Text and Images of Authority: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

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Text and Images of Authority: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

by Christina Chandler

2021

Submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology

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Abstract

The Persepolis Fortification archive, a large archive of administrative tablets dating to the early years of Darius I (509-493 BCE), preserves impressions of over 4,000 distinct and legible seals. 174 of these approximately 4,000 seals carry both figural imagery and text in their designs. This dissertation presents the inscribed seals corpus from the Fortification archive for the first time, thus laying the groundwork for future studies on inscribed seals from Persepolis.

Inscribed seals offer myriad avenues of investigation. In the present study, we focus on three main features of inscribed seals: 1) the languages and formulae of the inscriptions; 2) the thematic types and compositional formulae of the figural imagery; 3) the methods of presenting the inscriptions and placing them in designs. Clear patterns emerge when we trace these features according to the language(s) of the seal inscriptions. Moreover, we discuss the ways in which the figural imagery of the inscribed seals varies from that of the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive.

Owing to their archival context, the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive present a special opportunity to link some seals with the officials and/or offices who used them. By considering the inscribed seals in tandem with the documents to which they are applied, we illuminate some of the ways in which inscribed seals can be linked with their user(s). In doing so, we explore the socio-historical aspects of inscribed seals, noting particular glyptic patterns according to particular types of offices/administrators.

This study also highlights the ways in which other glyptic practices in the 1st millennium BCE may have influenced Persepolitan inscribed seals. Special attention is
given to the Neo-Assyrian, Late Neo-Elamite, and Late Babylonian glyptic traditions. By examining these connections, we reveal also the distinctively Achaemenid features of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.
List of Abbreviations

General Abbreviations:
BCE before the common era
c. *circa*, about
Cat.No. Catalogue Number (in parentheses after PFS number, catalogue number of seal in *OIP* 117 (Garrison and Root 2001))
cf. *confer*, compare
cm centimeter(s)
e.g. *exempli gratia*, for example
etc. *et cetera*
ibid. *ibidem*, in the same place
i.e. *id est*, that is
n. note
NA not applicable
ND not dated
p(p). page(s)
pl(s). plate(s)

Text Sigla:¹
Fort. Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive edited by G. G. Cameron, collated by R. T. Hallock, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, collated and published by A. Arfa’i (2008a), quoted from re-collated edition by Henkelman (2008); the siglum refers also to unpublished Elamite documents edited by M. W. Stolper and W. F. M. Henkelman
NN Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive edited by Hallock (unpublished manuscript)
PF Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive published by Hallock (1969)
PFa Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive published by Hallock (1978)
PFAT Aramaic documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive
PF-NN See NN
PFUT Documents that are uninscribed but carry seal impression(s) from the Persepolis Fortification archive
PT Elamite documents from the Persepolis Treasury archive edited by Cameron (1948, 1958, pp. 172-76, and 1965, with collations and corrections by Hallock 1960, Arfa’i 2008b, and Jones and Yie 2011)

Seal Sigla:²
PFATS Seals that occur only on the Aramaic documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive
PFATS #* Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed

¹ This list follows Garrison (2017a, p. xi).
² This list follows Garrison (ibid., p. xii).
PFATS #s  Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFS  Seals that occur primarily on Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic and/or uninscribed documents
PFS #*  Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFS #s  Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFUTS  Seals that occur on the uninscribed documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic documents
PFUTS #*  Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFUTS #s  Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PTS  Seals that occur on the Elamite documents and uninscribed labels from the Persepolis Treasury archive (Schmidt 1957, pp. 4-41, pls. 1-14)
PTS #*  Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PTS #s  Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal

Transcription Conventions:
x (cuneiform): an unidentifiable sign
. (Aramaic): an unidentifiable letter
[...] (all languages): missing text of uncertain amount
[ ] (all languages): missing, but reconstructed text (e.g., \(HT\[M\])
ʿxʿ (cuneiform): broken and unidentifiable sign (if the broken sign is identifiable, “x” is replaced by that sign, e.g., “DUMU”)
ʿ." (Aramaic): broken and unidentifiable letter (if the broken letter is identifiable, “.” is replaced by that letter, e.g., “HT\(M\)
/ (Aramaic): used to indicate two possible values (e.g., \(R/D\)
Acknowledgements

