¹⁵³ An example of this can repeatedly be observed with Roman emperors and which predecessor they choose to emulate in their sculptures. Emperors famously reference emperor Augustus for centuries in their artistic renderings. This is in significant part due to Augustan Rome's reputation as a golden age of peace. *See* Stewart (2004), p 14-16; *see also* Marconi (2004)

how to display kingship. And Veblen's theory holds true as fashion works in the reproduction or disruption of power.

- The trickle-down theory of fashion provides the second theoretical lens for my study.¹⁵⁴ Sociologist Georg Simmel was a prominent proponent of this argument. Much like trickle-down economics, this theory states that fashions trickle from the top to the bottom of the social hierarchy. Once fashion has been vulgarized at the bottom, it is no longer effective at the top of the hierarchy, so a new fashion cycle is launched. "Like other identity tensions that seek outlet in dress, social status, too, soon succumbs to a dialectic of endless relativities spawned by a host of ever shifting ambivalences matters of wealth, world attainment, and social position."¹⁵⁵
 - I will investigate what, if anything, is allowed to trickle down from royal garb to the lower levels of the social hierarchy. Because the art at Persepolis is state-run, I theorize that I will see more attempts at resembling kingship, evidence of trickledown fashion, in the Fortification Archive seals. PFA seals were often used in administrative function, but they were not necessarily state made.¹⁵⁶ This allows for more freedom of expression and more opportunities for midrange individuals on the hierarchy, (courtiers, noblemen, riders, etc.) to wield fashion to try to gain the social benefits of higher social status.

¹⁵⁴ Davis (1992), p 110-115

¹⁵⁵ Davis (1992), p 57

¹⁵⁶ Garrison and Root (1979), p 1

- The final two theories are from Johnson and Lennon, and they are The Symbolic Self Completion theory and Assimilation Process theory.¹⁵⁷ The first theory states that individuals in new roles will adhere strictly to norms until they are comfortable enough in the position to express self-identity. A perfect example of this would be a person moving to a new culture and then feeling pressure to follow the norms carefully at first so as not stick out.
 - This will be used while analyzing ethnic dress at Persepolis. *How is the ethnic blend of the Persian culture reflected in the clothing? How does this culture amalgam affect people's ability to follow or break the rules effectively? How does all of this being filtered through an imperial lens alter the meaning of the clothing?*
 - I will be trying to identify the norms of various ethnic dress at Persepolis, which will then allow me to examine which figures are breaking them. Once a break in the standard is identified, I will attempt to apply theories such as Symbolic Self Completion to attribute the cause of the specified divergence in clothing. The final theory, Assimilation process, states that People "immigrate" into a new culture,¹⁵⁸ one method of doing this is to dress like the dominant culture.
- I will also be looking for ways to apply lessons learned from the case studies discussed in the section before this. For example, the research involving rape victims translates to an examination of Darius. How does a king then use his

¹⁵⁷ Johnson and Lennon (1999), p 83-4

¹⁵⁸ Johnson and Lennon (1999), p 84

clothes to assert his power? How does he avoid negative experiences of kingship (e.g., the rebellions that occurred early in Darius's reign) for his survival as a king?

- For the second case study, the questions that arise for me are: how would a king show that he cares about his responsibilities in his capacity as a ruler through adornment? How would non-Persians express their loyalties to the Achaemenid rule through clothing? How would their lack of adaptation to Achaemenid dress convey a message? What privileges exist for people who can appropriately display their "Persian-ness"?

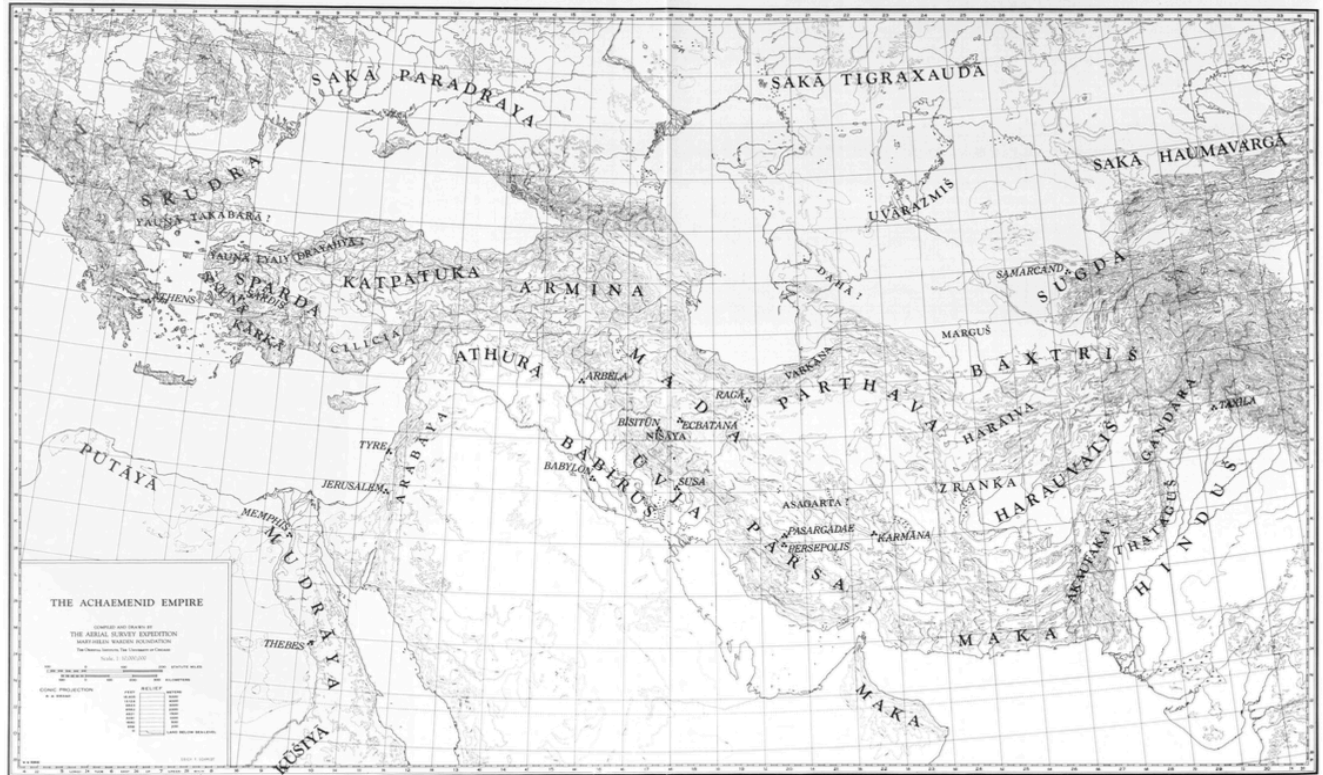
When:

During the reign of Darius 522-486 BCE, soon after the initial construction of the terrace and its buildings at Persepolis.

Where:

The Achaemenid palace at Persepolis. Founded by Darius, with additions added following his death. This analysis will focus only on art produced in the floruit of Darius. The majority of the art analysis comes from the Apadana Staircase reliefs, the doorjambs of the Palace of Darius, and Fortification Archive seals at Persepolis. Two sources extend beyond the site: the tomb of Darius, and the statue of Darius found at Susa but made in Heliopolis in Egypt.

The ethnic data comes broadly from the Achaemenid empire. My geographic analysis is based off of a map provided by Schmidt as well as his translations of names of regions from Old Persian to English.



Map of Achaemenid Empire; Schmidt (1970), figure 53, p 118

English | Old Persian

Mede—Mada
 Armenians—Armina
 Babylonians—Babirus
 Arachosians—Harauvatis
 Cappadocians—Katpatuka
 Gandarians—Gandara
 Ionians—Yauna
 Bactrian—Baxtris
 Sogdians—Sugda
 Skudrians—Skudra
 Drangianians—Zranka
 Ethiopian—Kusiya

English | Old Persian

Susians—Uvja
 Arians—Haraiva
 Syrians—Syrian
 Cilician—cilicians
 Egyptians—Mudraya
 Pointed-hat Scythians—Saka Tigraxauda
 Parthians—Parthava
 Sagartians—Asagarta
 Indians—Hindus
 Arabaians—Arabaya
 Libyans—Putaya

Table 3. 1: Old Persian Regional Translations; Schmidt (1970)

Why:

Darius, like every king, is using fashion politically. I am analyzing his fashion to attempt to have a better understanding of Darius the political figure. I hope that I can utilize the relief and seal data to articulate the customs of dress for the different ethnic groups listed above. O'Neal has a theory for why clothing becomes political, that I find compelling:

"When individuals engage in impression management through dress for the express purpose of controlling interaction, the act is political. In many instances, when the message in the presentation is misunderstood or considered as deviant, the propensity exists to intimidate or dominate (i.e., influence) the interaction. Thus, dress may serve as a political instrument to influence formal and informal relationships. As such, dress is power."¹⁵⁹

Examining adornment of the ancient Achaemenid art is valuable in the ability of adornment, in art, to tell audiences about the ethnicities represented, even if it is only telling us how that people are viewed through the Persian lens. The clothing on the art work at Persepolis in the time of Darius defines the imperial program. One interesting feature that I have noticed is the relationship between cultural exposure time, and geographical proximity to the Persian heartland as it affects the amount of detail in adornment on the Apadana and Tomb of Darius. Clothing is the primary medium by which Darius delineated the various ethnic groups representing the diverse peoples of the empire. The clothing creates messages that are political and encoded with Darius's administrative agendas.

¹⁵⁹ O'Neal (1999), p 127

Chapter 4

Dress at Persepolis: The Tomb of Darius

Seven Achaemenid kings chose the cliff face of Naqsh-e Rostam near Persepolis for their entombment. Of these sepulchral monuments, only the tomb of Darius I is attributed to the ruler definitively by inscriptions on the elaborate facade. The remaining burials at Naqsh-e Rostam have been ascribed to the three immediate successors of Darius. The last three tombs found at the Persepolis site are presumed to belong to the final Achaemenid kings.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Schmidt (1970), p 80



Tomb of Darius, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a4/Naqsh-e_Rostam_6.jpg

The Tomb of Darius was the first royal funerary monument fashioned here, cut directly into the mountain, designed by "the king's architects and artists before masons and sculptors."¹⁶¹ Schmidt suggests that work began soon after 520 BCE,¹⁶² not long after Darius established authority over his realm. Due to this attribution to early in his reign, his tomb is thought to pre-date the rest of the architectural relief program at the site.¹⁶³

The tomb breaks tradition with Iranian burial practices. Cyrus, for instance, was buried in a freestanding "stone structure resembling a house."¹⁶⁴ Darius set a precedent for royal entombment that was sustained for generations. His unprecedented memorial reflects the attitudes of the cosmopolitan king himself; "the result of a deliberate process of selection and 'invention' of ideas and forms specifically in order to create a funerary monument."¹⁶⁵

Once the immense cruciform cavity was outlined, it was smoothed and divided into three registers. Adorning the top register are reliefs showing Darius standing before a fire altar and raising a hand to Ahuramazda. He stands atop a throne or footstool, carried forward by "representatives of the nations of his realm."¹⁶⁶ The 30-some representatives are symbols of Cyrus' and Darius's conquest. The symbolic nations are placed under the throne in a harmonious subservient position. He has placed his subject peoples underfoot both in life and death by engraving his tomb representing them as subjugated throne bearers. The central register of the tomb displays a palace façade with animal-capital columns, and the bottom register is blankly smooth.

¹⁶¹ Schmidt (1970), *ibid.*

¹⁶² Schmidt (1970), *ibid.*

¹⁶³ Root (1979), p 163

¹⁶⁴ Root (1979), p 162

¹⁶⁵ Schmidt (1970), p 80

¹⁶⁶ Schmidt (1970), *ibid.*

The formation of figures on the Tomb of Darius supplies viewers with the hierarchy of power in the Achaemenid Empire as seen from Darius's perspective. Importantly, this representation of kingship deviates from the Assyrian and Egyptian prototypes from which it evolved.¹⁶⁷ Non-violent subordination was not seen in earlier prototypes. There is some debate whether this imagery is acting as a pure metaphor or a visual representation of a real ritual practiced at court.¹⁶⁸ The relief imagery may be somewhat based in reality, as there is evidence to suggest a permanent dais in the palace atop which the throne was placed.¹⁶⁹ But at least one opinion of the reliefs is that they are "illusory,"¹⁷⁰ not meant to be taken as historically accurate; after all, the throne was not literally on top of the palace as it is shown on top of the tomb.

Statistical Context of Ethnic Dress

To start an analysis of personal adornment, first I must provide some context. Thirty representative nations carry the throne, or "throne stage," of Darius as he confers with his patron god, Ahuramazda, receiving the ring of justice from the deity. There are no prototypes for this imagery in Near Eastern visual culture.¹⁷¹ The symbolic reception of the ring originates from an ancient Mesopotamian notion of justice being handed from the sky god to the king, which was carried into Neo-Assyrian culture. The Law Code of King Hammurabi exemplifies this visual

¹⁶⁷ Root (1979), p 160

¹⁶⁸ There is evidence from neighboring culture to suggest rituals of carrying a king on high did exist, and Persian culture could have been aware of it. There is no evidence to disprove that the ritual *could* have happened. Drawing from Egyptian, Susain and Elamite artistic sources of evidence to postulate that rituals involving transporting monarchy on the tomb could be more than a visualization of Achaemenid royal hierarchy (Root, 155-156, 158)

¹⁶⁹ Root (1979), P 159

¹⁷⁰ Schmidt (v.3) (1970), p 80

¹⁷¹ Root (1979), p 164

tradition. The Old Babylonian stele was carved between 1792 and 1750 BCE with Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions of laws. Atop the stele is a relief sculpture not unlike the exchange seen between Darius and Ahuramazda. The Babylonian Sun God, Shamash, faces king Hammurabi extending to him the "rod and ring."¹⁷² This icon was utilized for 2,000 years in Babylonian, Assyrian and Elamite traditions.¹⁷³ Kathryn Slanski suggests that this imagery could be connected to the Mesopotamian notion of justice, "something made straight."¹⁷⁴ Slanski further argues that they represent a surveyor's tools for laying straight foundations: a stake and line. King Hammurabi is thus receiving the divine tools to enact the inscribed laws below on the stele. Further evidence from Assur in the Neo-Assyrian period suggests that the significance of the ring had been reduced to stand for kingship generally.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Slanski (2012), p 105-106

¹⁷³ Root (1979), p 159

¹⁷⁴ Slanski (2012), p 106; *see also* Crawford (2007)

¹⁷⁵ Root (1979), p 173

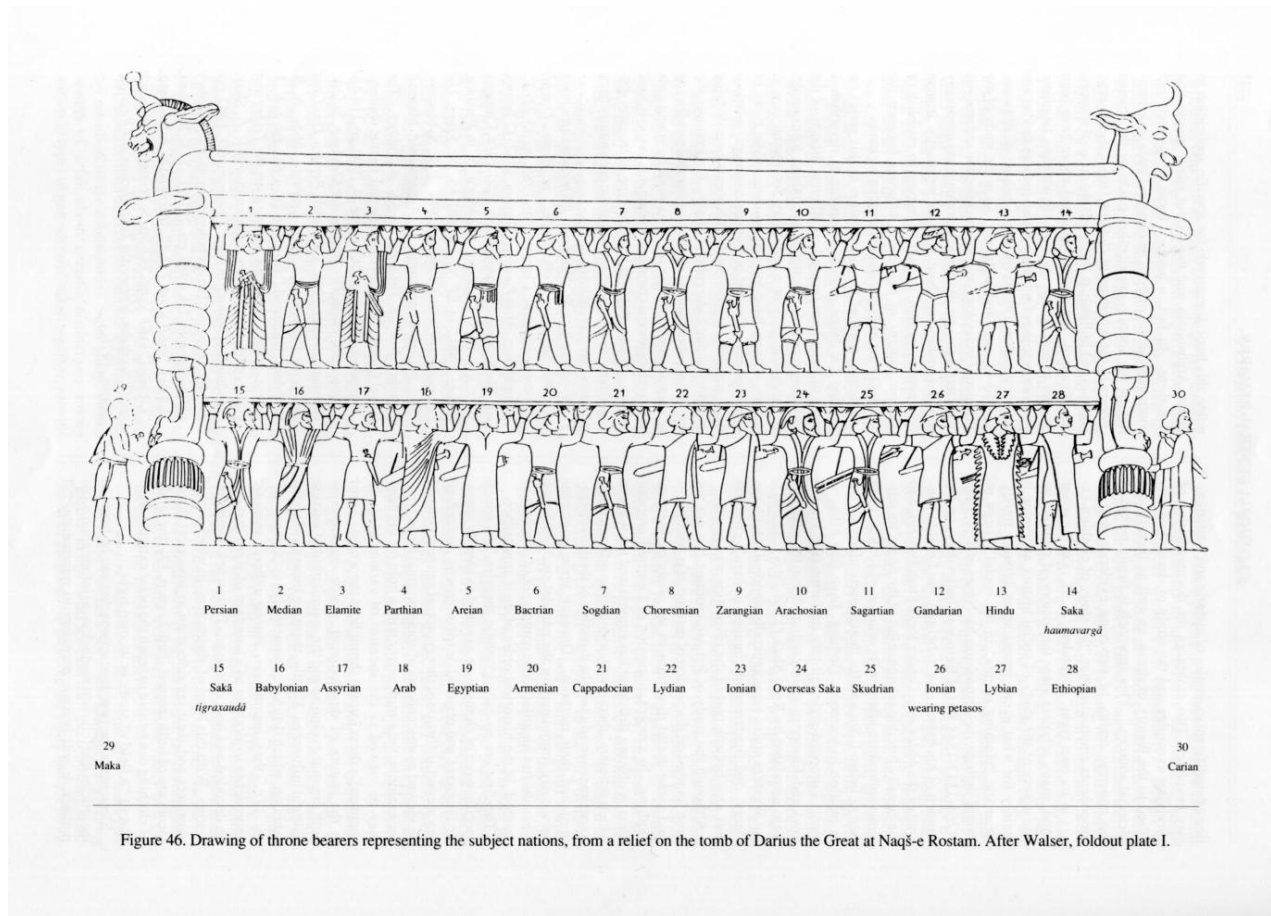


Figure 46. Drawing of throne bearers representing the subject nations, from a relief on the tomb of Darius the Great at Naqš-e Rostam. After Walser, foldout plate I.

Throne Bearers on the Tomb of Darius,

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2e/Top_side_darius_I_tomb.jpg

Of the thirty figures hoisting the throne stage of Darius on his tomb, only four throne bearers — 1, 3, 16 and 17 — are fully preserved. Most throne bearers, seventeen out of thirty, are nonetheless preserved to a sufficient degree to allow for observation and analysis of their adornment. The remaining eight throne bearers are not preserved in at least three or more of the analytic categories described below, and are therefore not included in this discussion. To avoid confusion, I will call the throne bearers "TB" and refer to them by the numbers used by Schmidt. The numbers refer to their position in line from left to right, beginning at the top row. Each represents a separate people within or neighboring the empire (e.g., Persian, Egyptian, Libyan,

etc.).

<u>TB Number</u>	<u>Ethnic name</u>	<u>TB Number</u>	<u>Ethnic name</u>
1	Persian	16	Babylonian
2	Median	17	Assyrian
3	Elamite (susian)	18	Arabian
4	Parthian	19	Egyptian
5	Arian	20	Armenian
6	Bactrian	21	Cappadocian
7	Sogdian	22	Lydian
8	Chorasmian	23	Ionian
9	Drangianian	24	Scythian beyond the sea
10	Arachosian	25	Skudrian
11	Sattagyddian	26	Petasos- wearing Ionian
12	Gandarian	27	Libyan
13	Indian	28	Ethiopian
14	Hauma-drinking Scythian	29	Macian
15	Pointed-hat Scythian	30	Carian

Table 4. 1: Throne Bearer numbers and Ethnic Identities

The men are arranged in two levels of 14 representatives, with two figures supporting the throne stage on either end from the bottom tier. The representatives are posed in identical positions,¹⁷⁶ walking to the right with their arms raised up to the sides to hold the throne stage upon their outstretched fingers.

¹⁷⁶ There are two exceptions to this rule, two figures book end the formation around the throne stage. The deviation from the common stance is represented in the Macian, TB 29, which is an especially well-preserved figure. And is a rare example of a throne bearer not in the Atlas pose. The Macian is in full profile, and his arms are at waist height rather than raised above his head

The Persian throne bearer, TB 1, is well preserved and typifies the throne bearer body position. The typical throne bearers assume the "praise position." This pose takes its name from Egyptian hieroglyphic script, in which the stance of hands raised with palms above head, with the body in twisted frame and head in profile, signified praise.¹⁷⁷ In Achaemenid scholarship it is commonly known as the "atlas posture."¹⁷⁸ This pose was universally indicative of pious celebration prior to the Achaemenid floruit.¹⁷⁹ The iconographical tradition in Egyptian and Mesopotamian visual culture that showed the king carried aloft is here transformed by the religious connotation in the body position of throne bearers.¹⁸⁰ This alteration in traditional motifs effectively communicates the willing — complicit and collaborative — subjugation of the throne bearers.

Beginning with Darius' reliefs at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, the Achaemenid dynasty specifically rejected the brutality shown over conquered peoples rendered by the Assyrians and Egyptians. Why did brutality not fit with the Persian conception of kingship? I would argue that all is explained in the placement of figures in the tomb of Darius I. He stands receiving blessings from his patron god, as representations of his land carry him forward willingly and harmoniously. The King clearly values being adored and valued by his own people. This is no indication of historical realities in the realm but clearly exemplifies the perception that Darius wished to create.

In addition to the religious connotations of the throne bearers' body position, the twist of

¹⁷⁷ Root (1979), p 145; see also A. H. Gardiner (1957) *Egyptian Grammar*; See further Egyptian examples of this pose in connection to reverence such as Queen Nofretari in her tomb (Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 159B)

¹⁷⁸ Root (1979), p 147; *see also* Dusinberre (2002)

¹⁷⁹ Dusinberre (2002), p 159

¹⁸⁰ Dusinberre (2002), *ibid.*; *see also* Root (1979)

their bodies draws attention to their clearly differentiated dress. Indeed, their distinctive garments are one of the most notable features of the relief overall. This emphasis signals that clothes will be utilized as the primary delineating feature in ethnic expression.

Accompanying each throne bearer are trilingual ethnic labels that provide confirmation of the throne bearers' ethnic identities (these labels are called the DNa inscriptions in usual definitions of Achaemenid royal inscriptions: "D" for Darius, "N" for Naqsh-i Rostam, and "a" because they are the first to be discussed by R. G. Kent in his 1950 publication of Old Persian inscriptions). The inscriptions are in three linguistically unrelated languages, all written in cuneiform: Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian.¹⁸¹ They simply state "This is the Persian," "This is the Elamite," or "This is the man of Maka."¹⁸² This makes it straightforward to correlate ancient ethnic identity with observable differences in dress.

Schmidt points out that geographic proximity of the lands corresponds to resemblance in ethnic dress worn by the throne bearers of Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rostam. Thus, the Arabian (TB 18) and Egyptian (TB 19) throne bearers display their geographic proximity via the similar dress worn by the two figures. The hair and beard on both figures are not preserved enough for comparative analysis; the clothing, however, is. Both the Egyptian and Arabian wear floor length tunics, smooth in texture, devoid of any decorations. The tunics are rigidly rectangular, loose fitting, and have short sleeves. These are among the only instances of floor length tunics on monuments, making the Arabian and Egyptian unique data points. The geographic closeness of the two peoples provides a plausible explanation for similarities in adornment styles.

¹⁸¹ See Table 4.1 for a full, translated, list of the subject peoples of the realm

¹⁸² Kent (2013), p 140-141

The tomb of Darius does not show the Achaemenid empire as it is, but as Darius wills it to be seen. As such, adornment similarities can be correlated to geographically close regions but only in the context of Darius's characterizations of the ethnic groups. Schmidt states:

Similar, at times identical, dress and weapons mark the representatives of such groups of nations as were undoubtedly in many cases ethnically related and occupied contiguous geographical tracts, exposed as a rule to similar climatic conditions. The geographical locations of the nations represented by the throne-bearers are indicated, tentatively in part, on our map of the Achaemenid empire.¹⁸³

What I propose is not a rejection of Schmidt's geographic correlations of dress but a redefinition that acknowledges the fact that definitive ethnic similarities in personal adornment cannot be correlated to geographic data broadly. These similarities are only significant when analysis is kept internal to the corpus of monuments at Persepolis in the time of Darius I. Ideally the representations could be assumed as accurate depictions of the various cultures that makeup the Achaemenid empire. This is not a realistic piece of art, however; all art at Persepolis must be filtered through Darius's political agenda as a ruler controlling ethnic representation.

The Issue of State-Controlled Art and Ethnic Dress

When analyzing of the tomb of Darius I it is imperative to call attention to the implications of an imperial art program controlling ethnic representation. Because of the political affiliation there are unavoidable political agendas embedded in each representation of peoples.

¹⁸³Schmidt (1970), p 110

The Persians and their kings were participants in Near Eastern culture long before they conquered their neighbors and established the empire. This exposure to and appropriation of other cultures' visual expression is displayed in the imperial program of visual culture, especially that of Darius I.¹⁸⁴

The following discussion draws on the images and descriptions found in Appendix 1. Implications of politics in artistic expression can be demonstrated in a comparison of Ionians as portrayed by Darius and those portrayed by Ionians themselves, in the instance of the Ionian tomb bearer, TB 23, compared to the Clazomenian sarcophagi.¹⁸⁵ Clazomenae was an Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor, and many of its spectacular painted terracotta sarcophagi are contemporaneous with the reign of Darius.¹⁸⁶ Visual analysis highlights the differences between ethnic self-representation and a conqueror's outsider presentation of ethnic diversity. On the Tomb of Darius, TB 23 wears his hair in large bundles, perhaps meant to represent large, thick curls. The chin is not preserved enough to comment on the beard. On top of his head the Ionian wears a small cap, molded to the crown of his head. There appears to be textured detail on the cap, which could be attributed to decorative incisions or texture caused by damage through weathering. The Ionian wears a straight cut, scoop-necked tunic with slightly longer sleeves than the average (bicep-length sleeves). There are faintly preserved decorative incisions on the chest. A slit is cut in the hem of the tunic reaching the upper leg and gathered above the left thigh. There is no evidence of footwear and he appears to be carrying a nondescript weapon at his

¹⁸⁴ Root (1979), p 5

¹⁸⁵ Clazomenian Sarcophagus from The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Object number: 77.AD.88, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/7952/attributed-to-the-albertinum-group-clazomenian-sarcophagus-east-greek-clazomenian-480-470-BCE/>

¹⁸⁶ Roughly 50 sarcophagi date between 530 and 500, with over 70 dating between 500 and 470; Dussinberre (2013), p 168 and refs

waist.

The Clazomenian sarcophagus discussed here dates ca. 480-470 and was painted in black figure on terracotta. Two Ionians riding chariots pulled by horses surrounded by creatures from myth, are central to the visual story on the sarcophagus, as well as two more Ionians who are shown in full battle garb. There is notable use of mirror symmetry in the artistic program of this sarcophagus.¹⁸⁷ The Ionian charioteers appear to have hair that reaches their shoulders and keep a clean-shaven face. Based on the curve of the body, the Ionian charioteers do not appear to be clothed, instead appearing naked. The artistic trend of heroic nakedness is common to this region and era. Indeed, male nakedness is a standard aspect of Archaic Greek visual representation. The battle-ready Ionians carry circular shields and wear short-sleeved tunics that reach above the knee. On their heads, the soldiers wear large helmets with a large semi-circular plum. The hair and beard of the battling Ionians is not visible. Neither wears shoes and both appear to be wielding spears and carrying swords.

The Ionians show themselves as heroic warriors, while Darius incorporates them with the rest of his kingdom. Margaret Cool Root considers the implications of Achaemenid political display in her “Reading Persepolis In Greek: Gifts of the Yauna” from Tuplin’s *Persian Responses*. In this study, Root simulates the reaction of a “hypothetical upper-class Athenian citizen of the Classical age”¹⁸⁸ to the imperial art program at Persepolis. Although here she considers ethnic expressions of the Ionian delegations on the Apadana Staircase reliefs, her comments apply also to the Ionian tomb bearer on the Tomb of Darius. In her hypothetical interaction, Root argues that customary male Athenian garments worn at this time would have

¹⁸⁷ Miller (2013), p 27

¹⁸⁸ Root (2007), p 177

been a simple chiton or tunic.¹⁸⁹ This is not completely unlike the tunics observed at Persepolis. However, Root identifies the style rendered on the Apadana as being reminiscent of “the sartorial custom of the archaic period among mature elite males of East Greece and Hellenized Anatolia.”¹⁹⁰ This demonstrates that general dress construction of regions was familiar to Persians, with the Ionians on the Apadana and the Tomb adorned in short tunics. However, this is by no means proof that Darius can be considered a reliable authority in all ethnic renditions. It only highlights that to a certain degree the generalizations of adornment in the Persepolis imperial program were accurate.

Contextualizing my own analysis

These are the standards I formulated by which to observe and judge similarities and differences. I focused my examination on eight key features that can be observed across all personal adornment data at Persepolis. The categories for analysis are as follows: Hair, Beard, Headwear, Dress, Footgear, Weapons, Accessories, and Body position.

Body position remains fixed among the throne bearers. This uniformity visually joins the individuals as a group that can then communicate as a singular sense unit. The message encoded by this group communicates the internal hierarchy of power, and importantly conveys a willing compliance rather than visual violence. Audiences see from the configuration that Darius reigns supreme without equal, except for the god. The nations appear to be all on the same level — figuratively as well as literally supportive of the king, and appearing from a distance as a simple

¹⁸⁹ Root (2007), p 182

¹⁹⁰ Root (2007), *ibid.*

harmonious mass. Aside from the fact that the top left throne bearer (TB 1) is identified as Persian by the DNa inscription, there is no evidence that any hierarchical order exists among the ranks. Instead, I argue that the important message to focus on is how the repetition of an artistic feature can communicate group identity, even when the group is made of complex individual distinctiveness. On the tomb of Darius I, consistent body position announces to audiences that the nations are equal with only one entity capable of controlling the masses, Persia, and more specifically the Achaemenid clan. This point is made not by the throne bearer but by the imposing presence of Darius held aloft by his subject peoples.

I begin my internal comparison of throne bearers at the anatomical top. Hair and beards are some of the most important identifying features of the relief. Texture of the hair is represented by small patterned incisions that fill in an outlined hairstyle. The incisions represent curly, straight, and wavy hair textures; sometimes with a mixed pattern between the hair and beard texture. The most common hair and beard configurations are short curly hair accompanied by a trimmed, curly beard, that is angularly sculpted. Often throne bearers don a headpiece, which partially or completely conceals the hair and/or beard.

The Persian throne bearer, TB 1, exemplifies the most common combination of hairstyle, hair texture, beard style, beard texture, and headpiece. The Persian is seen with curly hair and beard. His hair stops at base of neck. The beard touches his cheekbones, covers the upper lip, and is maintained close to the jaw. The beard extends under the chin and is subtly sculpted to a point. Atop his hair, the Persian wears a molded headpiece, devoid of decorations.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ It is perhaps no coincidence that the most common artistic styles are the same styles found in the Persian representation. It could have served as template for how to render a throne bearer's heads when the artist did not have knowledge or instruction of the ethnically appropriate hair,

Only four figures appear on this monument with uncovered hair, TB 19, 22, 28, and 29.¹⁹² All four are shown with straight or wavy hair.¹⁹³ On three of the four hatless figures, there is evidence for a beard and mustache trimmed close to the face. TB 19's hair is smoothed and kept in a low bun at the back of the neck. The beard is poorly preserved, making the shape unclear. TB 22 has smooth hair that curls up in one gathered curl at the back of the neck. There is a faint indication of a beard and mustache styled very close to the skin and rounded in shape. TB 28 and TB 29 are depicted with short wavy hair and a beard-mustache combo, groomed in to a point. The four hatless throne bearers come from diverse geographic profiles, as does their dress. Their similarities therefore do not seem to be attempting to communicate geographic relationships but may be relaying on other cultural contexts that connect the four regions.

Throne Bearer Number	Hair and Beard	Headwear	Dress	Weapon	Ethnicity
19	Hair and beard are straight. Hair is kept short while beard is worn long	No headpiece	Short sleeved, floor length tunic. Garment is lacking ornamentation.	Figure is unarmed	Egyptian
22	Hair and beard are straight and kept short. A single curl flips up at the back of the figure's head. Beard is angularly sculpted	No headpiece	Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Draped across the chest is a cape that can be seen in the foreground behind the figure. Tunic is void of ornamentation	Sheathed short sword is worn high up on the waist. The hilt facing to the left. A decorative band hangs from the sword.	Lydian
28	Head appears bald or closely shaved. Preservation does not allow for further analysis.	No headpiece	Figure is bare chested with a knee length skirt wrapped around the waist.	Figure is unarmed	Ethiopian
29	Hair and beard are wavy and kept short. Beard is angularly sculpted to a point.	No headpiece	Sleeveless, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Tunic lacks ornamentation	Faintly preserved curved dagger worn on the hip attached the waist.	Macian

Table 4. 2: Uncovered hair

beard, and hat styles

¹⁹² The Egyptian, Lydian, Ethiopian, Macian throne bearers

¹⁹³ This is a unique example of hair texture on a monument where curly hair is the dominate trait

Next, let us examine the opposite end of the spectrum of head coverings by looking at the headpieces distinct from the established norms. If the Persian throne bearer (TB 1) exemplifies the norm, then these throne bearers represent the outliers of the data set. Again, four figures stand out, TB 15, 16, 24, and 27.¹⁹⁴ TB 15 and 24 are inscribed with the same cultural marker, Scythian, but are not placed next to one another on the relief. The ethnic groups are distinguished in their DNA inscriptions as "pointed-hat" Scythians, and Scythians "beyond the sea." Despite their separation, they visually resemble one another and provide one of the few examples of the same ethnicity doubly represented. The Scythian caps are pointed and curve from the front to the back of the head. The head covering appears smooth, without decoration on both figures. The pair is identical in the rendering of their beards, worn longer than that of TB 1 and coming to an irregularly sharp point tapering under the chin. Both Scythians' hair reaches the base of their necks and flips up at the end in a single curl. The "pointed-hat" Scythian's neighbor TB 16, the Babylonian, also adorns his head with uncommon headwear. His hat is illustrated as being smooth and close to the scalp. The Babylonian hat tapers at the crown of the head and continues in a long dangling strip extending well past his shoulder blades. The final oddity in head covering is found on TB 27, the Libyan. The Libyan throne bearer wears a rounded hat that stops above the ear, allowing a large amount of hair to spill out. Hanging from the rounded hat are two long strips of material that extend to the collarbone. All four of the headpieces are highly distinct, both from the "norm" established by TB 1 and from each other (with the exception of the Scythians). It is this diversity of adornment that exemplifies ethnic classification by dress. The monument's ethnic dress suggests a relationship between the groups that exists in the real

¹⁹⁴ The Pointed-hat Scythian, Babylonian, Scythian-beyond-the-sea, and Libyan throne bearers

world.

Throne Bearer Number	Hair and Beard	Headwear	Dress	Weapon	Ethnicity
15	The hair flips up. In a single curl at the back of the head. Beard is kept short and angularly sculpted to an especially sharp point.	Headpiece is worn with a pointed tip. The headpiece tapers to a point sloping away from the apex of the head. Headpiece is without ornamentation.	Hem and sleeve incisions not preserved. Clothes appears to be full coverage. Potential evidence of v-shaped neckline. Top of tunic is tight fitting flaring out around the hips. Tunic is cut short, indicated by the amount of leg separation visible.	Outline of dagger preserved. Hung from the belt with the hilt facing to the right. No detail beyond that is discernable.	Pointed-hat Scythian
16	and kept short, minimally visible under the headpiece. The beard is sculpted to a rounded point.	Headpiece is molded to figure's head. A long strip dangles from the apex of the head past his shoulder blades.	Draping incision lines originate from the left shoulder of the garment and cross the entirety of the garment. Hem is abnormal, with two lobes creating the bottom of the garment.	Figure is unarmed	Babylonian
24	Hair and beard are straight and kept short. A single curl flips up at the back of the figure's head. Beard is angularly sculpted to a point.	Headpiece is worn with a pointed tip sloping away from the apex of the head.	Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Faint incisions on the waist suggesting a belt.	Figure is unarmed	Scythian beyond the sea
27	Head is not well preserved. Hair and beard are curly and kept short. Hair is primarily covered by the headpiece	Headpiece is molded the figure's head. Two appendages hang down from the headpiece. Headpiece lacks ornamentation beyond the decorative straps.	the top of the dress is damaged beyond analysis. A full length tunic is worn.	Figure is unarmed	Libyan

Table 4. 3: Headwear Oddities

Proceeding down the body, the next element to investigate is the most important component of personal adornment, the clothing. There is no evidence of trousers on the tomb of Darius. All throne bearers sport tunics or skirts of some kind. Half of all throne bearers, fifteen figures, wear short sleeves, typically fitted to the bicep. TB 5, the Arian, has one of the clearest sleeve line incisions, indicating sleeve length. Eight figures' dress was not preserved enough to warrant analysis. Five figures potentially show a bare chest with a skirt; TB 28, the Ethiopian, is perhaps the clearest example of a bare chest. Finally, TB 17 and 29 can be observed in sleeveless tunics. There is not a singular trend in the length of the tunics and skirts that are preserved. A near even split demonstrates twelve throne bearers shown with hems at or just above the knee, and twelve throne bearers with short tunics that reach the upper thigh. Two hems are floor

length, as previously mentioned, and two have hems that hit below the knee but above the ankle. TB 17, the Assyrian, epitomizes the most common combination of dress elements, a fitted knee length tunic with short sleeves and a scooped neckline. Even his hair adheres to the trend for short curly hair with molded cap and angular beard.

With the baseline for dress established I can begin to analyze the outliers. Clothing covers the greatest surface area on individual figures, making it the visual element that allows the most control over messages. The main message that the throne bearers undoubtedly communicates is the magnitude and diversity of lands ruled by Darius.

Within the corpus of conquered people there is a variable amount of detail on dress. I argue that the inclusion of detailed features is indicative of exposure to each ethnicity. Such features include draping, texture, and shape that does not directly mimic the human form. Because the rendition is produced from the Achaemenid view point, it is possible that the expertise in understanding or portraying differing ethnic dress was dependent on the proximity and contact between that ethnic group and the Persians. Throne Bearers 13 and 16 (the Indian and Babylonian) demonstrate the relationship between amount of detail and distance from the administrative centers in southwestern Iran.

The Indian representative, TB 13, distinguishes himself from his neighbors by the shape of his garment alone. Most throne bearers wear tunics that are well fitted without being tight. The Indian, in contrast, wears a tunic that billows away from his body above the hips, tapering in again at the hem to hug his thighs. The sleeves similarly are not fitted to the biceps. The garment is empty of decorations. Based on the size of his arms and legs it seems unlikely that the clothed body produces this shape. Instead, this billowing seems to be a product of an artistic choice.

This begs the question, what does this deviance from the mean attempt to communicate about the Indian? India was at or beyond the eastern limit of the Achaemenid Empire. Because of the distance and its status as a boundary territory, it is unsurprising that the Indian would appear on the peripheries of norms of personal adornment on the monument. This distance could also have influenced information available for knowing or recognizing Indian adornment. I believe TB 13 breaks the mold of average dress to communicate the geographical status of India as at the limit of Persian control. Apart from its unusual shape, the design elements of this dress are rather simple in style and ornamentation as compared to the detail shown on the Persian throne bearer. I argue that this simplicity further strengthens my connection to their peripheral identity. The plainness likely is due to a lack of knowledge that would enable an artist to provide further details that are seen on ethnic representations that are closer in proximity and contact with the Achaemenid Empire.

By contrast, the degree of detail preserved in the Babylonian throne bearer is great. The transgressive headwear seen on the Babylonian throne bearer is fortified by the distinctive dress donned by TB 16. The Babylonian wears an ankle length dress with linear draping that crosses the body. The draping originates at the right shoulder and continues to the left hemline. At the center front of the dress there is a slit rising to the upper thigh. The cross-body draping is exclusive to the Babylonian figure. On the right shoulder is a semicircular incision representing where the pleating joins with the rest of the garment. The entire figure is imbued with extensive detail from head to toe. These details have context. Babylonian rule predated the Achaemenid Empire, with the city and its environs eventually conquered in 539 BCE and annexed to the empire. Before accumulating power, Persian delegates are known to have spent time in the courts

of Assyria and Babylon.¹⁹⁵ As such, Persians had a much longer history in observing and understanding common Babylonian garb. This results in a higher attention to detail when carving the clothing of a people that have interacted for generations and is geographically closer than the Indian peoples and other outlying territories.

The remaining categories of analysis, weapons and accessories, are far less significant in their ability to delineate ethnic groups, I have found. Those throne bearers who are armed all carry similar weapons on their belts: daggers sheathed with the hilt pointing to the left. There is a slight curve in blade, and a decorative band of some kind encompasses the hilt of the weapon. Accessories worn by throne bearers are limited to ornamental bracelets on each wrist. Most figures on the relief wear the nondescript jewelry.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Root (1979), p 32

¹⁹⁶ For a complete analysis of ethnic dress on the Tomb of Darius see Appendix 1



Schmidt (1970), plate 33

Darius on the Tomb

Darius appears in glorious form on his tomb, his importance indicated by his immense size and relation to the god Ahuramazda.¹⁹⁷ The king stands atop his intricate throne stage supported by the much smaller representatives of his empire. He stands on a further stepped platform and appears to be moving towards the god. Darius faces right striding forward, placing his right leg ahead of the left. In his right hand, the king carries a bow, which he rests on the ground before him. The bow potentially symbolizes that the king thought of himself as the "first bow-man of his people."¹⁹⁸ The bow as a symbol originated in Assyrian iconography. It is associated with the warrior's manhood and personal identity.¹⁹⁹ His left arm bends at the elbow and extends before him in a gesture to Ahuramazda. His hair is curly and worn gathered at the base of the neck. Darius has a very long curly beard, which is consistent across monuments featuring his depiction. It extends to at least his sternum, disappearing behind his extended arm. The beard is fuller closer to the king's face, tapering in at the end and sculpted to a squared tip. Darius's hair is confined by a dentate crown with bosses. This molded headpiece has a jagged edge on the top, with points at varied heights and distances. It is unclear how much of this detail is original to the carving or the product of damage. There is a large fracture behind his head that could explain the odd edge to the king's head covering. The cap itself is bereft of embellishments.

On his body, Darius wears a garment that resembles the dress of the Persian throne bearer below, importantly augmented befitting his rank. He wears a short-draped shawl over his shoulders that cuts off at his waist and billows around his arms. This shawl has intricate pleating

¹⁹⁷ Although the identification of the figure in the winged disk is a matter of some debate, in my opinion it seems likely this is Ahuramazda, as he appears on other reliefs with Darius and it is he upon whom Darius bases his authority in the royal inscriptions (Root (1979), p 170)

¹⁹⁸ Root (1979), p 164

¹⁹⁹ Root (1979), p 165

incisions carved on the fabric around the arms, suggesting the material pooled here. Beneath the shawl, Darius is adorned in a Persian court robe extending to his ankles and covered in incision lines indicating draping. The skirt has a scalloped hem, created by a pleat running down the center front of the garment. Pleats on this central element are vertical and parallel. All other incisions on the skirt slightly curve down and away from the center panel. The king does not appear to be wearing shoes, just as the throne bearers below him do not have distinctive footwear, although a close look at the original publication photographs suggests traces of paint on his feet and we should perhaps imagine painted colorful footgear, now lost, not only on the king but also on others.²⁰⁰ The remaining elements of the king's dress are quite simple; he carries an elegant bow in his left hand, and displays the customary bracelets on each wrist.

Darius is taking care to highlight key aspects of his image for which he wants to be remembered. First his "Persian-ness" is displayed via the similarities observed to the Persian court robe. Second, he shows himself as a warrior and military authority, seen in the inclusion of the bow. Third, his piety is underlined by the mirrored pose between god and king as well as the rendition that shows him receiving a divine symbol of power. Darius has weaponized his own image to communicate effectively, just as he was explicit in his communication of specific ethnic representations.

Dress Theory Conclusion

The Tomb of Darius interacts with four theories of dress discussed: Symbolic

²⁰⁰ Schmidt (1970), plate 33

Superiority, Trickle-Down theory, Symbolic Self Completion theory, and Assimilation Process theory. Darius practices *Symbolic Superiority*, appearing with the god as an equal, standing atop his citizens. His size and elaborated Persian court robe interface with his dentate crown to provide him with unequivocal symbolic superiority.

An argument for *Trickle Down* fashion theory could be postulated for the Tomb of Darius, as the throne bearer who most closely resembles the king in dress is TB 1, the Persian. Darius is finely dressed among subjects of his realm as he moves towards Ahuramazda. Elements of his dress are visible in every figure of the monument. For example, the overwhelming majority of figures on the Apadana, as well as on the tomb, wear a tunic as their primary dress. Are people dressed similarly to Darius to emulate him and establish their connection, or is Darius proving his connection to his people by dressing in an elevated version of typical garb? Given the context of creation, the latter appears more likely to me, although the trickle-down cycle of fashion could be applied to the dress observed on this monument.

The *Symbolic Self Completion* theory helps sharpen the analysis of who adheres to patterns and who diverges from them. This theory points to new members of groups that choose to either assimilate or self-express based on their comfort in said group. However, because the ethnic groups are not representing themselves it is less of the symbolic self as much as it was Darius's image of who belonged in the norm and whom to place outside. For instance, the Persian throne bearer compared to the Egyptian throne bearer display very different spectra on the normal scale of dress within the monument.

The *Assimilation Process* could also be employed to explain the general pattern of dress across monuments, such as the tunic. The Assimilation Process theory postulates how people culturally immigrate. So those who exist on the periphery of empire that adhere to the norms

could be seen as being made to culturally assimilate to the Persian standard. The rare figures that diverge from the tunic template have not assimilated to the culture and are purposefully marked out in their otherness.

Chapter 5

Dress at Persepolis: The Apadana Staircase



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1C11_72dpi.png

The Apadana is one of the original structures on the Persepolis terrace. Construction on the Apadana began with Darius I but was not finished in his lifetime. His son Xerxes, who appears on the treasury relief with Darius, completed the construction and art of the great audience hall. The architecture commissioned was grand and imposing, the result “the loftiest

and most spacious building of Persepolis.”²⁰¹ Such a structure necessitates monumental artwork. By utilizing the entrance space for monumental visual display, Darius ensured that every visitor to the audience hall would witness his power. The almost-identical North and East staircases of the Apadana feature delegation parties moving towards the central panel. Darius chooses to express his power by highlighting his hegemony over multiple ethnic delegations. His choice to represent the vastness of his command on two different relief sculptures, the Apadana and Tomb of Darius, indicates the value Darius placed on his dominance over nations. By differentiating his subjects, he is proving to audiences that he continues to practice this dominance successfully over dozens of subject peoples. The gold and silver tablets recovered from the foundations of the Apadana proclaim the diversity of Darius’s conquests in words, mirroring the visual message of the sculpted reliefs:

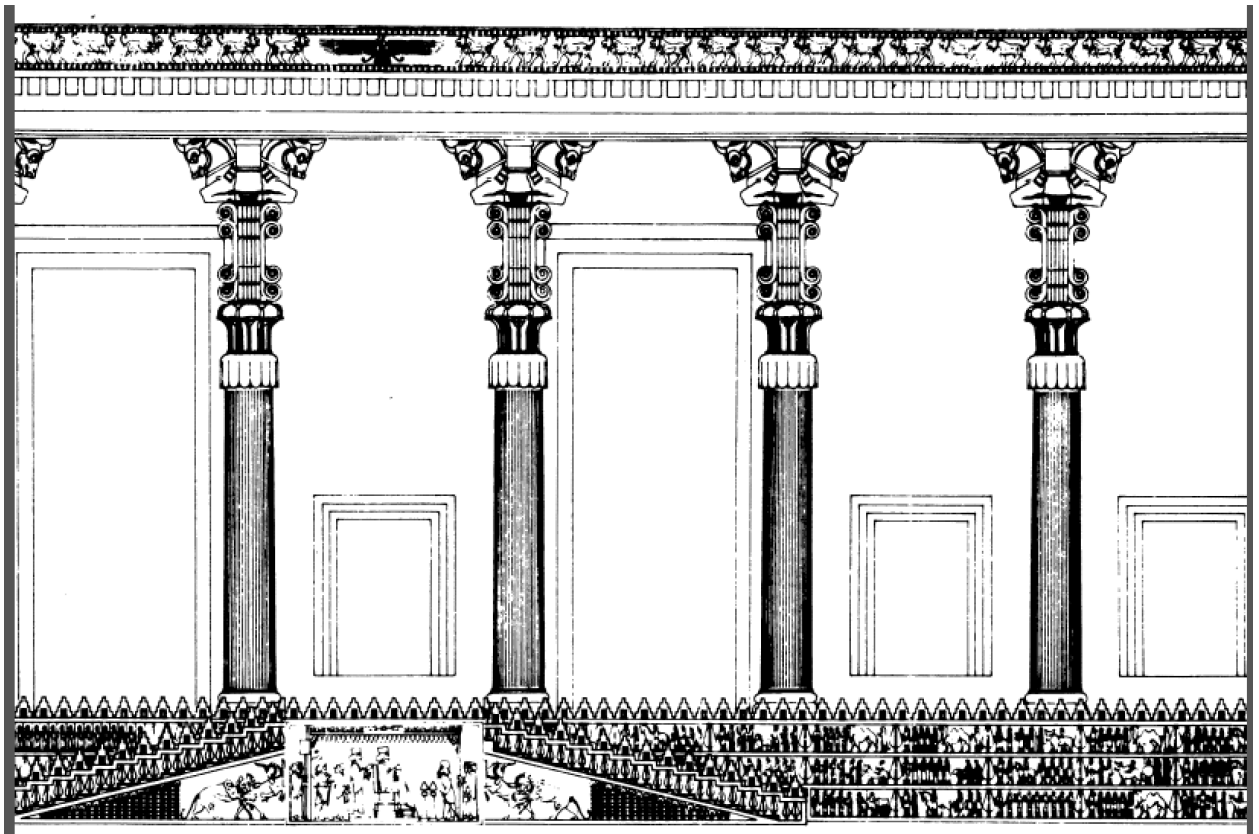
Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenid. Says Darius the king: This is the kingdom which I hold, from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, from there to Ethiopia; from India, from there to Sardis- (the kingdom) which to me Ahuramazda gave, the greatest of the gods. May Ahuramazda protect me and my royal house.²⁰²

Darius through his imperial visual program sought to express and solidify Persian dominance over the farthest reaches of his empire. On the tomb of Darius, he is physically carried on the fingertips of his subjects, while symbolically the nations carry the Achaemenid empire. On the Apadana, the king opts to show his subjects flocking to the audience hall in droves. The conquered nations come in delegation groups, representing realms via multiple

²⁰¹ Schmidt (1953), p 70

²⁰² Schmidt (1953), p 70

figures rather than simply through the individual representations seen on the tomb. They come bearing gifts, led by ushers dressed alternately in Persian court robes and Persian riding costumes. Schmidt identifies 23 delegations, most of which are also featured on the tomb of Darius.²⁰³



Root (1979), figure 11

Statistical Context of Apadana

Each delegation features a wealth of opportunity for qualitative analysis. A complete analysis of dress of a delegation party can be found in Appendix 2. All delegate garments are preserved to allow analysis. A breakdown of significant statistical patterns are as follows: seven of the twenty delegations analyzed wear mid-calf length tunics. Six wear knee length tunics.

²⁰³ For a list of delegation parties see Appendix 2

Four of the twenty delegations wear trousers under the tunic, and half of the data set wears long sleeved tunics. The majority of delegates have curly hair (twelve out of twenty), the second most popular hair texture is wavy (five out of twenty), followed by straight (three out of twenty). Most figures wear headpieces, only four delegates are without. The stylistic breakdown within headpieces is highly variable, without a majority emerging.

Delegations of Interest

I have chosen to focus here on four significant delegations, images of which are to be found in Appendix 2. To diversify the conversation, I single out two nations that were geographically close, the Bactrian and Arian delegations. I picked these ethnic groups specifically for their propinquity to the Persian heartland. As I observed in my analysis of the tomb of Darius, the relationship between distance from the Persian population correlates to a decrease in detail on objects of fashion. The third group I chose to examine is a peripheral territory, Ethiopia. Finally, I have chosen to focus on the Cappadocian delegates based on their uniqueness of dress.

Let us begin with the figures from the Bactrian party. Bactrian hair and beards are both rendered with a straight texture. This is indicated by the repetition of linear parallel incisions in the hair. On his forehead lies a single row of curls, a pattern that is mimicked in the beard. The hair is worn short, trimmed at the base of the neck. Beard lengths vary among members of the party, although all are long relative to other relief figures. Bactrian beards uniformly have a rounded tip. A mustache grows down the sides of the mouth and concludes in small curl below the lip. Just as with the hair there is a small row of curls visible below the bottom lip. Atop their hair, the Bactrians wear thick headbands. The bands are ornamented with rectangular elements

behind the ear. They sport long sleeved tunics worn over loose fitting trousers. There are faint incision lines on the trousers that help to convey their billowing fit. Belts are worn around the waist. All members of the party wear the same dress and headpiece, as well as the same earrings. Unlike on the tomb of Darius, these figures wear shoes. The Bactrians' shoes curve up slightly at the toes. Each member wears a pendent earring. The whole party is unarmed.

Next let us examine the Bactrians' neighbors, the Arians. Unlike the Bactrians, the head covering of the Arian people does not leave any hair exposed. Only the top of the beard and mustache are visible. From the small sample, it appears that their beards are straight in texture. Covering their head and necks is an elaborately wrapped headscarf. The incision lines on the head covering connote layers produced by wrapping. This molded head piece has three layers on both the top and the bottom of the wrap. The curved incision lines hug the contours of the head. There is a layer at the back of the head that reaches below the shoulder blades, running down the back.

What they lack in similarity to the Bactrians in headgear they make up for in similar dress. The Arians wear a long-sleeved tunic overtop loose fitting trousers that stop mid shin. They wear a belt tied at their waist. It is unclear if the Arian delegation is wearing shoes. If they are they are molded to the feet in a way that Bactrian shoes were not. The Arian headscarf prohibits other accessories from being visible. The leader of the party is dressed slightly differently from the rest of the Arian group. He appears in the same headscarf and tunic combination but with an added robe layered overtop. The group comes unarmed and bearing gifts.

From this analysis, it is clear that there are regional differences between the Bactrian and Arian groups. They differ in their customary headwear, footwear, and accessories. However, the

two ethnicities share a base customary dress, one that is highly detailed in all its facets. The extensive detail rendered in each of these delegations is a result of their proximity to the Persian heartland and the degree of interaction the Persians would have had with them.

Moving away from the center to the farthest limits of the Achaemenid Empire, let us examine the Ethiopian delegation. Ethiopians appear on the Apadana east stairwell with clean shaven faces and curly hair worn tight to the scalp. The three representatives all wear the same floor length tunics. This length may be observed in several other illustrations of ethnic groups native to northern Africa and the surrounding area. On the tomb of Darius both the Egyptians and Arabians don full length dresses. The same trend can be observed in the Apadana on the Arabian group as well as the Ethiopians. The garment is worn on one shoulder with fabric flung over their left shoulders. The dress has a single distinguishing detail down the center of the body, two parallel incisions represent an opening in the dress that is indicated by the slightly uneven hemlines suggesting that the garment opens at the vertical incisions. The Ethiopians do not appear to be wearing shoes, nor do they wear accessories of any kind or carry weapons. All the figures are uniformly clothed.

For the most part, the elements of personal adornment observed on the Ethiopian figures are what can be expected of a rendering of a distant region. There is very little detail and no variance among delegates. It is, however, worth noting the curious choice to make the Ethiopians disproportionately small compared to the Persian usher in riding costume. The discrepancy in size could be due to the confines of the border, or it could be meant to diminish the party's importance in comparison to the Persian.

The final style of dress that I wish to examine in greater detail from the Apadana is found on the Cappadocian envoys. Their hair and beards are represented with tight spiral curls.

Cappadocian hair is kept short, gathered above the neck. They are shown wearing their beards short and sculpted to a harsh point. On their hair, the Cappadocians wear headpieces characterized by three lobes on the crown. At the back of the headpiece, three strips of fabric cascade down their backs. On the main body of the cap a curved, perpendicular line intercepts the two lower segments of material. The party wears capes draped over both shoulders. Underneath they wear a simple long-sleeved tunic that falls just above the knee. Around their waists, the Cappadocians wear a belt. Their clothing is devoid of texture or drapery lines, indicating a smooth or thick fabric. All members of the delegation wear the same clothing and head coverings. No delegate wears accessories of any kind. The party comes unarmed, bearing gifts of fabric as well as leading a horse.

What follows are tables and discussions of patterns within the data worth mentioning further:

Apadana Delegation number	Hair and beard	Headwear	Dress	Footgear	Weapon	Ethnicity
AD 1	Hair is relatively straight with a rigid outline. There is no beard present, there is a goatee as indicated by the parallel incisions on the Arabian's chin	No headpiece	Curved incision lines indicate a single shoulder, draped tunic. Lack of incision lines on the bicep sleeves suggest at least one bare arm. The tunic is draped with a center front slit produced from draping.	Front delegate is wearing sandals. Preservation does not allow for analysis of the whole party's footwear.	The party is unarmed	Arabian
AD 9	Hair is curly, worn close to the scalp. The Ethiopian is clean shaven	No headpiece	Curved incision lines indicate a single shoulder, draped tunic. Lack of incision lines on the bicep sleeves suggest at least one bare arm. There are parallel incisions running down the center front of the floor length tunic.	The party wears sandals	The last member of the delegation carries what appears to be a curved sword over his left shoulder. The rest of the party is unarmed.	Ethiopian

Table 5. 1: One Shoulder Tunics

Discussion:

What I find most interesting about the delegation parties wearing one shoulder tunics are the similarities across other categories. In both instances the figures have uncovered heads, and wear sandals. The garments are not identical but depicted very similarly. Beyond the obvious construction of the sleeves, the tunics are both floor length with center front panels of draping.