I am very pleased to be able to thank the people and institutions who made this dissertation possible. First and foremost, I am eternally grateful to Mark Garrison, who advised this project every step of the way. Starting in 2013, with endless patience and encouragement, he taught me how to look at seal impressions and how to use them to make collated line drawings. In doing so, he solidified my interest in glyptic and enabled me to illustrate this dissertation so fully. I thank him for allowing me to use his line drawings of Persepolitan seals, which come courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project and the Persepolis Seal Project. His generous collaboration over the last several years has pushed me to think about art and all things Persepolitan in new ways. His consistent support, insight, and mentorship are truly invaluable.

I am indebted to Annalisa Azzoni, who spent countless hours helping me with the Aramaic material from the Persepolis Fortification archive. Her expertise improved this study tremendously.

I owe many thanks to Wouter Henkelman and Matthew Stolper for granting me access to their translations of unpublished Elamite texts from the Fortification archive. In particular, Wouter Henkelman’s database containing information on all aspects of the Fortification archive was essential to this project. I could not have completed this dissertation without it. Moreover, I am grateful to Matthew Stolper for his years of encouragement and generosity in helping me to study the seals from the Fortification archive in person. I thank him also for his advice on inscription readings.
I also wish to thank Beth Dusinberre, who first introduced me to Achaemenid Persia, for helping me to study the seals in Chicago. I truly appreciate her years of support and guidance. I thank her, also, for allowing me to use her collated line drawings of seals on the Aramaic texts.

I was lucky to work alongside several fellow students while drawing seals in Chicago, particularly Erin Daly and Emma Petersen. Their collaboration and friendship are much appreciated.

At Bryn Mawr College, the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences generously funded many trips to Chicago so that I could study and complete drawings of the inscribed seals. They also arranged for me to learn Akkadian at the University of Pennsylvania, which significantly aided my understanding of the cuneiform seal inscriptions. I want to acknowledge, also, donations from the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute and Guity Nashat Becker, which supported my work during several summers in Chicago.

I am grateful to my parents and my sister for their constant support.

Lastly, but so importantly, thank you to Will for the love and encouragement that always help me through it.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is concerned with the inscribed seals preserved as impressions in the Persepolis Fortification archive (509–493 BCE). It is the first concerted attempt to study the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive as a distinctive glyptic corpus.

As of the writing of this dissertation, some 4,079 distinct and legible seals have been identified in the Fortification archive. The sheer number of glyptic images preserved in the archive and the restricted spatial and temporal boundaries of that glyptic imagery make this corpus of seals a unique phenomenon.

174 of these 4,079 seals are inscribed. By the very nature of combining text and visual imagery, these 174 seals merit our attention; indeed, scholars have long recognized the importance of inscribed seals in all historical periods of ancient western Asia (see Chapter 2). The particularly dense matrix of people, places, and glyptic imagery make the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive an exceptional visual resource. These seals are, moreover, excavated and come from an imperial capital at the most critical moment in the formation of the Achaemenid imperial state.

Because many of the inscribed seals occur on Elamite or Aramaic administrative documents, we are often in a position to link the individuals named in the seal

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3 We use “seal” to refer to an image reconstructed from impression(s) of a seal.
4 See Garrison (2017a) for more extended discussion of the context of the seals from the Fortification archive and its importance.
inscriptions with officials and/or offices named in the administrative texts. It is perhaps not surprising that the inscribed seals from Persepolis represent particularly important groups of administrative officials and offices. Several of the officials are known from other sources and come from exceptionally high levels of Achaemenid society (see Chapter 7).

The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive thus warrant extended analyses. The present study is in many ways a first step. An important part of that first step is the comprehensive compilation of the data so as to establish a foundation on which future research may proceed. The majority of the seals in this study have never been published. Accordingly, Part 2, the catalogue, provides a detailed description of the visual imagery, transcriptions and translations of the inscriptions, and copies of each inscription within collated drawings of the seal design. The catalogue also contains extended commentary on the inscription, on the archival context of each seal, and on the compositional, iconographical, and stylistic elements of the seal designs. This information is based upon the author’s first-hand observation of the tablets in Chicago.

The chapters in Part 1 explore the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive holistically by investigating certain relationships between the seal inscriptions and the visual imagery. Owing to the rich archival context of this material, the research pathways are many. Our goals in Part 1 are to provide some initial observations on patterns within the data.

Chapter 2 provides a broad overview of inscribed seals from the late 4th millennium BCE to the Achaemenid period. We highlight issues of language and formulae of the seal inscriptions, the themes of the figural imagery, and how inscriptions
are presented and incorporated in seal designs. The inscribed seals from these earlier periods serve as the extended context in which to understand the inscribed seals from Persepolis. By looking at pre-Achaemenid inscribed seals, we explore the many possibilities of what inscribed seals could convey via their inscriptions and figural imagery prior to the reign of Darius I.

Chapter 3 is a short introduction to the texts and glyptic from the Persepolis Fortification archive. We discuss the types of texts and tablet formats, the ways in which seals are applied to the tablets (sealing protocols), and the range of thematic types preserved in the glyptic imagery. This archival context is critical in any investigation concerning the inscribed seals from the archive. This chapter serves as the foundation for later discussions about the figural imagery of the inscribed seals (Chapter 5) and potential users of inscribed seals (Chapter 7).

Chapter 4 documents the languages and formulae of the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. We evaluate the inscriptions first by language, then by inscriptional formula. We are interested in identifying patterns among the three main inscriptional languages: Elamite, Aramaic, and Babylonian. We also highlight the figural themes that occur with each language. This chapter is a first step toward creating a typology for Persepolitan seal inscriptions.

Chapter 5 reviews the figural imagery that occurs on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The discussion is arranged thematically. We are interested in exploring the ways in which the glyptic imagery employed on inscribed seals relates to glyptic imagery within the archive as a whole. We also discuss some aspects of the iconographic repertoire.
Chapter 6 explores the ways in which inscriptions are displayed and their placement within seal designs. We categorize the seals according to their main method of presenting the text (within a panel, with just case lines, free-floating) and discuss interesting variations. Clear patterns in display and placement emerge according to the language of the inscription. This chapter presents a broad typology that one could apply to studies of inscribed seals of any period.

Chapter 7 is a preliminary discussion of the officials/offices using inscribed seals at Persepolis. In considering their archival context, we identify the inscribed seals that can be linked with officials/offices at Persepolis. Also, through a case study, we show some of the complexities in linking an inscribed seal with a potential user. This chapter thus lays the groundwork for future work on inscribed seal attribution and the socio-historical aspects of glyptic.

Chapter 8 highlights the inheritances from other 1st millennium inscribed seal traditions, namely the Assyrian, Elamite, and Babylonian, in the glyptic from the Fortification archive. As has been recognized in previous studies, the glyptic from the Fortification archive is deeply connected to these earlier seal carving traditions. We are particularly interested in how seal users at Persepolis utilized elements of these earlier glyptic traditions to create something new and distinctively Achaemenid. This chapter is important because it contextualizes the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive in the greater 1st millennium glyptic milieu. It also reveals the selective nature of these earlier influences.

Chapters 2-8 are accompanied by plates in Part 3.
Chapter 2: Inscribed Seals in the Ancient Near East: Survey and History of Scholarship

I. Introduction

The current chapter provides a broad overview of inscribed seals predating the Persepolis Fortification archive. We start first with a brief survey of glyptic dating prior to the 1st millennium BCE. An extended discussion of the inscribed seals dating to the Neo-Assyrian, Late Babylonian, and Late Neo-Elamite periods then follows. This overview is not intended to be comprehensive but aims rather to highlight the main epigraphic (language and formula of inscription) and visual (figural imagery and methods of presenting inscriptions) trends among inscribed seals predating the Achaemenid period.5

We use the following conventions for inscriptional formulae:

PN (all languages): personal name (when more than one PN, a subscript number is used)
RN (all languages): royal name
GN (all languages): geographic name
DN (all languages): divine name
Title (all languages): when more than one title is present, or there are multiple PNs but only one title, a subscript number corresponding to the appropriate PN subscript number is attached to the title; in rare cases, there is no corresponding PN (i.e., the title stands in for a PN; a subscript is used to separate this title from other PNs)

The following ancient words recur throughout this study:

5 So, too, the plates accompanying this discussion are not intended to offer comprehensive illustrations for all inscribed seals predating the Fortification archive. As glyptic specialists have noted, the period-designations “Akkadian,” “Ur III,” etc., do not mark rigid chronological boundaries as regards glyptic style and imagery.
DUMU (Elamite, Babylonian): “son (of)”
-na (Elamite): genitive enclitic, indicates possession
HAL/hal-mi (Elamite): “seal (of)”
HTM (Aramaic): “seal (of)”
L (Aramaic): “(belonging) to”
BR (Aramaic): “son (of)”

II. Inscribed Seals in Ancient Western Asia (Pre-Achaemenid)

Inscribed seals first appear at the end of the 4th millennium BCE. They are documented in every major cultural period thereafter. With the exception of the Ur III period (c. 2112-2004 BCE), inscribed seals are relatively rare.6

The language on seals of the Early Dynastic period is Sumerian.7 After a hiatus in the Akkadian period, Sumerian re-appears in the Ur III period. After the Ur III period, Sumerian is used only sporadically in seal inscriptions (e.g., in the Kassite period).8

Semitic (Old Akkadian) dialects are used increasingly during the Akkadian period (c. 2340-2180 BCE).9 Akkadian dialects eventually emerge in northern (Assyrian) and southern (Babylonian) regions, conventionally designated as: Old, Middle, and Neo-Assyrian; Old, Middle, Neo-, and Late Babylonian.10 Standard Babylonian, a “literary” form similar to the Old Babylonian dialect, emerges in the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE. Standard Babylonian designates a “common language” of Akkadian literature; it transcends regions.11

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6 Pittman 2013, p. 338.
7 For one of the latest and most complete studies of Early Dynastic glyptic, specifically focused on inscribed seals, see Rohn (2011); for earlier studies, see Frankfort (1939 and 1955), Moortgat (1940), Nagel (1959), Amiet (1961/1980), Boehmer (1965), Collon (1987), Selz (1983), and Porada et al. (1992).
8 See, for example, a First Kassite seal (c. 1450-1350 BCE) (Matthews 1990, no. 3) inscribed with an invocation written in Sumerian.
10 Caplice 2002, p. 3.
11 Ibid.
Alphabetic languages are rare until the 1st millennium BCE at which time Aramaic spreads rapidly, particularly in the Neo-Assyrian empire.\textsuperscript{12} Akkadian and Aramaic coexisted in multiple contexts; both are attested in areas ranging from administrative archives to monumental sculpture.

\textbf{II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Late 4th-Late 2nd Millennium BCE)}

The earliest inscribed seals, preserved only via impressions on clay tablets and sealings, are known today as “city seals.” The earliest attestations of these seals are from the sites of Uruk and Jemdat Nasr in the phase known as Uruk III (c. 3100 BCE).\textsuperscript{13} City seals carry no figural imagery, only pictographic, proto-cuneiform signs that name Mesopotamian cities. Among the seals that list multiple cities, signs sometimes occur within small frames, thus what we might think of as a panel with intersecting vertical and horizontal case lines (i.e., individual signs are separated from one another).\textsuperscript{14}

In the proto-Elamite style (c. 3100-2900 BCE) in Elam, some seals have symbols that are closely related to the proto-Elamite script and perhaps have ideographic or logographic values.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} Bordreuil (1986, no. 85) dates the earliest known Aramaic seal inscription to the end of the 9th century BCE. The rapid spread of Aramaic is attributed to intermarriage between Aramaean and Assyrian peoples and the more accessible Aramaic script (as compared to cuneiform) (Novák 2016, pp. 123, 130-32).

\textsuperscript{13} See Matthews and Richardson (2018) for details on the city seals, as well as a summary of the debate surrounding their uses; see, also, Pittman (2013, pp. 327-29) and Matthews (1993, pp. 33-50).