Apadana Delegation number	Hair and beard	Headwear	Dress	Footgear	Weapon	Ethnicity
AD 19	Hair is wavy on top of the head and curly beneath the headband. The beard is curly as well. The hair and beard are worn short, and the beard is angularly sculpted to a point.	Simple headband rests over the forehead. There are incisions forming a pattern on the entirety of the headband.	A shawl is worn overtop a mid-calf length tunic. The shawl has wide sleeves and incision details on the back of the garment. The tunic has draping incisions with a center front detail where the rest of the incisions originate out from. The Shawl is relatively without ornamentation, while the tunic is adorned with drapery incisions	The party wears sandals	The party is unarmed with the exception of the second and third delegates who ceremonially carrying weapons before them. The second delegate carries a bow with the string facing away from him. The third delegate carries two sheathed daggers before him. The daggers are wide and short with an anchoring handle as well as the typical sword hilt.	Susian
AD 10	Hair is 50% wavy 50% curly with the change occurring after the headpiece. The beard is curly and short, angularly sculpted to a point. Mustache is grown down from the lip and has a single curl	Simple headband with no ties or ornamentation rests over the forehead.	Ankle length shawls are fastened around the shoulders. There are small tassels on the corners of the shawl. Under the shawl is a three-quarters length sleeved, Knee-length tunic worn.	The party wears sandals	Leader is unarmed, party is not. other members carry in their right hands pointed objects approximate to the figure's forearm. The back row in the party wear Gandrian dress and carry round shields and spears.	Gandarian
AD 20	Hair and beard are curly and kept short. A long single strand ending in a single curls hangs behind the right ear.	Five tiered headpiece that slopes back from the apex of the head.	Three-quarters length shawl is worn over a mid-calf length tunic. Curved, parallel incision lines cover the shawl. More tightly spaced incisions line the sleeves. The tunic lacks ornamentation.	The party wears slippers with toes curved up.	The party is unarmed	Syrian
AD 17	Hair and beard are straight, both are kept short. A sharp ridge of hairline is visible under the headpiece. The beard is depicted with minimal incision lines, it is angularly sculpted to a rounded point.	A molded headpiece is fastened under the chin with a thick strap. The crown of the cap is pulled up into a rounded point. The headpiece is otherwise void of ornamentation	Three-quarters length shawl is worn over the shoulders over top a mid-calf length tunic. Tassels hang down from the corners of the cape sleeves. Both the cape and tunic are without ornamentation	The party wears sandals	The front member of the delegation are unarmed. The remaining members are armed. They carry with them round shields covered with vertical incisions. And long staffs held in their right hands.	Skudrian

Table 5. 2: Shawls

Discussion:

Shawls on the Apadana all have three-quarter length sleeves and the effect is artistically constructed with sequential incision lines. Two of the shawls have the additional feature of tassels on the corner of the sleeves. Figures wearing shawls on the Apadana do not share similarity across categories but are a unique data set that naturally groups these delegations together.

Apadana Delegation number	Headwear	Dress	Footgear	Ethnicity
AD 2	Full coverage headpiece worn, only leaving facial features visible. Four tiered wrapping around the top of the head. With three tiers of wrapping on the back of the head wrapping around the front. No texture on covering. The tiers on the top of the head are linear incisions, with the exception of the rounded top of the headpiece. The bottom wrappings are curved to accommodate the shape neck and chin. the chin layer comes directly below the lip.	Party wears long-sleeved mid-thigh length tunic with loose fitting pants worn underneath. No ornamentation present on the garment.	The party wears slippers with toes curved up.	Arachosian
AD 6	Thick headband laying over the forehead. There are two rectangular decorative elements on the headband behind the ear. The rectangular elements are stacked on top of one another.	Long sleeved tunic worn overtop loose fitting mid-calf length pants. There are faint incision lines on the pants that help to convey their fit.	The party wears slippers with toes curved up.	Bactrian
AD 20	Five tiered headpiece that slopes back from the apex of the head.	Three-quarters length shawl is worn over a mid-calf length tunic. Curved, parallel incision lines cover the shawl. More tightly spaced incisions line the sleeves. The tunic lacks ornamentation.	The party wears slippers with toes curved up.	Syrian

Table 5. 3: Unique Footwear

Discussion:

The majority of the delegate parties wear simple slippers or sandals on the Apadana monument. The exception is displayed above with delegates who wear slippers with pointed toes that curl up and towards the body. These are the only instances of deviance from the norm of the data set. Inherently no other similarities are observed across categories indicating that the unique foot wear could be a regional style. The Arachosian, Bactrian, and Lydian²⁰⁴ territories all share this common feature of adornment despite their apparent geographical distance. This perhaps demonstrates that in the imperial art program at Persepolis some ethnic identities are grouped together by their outlandish adornment features.

²⁰⁴ This delegation party was misidentified by Schmidt as Syrian but are actually Lydians

Apadana Delegation number	Hair and beard	Headwear	Dress	Footgear	Weapon	Ethnicity
AD 15	Hair and beard are curly and kept short. Both are hidden primarily by the headpiece.	Three humps slopes forward from the back of the head. There is a flap at the back of a head, protecting the neck. A large chin strap covers the jaw line in its entirety. There is a small rounded flap hanging over the jaw covering. A small incised band runs above the forehead and round the head.	Long sleeved, high-necked tunic. There is no texture on the garment. Dress appears fitted to the figure.	The party wears sandals	The party is unarmed with the exception of the fourth delegate who ceremonially carries a sheathed short sword. The sword has a bulbous tip and a sturdy hilt visible.	Median
AD 16	Hair and beard are wavy and primarily hidden under a headpiece. The beard is worn long, sculpted to a rounded edge. On the sides of the mustache is a single curl.	A large pointed headpiece is fastened under the chin with a thick strap. The point of the cap tapers away from the head curving back away from the apex. A long flap protects the back of the neck. Three incised bands adorn the headpiece. All originate from the same point at the back of the head. Two extend up, one follows the strap under the neck.	A long-sleeved, knee-length tunic is worn over full length pants that billow from the body. The garment lacks ornamentation	The party wears sandals	The party is armed. Short swords are sheathed attached to the hip. A bulbous tip is featured on the sword, a sturdy hilt is visible above the strap	Saka-Tigraxauda (Pointed-Hat Scythians)
AD 18	Hair and beard are wavy, hair is kept short, the beard long. A sliver of hair is visible at the hairline under the cap. The beard is sculpted with a blunted edge.	The headpiece is fastened under the chin by a large strap. The headpiece is molded to the head, featuring a bulge above the hairline. The headpiece is void of ornamentation	A long-sleeved, high-low tunic is worn over full length pants. The hem of the tunic is angled high to low from the center front to center back. Incisions over the shoulders and chest indicate an element tied over the chest. The tunic and pants are without ornamentation	The party wears slippers	The party is unarmed with the exception of the second delegate ceremonially carrying a sheathed short sword before him. The sword has a bulbous tip on the end and a sturdy hilt. The holstering mechanisms are still attached to the sheath.	Sogdian

Table 5. 4: Unique Weapons

Discussion:

The three appearances of short swords, examined in table 5.4, are sheathed in a case with a bulbous tip. In two cases, the Median and the Sogdian, the unique sword is carried among an unarmed party ceremonially, in a gesture that suggests bestowing a gift in tribute. Interestingly, the three regions are not geographically close to one another but they share other similarities in adornment. All three wear head pieces that cover much of their hair and fasten under their chin. The Saka Tigraxauda and the Sogdian delegate have wavy hair with very similar long, blunt beards. All parties interestingly wear long sleeve tunics, two of which, AD 16 and 18, wear full length trousers under tunics.

It is unclear why these geographically diverse delegations are rendered so similarly, but evidence from the Council Hall reliefs suggest that the swords displayed by AD 15, 16, and 18 is Median in origin. Multiple Median guards on the relief carry weapons of the exact shape as the Apadana delegates. Median guards on the Apadana are armed with this very weapon as well. Highly preserved evidence from the Council hall provides crucial elemental detail for swords of this shape.²⁰⁵



Figure 5.2: Council Hall Median Sheath

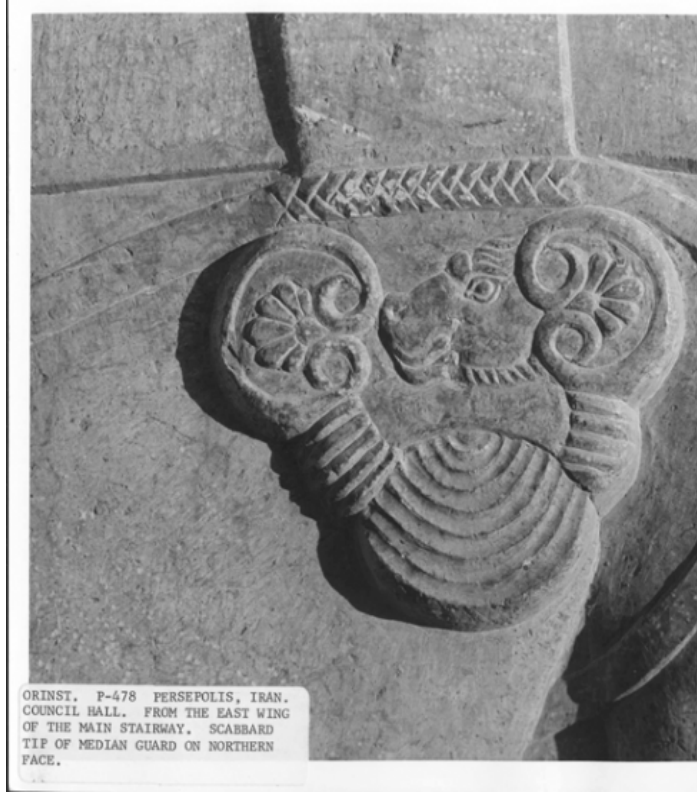


Figure 5.1: Council Hall Median Sheath

The frequency of connecting between Median figures and this sword suggest that it is Median in origin. The detail on the Council Hall reliefs show an ornate sheath design. The head of an animal, presumably a lion, is framed by two florets which are connected to the rest of the

²⁰⁵ Photos from the University of Chicago Oriental Institute
https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/council-hall-0#4A11_72dpi.png
https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/council-hall-0#4A12_72dpi.png

design which consists of patterns made by incisions. Given the similarity in shape it is reasonable to suggest that the Apadana swords of this nature bore the same insignia, if not the Sogdian and Saka- Tigraxauda then presumably the Median swords featured this detail. Lions are frequently used in Near Eastern art to convey power. This association draws to questions the significance of presenting a king with weapon carrying the sign of national power. It suggests proffering one's symbolic military power, thereby offering up their physical forces.

There is other evidence to suggest that weapons carried ceremonially can represent symbolic visualizations of physical military power. As is seen with the bow Darius carries on the Tomb. Originally an Assyrian and Egyptian motif, Darius has wielded it to identify his own manly prowess but to represent the armies he holds.

Persians on the Apadana

Persians do not have a delegation on the Apadana relief, but they do play a crucial role in the monument's artistic program. Persian guides in court or riding dress lead each party forward, often holding the hand of the first delegate. The court robes closely resemble the Persian throne bearer, TB 1, on the tomb of Darius I. The guide leads delegate parties to the right towards the central panel. The Persian has short curly hair and beard. The beard is minimally sculpted. On top the head rests a tall, rectangular headpiece, left unornamented. The Persian wears a long sleeved, full length tunic. The garment is loose fitting on the top. Subtle incisions in the relief indicate arms under undefined sleeves. The top of the garment is smooth in texture, without ornamentation. The skirt is covered in incision lines indicating pleated draping, with a distinctive pleat running down the center front of the skirt. The Persian guides wear simple slippers. A sheathed short sword is tucked into the waist of the garment under a belt. The blade of the sword

is not visible in the folds of the fabric. The hilt is robust and includes an anchoring element that runs perpendicular to the hilt. No accessories beyond the belt worn around the waist to hold the short sword in place the figures are without ornamentation. All Persian guides are adorned identically to help establish a recognizable Persian quality to clothing that Darius can then exploit to point to his own “Persian-ness.”



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/treasury#3B10_72dpi.png

Darius on the Apadana

The central panel never came to be adorned on the Apadana.²⁰⁶ However there are reliefs found in the treasury completed by Darius’s successor, Xerxes, that are dated to Darius’s

²⁰⁶ Schmidt (1953), p 82

reign.²⁰⁷ This has left them open to debate about their intended place in the place, as Schmidt says, “Nevertheless, we have to weigh the possibility—against our belief—that these reliefs had been intended for another building.”²⁰⁸ Of the buildings that existed at the time of Darius’s death²⁰⁹ the Apadana and Council Hall seem the most likely structures to attribute the reliefs to.²¹⁰ Restoration work by A.B. and G. Tilia revealed that the “presently installed central panels of the north and east stairway facades are in fact replacement for the original ones.”²¹¹ This confirmed that the Treasury reliefs were in fact intended for the Apadana facades.²¹²

The scene shows Darius enthroned and attended by Xerxes, and other Persian guards and courtiers. Approaching Darius is a subject, who is shown blowing a kiss, a Persian sign of loyalty and respect.²¹³ Darius is adorned identically on the treasury relief as how he is on his tomb. He wears a short, draped shawl over his shoulders. His tunic reaches his ankles, even in the seated position the artists were careful to include the hallmark of the Persian court robe, center front pleat on the skirt. The king is seen on this monument without footwear. The only difference between the two monumental carvings, is in the king’s headwear. On the Treasury relief Darius wears a tall rectangular headpiece devoid of decorations, with a flat top. This similarity in dress helps to establish him as a recognizable figure.

Royal clothing worn by Darius and his successor on this relief attempts to do three jobs.

(1) They must communicate their connection to one another, to Persia and to the throne. The first

²⁰⁷ Schmidt (1953), p 168

²⁰⁸ Schmidt (1953), *ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Structures either in process or completed at the time of Darius’s death: The Palace of Darius, The Treasury, The Council hall, and the Apadana

²¹⁰ Schmidt (1953), *ibid.* Schmidt argues their merit for this role based on the structures state functions

²¹¹ Root (1979), p 88

²¹² Root (1979), *ibid.*

²¹³ Schmidt (1953), p 164

task of establishing familial relationships is accomplished by Xerxes' almost identical appearance to his father. They wear their beards in extremely distinct fashion, and their clothing matches. This makes not only their relationship, but the succession, indisputable. Xerxes' body position amplifies the imitation of his father to help further imply his ability to step into his father's role. He raises his right hand to gently touch the throne where Darius raises his right hand to hold a scepter, presumably a symbol of kingship. They both hold lotus blossoms in their left hands and are the only figures to do so. This indicates the wealth the pair possesses, thus strengthening their ties to power via fiscal prowess. (2) The dress of Darius and Xerxes not only communicates their father-son status but also works to reinforce their Persian identity. They wear an amplified version of typical Persian court garments: a long tunic with pleating gathered in the front with a central panel. The Persian guards behind them make the inherent "Persianness" unmistakable in the similarities in style of clothing. (3) To achieve a visible tie to leadership and power, father and son stand on a raised platform, which is visually similar to the throne stage that carries Darius on his tomb relief. The two figures are larger than all surrounding figures, thus emphasizing their importance. This relationship to power is attained less by the clothing worn and more by other elements, such as body position, relative size, and symbols of wealth and power such as the headpiece, chalice, and scepter. The throne is related to the dynasty through the physical contact of Darius and Xerxes. The relationship in dress and body position to others indicates their otherness. When coupled with their established recognition this potent mixture tells a specific story of the king on high, adorned and inspiring all the nations of his empire.

Dress Theory Conclusions

On the Apadana, various theories of adornment can be utilized to help make sense of the complex messaging system. The clearest theories used by Darius are *Symbolic superiority* and the *Trickle-down theory* of the fashion cycle. Darius symbolically establishes himself over all others in the Treasury relief where he is enthroned, larger than life. His clothing symbolically establishes him as Persian but the details help to market him to the audience as a superior Persian. *Trickle-down theory* can also be observed in the relationship between Darius and his delegate parties. Darius sits, finely dressed among subjects of his realm. Darius wears clothing similar to his subjects, particularly the Persians, yet diverging distinctly to set apart his status and station. This begs the question: Are the delegations emulating Darius, enforcing the trickle down of trends, or Darius could be referencing his people to prove his connection to them, thus authorizing his power? As already discussed in the Tomb of Darius, I find it far more likely that Darius was tying himself to the Persian identity by utilizing features of Persian adornment than the inverse. However, without proof of the fashion cycle, it is difficult to discern if trends are set by the king or his people.

The *Symbolic Self Completion* theory highlights patterns and subsequent divergences within the data set of adornment on the Apadana. However, this theory does come with a caveat when applying it to ethnic representations in an imperial art program. The ethnic groups are not in fact representing their symbolic selves, but are being represented by a foreign ruler. Therefore, Darius is representing his own view of each ethnic group's adornment assimilation into Persian culture.

The *Assimilation process* focuses on the functions of dress in cultural immigration. Just as with the tunics, the similarity in short sword styles across the monument could be a product of this theory. Those that adhere to the trend of weaponry are collectively “doing” Persian culture

“right.” Delegations that do not carry the bulbous short sword are excluded from the cultural norm to signify their outsider identity and ignorance of nuances within Persian culture.

Chapter 6

Dress at Persepolis: The Persepolis Fortification Seals

Any discussion of Persepolis in the time of Darius would be incomplete without mention of the Persepolis Fortification Archive. This chapter provides an overview of the Archive and then presents a discussion of a few selected seals preserved as impressions on the clay tablets of the Archive. Images and descriptions included here are to be found in Appendix 3. As will be clear, it is a preliminary commentary, one that demonstrates the need for future research in this exciting area. The insights provided by the Persepolis Fortification Seals into the meaning and use of dress at Persepolis at the time of Darius I are entirely different than those offered by monumental sculpture. Rather than being related to ethnicity, dress as rendered on the Persepolis Fortification Seals seems to relate to notions of power and authority, with the Assyrian garb apparently linked to military power and the Persian court garb apparently related to imperial authority.

The Fortification Archive — A Very Brief Overview

The intricacies of the Achaemenid economic system are preserved in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. The archive is dated to the reign of Darius I and spans the years 509-494 BCE.²¹⁴ The dating is supported by the *terminus ante quem* based on the first attested date preserved in the texts written on the Fortification Tablets.²¹⁵ Root (1979) and Roaf (1983) mark the Fortification Archive as being contemporary to the construction period of Persepolis. This

²¹⁴ Garrison and Root (2001), p 1

²¹⁵ Garrison and Root (2001), p 13

argument aligns with Schmidt's dating of the Treasury Archive.²¹⁶ Schmidt suggests that the Treasury and Fortification archives date the construction of these structures at Persepolis to Darius's reign.²¹⁷

The archives demonstrate cosmopolitanism at the Achaemenid court. "Evidence from texts make it clear that Persepolis was a magnet and a critical point along the southern east-west royal road."²¹⁸ This location along a route ensured a stream of diverse visitors and crowds from around the world who would participate in the Achaemenid economy up close and witness the glory of Darius I in the art at his palace. The previous assumption that Persepolis was only a ceremonial space is shattered by the textual evidence. The Archive proves that Persepolis was a not merely a ceremonial center, but was rather a fully equipped active administrative hub, a "working capital."²¹⁹

What is the Seal?

The Achaemenid seal tradition likely descends from the earliest figural stamp seals of Mesopotamia and Iran, along with the very rich tradition of cylinder seals that characterized Mesopotamian history and visual culture. The hero image so common in Achaemenid glyptic art is likely also to have symbolized ideas of authority translated from the explicit to a more abstract metaphorical level of rendering "human intervention, prestige, and mastery within the domain of human affairs."²²⁰

²¹⁶ Schmidt (1953), p 40-41

²¹⁷ Schmidt (1953), p 41

²¹⁸ Garrison and Root (2001), p 4

²¹⁹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 10

²²⁰ Garrison and Root (2001), p 53

Upon the tablets of the Fortification Archive were impressed seals, used by individuals and or offices. Examining their usage allows for the tracking of actions in the administration, primarily in the allocation and dispersion of food commodities throughout the empire.²²¹ The seals acted as personal signifiers, carved in various styles, and used by a sizeable population of court officials and others involved with imperially-related business at or around Persepolis. The seal is often impressed on the left edge of a tablet by the agent or office responsible for disbursing a commodity, while on the reverse of the tablet is pressed the seal of the recipient.²²² It is still not possible, however, for modern scholars to fully comprehend "how the specific seals used on some tablets relate to the actual individuals, offices or groups either named or implied in the texts."²²³

To complicate the issue of matching a seal with an individual responsible for using it, ample evidence from ancient West Asia suggests that individuals simultaneously used more than one personal seal.²²⁴ There is another trend on the tablets that further complicates the uncertainty associated with seals, seal use, and seal users. Garrison and Root report that it was common to use objects (i.e., thumbnail, hem of garment, cowry shell)²²⁵ as a seal on tablets. I find it very interesting that clothing was considered individual enough that a specific hem worn by an individual could be used as an identifier and fulfill the function that the seal previously fulfilled. It suggests a wealthy active court that paid attention to dress and detail and could delineate status from very little evidence.

²²¹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 10

²²² Garrison and Root (2001), p 11

²²³ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

²²⁴ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

²²⁵ Examples provided by Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

However, there are a few instances where inscriptions or the texts written on the tablets themselves point to historical figures established in external sources to the Archive. There are receipts from the king's supply, and various seals are inscribed with the name of the king, but there is no seal preserved that seems to have been used by the king himself.²²⁶ Instead, it is more likely that the seals inscribed with the name of the king (often in more than one language) were used by offices. While some seals preserved as impressions on the Fortification Archive were used by very high-level officials, such as the seals of Darius' uncle Parnaka, discussed below, most of the seals impressed on the Fortification Tablets seem to have belonged to lower-level officials in the court and area around Persepolis.

Statistical Analysis of Seals within the Archive

Garrison and Root isolated 1,162 discrete and analytically legible seals out of "many thousands of impressions preserved on 2,087 Elamite administrative tablets."²²⁷ Of those 1,162 seals, 312 distinct seals preserved via partial or complete impressions display images of heroic encounter (published by Garrison and Root in 2001). Only 8.18% of the analytically legible seals are inscribed; the languages used include Old Persian, Akkadian, Elamite, Babylonian, and Aramaic as well as "false inscriptions" that include letter-shaped symbols but belong to no known language.²²⁸ Evidence from language used on inscriptions demonstrates a cosmopolitan court operating at Persepolis. This melting pot of cultures²²⁹ was achieved through the artistic environment fostered there as well as the demands of the administrative capital.²³⁰

²²⁶ Garrison and Root (2001), p 10

²²⁷ Garrison and Root (2001), p 1

²²⁸ Garrison and Root (2001), p 7

²²⁹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 10

²³⁰ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

The Issue of Language on Seal Inscriptions

Of the seals that are inscribed, the text typically features the owner's name and paternity.²³¹ It would seem obvious that the language of the inscription matched that used by the inscriber, but fascinatingly enough that is not the case. Evidence of active multilingualism at the court exists;²³² this is largely via Elamite and Aramaic languages coexisting on tablets. There are also instances of Aramaic "name inscriptions on seals owned by personages whose primary language must have been something different."²³³ For instance, the seals of Darius' uncle Parnaka (PFS 9* and PFS 16*, discussed below) are inscribed in Aramaic although his is an undeniably Persian name.²³⁴

Elamite was established in the Achaemenid Persians' culture and political texture.²³⁵ Achaemenid exposure to Elamite language and culture makes it unsurprising that it was then adopted for use as an administrative court language. However, on the Fortification tablets is found an "extremely diverse vocabulary radically" differing from formal inscription rhetoric as seen on monuments. This makes the tablets astonishingly challenging to translate. Richard T.

²³¹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 7

²³² Garrison and Root (2001), p 7

²³³ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

²³⁴ As is standard convention, "PFS" means a Persepolis Fortification Seal, one of those preserved on the tablets of the Fortification Archive originally published by Hallock in 1969. An asterisk indicates a seal that is inscribed

²³⁵ Carter and Stolper (1984); Potts (1999)

Hallock took on this task in the 20th century and has been succeeded by Matthew W. Stolper and Wouter F. M. Henkelman in the decades since 1970.²³⁶

The seals that were used to ratify the tablets are divided by Garrison and Root into three "seal protocols."²³⁷ This classification is dependent upon the transaction being recorded, and gives a sense of the status of the recipient.²³⁷ They are exemplified by seal usage on the 'T,' 'Q,' and 'J' texts. T texts come in the format of a letter. Q texts record the food allotted to those traveling on official imperial business, or as Garrison and Root put it "disbursements relating to travel."²³⁸ The final category, J texts, documents goods dispensed for or on behalf of the king or other royal family members (e.g., that of his wife). These distinct classifications suggest a formulaic style in the writing that would be appropriate for administrative documents. The ways seals were impressed on each category of tablet varied.

Art on the Seals

There is keen attention to the individual expression on Darius's monuments; the Fortification Archive mirrors this consideration of individuality. The seals are using aesthetic value to communicate individual identity. Garrison and Root argue that the seals can have "amuletic and apotropaic qualities, spiritual significations, and social-political-religious valences as artifacts of personal or official identity, prestige, and adornment."²³⁹ The seals achieve these effects through their stylistic expression and their iconography. Garrison and Root have identified nine styles on the PFS course: The Persepolitan Modeled, "plausibly antique seals,"

²³⁶ Garrison and Root (2001), p 4

²³⁷ Garrison and Root (2001), p 11

²³⁸ Garrison and Root (2001), p 9

²³⁹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 1

Fortification, Court, Mixed (1 and 2), Broad and Flat, Linear, and Diverse styles of seals.²⁴⁰ Each covers a percentage of the data set, with "diverse styles" acting as a catch-all for the seal that cannot be classified due to their divergence from the trends of the corpus. The nine styles are imbued with unique characteristics and qualifications by which to analyze the legible seals of the Fortification Archive.

Characteristics of the Nine Styles of Seals

Persepolitan Modeled Style

This style accounts for 51 seals of the 312 presented in Garrison and Root's analysis of heroic encounter.²⁴¹ The style is rooted in Assyrian and Babylonian carving traditions, as is much of Achaemenid art and culture. The key features of the formal aspects of the seal are: (1) A 'plastic' visualization of human and animal forms. (2) An emphasis on the muscular form. Muscles are often featured in human and animal forms. (3) Small but expressive rendering of human and animal form.

Plausibly Antique and Antique Seals

This category is represented by a small population in the data of Garrison and Root: only one seal is definitely Antique, and nine seals are Plausibly Antique Seals. The Antique seal style is extremely difficult to identify in the Archive.²⁴² This difficulty stems from scholars' struggle to distinguish contemporary objects that mimic antique elements, versus those materials which are genuinely heirlooms at Persepolis. Seals are thought to

²⁴⁰ Garrison and Root (2001), p 17-20

²⁴¹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 16

²⁴² Garrison and Root (2001), p 17

generally have been buried with their owners.²⁴³ If a seal did not follow its owner to the grave, it was likely recut and repurposed in economic circulation.

Fortification Style

This classification makes up 51% of the legible seals in Garrison and Root, far and away the largest percentage. The Fortification Style seems to have been a local carving style as it is not observed in other glyptic studies.²⁴⁴ This style is characterized by: (1) generally small, flat, shallow carving and a molded treatment. (2) Humans are carved rather simply, with rectangular, or hourglass shaped bodies. This carving style could have roots in Assyrian iconography.

Court Style

There are only twelve Court Style seals in this part of the Archive. Garrison and Root suggest that this small population signifies importance in the official art program of the court. The authors state that the Court Style epitomizes the geographical and ideological beliefs of the empire.²⁴⁵ The features of a Court Style carving are: (1) the inclusion of the Persian court robe, date palms and the winged disk. (2) A strict linear style when rendering human and animal forms, garments, and other motif details. (3) The soft "plastic" rendering of muscles. It should be noted that these features are not strictly adhered to in every seal but rather these features represent what is most commonly observed.²⁴⁶

Mixed Styles One and Two

²⁴³ Garrison and Root (2001), p 18

²⁴⁴ Garrison and Root (2001), p 18

²⁴⁵ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Garrison and Root (2001), p 19

Mixed Style One is a combination of the Modeled treatment and the Fortification style seals. The Mixed Style is observed in sixteen seals in Garrison and Root. Mixed Style One is defined by: (1) Figures being rendered larger than in other styles. (2) This carving style employs deep engraving and the sporadic use of modeling. Mixed Style Two is characterized by the artistic blending of the Fortification and Court Styles, but it has no further distinctive traits.²⁴⁷ This style is found on thirteen seals in Garrison and Root.

Broad and Flat Style

This category presents a group of diverse appearances, that altogether display a homogeneously Broad and Flat carving style. Nineteen seals with images of heroic encounter fit these qualifications.

Linear Styles

Linear Style seals form an equally diverse group as the Broad and Flat seals. The single unifying quality in the category is the shared simple linear approach to form. Linear Style seals appear on fourteen of the seals in Garrison and Root.

Diverse Styles

This classification can best be described as the analytic equivalent to a junk drawer. That which is too complicated or deviant from the other stylistic choices finds refuge here, thus allowing analysis to be conducted. Due to the diversity, there are no prescribed characteristics to identify in Diverse Style seals. There are nineteen recognized seals carved in Diverse Styles.

²⁴⁷ Garrison and Root (2001), *ibid*.

Conclusions on Style

These style classifications allow scholars to organize a significant amount of data into smaller, "bite-sized," sections. Their essential features help in forming universal elements to compare across seal art: style and iconography, size, and shape of the original seal itself, and more. Fully one-third of all seals preserved on the Persepolis Fortification Archive bear the heroic theme.²⁴⁸ They provide a worthy initial corpus to begin considering dress and its importance in Achaemenid glyptic art. It is important to remember what has been discussed here already, regarding the multiplicity of interpretive communication. It is clear that images of art can communicate multiple interpretations depending on the individual audience members.