\textsuperscript{14} See, for example, a clay sealing from Uruk with a city seal impression (W 11,456/VA10803) (Matthews and Richardson 2018, fig. 7).

\textsuperscript{15} Pittman 2013, p. 327; Álvarez-Mon 2020, p. 69.
Sumerian inscriptions naming individuals are introduced on seals in the ED I-II periods (c. 2900-2600 BCE). The simple formula, PN, is most often utilized. In ED I-II, the inscriptions are vertically oriented and free-floating (i.e., without a panel) in what we would call the terminal field, essentially cutting off the continuous flow of the dense figural imagery (pl. 1A). The inscriptions can occupy the full vertical height of the terminal field (e.g., pl. 1A) or be limited to the upper portion of it with a diminutive secondary figural composition below (pl. 1B); the latter is more common. It is rare in this period for fully paneled inscriptions (i.e., a rectangular frame with four sides) to be utilized. Some inscriptions do have side boundaries. Often, a horizontal line (or two lines, especially on Fara Style seals) divides the terminal field and serves to frame the bottom of the inscription (pl. 1C). The top or bottom edge of the seal may serve a similar function (e.g., pl. 1C-D). In some instances, a vertical line parallel to the signs divides the lines of the text, what we call a case line (e.g., pl. 1C).

In the ED III period (c. 2600-2350 BCE), the personal name in the inscription is often augmented with titles or patronyms. The most common title used in this period is

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16 Wiseman 1959, p. 17. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, we use the designations ED I-III loosely to imply broad subdivisions of the Early Dynastic period; for discussion of chronological terminology applied to the Early Dynastic period, see Rohn (2011, pp. 3-7).
17 Rohn 2011, p. 103; Gelb 1977, p. 115. For PN, see, for example, nos. 81 and 84 in Collon (1987). See Rohn (2011, pp. 103-04) for a full breakdown of ED I-III seals according to inscriptive formula.
18 Pittman 2013, p. 331.
19 Rohn 2011, p. 205.
20 Rohn 2011, p. 205.
21 Pittman 2013, p. 331. There is some flexibility in the order such that the personal name can precede the title or vice versa. For PN + title, see, for example, an ED III seal (Buchanan 1981, no. 303): “Urani, the scribe.” For a title preceding the PN, see, for example, an ED II seal (Buchanan 1966, no. 137): “Scribe of the storehouse Il-gu-KU.”
“scribe.” The text can be fully paneled (sometimes with a double border at bottom; if multi-line, there are sometimes case lines).

An important corpus of ED III glyptic (c. 2500 BCE) comes from the Royal Cemetery at Ur. Seals inscribed with royal names are documented here – one of the most famous is an inscribed seal of Queen Puabi (pl. 1D) that features a double-register banquet and celebration with a short inscription, “Puabi, queen,” vertically oriented in the terminal field of the top register; one sign occurs outside of the panel.

The figural imagery on inscribed seals of ED I-III shows one of three main themes: heroic encounter (a hero engaged with at least one animal); animal combat; banquet. Some designs include elements of both the heroic encounter and animal combat. Multiple scenes can occur throughout the design. Fara Style seals (ED II) are distinctive for their elongated, overlapping, and dense contest imagery (human and animal) on cylinder seals (e.g., pl. 1A-C). Glyptic designs of the Early Dynastic period generally have little negative space.