Why Examine the Seals?

Just as Garrison and Root observed patterns of formal style and repetition of motifs, I hope to observe patterns of the adornment on the seals they published. While the patterns may be more erratic and less indicative of ethnic diversity than was the case on the monumental relief sculptures of the Palace Terrace and Tomb of Darius at Persepolis, the clothing has the potential to inform an audience of various aspects of identity the seal owner might wish to express.²⁴⁹

Analysis of Adornment on the Persepolis Fortification Seals

²⁴⁸ Garrison and Root (2001), p 58

²⁴⁹ The aspect of dress theory that explains how people who have immigrated to a new culture will often seek to assimilate to popular conventions of dress. Perhaps this explains figures nearly uniformly wearing tunics on both the Apadana and the Tomb. However, this could also indicate a strategy employed with the aim to make the construction more manageable for the multiple artists working on individual figures over time

The corpus of Fortification Archive Seals presents an iconographical program that works within the Achaemenid imperial system without being confined by it. This is to say, the imperial administration did not manage seal imagery the same way monumental imagery was administered at Persepolis. Monuments such as the Tomb of Darius and the Apadana staircase were produced as part of the imperial art program and were therefore imbued with the agendas of the sovereign administration, as has been discussed in previous chapters. The Fortification Archive provides a view of the empire unencumbered by imperial motives.

The individual creation and connotations of the seals engineer this window into the empire. Seals were even sometimes passed down across generations of family or within an office, indicating that symbolism encoded within the seals might be fixed and transferable beyond a single administration. The seals do not offer the same evidence for dress analysis as monumental art. However, they do display that public perceptions of self were not as cut and dried as monumental art would lead audiences to believe.

I will be analyzing dress and adornment patterns based on the limited selection of seals published by Garrison and Root in their volume of 2001. Those seals are preserved as impressions on a subset of the Persepolis Fortification Archive that show "Images of Heroic Encounter."²⁵⁰ I have further restricted my discussion to only a few seals of those published by Garrison and Root, which I analyze here as case studies. As such my work does not reflect individual representation at Persepolis to the same extent as I was able to evaluate in imperial representation via monumental art. My analysis must be considered preliminary and highlights an exciting field for additional future scholarship.

²⁵⁰ I will be using the catalogs of seal impressions from Garrison and Root (2001), p 63-442

Garments

Concerning clothing on the seals of the Fortification Archive, Garrison and Root state:

The majority of garments in Volume I echo faithfully or faintly the Assyrian robe that wraps around the body over a short undergarment (Hrouda 1965, pl. 1, nos. 6–8). These garments are designated the Assyrian garment because the Assyrianizing element is a critical iconographic feature of the dress. Use of the term does not, however, imply that the seals in question date to the Neo-Assyrian period. The Persian court robe also has specific and clear cultural associations. Other garment types are simply itemized in generic descriptive terms (e.g., kilt, robe, trousers, tunic). Seals of partial preservation are described as a garment of uncertain type. If a garment is essentially not preserved, nothing is itemized.²⁵¹

The two most significant categories of dress on seals of heroic encounters are Assyrian garments and the Persian court robe. A single key feature defines Assyrian dress. This feature is the uneven hem that exposes the front leg of the figure as he strides forward. Exposure ranges from hip and ankle, to knee and ankle. The top of the Assyrian dress is less uniform but is typically simply rendered, as an unornamented long-sleeved garment. If ornamentation is included on the top of an Assyrian garment it is often shown by a series of incision lines crossing the chest, commonly extending from a shoulder to the opposite hip or center front of the garment.

Assyrian garments or those with "Assyrianizing elements" interestingly appear more frequently than do Persian court robes in the representations of the Persepolis Fortification Seals.²⁵² The Assyrian iconography is however not restricted to the Neo-Assyrian period, thus suggesting a cultural code is embedded in carving one's image in the Assyrian style. Perhaps this use of Assyrian elements is meant to establish and highlight a connection to the past as a means

²⁵¹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 505

²⁵² This observation is based the lists of classified dress taken from Garrison and Root (2001) Appendix 8, p 514-16

to validate authority. PFS 16*, one of the two seals of Darius's uncle Parnaka preserved on the Fortification Archive,²⁵³ is a particularly excellent example of the Assyrianizing style. The figure wears his hair and beard is gathered in a rounded mass at the base of the neck with a mid-length, blunt-pointed beard.²⁵⁴ The headdress worn on PFS 16* exemplifies the popular domed headpiece. Critical to the Assyrian style garment, the leg striding forward, as the figure moves left, is exposed, showing a bare leg from hip to ankle. The skirt veils the back leg and is, in this case, covered with incision lines indicating embellished ornamentation, perhaps representing tassels. The garment is cinched at the waist by a two-tiered belt. The figure's arms are bare, and ornamentation patterns from the skirt persist on the chest of the garment. We know that this historical figure and this seal are definitively dated to the reign of Darius I, indicating that it must have intentionally been made in the Assyrian style, not made during the Assyrian Period.²⁵⁵

PFS 17, 513, and 971 highlight the discrepancies in Assyrian garments, while invariably displaying the hem pattern established above.

²⁵³ Garrison and Root (2001), p 93; *see also* Briant (1996), p 481-486

²⁵⁴ Distribution of hair and beard style classification (in Appendix 8 in Garrison and Root (2001), p 505- 528) indicates that rounded masses at the back of the neck, as well as short or mid-length, pointed or blunt-pointed beards are the most common fashion in the corpus of heroic encounters

²⁵⁵ There is precise dating for this seal in particular, June 6th 500 B.C.E, or on the 22nd year (of Darius's reign), third month, and 16th day. This information is preserved because Parnaka switched seals, changing from PFS 9* to PFS 16* as indicated by inscriptions on PF 2067 and 2068. See Garrison and Root (2001), p 93

PFS Number	Hair and Beard	Headgear	Dress
PFS 17	Head is very ambiguously depicted. It is hard to discern which incisions are meant to represent facial features, hair styles, and headgear. Hair is clearly gathered in small rounded shape at the base of the neck. The beard is worn mid-length with a rounded point.	It is unclear but the figure appears to have uncovered hair	The figure wears a belted Assyrian garment. The forward striding leg is partially exposed from knee to ankle. The skirt is adorned with many incision lines indicating folds, textile patterns, or garment orientation. The top of the garment has diagonal incisions crossing the chest from opposite shoulders, converging at the center front above the belt. Indicating draping tucked into a belt in order to create a neckline from folded material. Sleeves appear to short, arms are fully exposed.
PFS 513	Hair and beard are represented by stacked ovals. Three ovals represent gathered hair at the back of the head. Four stacked ovals represent the beard.	The figure wears domed headpiece	Figure wears odd, highly adorned Assyrian garment. The front leg striding forward is exposed from above the knee. The skirt has minimal incision lines near the belt. The garment is cinched at the waist. The chest of the garment is covered in cross hatching incision lines.
PFS 971	The back of the figure's head is not preserved. It is assumed that the hair is worn in a gathered mass at the back of the head. The beard is worn mid-length with a pointed end.	The figure wears stacked turban style headpiece. At crown of headpiece is a small round knot.	The figure wears Assyrian garments belted at the waist. The leg striding forward is exposed. Incision lines run parallel to the hem exposing the front leg. Cross hatching is present at the back of the garment. The long-sleeved top is without ornamentation.

Table 6. 1: Assyrian Garments

These are just three examples of Assyrian dress on seals, and already a high degree of variability can be observed. The figures on PFS 17 and 971 wear belts to cinch the garment at their waist. The belt is an accessory not uniquely found with Assyrian garments or the Persian court robe; it can be observed on data outside this binary. The detail of a cinched waist indicates a cultural awareness of how the body appears in clothes, and an emphasis on clothing to complement the natural shape of the body. The majority of incision detailing is relegated to the chest of the garment if anywhere at all. PFS 17, covered in incision lines on both the skirt and top of the garment, is the exception to this observation, not the rule — indeed, Garrison and Root describe it as a kind of hybrid garment that includes elements of the Persian court robe along with the Assyrian.²⁵⁶ It is unclear what these lines were intended to indicate to audiences. It is

²⁵⁶ Garrison and Root (2001), pp 340-341

reasonable to assume that incision lines in general artistically fulfill a rendering of folds, textile patterns, or ornamentation. Whatever the case, the care demonstrated in PFS 17 suggests to me that personal identity has been tied to the complexities of this artistic rendering. My conclusions on PFS 17 are supported by Koch's (1990) identification of this seal as a personal seal belonging to a wine supplier.²⁵⁷ This same phenomenon of identity is experienced every day as individuals attach their identity to clothing.

The second most important classification of adornment on the Fortification Seals comprises the figures dressed in the Persian court robe. Unlike the Assyrian garb, the Persian court robe has several distinguishing features. It is important to note that these same elements can be observed on the Tomb of Darius and the Apadana.²⁵⁸ Such elements of adornment are (1) loose sleeves, (2) a center front pleat, and (3) a scalloped hem (hitched up where the center pleat attaches to the garment hem).

PFS 113*	Hair is worn in common fashion as a rounded mass at the back of the head. The beard is uniquely depicted as a series of five stacked ovals. Could suggest texture? Or a unique style of binding the beard. Upper lip is filled in suggesting a mustache	Figure wears the five-pointed Persian dentate crown.	The figure wears a belted Persian court robe. The sleeves are indicated by parallel incision lines. The sleeves of the armed are pushed up, exposing bare arms. Belt cinches at the waist and a strap extends down the center front of the garment. Small incisions on the skirt extend out from the center front detail, not wrapping around the garments. The right side has disproportionately more incision lines than the left which only has two.
PFS 196	Hair is gathered in rounded mass at the base of the neck, with a slight tilt upwards at the end. The beard is worn narrow with a rounded point.	Figure wears what Garrison and Root describe as "polos headdress with horizontal band," A tall rectangular, flat topped headpiece with three small incision lines at the back of the head.	The figure wears a simplified Persian court robe. Only one incision line indicates the presence of sleeves. Sleeves appear to be pushed up exposing the majority of the arm. The garment cinches at the waist without the presence of a belt. No ornamentation on the skirt or chest of garment.
PFS 859	Hair is gathered in thick rounded mass at the back of the head. The figure appears to be clean-shaven	The figure's head is uncovered.	The figure wears a Persian court robe, the sleeves are pushed up exposing bare arms. Only top of garment is preserved. No incision lines indicating ornamentation on the skirt of the garment.

Table 6. 2: Persian court robe

²⁵⁷ Garrison and Root (2001), p 341; *see also* Koch (1990)

²⁵⁸ Tomb bearer (TB) 1, the Persian tomb bearer, wears the Persian court robe with these features of dress. The Persian guards on the Apadana are either dressed in the Persian court robe or Persian riding garment. The Persian court robe includes the elements of dress shown here

PFS 113*, 196, and 859* utilize these features of dress, the degree of detail varying among these examples. The first element of this style is the loose-fitting sleeves of the Persian court robe, often rendered with fabric pooling beneath the armpit. PFS 196 exaggerates this feature by showing pooled fabric extending well below the cinched waist.

The sleeves of Persian court robes are not constructed in intentional shapes but rather produced in the process of creating the neckline and hole of a garment. During construction of the garment a hole was cut for the neck hole. Whatever fabric was left over from this process was not trimmed from the garment but rather left to form shapeless sleeves that might easily be pushed up when the wearer raised his arms. This feature of construction accounts for why many figures who don the Persian court robe are observed with exposed arms: it is usual on the Fortification seals for figures to raise their arms at or above the head. Artistically the billow of the fabric is often indicated by parallel incision lines on the garment. PFS 113* exemplifies the combination of incision lines and excess fabric of the Persian court robe on seals.

The second feature of the Persian court robe is the center front pleat of the garment. This element could be a practical feature that enabled wearing the apparel, but it also forms a decorative feature, designed to draw the eye to this region of the body. The final element of all Persian court robes is the scalloped, or lobed, hem. PFS 7* is perhaps the best example of this design feature. The hem is not level to the ground-line of the scene, but rather is drawn up in the center front creating softly rounded drapery on either side. This element could once again be serving functional or aesthetic purposes, or some combination of the two. The scalloped hem, in my opinion, most likely mimics a kick pleat in modern women's fashion, which makes walking in tighter-fitting skirts more comfortable. Or it could merely complement the other design elements to delight the seal owner's eye. PFS 113* and 859* do not have preserved impressions

of the dress hem, making analysis difficult. PFS 196 is a statistical outlier for Persian court robe hems.

Within the data set are outliers of dress that display high variation. Accordingly, these outliers provide analytic value by comparing their depictions of dress against those of more typified patterns of dress, such as the Assyrian garment. The garments worn by the figures on PFS 2 and 18 show a high degree of variation from the Assyrian and Persian norms outlined above. Indeed, PFS 2 and 18 are outliers in the heroic encounters data set.²⁵⁹ The hero figure shown on PFS 2 is adorned in a long-sleeved, full-length tunic worn with a two-tiered belt. Decorative incisions on the skirt suggest vertical and horizontal embellishment patterns on the garment. There is no ornamentation on the chest of the dress.²⁶⁰ PFS 18 shows a figure wearing loose-fitting pants, cinched at the waist by a two-tiered belt. Incision lines on the front pant leg could indicate folds, or perhaps a textile design. The figure wears a long-sleeved top, tucked into the belt and waistband of the pants. Notably, the figure on neither of these seals is armed.

²⁵⁹ Garrison and Root note their unique nature in their descriptive analysis of each sea.

²⁶⁰ This style of dress is not completely unique, as there are other examples of unadorned tunics in the Heroic Encounters corpus — e.g., PFS 49, 552, and 1090. Garrison and Root (2001), pp 95, 201, and 262; all three of these garments are unornamented tunics with few distinguishing features of dress

PFS Number	Hair and Beard	Headgear	Dress
PFS 2	Hair is gathered into a rounded shape at the base of the neck. The figure is beardless. There are no incision lines indicating hair texture	The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.	The figure wears a long-sleeved, full length tunic, with a two tiered belt. Decorative incision on the skirt suggests vertical and horizontal embellishment patterns. There is noticeably no ornamentation on the chest of the garment.
PFS 18	Hair is gathered into a rounded shape at the base of the neck. The figure wears a mid-length pointed beard.	The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.	The figure wears loose fitting pants, cinched at the waist by a two tiered belt. Incision lines on the front leg could indicate folds, or perhaps a textile design. The figure wears a long sleeved garment on top, tucked into the belt with the pants.

Table 6. 3: Adornment Oddities

Headdress

Garrison and Root comment:

Many human heads seem to be adorned with a domed headdress, where a line at the bottom cuts clear across the head at brow level and the cap rises to a smooth dome. The contour of this headdress evokes the felt cap worn frequently by men represented in Achaemenid art dressed in the Iranian riding habit of tunic, trousers, and sometimes also the sleeved coat (see Koch 1993, pp. 117–35, on this and the related headgear). But here on the hero seals in the PFS corpus, the headdress is often worn by figures in combination with various other costumes (most notably, the Assyrian garment). In some cases the domed headdress is without doubt an article of apparel. In other cases, it is not, however, absolutely certain that the intention was to depict a headdress or whether, instead, the appearance is simply a by-product of the drill technique for rendering the rounded head.²⁶¹

Was it the intention of the carver to show domed headgear, or is this adornment feature a product of attempting to render a rounded head at such a minute scale? PFS 16*, a seal of Parnaka, shows such an ambivalent figure, with a smooth rounded head. Garrison and Root

²⁶¹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 505

describe PFS 16* as a "technical tour de force of Modeled Style carving," a "masterpiece of glyptic art." It is hard to imagine that the artistic precision dedicated to the rest of the image would not be replicated on the depiction of covered or uncovered hair, but the ambiguity is there. Indeed, not all figures are carved with lines delineating the face from the beard or hair. Another example of this in a seal belonging to a high-status individual is PFS 38, that used by Darius' favorite wife, Artystone.²⁶² When such incision lines are not present, the intention behind the carving of a figure's head with its representation of headgear or hair becomes ambiguous. The ambiguity around features of the head is further compounded by the absence of incision lines representing hair texture. This feature distinguishing between curly, straight, and wavy hair, is a common identifying feature on the monumental art of the palace reliefs at Persepolis. On the whole, the corpus of Fortification Archive Seals lack any such delineation. This is most likely due to restrictions created by the scale of the seal and tablet.

PFS 2 and 18 both exhibit the classic domed headpiece found on many of the seal impressions. The features of this are (1) an incised line cutting across the brow of the figure and (2) a smooth dome extending above the head. PFS 7*, by contrast, is adorned with the second most common headgear classification, the five-pointed Persian dentate crown. This headgear is observed on figures wearing both the Assyrian garment and the Persian court robe. This style of headgear is typically rendered by five individual triangles connected at their bases lining the

²⁶² Garrison and Root (2001), p 84

figures head. PFS 7* has a unique detail added to the dentate crown, a geometric band below the five points resting above the brow of the figure.

Coiffures and Beards

The most common hairstyle identified by Garrison and Root is the "rounded" style.²⁶³ In this style of coiffure the hair is worn down, with a mass of hair at the base of the neck. It is unclear if this is indicative of hair being pinned or wrapped in this shape or if it is a template motif for hair being worn in the shoulder length coiffure.

PFS 2, 7*, and 18 are paradigmatic examples displaying hair gathered into a rounded mass at the base of the figure's neck.²⁶⁴ These examples differ in their beard style, headgear, and main adornment. Seals 2 and 7* display the common mid-length pointed or blunt- pointed beard, while PFS 7* is uniquely clean shaven.

Weaponry

Due to the scale of the corpus published by Garrison and Root, I will comment on only one other feature of adornment. I have chosen to highlight weaponry on these seals because, in addition to the hair, beard, and headpiece styles, weapons are the most significant augmentation of adornment beyond the primary garment. Of weaponry Garrison and Root have said:

Precise identifications of weapons are sometimes impossible even when they are completely preserved. Generally we label a short straight-bladed weapon a dagger, whereas a long straight or curved weapon is labeled a sword. We avoid special terms for subtypes of daggers and swords, preferring the general term curved sword, for

²⁶³ Based on distribution in Appendix Eight of Garrison and Root (2001), p 510-12

²⁶⁴ Garrison and Root (2001), pages 66, 68, and 82 respectively

instance, to cover all the many variants of such a category (e.g., scimitar) because such terms mean different things to different audiences. For a range of types, see Bonnet 1926. Some of the slightly undulating weapons seem to be throw sticks rather than swords (Bonnet 1926, pp. 108–14); and interesting examples of slings and projectiles add another dimension to the repertoire of regalia in Achaemenid glyptic. If a weapon that cannot be classified is preserved enough to provide any basis for discussion, it is itemized as a weapon of uncertain type; otherwise, nothing is itemized.²⁶⁵

This statement by Garrison and Root works to set the foundation for understanding classifications of weaponry on the seals. There is a large array of weapon types found on the Fortification Seals, such as arrows, daggers, projectiles, spears, and swords both sheathed and curved. The high variability of weapons on the seal is indicative of the diverging artists and artistic motifs. Unlike weapons carried on monumental artwork, the weaponry associated with seal figures cannot be definitively linked to ethnic identity.

The three most common weapon classifications in the Archive are the unsheathed dagger, sheathed dagger, and the curved sword. What I have found most interesting in these three classifications is the differences between rendering a dagger sheathed versus unsheathed. Such a contrast is highlighted by PFS 38 and PFS 17. PFS 38 displays a sheathed dagger, represented very simply by an oval extending in field from the body. There is no hilt detailing or other recognizable features of daggers. On PFS 17 the weapon is unsheathed and further detail is rendered. PFS 17 notably has a hilt detail, grasped in the user's hand. The blade is represented by a triangle extending from the hilt; the figure carries the unsheathed dagger preparing to slay the lion creatures. The distinguishing elements between sheathed and unsheathed daggers can in part be attributed to the individual creation of each seal and the variance of style that produces. The

²⁶⁵ Garrison and Root (2001), p 505

difference in rendering is in part due to the function it is serving on the seal. When the weapon is unsheathed, it is part of the action on the scene, thereby receiving more artistic detailing. However, the sheathed weapon behaves in a passive role on the seal and as such does not merit the attention given to, say, the floral motifs or the starry corona around the deity also shown on PFS 38.

Of the seals PFS 113*, 196, and 859*, the heroes shown on 113* and 196 both wear the bow and arrow. The hero figure on PFS 196 wears a quiver on his back with a curved bow attached. Incongruously, no arrows emerge from the quiver; instead the bow appears to rest within it. Interestingly, the quiver does not extend under the right arm, despite the evident size and shape of the object represented above the right arm suggesting it is not fully rendered as it currently exists. The figure appears to be holding a long slender object in his right hand — the tip is not preserved, but this scene could potentially depict an arrow being utilized like a spear in close combat. PFS 859* offers a different artistic rendering of the bow and arrow. Here the figure wears a quiver with three arrows protruding. Three decorative tassels hang from the quiver which is attached to a curved bow also worn on the figure's back. The figure of PFS 859* also wields a dagger in this close combat scene. The dagger is unsheathed and therefore given further detail. Unlike the strong triangular representation on PFS 17, the blade's shape is closer to an accurate representation of daggers.

The hero figures of both PFS 196 and 859* carry bows and arrows but cannot use them due to the close-range combat. This indicates to be a symbolic intention in including the bow and arrow since it is not being functionally used by either figure. As discussed in my analysis of the Tomb of Darius, the bow was a motif used by Darius to artistically represent his position as the bowman of the Persian people. This has the overall affect of celebrating his Persian identity in

art which could be utilized by other members of the culture who wish to highlight the same identity. The bow and arrow motif could also serve to represent the figure's military prowess, especially the aspects of military strategy. The Bowman hangs back in battle, due to the long-range weapon, giving them a strategic eye in battle. Adversely, the close-range combat suggests the figure's physical strength. Displaying both in the same scene effectively communicates an emphasis put on military dominance by strategy and physical strength.

There are clear patterns of artistic adornment motifs being rendered with specific weapons. On the seals of heroic encounter, I have observed that figures wearing Persian garb are more likely to be unarmed, whereas Assyrian dressed individuals are very likely to carry a weapon. Individuals in Persian court robes can be observed with bows, daggers sheathed or unsheathed, curved swords and throwing sticks. Those wearing Assyrian garments are more often rendered with daggers, sheathed or unsheathed, as well as curved swords. Assyrian garments are, however, paired with nearly every weapon classification.²⁶⁶

Conclusions

The Fortification Archive offers invaluable insights into the Achaemenid empire. The seals impressed on the tablets of the archive provide critical understanding of how adornment functions in the empire. Most significantly, the seals offer evidence for individual self-expression to counterbalance the official imperial rendering of individuals seen on the monumental art of the Persepolis palatial structure. The seals additionally offer insights into the ways adornment might be used to express identity.

²⁶⁶ For a selective analysis of seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Archive see appendix 4: Persepolis Fortification Archive Seal Impression Drawings

It is crucially important that adornment does not correlate to ethnicity in the seals. For example, the hero figure on PFS 38, the seal belonging to a wife of Darius, wears Assyrianizing clothing despite Artystone herself being a daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius. This high-ranking, presumably ethnically Persian individual uses a seal on which the hero figure is nevertheless carved wearing Assyrian garb — and there are strongly Egyptianizing elements to the seal as well (the papyrus, the lotuses in the floral emblem, the Harpocrates figure, etc.). PFS 196 and 859* also show varied ethnic elements of adornment that do not necessarily correlate with the personal ethnic identity of the people who used the seals. The hero figure on PFS 196 wears a Persian court robe, but Garrison and Root identify Egyptian traditions in the weaponry representation. The figure on PFS 859* wears Assyrian garments, but the seal was most likely used by a Persian official according to Garrison and Root.²⁶⁷

The opportunity for expression of individual identity is unique at Persepolis to glyptic. However, this does not mean that individuals wanted to appear totally unique on the seals. In the recognizable dress, Assyrian garments and the Persian court robe, I see the processes of assimilation theory. Given the inherent diversity of the empire, it would be foolish to assume every figure wearing a Persian court robe or Assyrian garment is a member of those ethnic groups — or that the individuals who purchased and used those seals were correspondingly Persian or Assyrian. Rather they have adopted emblems assimilated to this culture and are attempting to establish their authority by conforming to the new social norms around them. Dress that immediately calls to mind the might of the Assyrians or Persians is working as a symbol of the seal user's connection to said powers.

²⁶⁷ Garrison and Root (2001), p 83 (PFS 38), 326 (PFS 196), 299 (PFS 859*)

I believe the seals that show more unique dress, such as the variety of tunics worn by figures, are more likely to be individual expressions of adornment than the seals with formulaic dress. The tunics that I have observed on seals such as PFS 2, 49, 552, and 1090 do not resemble one another like garments of other classifications. The only common features among these garments are the simplistic rendering of garments.²⁶⁸ In my opinion, the choice to carve oneself in clothing independent from imperial associations of power is indicative of individual taste.

The degree of detail rendered in certain objects of adornment point to an array of identifying abilities. Hair, beard and headdress are far more generalized on the Fortification Seals than on the throne bearers of Darius' tomb or the delegations of the Apadana. This indicates a relative weakness of the hair, beard, and headgear to delineate individuals. Instead far more attention is paid to the adornment details of the primary garment. This shows that the main dress of the wearer carried more cultural capabilities in presenting one's distinctiveness.

Weapons fall somewhere on this spectrum as well. As noted, weapons in action are given more detail in glyptic art at Persepolis. This indicates that weapons could connote selfhood, but also that action is necessary for this identifying power. Weapons present further information about the symbolic motives of the figure. However, weapons do not show ethnic identity. This is the opposite of how weapons are used in relation to ethnic identity on the monumental relief sculpture at Persepolis, but even there the correlation between weaponry and ethnicity is ambiguous.²⁶⁹ This flexibility makes commenting on the relationship between identity and choice of weapons difficult for the modern scholar.

²⁶⁸ With an exception for PFS 2 which has more detailing on the skirt than most garments. Garrison and Root identify this seal as belonging to an important Court official. This official's status is judged by Garrison and Root due to the fact that he is one of the few officials whose personal seals appear alone

²⁶⁹ Garrison and Root (2001), p 4; *see also* Koch (1990)

The Fortification Seals do not offer the same evidence of adornment that larger scale relief sculpture can at Persepolis. From the Fortification Archive seal impressions, we can observe functions of dress divergent or even diametrically opposed to those found on the Tomb of Darius and the Apadana. The dress on seal impressions does not focus on communicating one's ethnicity, but rather aims to assert the owner's authority and status in the empire. Often seals will be carved in a multi-ethnic fashion.²⁷⁰ The plasticity of ethnic identification on the seals perhaps indicates that the attention to ethnic delineation was crucial to Darius but not to those living in the culture over which he reigned. The Fortification Archive demonstrates that Darius' imperial art program sought to do something outside the cultural norm in order to send a political message to the audience.

²⁷⁰ Thus, for instance, PFS 196 has adornment associated with both Persian and Egyptian ethnic traditions of dress

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Dress theory provides a powerful tool for exploring identity expression at Persepolis. This dynastic center, founded by Darius I, provides evidence for an imperial art program as well as contemporary evidence for unregulated self-expression. The artistic elements and patterns of adornment on the Tomb of Darius, the Apadana Staircase, and the Persepolis Fortification Archive seal impressions provide a closet of ancient garments to be analyzed. From this analysis, I have (1) discovered universal and individual patterns in adornment across monumental and glyptic dress, (2) identified the functional differences between adornment carved on official monumental art and adornment found on seal impression, and (3) defined four modes in which dress is utilized.

Dress is used to express authority. This can be observed in the royal dress that Darius wears. Proximity to authority can be viewed in two forms. Notional proximity to authority is demonstrated by homogeneity of the Persian court dress and the marked similarities to dress worn by Darius. It may also play a role in the similarity of garments worn by, say, the Lydians and Bactrians as exemplified in their shoes. These two peoples live so far apart that they are used in imperial rhetoric to symbolize two of the Four corner of the world, yet their dress unites them under the Achaemenid imperial umbrella.

Ethnic dress expresses physical proximity to the Achaemenid empire in the imperial art program in two ways, (1) through the inclusion of exceptional detail, and (2) in the overt expression of difference in adornment. This latter aspect is an element of dress also used at Persepolis to express ethnicity. The ethnic groups defined and illustrated by Darius wear

consistent and distinctive garments, whether they hold up the throne of the king or bring him gifts at his royal seat.

It is significant that the personal expressions found in the Persepolis Fortification Seals use dress in an entirely different way. Here dress is associated with physical power rather than ethnic distinction. But here, too, we see the association of dress with political authority and power. Indeed, Persepolis functions perhaps less as a closet full of garments and more as a catwalk to display the many functions dress can fulfill simultaneously.

Patterns of Adornment Observed On Monumental and Seal Garments

Within each chapter, I have noted, identified, and outlined the trends that I found most significant when analyzing how dress is being used in identity expression. Here I present a collection of said trends from all previous chapters. Only the Fortification Archive presents patterns specific and distinct from trends shared by the Tomb of Darius and the Apadana Staircase reliefs. This natural organization within the data set is mostly like a product of the differences created on objects produced by an imperial administration and artifacts produced by individuals.

Detailed Garments: Notional vs. Locational Proximity, and Ethnicity

There is a plethora of adornment patterns that can be observed between two or more artistic mediums at Persepolis. The most significant trend I found in my analysis was the effects of physical or notional proximity on the degree of detail rendered in a garment. This trend can be observed in dress from both the Tomb of Darius and the Apadana. This pattern is visible in the artistic inclusion of ornamental features on garments such as draping, texture, textile patterns,

and unnatural garment shape. Such ornamental elements are typically represented by incision lines on garments. On the Tomb of Darius, TB 13 and 16, the Indian and Babylonian, exemplify the implications of distance and exposure on adornment. The Indian throne bearer is observed in a garment not molded to natural human form. The garment is simple in style and lacking ornamentation. This scarcity of detail strengthens connections to India as a distant identity in the context of Persian territory. I am essentially arguing that the Indian people did not wear specifically unadorned clothing, but rather that the imperial art program is unfamiliar with the characteristics of Indian dress and therefore chose to render it simply on relief sculpture. In contrast, the Babylonian throne bearer is decorated in detail from head to toe. There are detailed incision lines running across the body, a scalloped hem, and unique headgear. These features make it apparent that the Persian artistic expression of Babylonian dress is fully conceptualized and therefore brimming with detail. Evidence for Persian and Babylonian interaction predates the Achaemenid empire itself. As such, Persians had more extensive exposure to details of Babylonian dress. The long-term effects of cross-cultural exposure are expressed by extensive adornment detail on imperial carvings. Plain Indian dress, I argue, is the result of geographic distance, and limited contact. Indian dress, as observed on the Tomb of Darius, is a reflection of limited imperial interaction with the new Achaemenid conquerors.

The effects of geographic and notional proximity on clothing are also observed in adornment found on the Apadana staircase reliefs. On this monument, the dress worn by the Bactrian delegates may be productively compared in adornment analysis with that worn by the Ethiopian delegation. The adornment of the Bactrian party garments is beautifully ornamented. From the pendant earring carved in each delegate's ear to the incision lines on the members' billowing pants and decidedly upturned shoes, Bactrian garments are filled with attention to

minute detail. This intentional detail, I suggest, has correlations to the Bactrians' closer position of proximity to the Persian heartland and therefore have increased exposure to Persian culture. The Ethiopian delegation in contrast, wears garments ornamented by a single center-front detail, and contains no other decorative incision lines. The Ethiopian dress on the staircase represents a distant population in the Persian worldview. It is therefore unsurprising that little unique distinction is observed on the garments of this party.

Weaponry

The following two patterns I have observed to apply universally to the weapons seen on all monuments and glyptic evidence at Persepolis. First, I noted the function of weapons as symbolic visualizations of physical strength and military prowess. On the tomb of Darius, Darius himself employs this symbolic imagery in the bow he carries. The symbol of the bow is rooted in Egyptian and Assyrian tradition, but is being repurposed on this monument to display the vast armies held by Darius I, as well as his Persian title as The First Bowman of his people. This trend in weapons is further marked on monumental art on the Apadana. Here the weapon that communicates military prowess is the ornate sheath on short swords. This sheath is embellished with a lion's head emblem. The sheath is associated with Sogidan (AD 18), Saka-Tigraxauda (AD 16), and Median (AD 15) delegations. However, this design is most frequently visually linked to the Medes, suggesting that it is Median in origin. The popular lion motif in Near Eastern art is often used when communicating power, just as it is in this sheath. On the Apadana staircase, these swords are being offered in gift to the enthroned king, suggesting that they are the symbolic forfeiting of military power and forces.

This trend in weapons is utilized again in Fortification Archive seal impressions. In this dataset, bows are of specific interest because figures of heroic encounter are rarely observed employing bows in action. Nevertheless, the figures on many seals can be observed carrying them. The symbolic bow is indicative of the strategic prowess of a military figure. It is functioning symbolically in the Fortification Archive rather than practically. This is visually communicated in the ineffectiveness of bows in close-range combat. Therefore, the inclusion of weapons on glyptic art must serve a symbolic purpose.

The second universal pattern recognized in weaponry is the relative weakness of weapons in providing ethnic identification. As I have observed and noted, the primary garment is the strongest element of adornment in ethnic dress identification. On the Tomb of Darius, the throne bearers are participating in an activity, holding the king aloft. Therefore, all weapons are worn rather than brandished. Many of the throne bearers are adorned with the same narrow dagger, hanging from the belt, sheathed with the hilt pointing to the left of the body. On the Apadana weapons are arguably more ethnically delineating than on the Tomb or seal impressions, as noted with the sheathed short sword that is potentially a Median ethnic symbol. However, this style of weapon is not limited in use to the originating ethnic group. In glyptic art on the seal preserved as impressions in the Fortification Archive, the dissociation between all adornment and the ethnicity of the seal user is crucial in understanding the function of dress in the archive.

Darius

The primary element in Darius' dress is universal across monuments. Darius' hair and beard are uniformly carved with a tightly spiraled, curly texture. The king's hair is constantly worn in a rounded mass at the base of the neck. Darius' characteristically long beard extends to

the mid chest, and has a blunted end. On the monarch's head may be seen one of the few differences in adornment between Darius on monuments. On the Treasury Relief, Darius wears a tall rectangular headpiece devoid of decorations, with a flat top. Darius on the Tomb is perhaps wearing a dentate crown of some kind. The primary garment worn by Darius is utilized to establish a recognizable dress that is associated with his personage. On monumental art Darius wears a draped shawl atop an elevated Persian court robe. This shawl is cut at the hip and displays incision lines indicative of pleats at the back of the shawl. Darius' robe is elaborately ornamented with incision lines that originate from the characteristic center front pleat and wrap around the body of the king. On both monuments, the king is barefoot. On the Tomb of Darius, the monarch carries a weapon, the bow, while on the Treasury relief Darius is enthroned with a staff and cup in hand. The difference between accessories of Darius is most likely a reflection of the diverging activities rendered on these monumental scenes.

Darius's royal clothing attempts to do three jobs in relief sculpture. The adornment communicates his connection (1) to his royalty, (2) to the Persian ethnic identity, and (3) to his rightful position on the throne. On the Apadana Darius demonstrates his royal identity by appearing with his son and successor, Xerxes, dressed in an identical garment save for the headgear. On the Tomb, Darius reflects his royal identity by his position in the scene. Darius is carved in this position to assert his imperial control over a vast empire physically and metaphorically. On both monuments, Darius' superior importance is emphasized by his elevated size on relief sculpture compared to the subjects of the realm. Darius establishes his "Persian-ness" by appearing alongside lower ranking Persians. Here audiences see that the king and Persian man are similarly adorned in the Persian court robe. To communicate his rightful place on the Achaemenid throne, Darius carves his personage equal to the omnipotent God Ahuramazda.

This scene effectively communicates that Darius was chosen by the Persian Gods as the ruler. This non-secular trend had been established by previous Achaemenid kings. Cyrus the Great claimed to have been chosen by the Babylonian Gods to conquer the kingdom as its rightful ruler. Cambyses II justified his authority in Egypt by proclaiming himself as the legitimate Pharaoh, a position closely associated with Egyptian divinity. On the Apadana Darius is carved as an enthroned Achaemenid king to conclusively associate himself with the physical and symbolic seat of Persian power.

Patterns of Dress

I noted that four dress theories could be utilized to explain different trends of dress among the ethnic identities observed on monumental art. (1) Symbolic superiority theory is practiced exclusively by Darius. He demonstrates symbolic superiority in his divine connection, increased size, and by physically standing on top of representations of realm. (2) The Trickle-down theory can be used to analyze the fashion cycle existing between the king and ethnic Persians. However, without proof of the fashion cycle at Persepolis it is impossible to definitively state if the clothing trends were set by the king or his people. (3) The Symbolic (self) Completion theory is qualified by the distinct lack of self-expression on imperial art, but it can still be used to explain why the imperial program chose to have specific figures assimilate to group norms of dress, or chose to break trends to display unique identity expression. One example of this is the coherence of figures wearing some style of tunic on the Tomb and Staircase reliefs. (4) Assimilation Process Theory generally explains common trends, like the tunic, as a means to culturally assimilate via dress.

The Persepolis Fortification Seals

Moving away from universal patterns that I have observed, there are three patterns of adornment unique to the dress observed on figures of the Fortification Archive. First, seals that display categorically unique garments are more likely evidence of individual expression on seal dress than those that adopt a formulaic style of dressing (such as the Persian court robe or Assyrian garment). I found this pattern in several seals, where figures wear unornamented tunics.²⁷¹ In my opinion, the trend to diverge from rendering oneself in dress encoded with culturally advantageous messages is indicative of a greater value in individual self-expression. Second, weapons in action are carved with greater detail than inactive weapons. This pattern is unique to seals, because the figures in monumental sculpture are not shown using weapons but rather performing other tasks in the scene (participating in tribute procession or carrying the king forward). This universal inertia is not correlated to the amount detail rendered on weapons. In fact, weaponry on relief sculptures at Persepolis show equal degrees of detail to the detail of the garment. The difference in detail in weaponry on the seals, with those in use shown with greater detail than those without, thus takes on greater significance. PFS 17 and 38 are the best examples of the difference between sheathed and unsheathed weapons on seal impression and the implications of action on the carving details.

The third, unique pattern observed on the Fortification Archive is the significant inability of adornment on seals to relate to the ethnicity of the seal owner. This pattern is substantiated by seals such as PFS 38, which features adornment objects from various ethnic traditions. This disconnect between clothing and ethnic identification on seal impressions communicates the diverging functions among adornment on seal impressions and monumental art. Dress on seal

²⁷¹ The hero figures on PFS 2, 49, 552, and 1090 can all be seen wearing tunics

impressions instead works to establish authority and notional proximity to authority (status), rather than distinguishing ethnic identities. This trend is further critical to adornment analysis because it suggests that adornment functioning as an ethnic identifier was not a cultural norm, but instead an adornment element in Darius' imperial art program. The lack of correlation between dress and ethnic identity in the context indicates that the patterns found on monumental art at Persepolis are not a norm in the Persian court. From this established norm, I assert that a facet of Darius' imperial agenda becomes clear. The use of ethnic dress on monumental relief sculpture demonstrates the diverse and thereby vast control Darius enjoys in his kingdom. Darius valued displaying the ethnic diversity of the Persian realm in a way that members of this culture did not equally value.

Dress as it is seen at Persepolis is an invaluable window into the culture and identities that inhabit the Persian court. The separate uses of adornment between data on the Fortification Archive and monumental art define the diverging functions of dress. Dress worn by tomb bearers and delegation parties functioned to delineate figures ethnically from one another in order to generate a diverse image of empire. On seal impressions clothing functioned as symbolic connection to power and status. The insights afforded by Dress Theory and adornment analysis add new layers of nuance and depth to our understanding of visual culture at Persepolis in the Darius.

Appendix 1: Throne bearers on the Tomb of Darius

TB 1: Persian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short. The beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headwear:** Headpiece and or headband lays on top the head. Headpiece lacks ornamentation.
- **Dress:** Short sleeve, mid-calf length Persian court robe. Top of the garment pools on either side of weapon hanging from belt. Center front is intricately decorated with incision lines indicating layered pleats. Incisions on the skirt of the garment radiate out and down from the center front panel.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed dagger is carried on belt. Hilt pointing to the left. Robust decorative band on the hilt.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 39, p 152

TB 2: Median Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is short and curly, mostly concealed under the headpiece. The beard is kept long and curly.
- **Headwear:** Headpiece molded to the head. Folded and pinned down decorative element. Otherwise void of texture.
- **Dress:** Top of tunic is not preserved. Preservation does the figure clothing covering his chest. Tunic is knee-length. The skirt is hitched up on the left leg by a fold draped. Some pleating is preserved. Sleeves are not preserved, assumed short sleeved.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** TB is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 40, p 154

TB 3: Elamite Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short. The beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headwear:** Preservation makes it unclear if headpiece is present. There is a faint indent that could have once been a band around the head like the Persians
- **Dress:** Short sleeve, mid-calf length tunic. Sleeves are cut very open. Top of the garment pools on either side of weapon hanging from belt, indicating a loose fit. Skirt is covered in curved incision lines
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed dagger is carried on belt. Hilt pointing to the left. Robust decorative band on the hilt.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 39, p 152

TB 4: Parthian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly. Hair is kept short while the beard is worn long and angular sculpted to a blunted end.
- **Headwear:** Headpiece molded to the head, no clear ornamentation preserved.
- **Dress:** Very little detail is preserved. Short sleeve knee-length tunic is worn. Faint traces of draping lines.
- **Footwear:** Feet not preserved
- **Weapon:** Outline of sheathed dagger visible against skirt. Hilt pointing to the left. Minimal hilt ornamentation.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 41, p 156

TB 5: Arian Throne Bearer

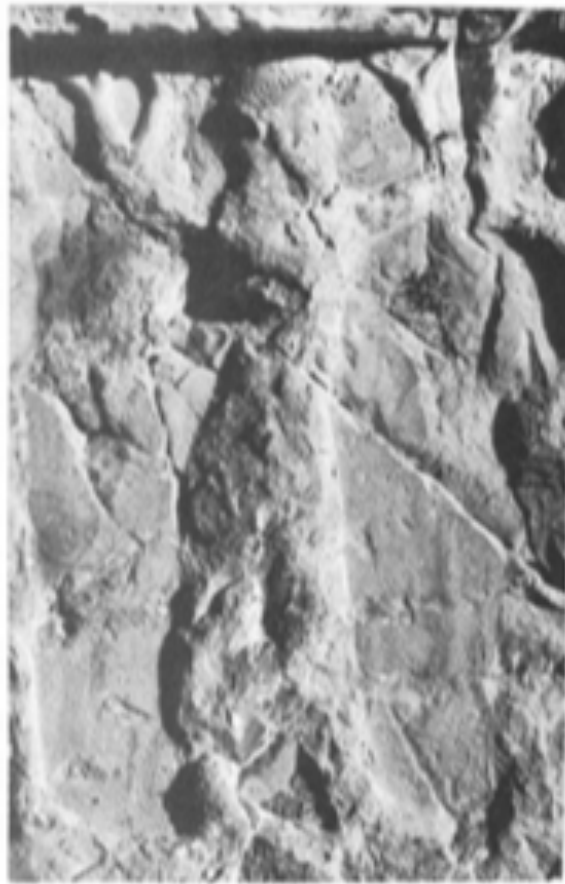
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are kept curly and short. Beard is minimally sculpted.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to head. Resting on top the head. Faint incision lines preserved on headpiece.
- **Dress:** Garment is not well preserved. Sleeve lines are visible on the left bicep indicating a short-sleeved tunic. Tunic appears to have clung the body, indicated by the remaining torso's silhouette. Skirt was cut extremely short as is evident by the slit.
- **Footwear:** Feet not preserved
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** No accessories worn
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 42, p 158

TB 6: Bactrian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Hair is presumed to be worn long.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to head. Resting on top the head.
- **Dress:** Garment is not well preserved. The knee-length tunic appears to cling to the figure below the fabric. Not ornamentation is preserved.
- **Footwear:** Feet not preserved
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 41, p 165

TB 7: Sogdian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Figure appears to have short, presumably curly hair. The beard may have been worn past his collar bone.
- **Headgear:** Head is not well preserved. Headpiece is molded to the head. No detail or ornamentation preserved.
- **Dress:** Garment is not well preserved. Hem and sleeve incision lines are not preserved, making sleeve and garment length unclear.
- **Footgear:** Feet not preserved
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 43, p 160

TB 8: Chorasmian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved well. Hair and beard presumed to be curly and short. The beard tip is preserved indicating an angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Head is not well preserved. Headpiece is molded to the head. No detail or ornamentation preserved.
- **Dress:** Hemline is not preserved, visibility of leg split suggests a tunic worn well above the knees. Top of garment detail is not preserved but suggests tight fitting garment.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Faintly preserved short sword worn on the right hip. A small hilt is preserved with a more robust blade size.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist. Based on the sword a belt is assumed to be worn over the tunic, around the waist
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 43, p 160

TB 9: Drangianian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Hair presumed to be curly. Beard is worn long and is potentially wavy in texture.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to head. Resting on top the head. No ornamentation preserved.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh tunic is worn. The garment is fitted to the figure. Hem of tunic is preserved. One incision line preserved crossing the chest right to left, intersecting length of the torso.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed short sword worn on the belt above the right hip. Hilt is not preserved. Sword has a slightly bulbous tip.
- **Accessories:** No accessories preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 42, p 158

TB 10: Arachosian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Hair and beard presumed to be kept curly and short.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to head. Resting on top the head. No ornamentation preserved.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh tunic. It is unclear if incisions on the garment are products of damage or intentional representation.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed short sword is worn on the belt over the right hip. The hilt is not preserved. Sword tapers to a point at the tip.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands faintly preserved.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 42, p 158

TB 11: Sattagylian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is especially poorly preserved. Hair appears to be worn short and the beard long, no detail beyond that is discernable.
- **Headgear:** Preservation does not allow for analysis.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Little to no detail preserved
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** A large, unidentifiable, rounded mass is attached to the right hip.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands faintly preserved. Around the neck a scarf or necklace is worn.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 45, p 164

TB 12: Gandarian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Preservation does not allow for analysis.
- **Headgear:** Not preserved
- **Dress:** Hem of tunic is preserved. Figure wears a short sleeved mid-thigh length tunic.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 45, p 164

TB 13: Indian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Preservation does not allow for analysis.
- **Headgear:** Not preserved
- **Dress:** Garment is not well preserved. Short sleeved, mid-thigh tunic is worn. Incisions indicate a scooped neck and billowed out from the body (further than any other garments observed.) Some kind of pattern or texture detail is preserved on the chest of the garment, appears to be a repeating, geometric pattern across the chest.
- **Footwear:** Incisions lines at approximately the same height on each ankle. No other evidence of footwear. Incisions could be caused by damage rather than deliberate action.
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Tied bands around the wrists
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 45, p 164

TB 14: Hauma-drinking Scythian

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is not preserved, but beard is; it is angular sculpted.
- **Headgear:** Not preserved
- **Dress:** Not preserved
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 43, p 160

TB 15: Pointed-Hat Scythian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight. The hair flips up in a single curl at the back of the head. Beard is kept short and angularly sculpted to an especially sharp point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is worn with a pointed tip. The headpiece tapers to a point sloping away from the apex of the head. Headpiece is without ornamentation.
- **Dress:** Hem and sleeve incisions not preserved. Clothes appears to be full coverage. Potential evidence of v-shaped neckline. Top of tunic is tight fitting flaring out around the hips. Tunic is cut short, indicated by the amount of leg separation visible.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Outline of dagger preserved. Hung from the belt with the hilt facing to the right. No detail beyond that is discernable.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 44, p 162

TB 16: Babylonian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short, minimally visible under the headpiece. Bread is angularly sculpted to a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is molded to figures head. A long strip dangles from the apex of the head past her shoulder blades.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-calf length tunic is worn. Draping incision lines originate from the left shoulder of the garment and cross the entirety of the garment. Hem is abnormal, with two lobes creating the bottom of the garment.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands faintly preserved.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 50, p 170

TB 17: Assyrian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short. The beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is molded to figures head. Textured detail above brim of headpiece.
- **Dress:** Short sleeve, knee-length tunic. Tunic features deep scooped neckline. Faint incisions on the center front of the skirt, featuring rounded draping.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Short sword hangs from the belt with hilt facing the left. Short sword tapers to a point.
- **Accessories:** Simple belt worn around the waist. Faint incision of accessories hanging from the neck.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 49, p 168

TB 18: Arabian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not preserved.
- **Headgear:** Head is not preserved.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, full length tunic is worn. Sleeves are loose and hang from the biceps. Garment is without ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 50, p 170

TB 19: Egyptian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight. Hair is kept short while beard is worn long.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, floor length tunic. Garment is lacking ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 50, p 170

TB 20: Armenian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Not preserved
- **Headgear:** Not preserved
- **Dress:** Not preserved
- **Footwear:** Not preserved
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 40, p 154

TB 21: Cappadocian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Some evidence for curly hair worn short.
- **Headgear:** Not preserved
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-calf length tunic is worn. Garment hugs the figure's body. Hem has abnormal scalloped feature. This is emphasized by the dress slit between the figure's legs. Garment is without ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 40, p 154

TB 22: Lydian Throne Bearer

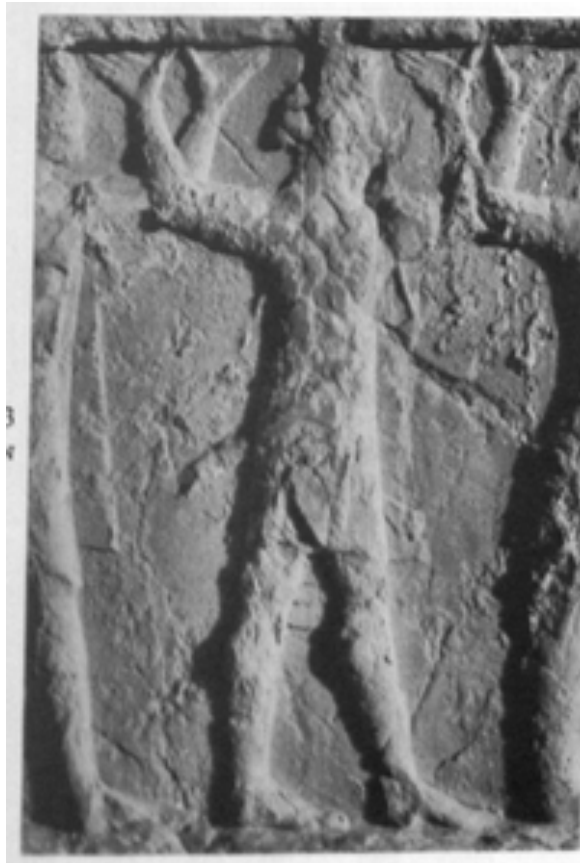
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight and kept short. A single curl flips up at the back of the figures head. Beard is angularly sculpted.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Draped across the chest is a cape that can be seen in the background behind the figure. Tunic is devoid of ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed short sword is worn high up on the waist, the hilt facing to the left. A band hands from the sword.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 47, p 166

TB 23: Ionian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Hair appears curly, beard is not preserved for analysis.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to the crown of his head is worn. Small incisions on the headpiece, could be decorative or texture caused by damage.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Patterned texture resembling scales are present on the chest of the garment.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Sheathed short sword is worn on belt around the waist. Hilt faces to the left. Preservation does not allow for further analysis.
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn around each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 47, p 166

TB 24: Scythian-Beyond-The-Sea Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight and kept short. A single curl flips up at the back of the figure's head. Beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is worn with a pointed tip sloping away from the apex of the head.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Faint incisions on the waist suggesting a belt.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands faintly preserved. Around the neck a scarf is worn.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 44, p 162

TB 25: Skudrian Throne Bearer

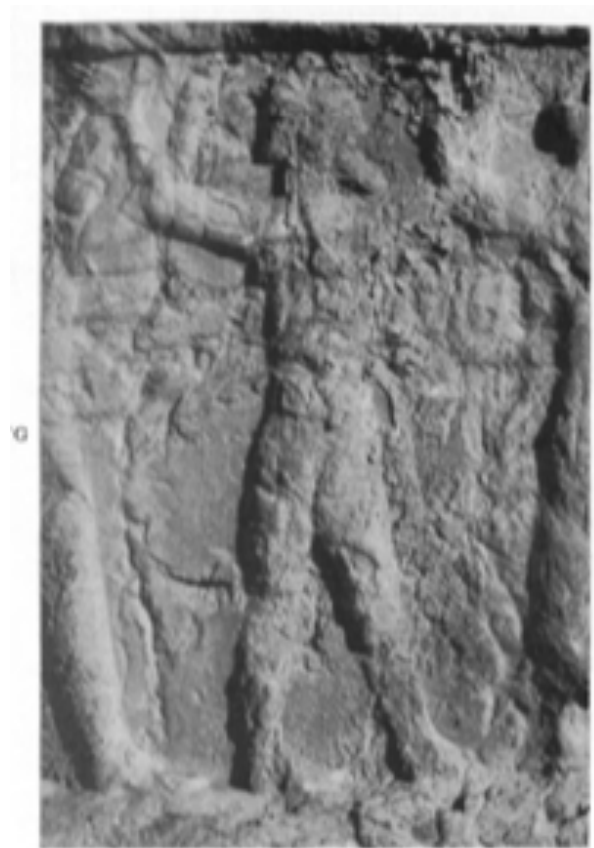
- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not preserved.
- **Headgear:** Head is not preserved.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved, knee length tunic is worn. Incisions on the waist suggest a belt. Extra incisions are added to the hem of the sleeves and neckline for detail.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Un-ornamented bands worn around each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 44, p 162

TB 26: Petasos-wearing Ionian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and hair is kept short. Beard is worn long and with a rounded edge.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece molded to the figure's head is adorned with what appears to be a leaf pinned in the brim.
- **Dress:** Short sleeved tunic is worn. Tunic has uneven hem lines on the legs. The leg split is still visible so it is possible that the asymmetry is either due to preservation or a slit in the bottom of the tunic.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 48, p 168

TB 27: Libyan Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not well preserved. Hair and beard are curly and kept short. Hair is primarily covered by the headpiece.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is molded to the figure's head. Two appendages hang down from the headpiece. Headpiece lacks ornamentation beyond the decorative straps.
- **Dress:** The top of the dress is damaged beyond analysis. A full-length tunic is worn.
- **Footwear:** Feet not preserved
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 51, p 172

TB 28: Ethiopian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head appears bald or closely shaved. Preservation does not allow for further analysis.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Figure is bare chested with a knee length skirt wrapped around the waist.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.



Schmidt (1970), figure 52, p 172

TB 29: Macian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are wavy and kept short. Beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Sleeveless, mid-thigh length tunic is worn. Tunic lacks ornamentation
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Faintly preserved curved dagger worn on the hip attached at the waist.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Figure faces to the right with split legs. Figure is holding the bottom of the throne stage. Only time the right arm is depicted crossing the body.



Schmidt (1970), figure 46, p 166

TB 30: Carian Throne Bearer

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not preserved.
- **Headgear:** Head is not preserved.
- **Dress:** The top of the dress is damaged beyond analysis. A knee length tunic is worn.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Not preserved
- **Body Position:** Atlas position, with palms raised moving right.