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22 Buchanan 1981, p. 443; Rohn 2011, pp. 100-01. The title, scribe, continues to be common on seals down into the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE.
23 See, for example, British Museum BM 129100.
24 See Rohn (2011, pp. 19-21) for discussion of the seals from the Royal Tombs.
25 Puabi’s seal was found in Royal Grave 800 at Ur; Wiseman 1962; Pittman 2013, pp. 331-32; Rohn 2011, p. 55; Woolley 1934, p. 565, pls. 16 and 193.
26 Collon 1987, p. 27. Rohn 2011, p. 86.
27 Note, for example, the hero-creature at far left of the seal illustrated in pl. 1C, as well as the animals in combat with each other at the center of the design.
28 Note the diminutive hero controlling a pair of horned animals below the inscription in pl. 1B; in pl. 1D, two scenes occur, one in each register.
29 Pittman 2013, p. 331. Pittman (ibid.) describes the placement of inscriptions on Fara Style seals as “often inserted rather haphazardly between contesting figures.” For examples of the Fara Style, see Rohn (2011, nos. 38-40).
Inscribed seals appear to become more common in the Akkadian period (c. 2340-2180 BCE); in some instances, inscriptions are longer than in the Early Dynastic period. As in ED III glyptic, both royal names and titles are documented. A famous seal naming Šarkališarri illustrates both the use of royal names and longer inscriptional formulae: “Šarkališarri, king of Agade, Ibni-šarrī, scribe, your servant.” Akkadian seals that name the king, as the Šarkališarri seal, thus identify the seal user (in this case, Ibni-šarrī) as an operative of the official administration, as indicated by the phrase, “your servant” (ARÁD-zu).

Despite the presence of inscriptions containing ARÁD-zu noted above, the most common inscriptional formula in the Akkadian period is simply a PN; in some instances, a title is added. Other attested formulae include: RN PN + title; PN₁ DUMU

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30 Rohn 2011, p. 227; Pittman 2013, p. 323; Rakie 2003, p. 15. Rohn (2011, pp. 7-9) discusses the transitional period between Early Dynastic and Akkadian glyptic; for Akkadian glyptic, important early studies include Porada (1948), Boehmer (1965), Buchanan (1966), Nagel and Strommenger (1968); for a recent and comprehensive treatment, see Rohn (2011). Rakie (2003, p. 25) suggests that administrative reforms by Naram-Sin led to this increase, specifically a need to identify officials via the text of their inscriptions in the increasingly complex administrative environment; she (Rakic 2018, pp. 92-93) notes, also, the introduction of two new types of sealings (bulla label and label without text) coincided with an increase in the overall number of inscribed seals.

31 Rohn 2011, p. 227; Pittman 2013, p. 323.

32 Pittman 2013, p. 334.

33 Louvre AO 22303. See Rohn (2011, no. 686) for discussion of this seal.

34 Zettler 1977, pp. 33 and 36. Zettler (1977) considers such seals office seals, limited in use (by officials working close to the king) and distribution (at the king’s discretion). Zettler (ibid., p. 38 (n. 1)) has discussed whether the suffix is to be read as Sumerian, -zu, thus the possessive second person pronoun ("your"), or Akkadian -šū, thus the third person possessive pronoun ("his"). As “your” seems to be more common in the literature, we use it here. The inscriptional element, “your servant” (ARÁD-zu), is so common that modern scholarship has taken to identifying such seals as “ARÁD-zu seals” (Wiseman 1959, p. 17; Pittman 2013, p. 334). The person to whom this phrase refers can be servant of a divine figure (DN), a royal figure (RN), or another (non-royal, though still socio-administratively superior) person (PN); the seal naming Šarkališarri (Louvre AO 22303) is an example of a PN (Ibni-šarrī) as servant of a RN (Šarkališarri); for an example of PN₁ as servant of PN₂, see, for example, Buchanan 1981, no. 452; for an example with a PN as servant of a DN, see Buchanan 1981, no. 441.

35 Rohn 2011, p. 102. For a full typology of Akkadian seal inscriptions, see Rohn (2011, pp. 104-05). For an example of PN, see British Museum BM 129485: “Šeš-šeš.”

36 See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 164: “Ur-ša, scribe.”

37 Rohn 2011, p. 104.
(“son (of”) PN$_2$;\textsuperscript{38} PN$_1$ DUMU (“son (of”) PN$_2$ with a title added either for PN$_1$ or PN$_2$.\textsuperscript{39}