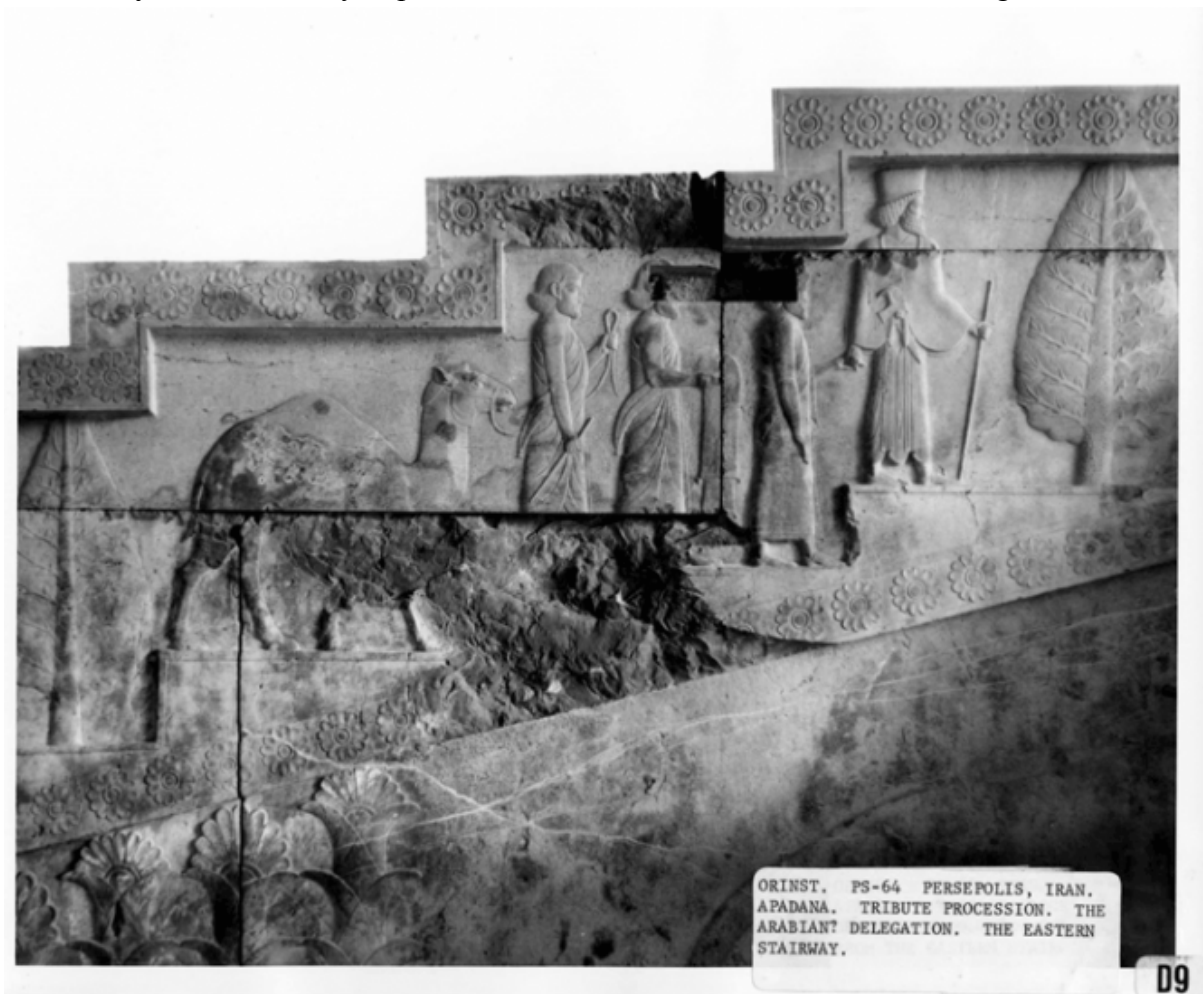


Schmidt (1970), figure 48, p168

Appendix 2: Delegations on the Apadana Staircase

AD 1: Arabian Delegation

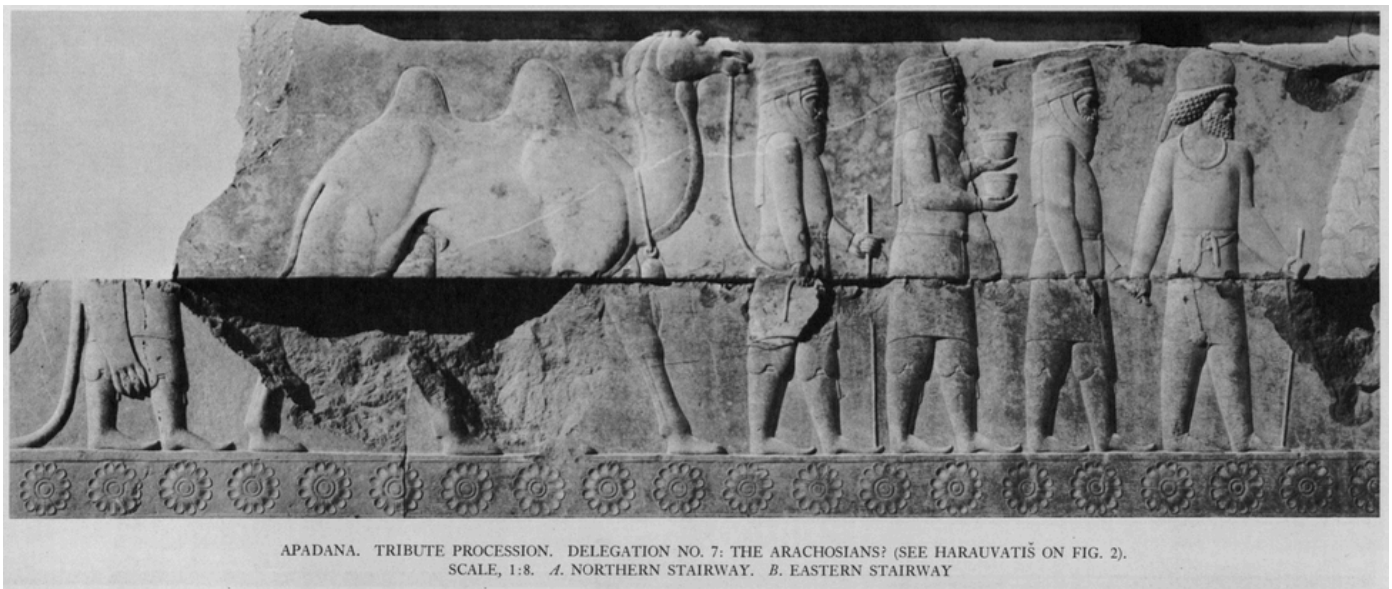
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is relatively straight with a rigid outline. There is no beard present, there is a goatee as indicated by the parallel incisions on the Arabian's chin
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Curved incision lines indicate a single shoulder, draped tunic. Lack of incision lines on the bicep sleeves suggest at least one bare arm. The tunic is draped with a center front slit produced from draping.
- **Footwear:** Front delegate is wearing sandals. Preservation does not allow for analysis of the whole party's footwear.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1D11_72dpi.png

AD 2: Arachosian Delegation

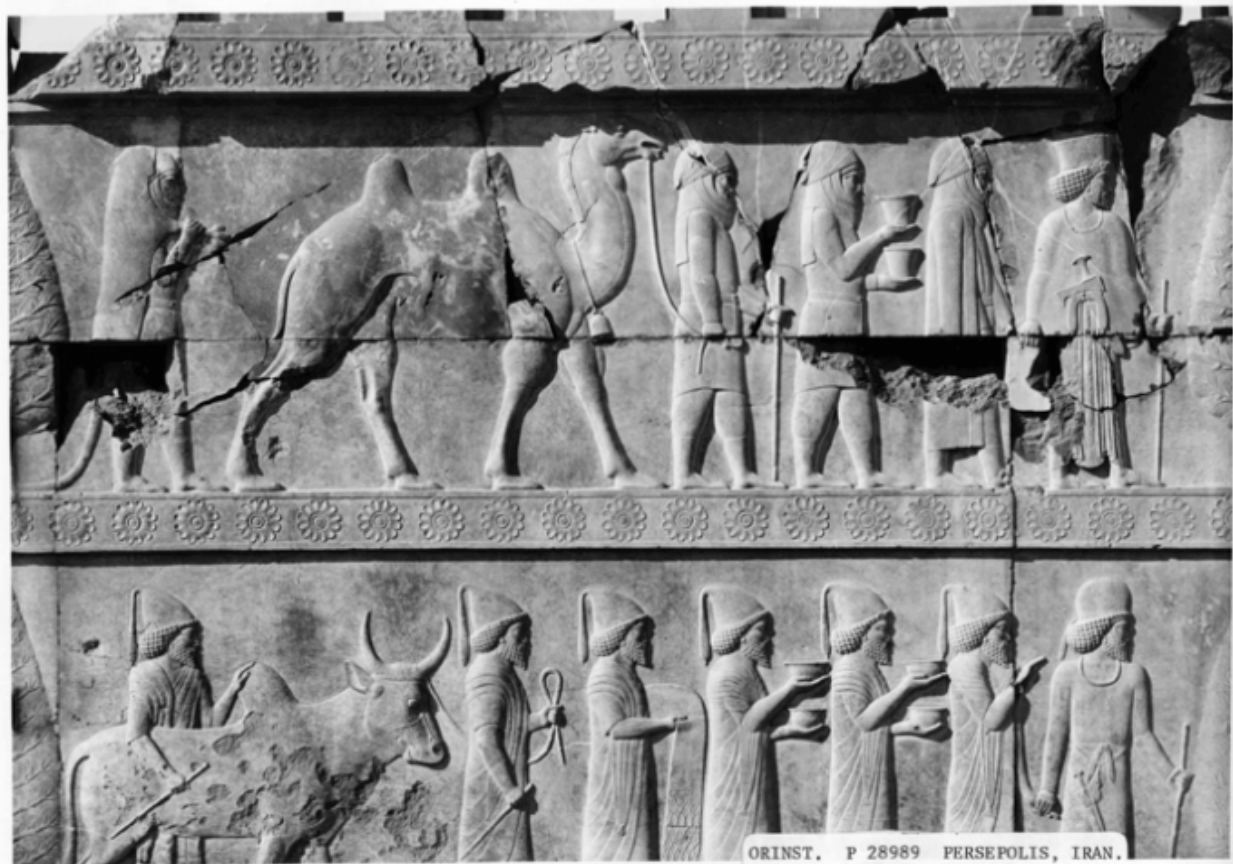
- **Hair and Beard:** A thin strip of hair is under the cap. The hair is straight in texture. Minimal amount of the beard is visible, which features curly.
- **Headgear:** Full coverage headpiece worn, only leaving facial features visible. Four-tiered wrapping around the top of the head. With three tiers of wrapping on the back of the head wrapping around the front. No texture on covering. The tiers on the top of the head are made from linear incisions, apart from the rounded top of the headpiece. The bottom wrappings are curved to accommodate the shape neck and chin. the chin layer comes directly below the lip.
- **Dress:** Party wears long-sleeved mid-thigh length tunic with loose fitting pants worn underneath. No ornamentation present on the garment
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers with toes curved up.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed
- **Accessories:** No accessories seen
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



Schmidt (1953), plate 33

AD 3: Arian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** No hair visible, only the slightest bit of beard is visible.
- **Headgear:** Full coverage headpiece. Tiered incisions give the impression of layers. The molded headpiece has three layers on both the top and the bottom. All curved to the wearer. Material at the back of the headpiece comes down past shoulders below the shoulder blades.
- **Dress:** The delegates wear long sleeved, knee-lengthed tunics, over top mid-calf pants, which do not hug the figure.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed
- **Accessories:** A simple belt is worn over the tunic around the waist.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



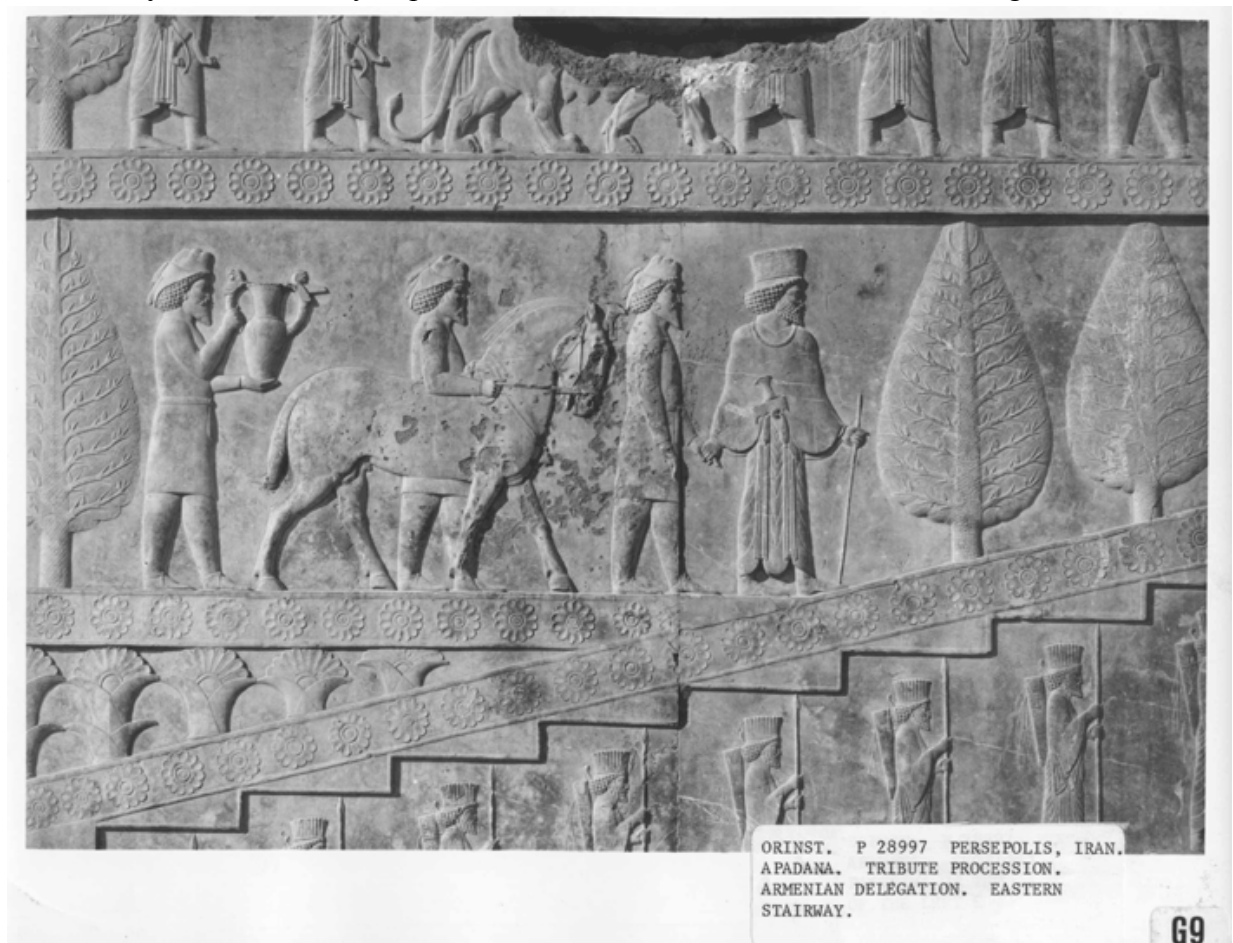
ORINST. P 28989 PERSEPOLIS, IRAN.
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION.
ARIAN? DELEGATION. EASTERN
STAIRWAY.

E12

https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E12_72dpi.png

AD 4: Armenian Delegation

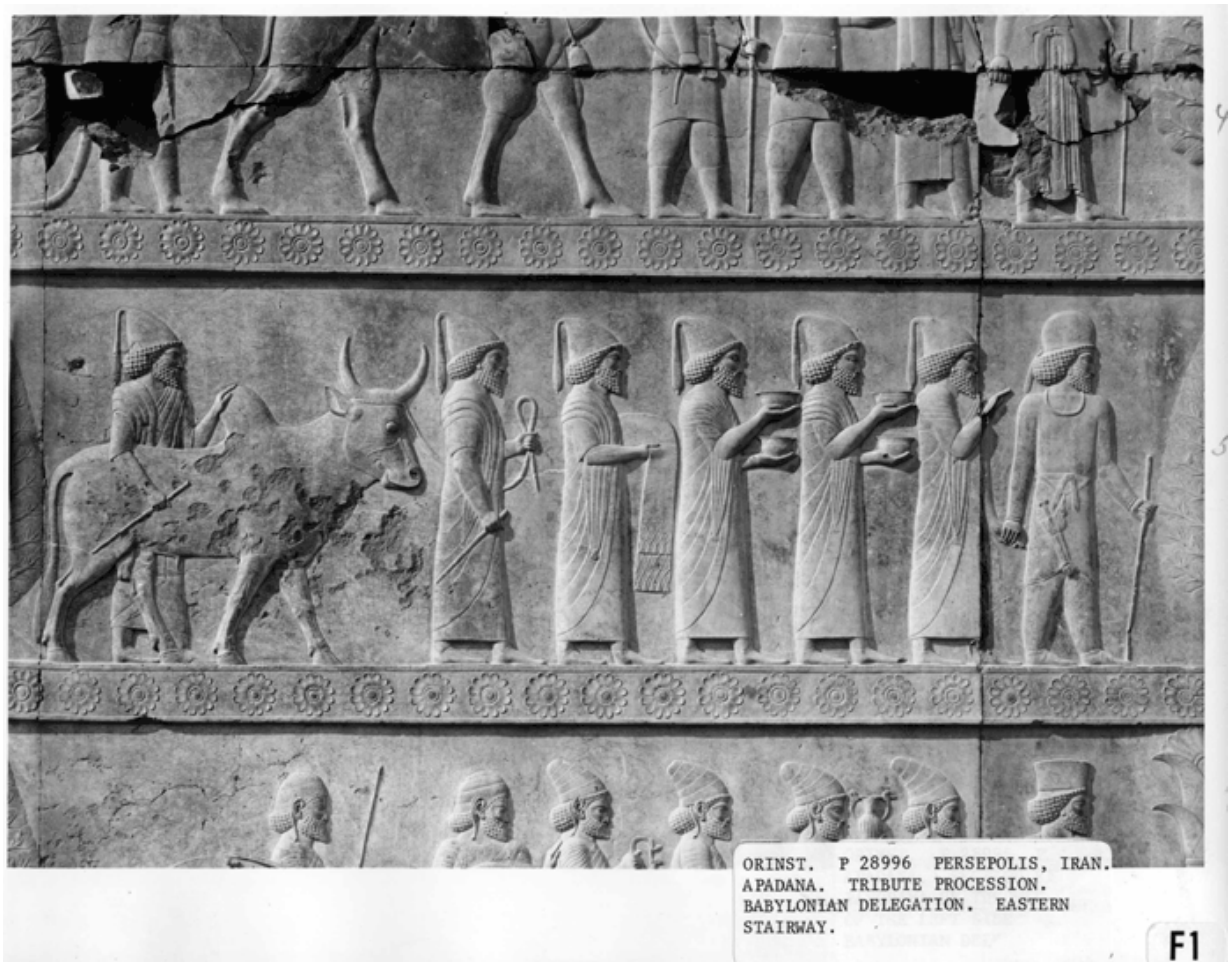
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is curly, beard has a slight wave, reaching below the collar bone. The mustache with curled edge visible on top of the beard. Beard is sculpted with angular edge and rounded point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece with three humps on the crown and equal amounts of bands hanging down the back. There is a curved perpendicular line over the bottom two strips
- **Dress:** Long sleeved, knee length tunic, with a high neckline. The dress is devoid of ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wear sandals.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** Simple bracelet worn on front Armenian's wrist. A simple belt is worn over the tunic around the waist.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#2A5_72dpi.png

AD 5: Babylonian Delegation

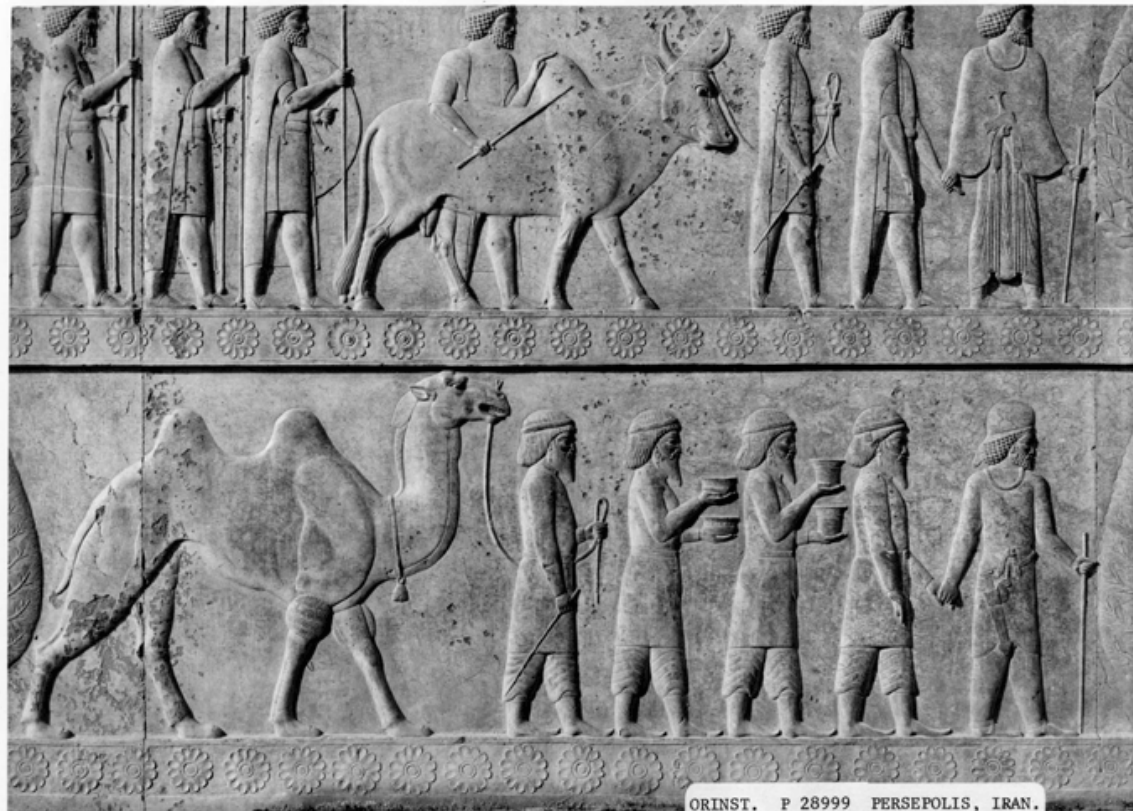
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly. Beard extends below the chin and is sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Domed headpiece with a long strip descending from the apex of the head. The appendage has a rounded end.
- **Dress:** Thick, parallel, curved lines are cut into the shoulders representing a garment worn over a full-length tunic, with bicep length sleeves. This overlay wraps around the shoulders and covers the back of the delegate.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1F1_72dpi.png

AD 6: Bactrian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight. There is a single row of curls along the forehead. Hair is kept short. Beard is long, and angularly sculpted to a blunted edge. A mustache grows down and curls below the lip. a small row of curls is visible below the bottom lip.
- **Headgear:** Thick headband laying over the forehead. There are two rectangular decorative elements on the headband behind the ear. The rectangular elements are stacked on top of one another.
- **Dress:** Long sleeved tunic worn overtop loose fitting mid-calf length pants. There are faint incision lines on the pants that help to convey their fit.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers with toes curved up.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed
- **Accessories:** Pendent earrings. Large hoop with oval pendent attached.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



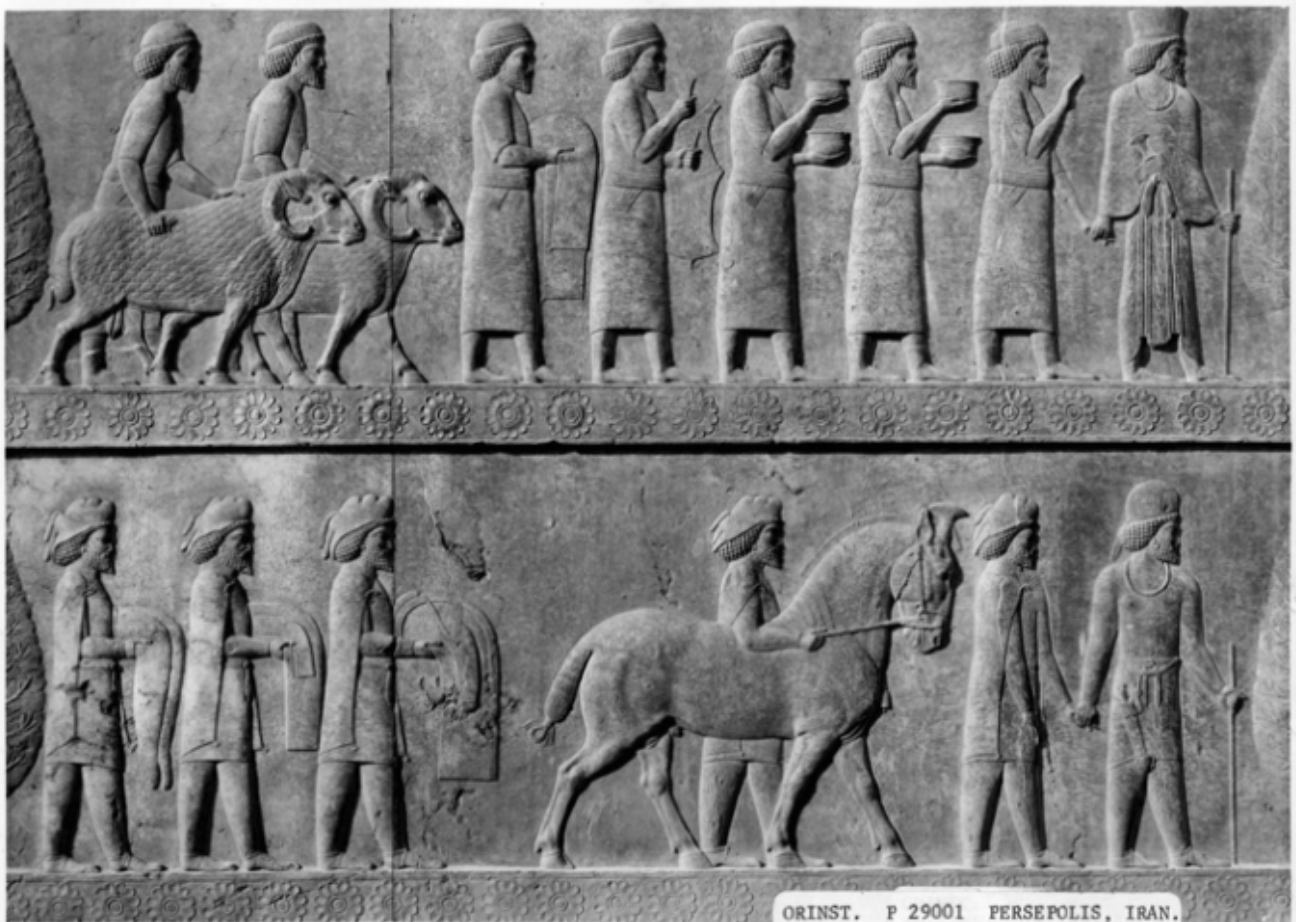
ORINST. P 28999 PERSEPOLIS, IRAN.
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. THE
BACTRIAN DELEGATION. THE EASTERN
STAIRWAY.

E6

https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E6_72dpi.png

AD 7: Cappadocian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly. Hair and beard are kept short. Beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece with three humps on the crown and equal amounts of bands hanging down the back. There is a curved perpendicular line over the bottom two strips
- **Dress:** Cape is draped over both shoulders with a simple, knee-length tunic worn underneath. The tunic is long-sleeved. The cape clasps on the right shoulder.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** A half-moon pin which joins the cape over the right shoulder.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



ORINST. P 29001 PERSEPOLIS, IRAN.
APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. THE
CAPPADOCIAN DELEGATION. EASTERN
STAIRWAY.

E11

https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E11_72dpi.png

AD 8: Cilician Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly. Beard extends below the chin and is sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Four-tiered headband, rests on the head, with a band hanging down from the bottom row. There are parallel vertical incisions on the band.
- **Dress:** Three-quarters length sleeved, mid-calf tunic. The garment lacks any ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** A four-tiered belt is tied around the waist of delegates.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



APADANA. TRIBUTE PROCESSION. DELEGATION NO. 8: THE CILICIANS? (SEE FIG. 2). SCALE, 1:8. A. NORTHERN STAIRWAY. B. EASTERN STAIRWAY

Schmidt (1953), plate 34

AD 9: Ethiopian Delegation

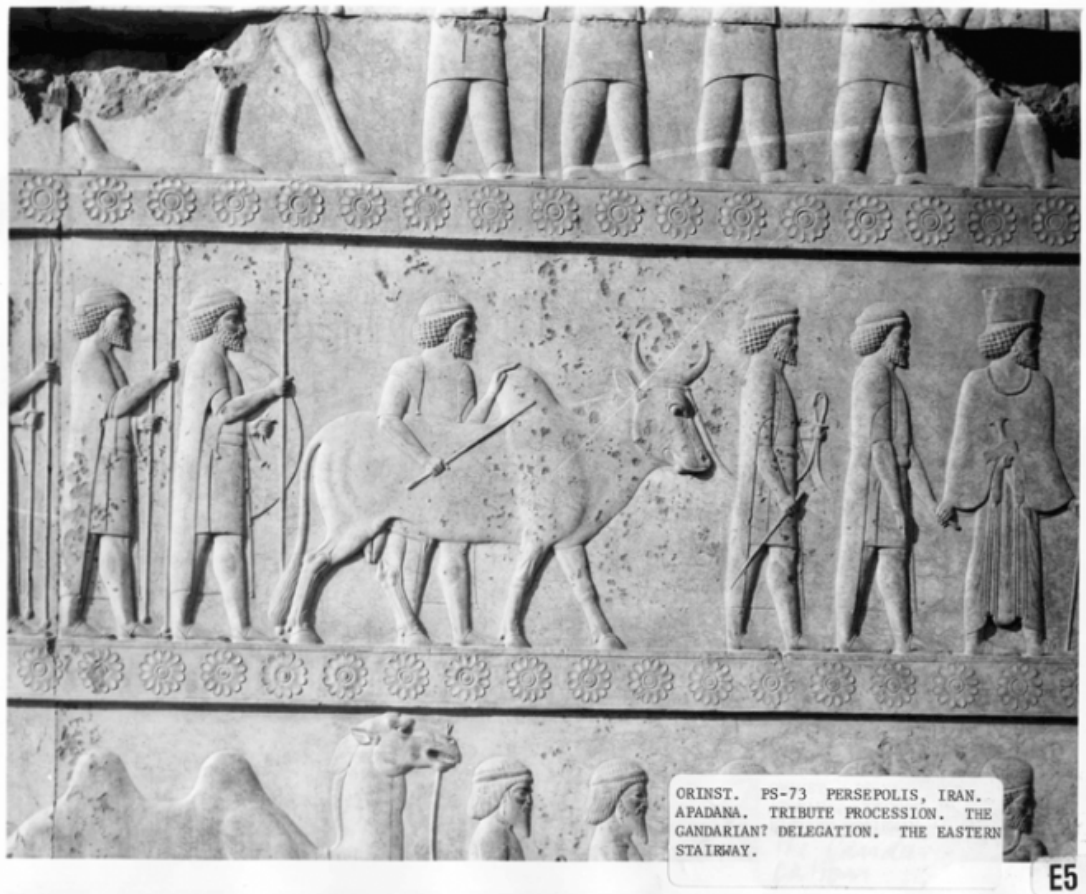
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is curly, worn close to the scalp. The Ethiopian is clean shaven.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Curved incision lines indicate a single shoulder, draped tunic. Lack of incision lines on the bicep sleeves suggest at least one bare arm. There are parallel incisions running down the center front of the floor length tunic.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The last member of the delegation carries what appears to be a curved sword over his left shoulder. The rest of the party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1D7_72dpi.png

AD 10: Gandarian Delegation

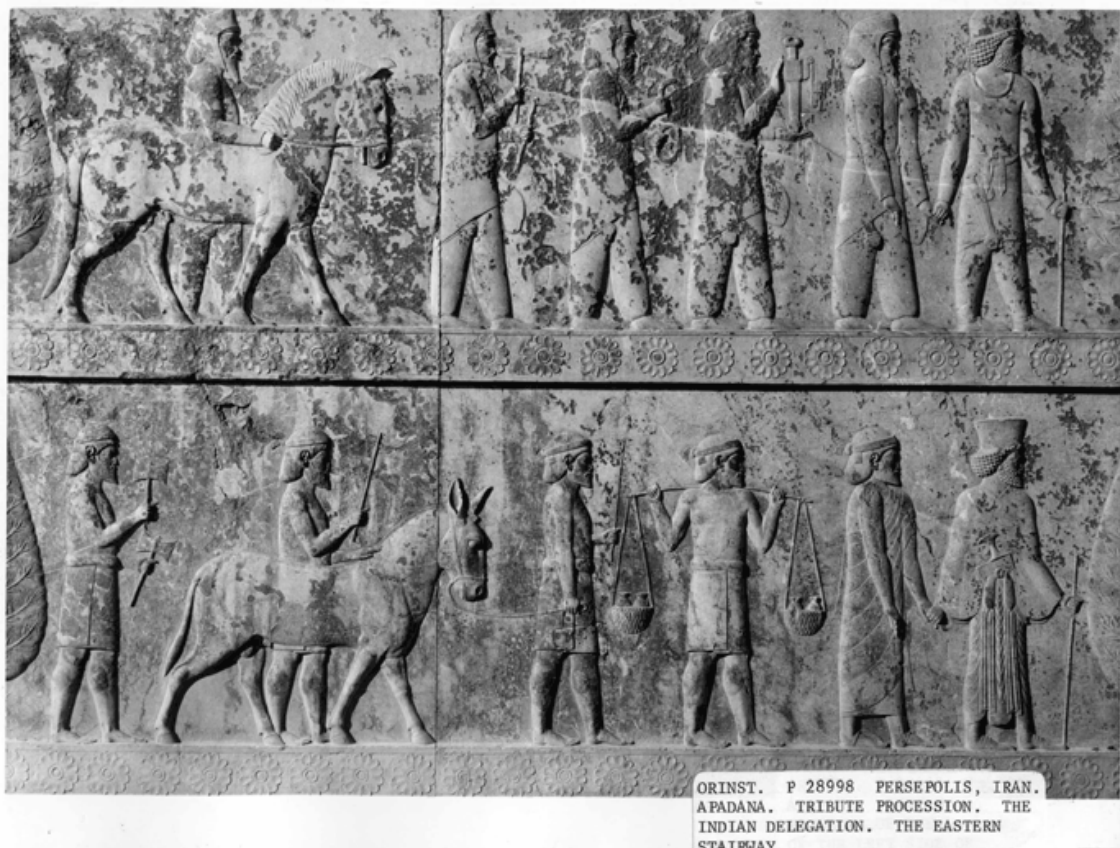
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is 50% wavy 50% curly with the change occurring after the headpiece. The beard is curly and short, angularly sculpted to a point. Mustache is grown down from the lip and has a single curl.
- **Headgear:** Simple headband with no ties or ornamentation rests over the forehead.
- **Dress:** Ankle length shawls are fastened around the shoulders. There are small tassels on the corners of the shawl. Under the shawl is a three-quarters length sleeved, Knee-length tunic worn.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** Leader of party is unarmed. Other members carry in their right hands pointed objects approximate to the figure's forearm. The back row in the party carry round shields and spears.
- **Accessories:** Hoop earrings
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E5_72dpi.png

AD 11: Indian Delegation

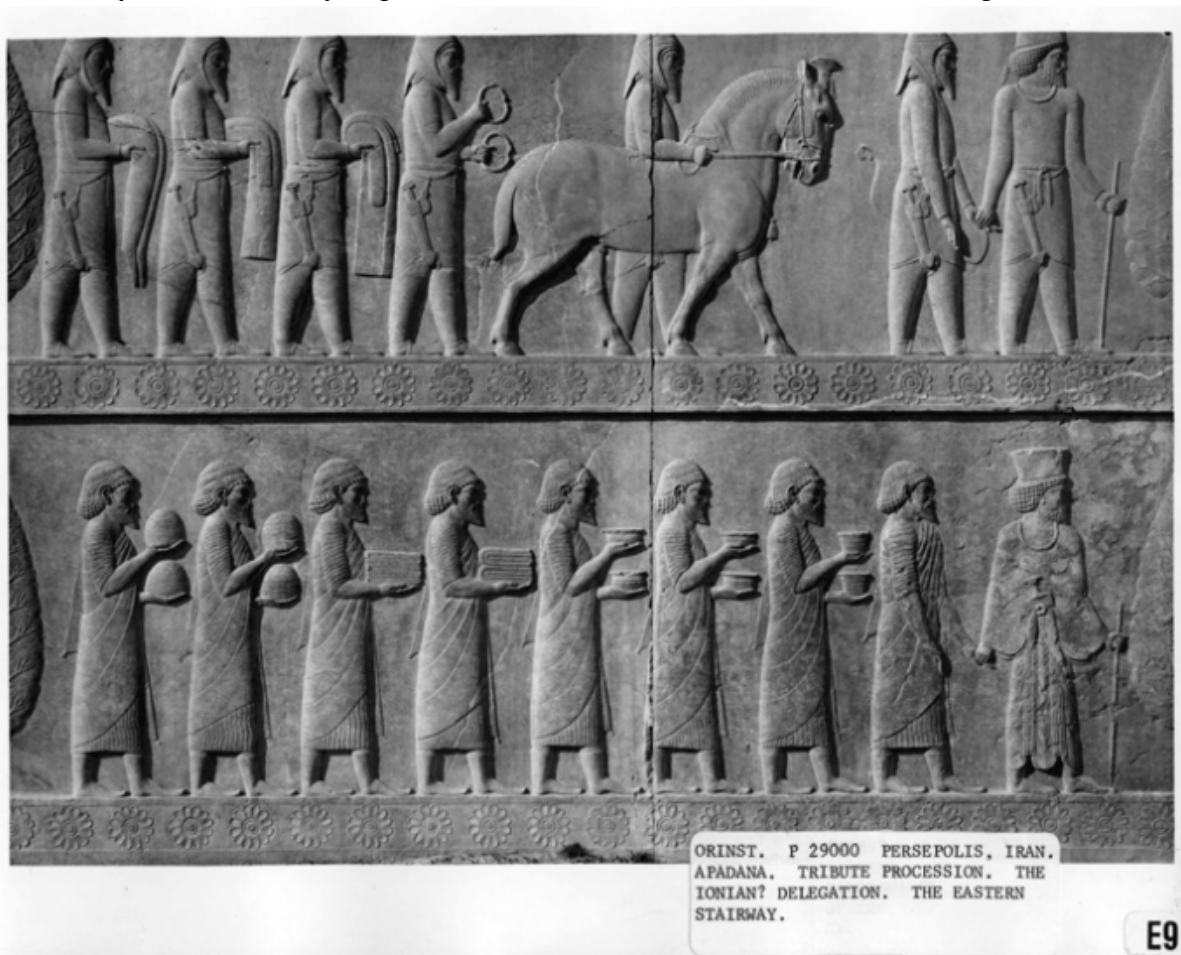
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight. Hair and beard are kept relatively short with short bangs on the forehead. Mustache ends in single curl. The beard is angularly sculpted to a soft point.
- **Headgear:** Thick headband laying over the forehead. Tied loosely in a knot at the back of the head. Both knot tails are visible. There is no ornamentation on the headband
- **Dress:** Collar bones, and nipples are visible indicating a bare chest. A knee-length skirt is worn. Incisions on the center front indicate the skirt being wrapped around the body and tied closed.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The front two members of the delegation are unarmed. The remaining three are. The first two are armed with rods, with blunted ends. The last member of the delegation carries two, double- sided hand axes.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E1_72dpi.png

AD 12: Ionian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are wavy. There is a single row of curls on the forehead and four rows of curls at the nape of the neck. The beard is angularly sculpted to a point. The mustache has a single curl on the side of the mouth.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Incision lines on the shoulder are tight and parallel, indicating three-quarters length sleeves. The draping incisions running from left shoulder to right hip are further spaced than those on the right shoulder. The tunic reaches mid-calf and is marked by vertical incisions running along the hem.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1D2_72dpi.png

AD 13: Libyan Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is straight on top of the head, with three rows of curls at the nape of the neck. Beard is represented with minimal incision line, indicating a short, angularly sculpted beard.
- **Headgear:** No headpiece
- **Dress:** Long sleeved tunic with a serrated detail running parallel down the body, appearing as if draped over the shoulders. Preservation does not allow for further analysis.
- **Footwear:** Not preserved
- **Weapon:** Not preserved
- **Accessories:** Hoop earring
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



Schmidt (1953), plate 48

AD 14: Lydian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is straight on the top with seven tiers of curls at the nape of the neck and one row on the forehead. There is a long straight strand of hair hanging down, it is longer than the rest of the head. The strand ends in one curl. The beard is curly, apart from hair surrounding the upper, lower lip, and the point of the beard.
- **Headgear:** Five-tiered headpiece that slopes back from the apex of the head.
- **Dress:** Multiple incision orientation indicate variable draping on the garment. A draped feature is thrown over the left shoulder.
- **Footwear:** Photo does not show
- **Weapon:** Photo does not show
- **Accessories:** Hoop earring
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.

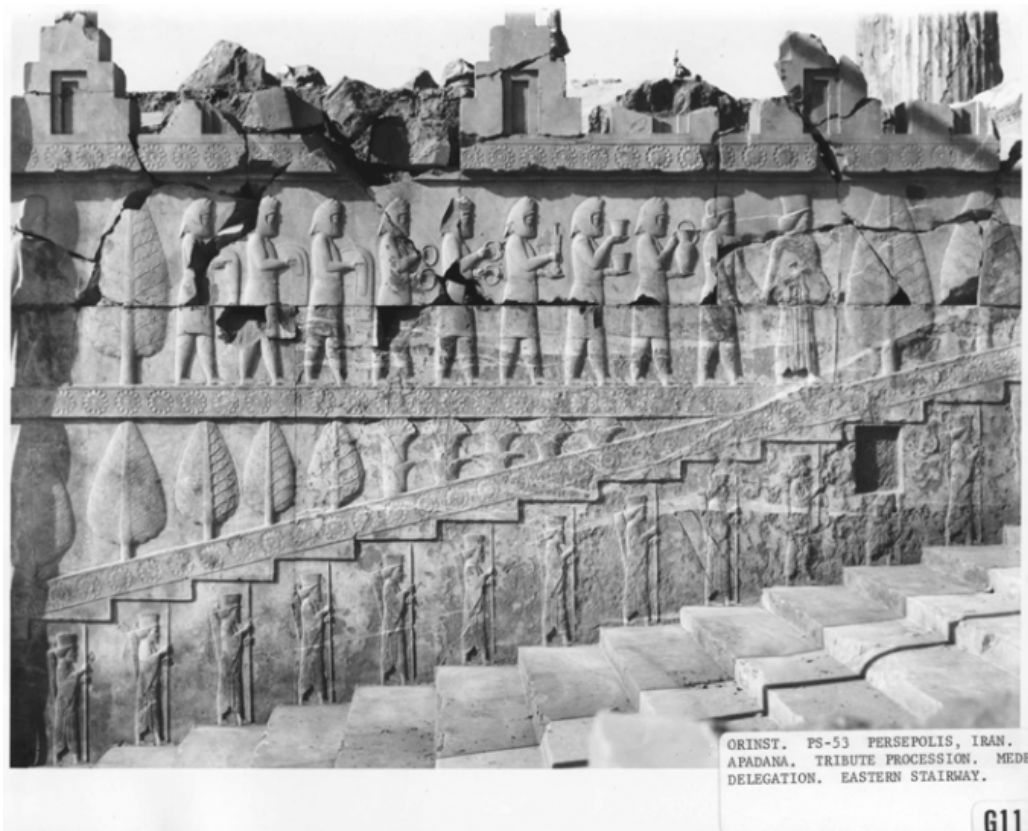
** Photo of full delegation party not available.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#2B4_72dpi.png

AD 15: Median Delegation

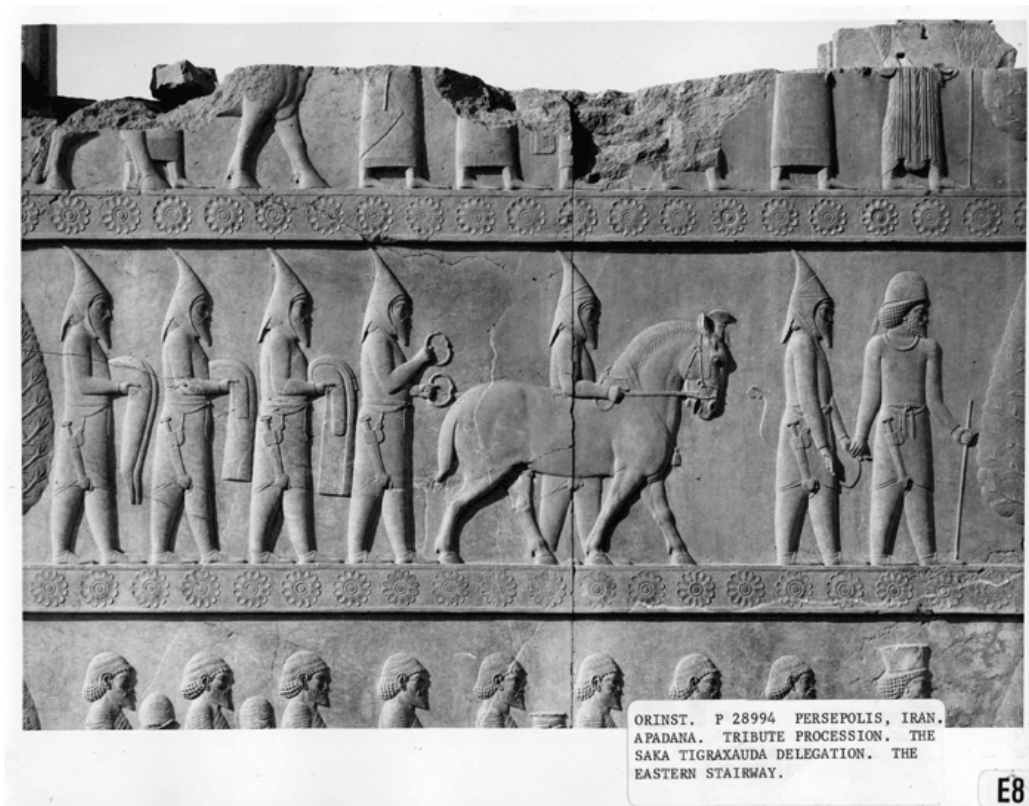
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short. Both are hidden primarily by the headpiece.
- **Headgear:** Three humps slopes forward from the back of the head. There is a flap at the back of a head, protecting the neck. A large chin strap covers the jaw line in its entirety. There is a small rounded flap hanging over the jaw covering. A small incised band runs above the forehead and round the head.
- **Dress:** Long sleeved, high-necked tunic. There is no texture on the garment. Dress appears fitted to the figure.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed with the exception of the fourth delegate who ceremonially carries a sheathed short sword. The sword has a bulbous tip and a sturdy hilt visible.
- **Accessories:** A simple belt is worn over the tunic around the waist.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1G11_72dpi.png

AD 16: Saka-Tigraxauda

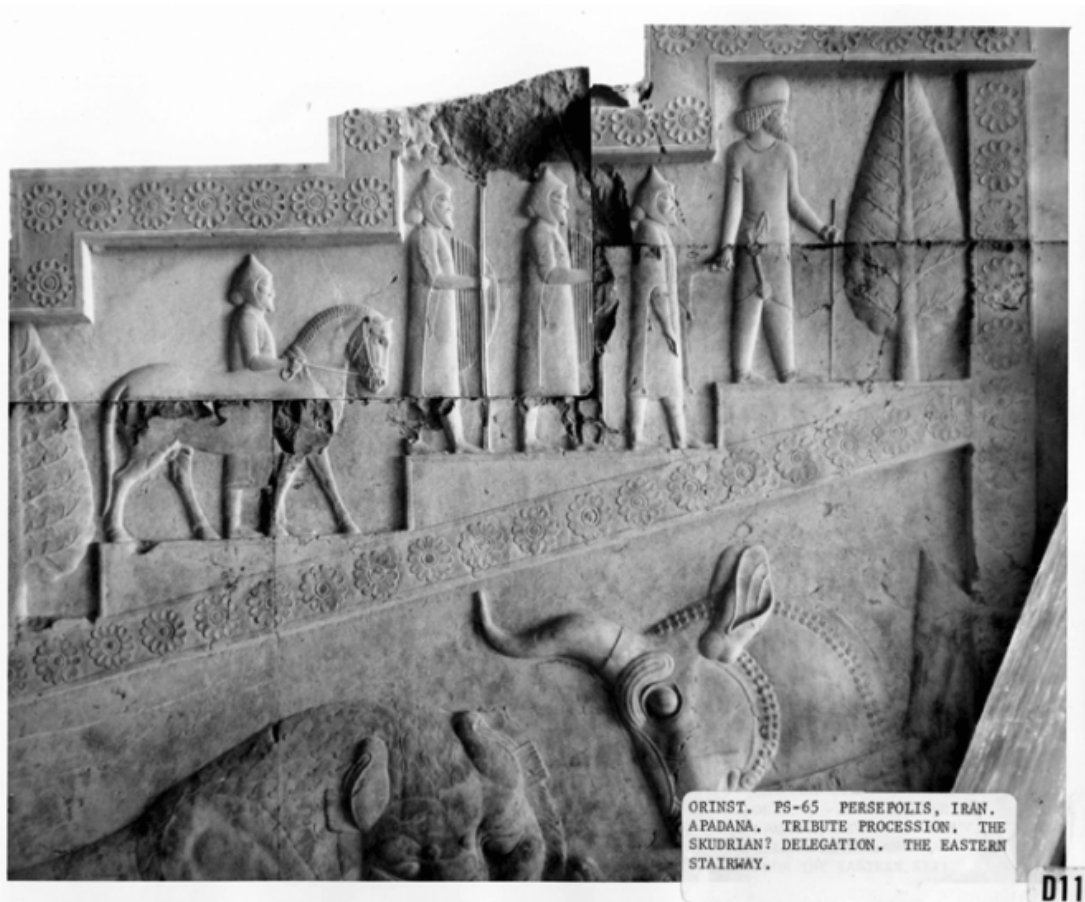
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are wavy and primarily hidden under a headpiece. The beard is worn long, sculpted to a rounded edge. On the sides of the mustache is a single curl.
- **Headgear:** A large pointed headpiece is fastened under the chin with a thick strap. The point of the cap tapers away from the head curving back away from the apex. A long flap protects the back of the neck. Three incised bands adorn the headpiece. All originate from the same point at the back of the head. Two extend up, one follows the strap under the neck.
- **Dress:** A long-sleeved, knee-length tunic is worn over full length pants that billow from the body. The garment lacks ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The party is armed. Short swords are sheathed attached to the hip. A bulbous tip is featured on the sword, a sturdy hilt is visible above the strap.
- **Accessories:** A simple belt is worn over the tunic around the waist, the sword is attached to the belt over the right hip.
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1E8_72dpi.png

AD 17: Skudrian

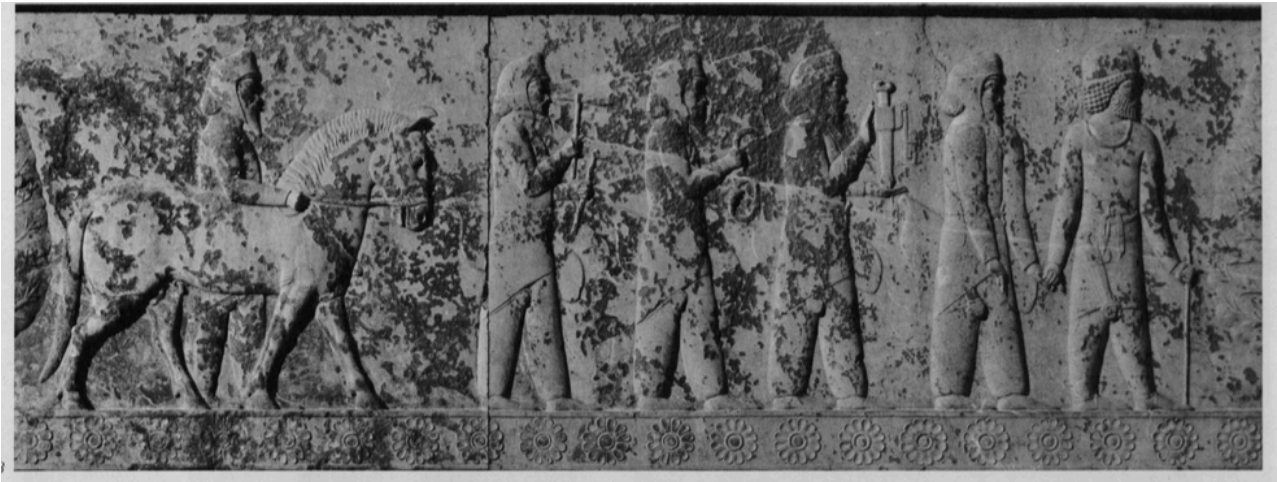
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are straight, both are kept short. A sharp ridge of hairline is visible under the headpiece. The beard is depicted with minimal incision lines, it is angularly sculpted to a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** A molded headpiece is fastened under the chin with a thick strap. The crown of the cap is pulled up into a rounded point. The headpiece is otherwise devoid of ornamentation.
- **Dress:** Three-quarters length shawl is worn over the shoulders over top a mid-calf length tunic. Tassels hang down from the corners of the cape sleeves. Both the cape and tunic are without ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The front member of the delegation is unarmed. The remaining members are armed. They carry with them round shields covered with vertical incisions, and long staffs held in their right hands.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



<https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1D11> 72dpi.png

AD 18: Sogdian Delegation

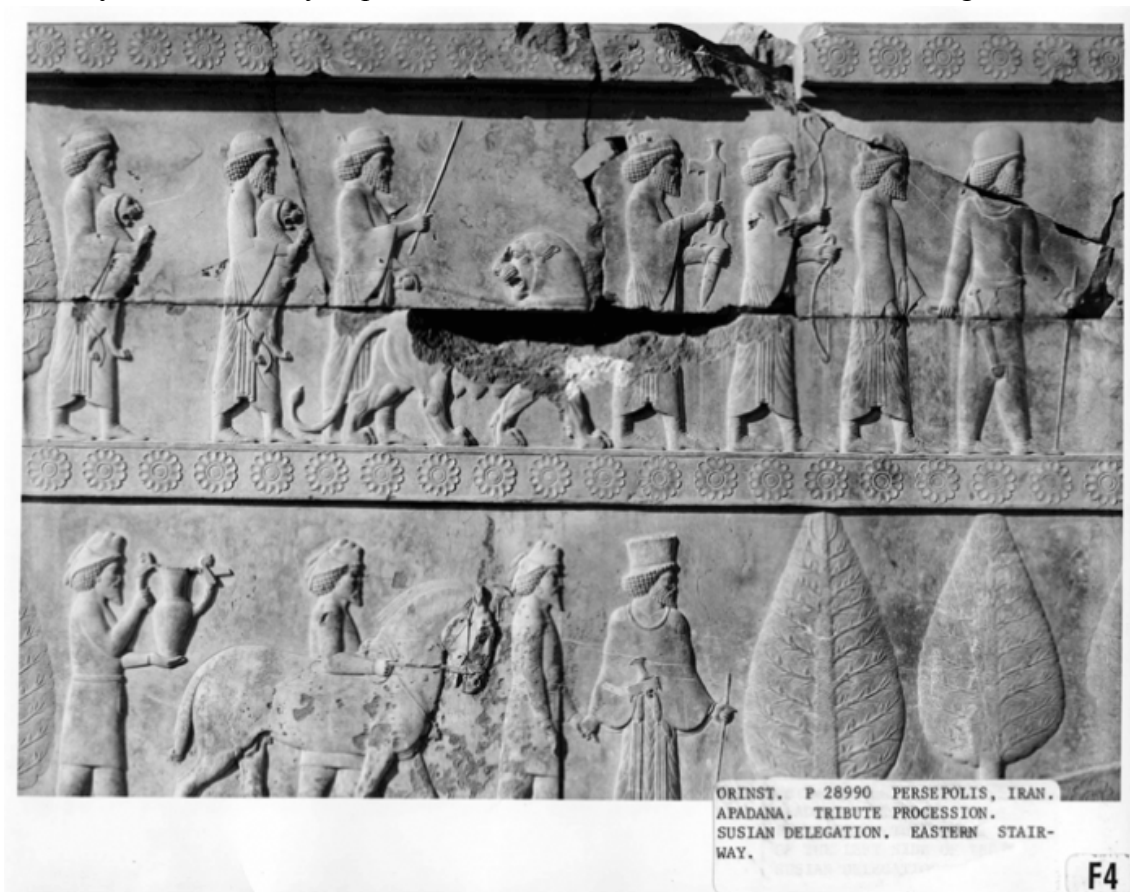
- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are wavy, hair is kept short, the beard long. A sliver of hair is visible at the hairline under the cap. The beard is sculpted with a blunted edge.
- **Headgear:** The headpiece is fastened under the chin by a large strap. The headpiece is molded to the head, featuring a bulge above the hairline. The headpiece is devoid of ornamentation.
- **Dress:** A long-sleeved, high-low tunic is worn over full length pants. The hem of the tunic is angled high to low from the center front to center back. Incisions over the shoulders and chest indicate an element tied over the chest. The tunic and pants are without ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed apart from the second delegate ceremonially carrying a sheathed short sword before him. The sword has a bulbous tip on the end and a sturdy hilt. The holstering mechanisms are still attached to the sheath.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



Schmidt (1953), plate 43

AD 19: Elamite (Susian) Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is wavy on top of the head and curly beneath the headband. The beard is curly as well. The hair and beard are worn short, and the beard is angularly sculpted to a point.
- **Headgear:** Simple headband rests over the forehead. There are incisions forming a pattern on the entirety of the headband.
- **Dress:** A shawl is worn overtop a mid-calf length tunic. The shawl has wide sleeves and incision details on the back of the garment. The tunic has draping incisions with a center front detail where the rest of the incisions originate out from. The shawl is relatively without ornamentation, while the tunic is adorned with drapery incisions.
- **Footwear:** The party wears sandals.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed with the exception of the second and third delegates who ceremonially carrying weapons before them. The second delegate carries a bow with the string facing away from him. The third delegate carries two sheathed daggers before him. The daggers are wide and short with an anchoring handle.
- **Accessories:** No accessories
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1F4_72dpi.png

AD 20: (ethnically identified by Schmidt) Syrian Delegation

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are curly and kept short. A long single strand ending in a single curl hangs behind the right ear.
- **Headgear:** Five-tiered headpiece that slopes back from the apex of the head.
- **Dress:** Three-quarters length shawl is worn over a mid-calf length tunic. Curved, parallel incision lines cover the shawl. More tightly spaced incisions line the sleeves. The tunic lacks ornamentation.
- **Footwear:** The party wears slippers with toes curved up.
- **Weapon:** The party is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** Hoop earrings
- **Body Position:** Body in profile, with clear motion forward and to the right.



ORINST. P 29002 PERSEPOLIS, IRAN.
APADANA. PROCESSION OF TRIBUTE-
BEARERS. SYRIAN DELEGATION.
EASTERN STAIRWAY.

F2

https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1F2_72dpi.png

Appendix 3: Darius on Monuments

DM 1: Darius on the Tomb of Darius

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is curly and kept short at the base of the neck. His beard is long, reaching his sternum. It tapers in at the end and seems to disappear behind his extended arm.
- **Headgear:** Molded headpiece of some kind is worn. Unclear if it was once a simple rounded top and if damage causes the jagged upper border, or this an example of the dentate crown.
- **Dress:** Dress is very similar to the Persian Tomb Bearers but with more garment items and more details rendered. Darius wears a draped shawl over his shoulders that have intricate pleating incisions carved in. There is central pleat running down the center of his body on the skirt.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Darius carries a bow in his left hand.
- **Accessories:** Darius wears the customary bracelets on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Whole body is in profile, but the legs are angled in such a way that the skirt can be seen in its entirety. His right arm is extended in greeting to the god.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/royal-tombs-and-other-monuments#7D4_72dpi.png

DM 2: Darius on the Treasury Relief

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is curly and gathered at the nape of the neck. His beard is long, reaching his sternum. It tapers in at the end and seems to disappear behind his extended arm.
- **Headgear:** Darius wears a tall rectangular headpiece void of decorations, with a flat top.
- **Dress:** Dress is very similarly to the Persian Tomb Bearers but with more garment items and more details rendered. Darius wears a draped shawl over his shoulders that have intricate pleating incisions carved in. There is central pleat running down the center of his body on the skirt.
- **Footwear:** No footwear
- **Weapon:** Darius is unarmed.
- **Accessories:** Darius holds a large staff in one hand and a lotus blossom in the other. Darius wears un-ornamented bracelets on each wrist.
- **Body Position:** Darius is seated in profile, both feet and arms are visible.



https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/treasury#3B10_72dpi.png

Appendix 4: Persepolis Fortification Archive Seal Impression Drawings

PFS 2

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is gathered into a rounded shape at the base of the neck. The figure is beardless. There are no incision lines indicating hair texture.
- **Headgear:** The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** Dress is marked out as an oddity by Garrison and Root. Long-sleeved, full length tunic is worn with a two-tiered belt. Decorative incision on the skirt suggest vertical and horizontal embellishment patterns. There is noticeably no ornamentation on the chest of the garment.
- **Weapon:** The figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces left, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are partially raised in combat.