The inscriptions on Akkadian period seals are paneled, partially paneled, or free-floating.\textsuperscript{40} All inscriptions are oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. Among the paneled examples, the text is often in the terminal field (occupying either the full vertical space or just the upper portion, sometimes with figural elements below) and generally with case lines; some panels have a horizontal line perpendicular to the vertical case lines and sides of the panel, which bisects the text, resulting in stacked cases (pl. 2A).\textsuperscript{41} In some instances, the figural elements encroach into the panel or serve as part of the panel itself (pl. 2B).\textsuperscript{42} The two-line paneled inscription that fills the full height of the design is an innovation of Akkadian glyptic; a seal (pl. 2C) from Ur naming Enheduana, high priestess and daughter of Sargon, is one such example.\textsuperscript{43} Paneled inscriptions among Akkadian glyptic can occur in locations other than the terminal field: centrally, between two figures who face in toward it;\textsuperscript{44} in the upper or lower fields.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{38} Rohn 2011, p. 104. For two PNs in a patronymic formula, see, for example, Porada 1948, no. 239: “Ikrub-ili son of Lâli.” A variation on the relationship between two PNs appears on Louvre AO 22011: “Ninmelila, wife of Ur-Dada.”
\textsuperscript{39} For PN$_1$ DUMU PN$_2$ + title$_2$, see Buchanan 1981, no. 398: “Abu-tâb, son of Lu-Inanna the merchant;” for an example in which the title follows immediately after, and thus modifies, PN$_1$, see Buchanan 1981, no. 425.
\textsuperscript{40} Rohn 2011, p. 208. Free-floating inscriptions become less common.
\textsuperscript{41} Rohn 2011, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{42} Note how the figural imagery in pl. 2B replaces part of the panel (the rearmost hindleg of each animal is placed on top of the lower portion of the vertical sides of the panel) and extends into the panel (the back hands of the heroes).
\textsuperscript{43} Rohn 2011, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{44} See, for example, Boehmer 1965, no. 670.
\textsuperscript{45} See, for example, Boehmer 1965, no. 252, in which the inscription panel occurs between two pairs of animals in combat; a tree occupies the terminal field. An additional example, Boehmer 1965, no. 232, shows the paneled inscription at the center of the design and in the upper field above two animals; on Boehmer 1965, no. 36, the inscription panel is in the lower field between the legs of the rampant figures at left.
Free-floating inscriptions among Akkadian glyptic are also often in the terminal field, occupying the full height or only the upper portion (allowing for figural elements to be placed below). They can be single- or multi-line; if multi-line, case lines are present. Free-floating inscriptions can also appear among figures of the central scene.

The most common figural theme on inscribed seals of the Akkadian period is the heroic encounter. Late in the Akkadian period, the compositional formula becomes standardized in what has come to be known as the Classic Akkadian “contest scene” (pl. 2D): a pair of heroes, each hero engaged with an animal; when there is an inscription it is generally paneled and occurs in the terminal field. Rakic suggests that this scene is designed to highlight the inscription in its impressed state (and thereby provide critical administrative information: personal names and administrative functions). Actual impressions of these contest scenes tend to highlight the inscription (e.g., pl. 2A).

Inscribed seals of the Akkadian period also reveal an increased interest in depicting the divine. Frequently a deity sits at the head of a procession or an introduction/audience scene (pl. 2E); some worshipers carry gifts or sacrificial animals,

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46 See, for example, Buchanan 1966, nos. 390 and 636.
47 See, for example, Boehmer 1965, no. 409, which includes text to either side of the central figure.
48 Pittman 2013, p. 334. Amiet (1980) discusses the possible literary and cosmic connotations of these scenes.
49 For seals of the Akkadian period, scholars often use “contest” to refer to scenes with some combination of human/humanoid heroes and animals/creatures. We use the phrase “heroic encounter” rather than “contest scene” to denote scenes in which a hero engages with animals/creatures. For the classic Akkadian contest scene, see Pittman (2013, p. 334), Rakic (2003 and 2018), and Zettler (1977).
50 Already at the end of the ED III period, the heroic encounter was trending towards fewer figures and more open space (Porada 1947a, p. 30; Collon 1987, p. 32).
51 Rakic 2018, p. 92.
52 Ibid., p. 93. Note how the seal impressions on the clay bullae in pl. 2A show the backs of the rampant animals to either side of the paneled inscription, essentially framing it; cf. the modern rolling of an Akkadian seal (pl. 2D) where the decision has been made to frame the figural scene with the inscription.
53 Rohn 2011, p. 56.
54 Collon 1987, p. 32; Rohn 2011, p. 66.
offer libation, or are accompanied by additional figures (e.g., an interceding deity). Deities can also occur in a banqueting context or in combat with one another. Horned headdresses sometimes distinguish the divine figures from the human attendants. Designs featuring human activity are also documented on inscribed seals.