Cat.No. 3

PFS 2



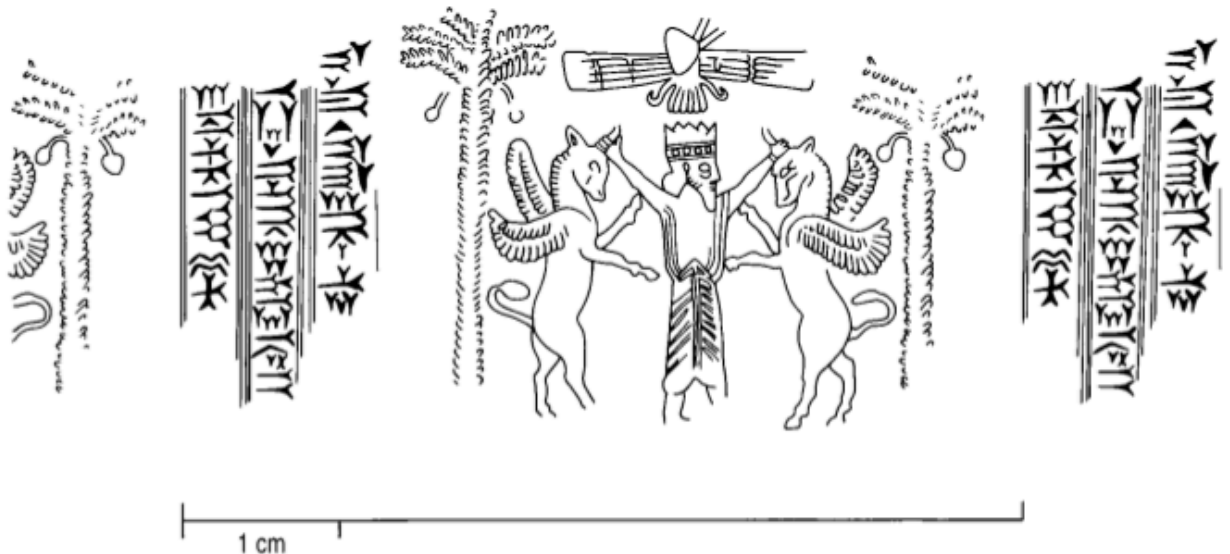
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 3, p 66

PFS 7*

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is worn in common fashion as a rounded mass at the back of the head. The beard is worn long, with a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** Figure wears the five-pointed Persian dentate crown. The crown is embellished by a band with circular pattern wrapping around the head.
- **Dress:** The figure wears the Persian court robe. Incision lines indicate pleats and sleeve folds on the garment. The sleeves are pushed up to display bare arms. The skirt has a fold running down the center front of the garment with pleats flaring out from the central detail. The hem of the skirt is drawn up at the center connecting to the center detail.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure looks right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are fully extended in combat.

Cat.No. 4

PFS 7*



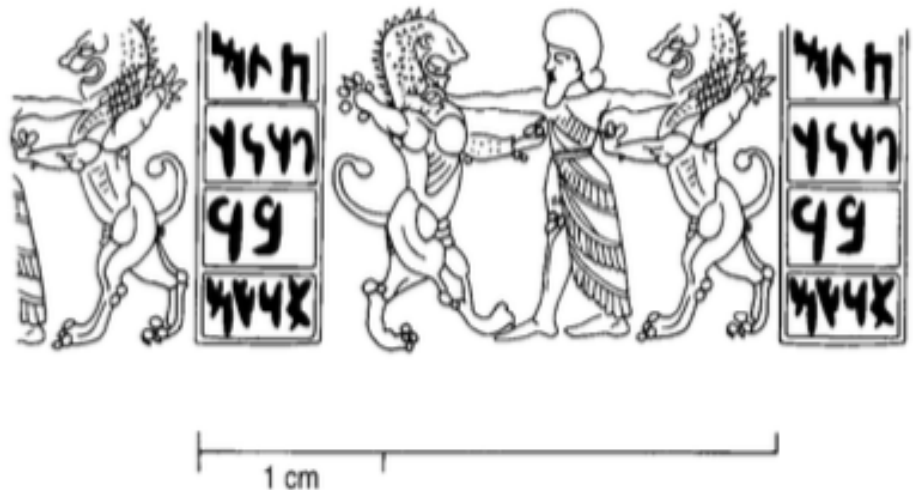
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 4, p 68

PFS 16

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is worn in common fashion as a rounded mass at the back of the head. The beard is worn long, with a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** Figure wears highly ornamented Assyrian garment. On skirt the ornamentation features three tiers of linear design, resembling feathers. Ornamentation pattern continues on the chest of garment.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces left, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are horizontally fully extended in combat

Cat.No. 22

PFS 16*



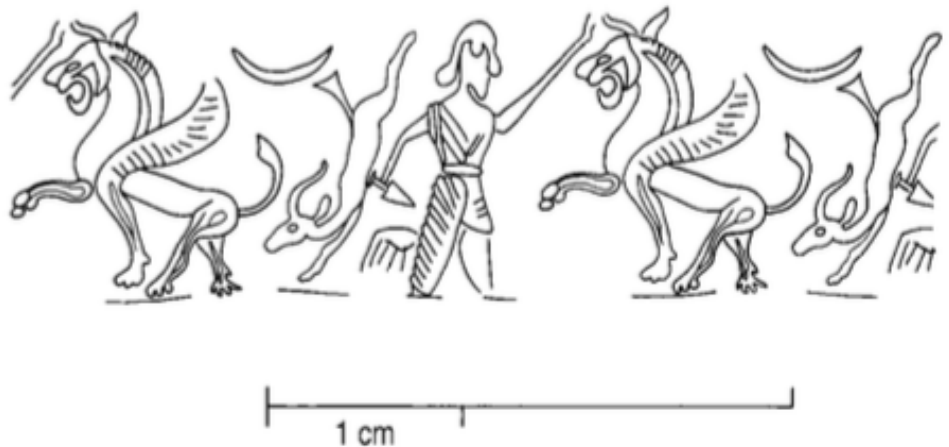
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 22, p 92

PFS 17

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is very ambiguously depicted. It is hard to discern which incisions are meant to represent facial features, hair styles, and headgear. Hair is gathered in small rounded shape at the base of the neck. The beard is worn short and with a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** It is unclear but Figure appears to have uncovered hair.
- **Dress:** The figure wears a belted Assyrian garment. The forward striding leg is partially exposed from knee to ankle. The skirt is adorned with many incision lines indicating folds, textile patterns, or garment orientation. The top of the garment has diagonal incisions crossing the chest from opposite corners, converging at the center front above the belt and indicating draping tucked into a belt in order to create a neckline from folded material. Sleeves appear to be short, arms are fully exposed.
- **Weapon:** Figure carries an unsheathed dagger and is preparing to use it on the lion creature before it. The dagger is simply represented as a triangle with a hilt.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, left arm is fully extended in combat, right hand holds the dagger.

Cat.No. 235

PFS 17



Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 235, p 340

PFS 18:

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is gathered into a rounded shape at the base of the neck. The figure wears a mid-length pointed beard.
- **Headgear:** The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** The figure wears loose fitting pants, cinched at the waist by a two-tiered belt. Incision lines on the front leg could indicate folds, or perhaps a textile design. The figure wears a long-sleeved garment on top, tucked into the belt with the pants.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces left, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are partially extended in combat.

Cat.No. 15

PFS 18

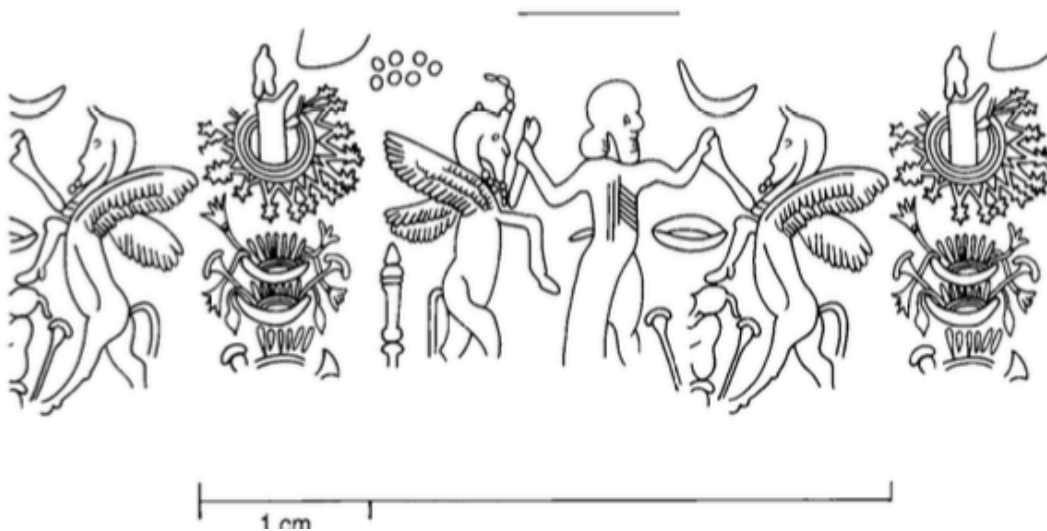


Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 15, 82

- **Hair and Beard:** Features on the head are ambiguous due to the lack of lines separating hair from face, face from beard. This is coupled with very little detail to facial features only one eye and the outline of a nose are visible. We might assume that the shape of the top of the head is a headpiece, not hair. Hair is worn in the common fashion as a rounded mass at the back of the head. Three incision lines are at the base of the neck. The beard is mid-length with a squared edge.
- **Headgear:** Domed headpiece being worn.
- **Dress:** The figure wears what Garrison and Root identify as the Assyrian garment. The front leg striding forward is exposed. It is unclear if this is meant to indicate bear skin or a layered trouser. The bottom of the seal is not preserved. An odd arrangement of vertical and diagonal incision lines adorns the chest, perhaps indicating a sash wrapping around the body extending from beneath the over garment of this ensemble. Garment appears to have long sleeves.
- **Weapon:** Figure carries a sheathed dagger, worn on the hip, protruding away from the body. The sheathed dagger is represented simple by an oval.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are partially extended in combat

PFS 38

Cat.No. 16



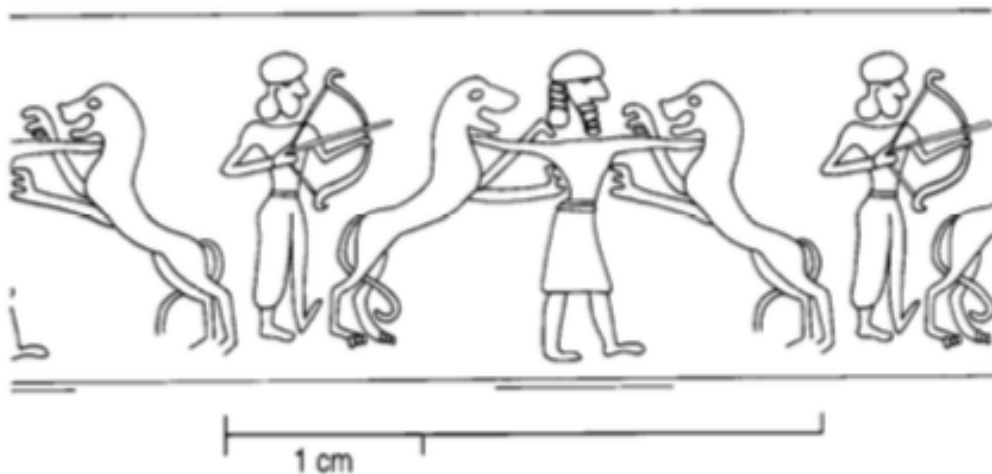
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 16, p 83

PFS 49

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are represented by stacked ovals. Three ovals represented gathered hair at the back of the head with a large rounded gathering of hair at the base of the tiered ovals. Perhaps suggesting a braid? Four stacked ovals represent the beard.
- **Headgear:** The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** Figure wears knee-length, long-sleeved tunic, cinched at the waist by a belt. The belt is represented with two tiered ovals. The garment is otherwise devoid of ornamentation.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are horizontally fully extended in combat

PFS 49

Cat.No. 23



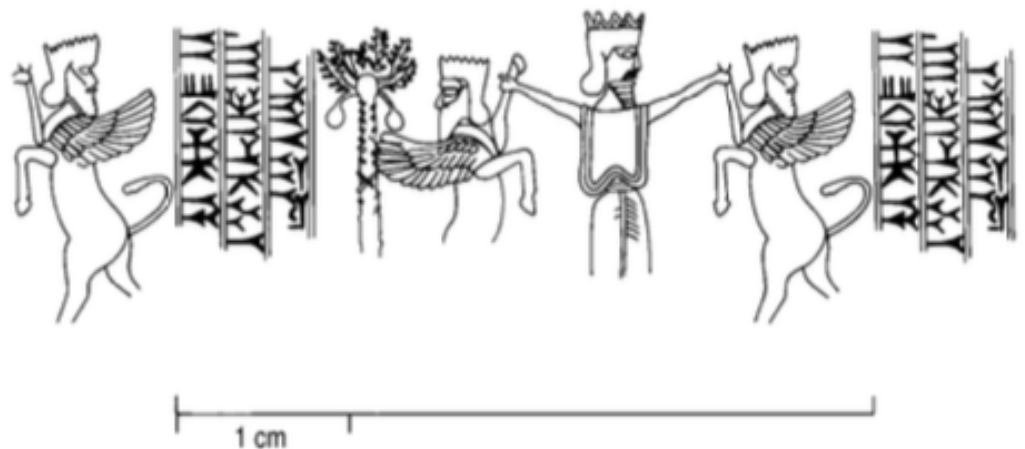
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 23, p 95

PFS 113

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is worn in common fashion as a rounded mass at the back of the head. The beard is uniquely depicted as a series of five stacked ovals. Could suggest texture? Or a unique style of binding the beard. Upper lip is filled in suggesting a mustache.
- **Headgear:** Figure wears the five-pointed Persian dentate crown.
- **Dress:** The figure wears a belted Persian court robe. The sleeves are indicated by parallel incision lines. The sleeves of the armed are pushed up, exposing bare arms. Belt cinches at the waist and a strap extends down the center front of the garment. Small incisions on the skirt extend out from the center front detail, not wrapping around the garments. The right side has disproportionately more incision lines than the left which only has two.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are fully extended

Cat.No. 19

PFS 113* = PTS 4*



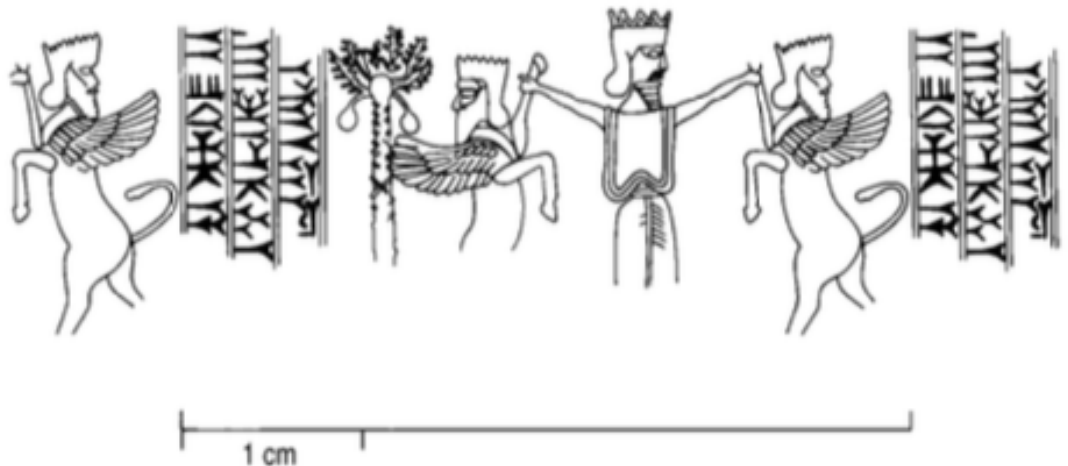
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 19, p 88

PFS 196

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is gathered in rounded mass at the base of the neck, with a slight tilt upwards at the end. The beard is worn narrow with a rounded point.
- **Headgear:** Figure wears what Garrison and Root describe as "polos headdress with horizontal band," a tall rectangular, flat topped headpiece with three small incision lines at the back of the head.
- **Dress:** The figure wears a simplified Persian court robe. Only one incision line indicates the presence of sleeves. Sleeves appear to be pushed up exposing the majority of the arm. The garment cinches at the waist without the presences of a belt. No ornamentation on the skirt or chest of garment.
- **Weapon:** The figure wears a quiver on his back with a curved bow attached. No arrows emerge from the quiver, Instead the bow appears to rest in the quiver. Interesting the quiver does not extend under the right arm, despite the evident size of and shape not being completely represented above the right arm.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, right arm is fully extended in combat, left arm holds arrow.

Cat.No. 19

PFS 113* = PTS 4*



Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 19, p 326

PFS 513

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair and beard are represented by stacked ovals. Three ovals represented gathered hair at the back of the head. Four stacked ovals represent the beard.
- **Headgear:** Figure wears domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** Figure wears highly adorned Assyrian garment. The front leg striding forward is exposed from above the knee. The skirt has minimal incision lines near the belt. The garment is cinched at the waist. The chest of the garment is covered in cross hatching incision lines.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are partially extended in combat.

PFS 513

Cat.No. 85



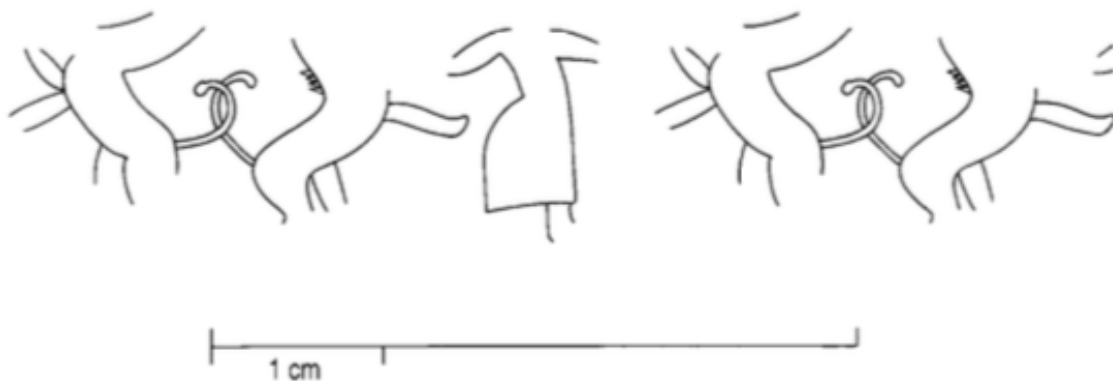
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 85, p 163

PFS 552

- **Hair and Beard:** Head is not preserved.
- **Headgear:** Head is not preserved.
- **Dress:** Figure wears unadorned, unbelted, knee-length tunic. No incision lines preserved to indicate sleeve length.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure appears to be looking right, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, rest of body is not preserved.

PFS 552

Cat.No. 118



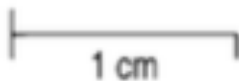
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 118, p 201

PFS 859*

- **Hair and Beard:** Hair is gathered in thick rounded mass at the back of the head. The figure appears to be clean-shaven.
- **Headgear:** The figure's head is uncovered.
- **Dress:** The figure wears a Persian court robe; the sleeves are pushed up exposing bare arms. Only top of garment is preserved. No incision lines indicating ornamentation on the skirt of the garment.
- **Weapon:** The figure wears a quiver on his back with a curved bow attached. There are three tassels hanging down from the conically shaped quiver. Three arrows protrude from the quiver.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces right, the body is not oriented out to audience it is also in profile, the left arm is fully extended in combat, the right arm is fully extended down in combat.

PFS 859*

Cat.No. 205



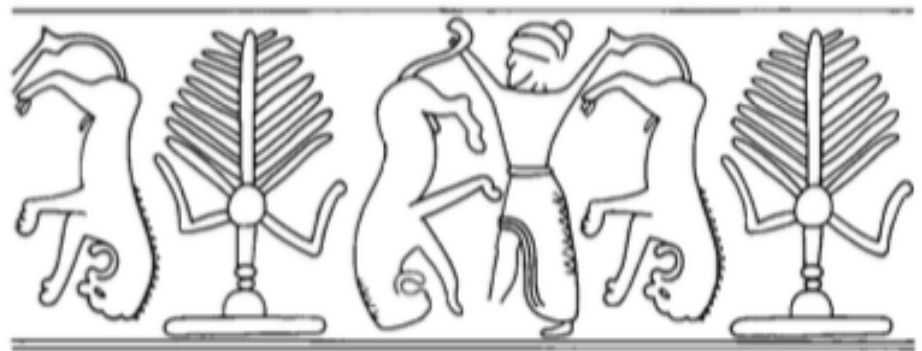
Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 205, p 299

PFS 971

- **Hair and Beard:** Back of head is not preserved. It is assumed that the hair is worn in a gathered mass at the back of the head. The beard is worn short with a pointed end.
- **Headgear:** Headpiece is a stacked turban style headdress. At crown of headpiece is a small rounded knot.
- **Dress:** The figure wears Assyrian garments belted at the waist. The leg striding forward is exposed. Incision lines run parallel to the hem exposing the front leg. Cross hatching is present at the back of the garment. The top of the garment is long-sleeved without ornamentation.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces left, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, arms are fully extended in combat

Cat.No. 171

PFS 971



Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 171, p 256

PFS 1090

- **Hair and Beard:** Figure wears hair in rounded mass at the back of the head. No incision lines delineated between the beard and the face. Beard worn short with rounded blunt edge.
- **Headgear:** The figure wears the popular domed headpiece.
- **Dress:** The figure wears a knee-length, three-quarters length sleeve tunic. Incision line crossing the center front of the body suggests the garment is wrapped around the body. No other incision lines or ornamentation included on seal.
- **Weapon:** Figure is unarmed.
- **Body Position:** Figure faces left, body is positioned to audience to fully display dress, right arm is partially extended, left arm is fully in combat.

Cat.No. 175

PFS 1090



Garrison and Root (2001), Catalogue No. 175, p 262

Bibliography

Barnard, M. (2002). *Fashion as communication* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

(2007). *Fashion theory: A reader*. London; New York: Routledge.

Barthes, R. (1967). *Système de la mode*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Begley, S. (2015, February 10). Wedding Dress History: Queen Victoria and Gown That -- Started It All. Retrieved February 16, 2018, from <http://time.com/3698249/white-weddings/>

Bickerman, E., & Tadmor, H. (1978). Darius I, pseudo-Smerdis and the magi. *Athenaeum*, (56), 239-261.

Boardman, J., & Young, T. C. (1988). *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525 to 479 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boboltz, S. (2014, June 25). These Quotes From Students Nail Everything That's Wrong With School Dress Codes. Retrieved February 16, 2018, from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/06/25/dress-code-problems_n_5420985.html

Briant, P. (1996). *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Leiden: Nederlands Inst. voor het Nabije Oosten.

Braudel, F. (1981). *Civilization and capitalism, 15th-18th century* (1st U.S. ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

Bushman, B (1984). Perceived Symbols of Authority and Their Influence on Compliance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, p. 1-10

(1988) The effects of apparel on compliance: A field experiment with female authority figure. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, p. 459-67

Peirce, C.S. (1931-5), *Collected Papers* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.)

Cargill, J. (1977). The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Fall of Lydia: Consensus with feet of clay. *AJAH*,(2), 97-116.

Carlyle, T. (1931) *Sartor Resartus*, London: Curwen Press (originally published in 1831)

Carter, E., & Stolper, M. W. (1985). *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Crawford, H. E. (2007). *Regime Change in The Ancient Near East and Egypt: Proceedings of the British Academy. from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy.

Cristian, R. (2017, March 13). Ahura Mazda. Retrieved September 09, 2017 from http://www.ancient.eu/Ahura_Mazda

Dandamaev, M. (1976). *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden (6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Darwin, C. (1959) *The voyage of the Beagle*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons (originally published in 1845)

Davis, F. (1992). *Fashion, culture, and identity*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

(2010). Do Clothes Speak? What Makes Them Fashion? In M. Barnard (Ed.), *Fashion Theory: A Reader* (pp. 148-158).

Douglas, M. and Isherwood, B. (1979) *The World of Goods; Towards and Anthropology of Consumption*, London: Allen Lane

- Dusinberre, E.R.M. (2000). King or god? Imperial Iconography and the "tiarate head" coins of Achaemenid Anatolia. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 57, 157-171.
- (2002) "An Excavated Ivory from Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey: Transcultural Fluidities, Significations of Collective Identity, and the Problem of Median Art" (2002). *Ars Orientalis*, p 17-54
- (2013). *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ebeling, J., & Cunningham, G. (2007). *Analysing literary Sumerian: Corpus-based approaches*. London: Equinox.
- Eco, U. (2007). Social Life as a Sign System. In M. Barnard (Ed.), *Fashion Theory: A Reader*(pp. 143-147). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gardiner, H. H. (1957). *Egyptian grammar*(3rd ed.). London: Oxford University Press.
- Garrison, M. B. (1996). A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078). *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*,55(1), p 15-35.
- Garrison, M. B., Root, M. C. (2001). *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Vol. 1, Images of Heroic Encounter). Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
- Glassner, J. (1993/ 2004). *Mesopotamian chronicles*. Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press.
- Hofstede, G. (1983) The cultural relativity of organizational practices and theories. *Journal of International Business Studies*, p 75-89
- (1984) the cultural relativity of the quality of life concept. *Academy of Management Review*, p. 389-98
- Johnson, K. K., & Lennon, S. J. (1999). *Appearance and Power*. Oxford: Berg.

- (1999). Survivors of Rape: Functions and Implications of dress in context of Coercive Power. In K. K. Johnson & S. J. Lennon (Eds.), *Appearance and Power* (pp. 11-32). Oxford: Berg.
- Khan, N., & Church-Gibson, P. (2000). Catwalk Politics. In S. Bruzzi, *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Kent, R. G. (2013). *Old Persian: grammar, texts, lexicon*. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society. Reprint from original of 1953
- Koch, H. (1990). *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kuhrt, A. (1995). The Achaemenid Empire (c. 550-330). *Achaemenid Near East C. 3000- 330 BC*, 647-702.
- (1997). *The Ancient Near East: c. 3000-330 BC* (Vol. 2). London: Routledge.
- (2007). *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (Vol. 1). London: Routledge.
- (2007). *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (Vol. 2). London: Routledge.
- Laurie, A. (1981). Fashion and Status. In *The Language of Clothes*. (p.115-153) New York: Random House.
- Laver, J. (1969), *Modesty in Dress: An Enquiry into the Fundamentals of Fashion*, London: Heinemann, p. 9
- Marconi, C. (2015). *The Oxford handbook of Greek and Roman art and architecture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1970) *The German Ideology*, (p. 64) London: Lawrence and Wishart

Mayer, W. (1984). *Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu: 714 v. Chr.* Berlin: Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft.

Miller, M. (2013). Clothes and Identity: The case of Greeks in Ionia. *Culture Identity and Politics in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Vol 47, The Australian National University, 18-39.

Miroschedji, P. D. (1985). La fin du royaume d'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'empire perse. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, 75(2), 265-306.

O'Neal, G. S. (1998). The Power of Style: on Rejection of the Accepted. In K. K. Johnson & S. J. Lennon (Eds.), *Appearance and Power*. (pp.127-140). Oxford: Berg.

Potts, D. T. (1999). *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roach, M. E., & Eicher, J. B. (2007). The language of Personal Adornment. In M. Barnard (Ed.), *Fashion Theory: A Reader*(pp. 109-121). Abingdon: Routledge.

Root, M.C. (1979). *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*. Leiden: E.J. Brill
(2007). Reading Persepolis In Greek: Gifts of The Yauna. In C. Tuplin (Ed.), *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction within The Achaemenid Empire* (pp. 177-225). The Classical Press of Wales.

Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Versnel, H., Vliet, E. V., & Wes, M.,& (1982). *Werkboek bij de wereld van de oudheid*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Sapir, E. (2007). Fashion. In M. Barnard (Ed.), *Fashion Theory: A Reader* (pp. 39-45). Abingdon: Routledge.

Schmidt, E.F. (1953) *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Vol. 68). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(1970). *Persepolis III The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Vol. 3). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Oriental Institute.

Simmel, G. (1971). *On Individuality and Social Form*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Slanski, K. E., (2012) “The Law of Hammurabi and its Audience”, *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities*, 24. digitalcommons.law.yale.edu

Smith, W. S., & Simpson, W. K. (1999). *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

Stewart, P. (2004). *Roman art*. Oxford [England]; New York,: Published for the Classical Association [by] Oxford University Press.

Tadmor, H. (1994). *The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria*. Jerusalem: The Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Wilson, E. (2007). Explaining It Away. In M. Barnard (Ed.), *Fashion Theory: A Reader* (pp. 15-24). Abingdon: Routledge

Wittgenstein, L. (1958) *Philosophical Investigations*, (p. 66-7) Oxford: Blackwell.

Young, T. C. (1967). *The Iranian migration into the Zagros*. London: British Institute of Persian studies.