Inscribed seals are popular in the Ur III period (2112-2004 BCE); PN1 DUMU (“son of”) PN2 is the most commonly occurring inscriptional formula. Sometimes a title is added (either for PN1 or PN2). Seal inscriptions can also follow shorter formulae (e.g., PN + title).

As in Akkadian glyptic, seals of the Ur III period often have lengthy inscriptions naming the current ruler and his various titles, the seal owner and his title(s) (sometimes also a patronym, sometimes with his title(s)), and statement of servitude (ARÁD-zu, “your servant”). A variation on ARÁD-zu is ARÁD-da-ni-ir in-na-ba (“(To) his servant”)

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55 Rohn 2011, p. 65; see, for example Rohn 2011, nos. 552, 586, and 613.
56 Rohn 2011, pp. 57 and 60; Collon 1987, p. 34.
57 Collon 1987, p. 34.
58 Pittman 2013, pp. 334-36; Collon 1987, p. 34. Scholars have identified a rare direct connection between the scene on a seal and the content of the inscription on some Akkadian seals. Scenes that appear to show individuals engaged in professional activity are paired with inscriptions that name an individual, perhaps the seal user, with a title that apparently corresponds to the imagery; thus, for example, a seal (British Museum BM 89137) naming Kalki, a scribe, depicts a figure standing with a tablet and stylus (Pittman 2013, p. 336). Pittman (ibid.) discusses a few additional examples of this glyptic phenomenon by which text and image perhaps work together to highlight an individual. Winter (1991) discusses the relationship between Ur III royal-name seal inscriptions paired with the presentation scene and how both elements (textual and figural) display a parallel to the actual working relationships of officials and the king.
59 Pittman 2013, p. 338.
61 The placement of the title dictates to whom it refers: PN1 + title1 DUMU (“son of”) PN2 (see, for example, “Nanna-zame[n] scribe, son of Ahuni” (Porada 1948, no. 291); PN1 DUMU (“son of”) PN2 + title2 (see, for example: “E-gissu, son of Bibbi, the carpenter” (British Museum BM 89042)). Seals belonging to merchants often follow this formula (Winter 1991, p. 79); see, for example, Porada 1948, no. 277: “Ur-Nusku son of Kaka, trader.”
62 See, for example, Buchanan 1981, no. 675: “Šalim-niāš, maidservant of the queen.”
63 Winter 1991, p. 71. A famous example is a seal (Porada 1948, no. 274) naming Gudea of Lagaš: “Gudea ensi of Lagaš, Abba the scribe (is) your servant.” The phrase “servant of” can also apply to a DN or a PN;
(the king) has presented (this)”). These inscriptions are paired with presentation scenes. As Winter notes, both ARÁD- formulae indicate an important relationship between seal owner and king; however, the latter formula (ARÁD-da-ni-ir in-na-ba), which identifies the seal owner as a recipient of a seal from the king, may reflect an especially important group of administrative individuals (e.g., governors, chancellors).

The ARÁD-zu formula can also be utilized for seal owners working at a lower level of the royal bureaucracy; in these instances, instead of naming the king, the inscription names the seal owner’s superior (e.g., a higher-ranking administrator, such as those who, on their own seals, would be able to name the king).

Among inscribed seals of the Ur III period, inscriptions are commonly paneled, vertically oriented, and in the terminal field; sometimes figural elements encroach into this space. As in Akkadian examples, the inscriptions can be bisected horizontally so that cases are stacked vertically (pl. 3A).

for a DN, see, for example, Porada 1948, no. 287: “Damu-Innina, son of Išar-Sîn, servant of Tišpak.” For a PN, see, for example, Buchanan 1981, no. 586: “Nanna-mudah, servant of Utu-idu.”

Winter 1991, pp. 72-73. Winter (ibid.) catalogues more than 70 examples.

Ibid., p. 90; Pittman 2013, p. 337. All of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur are named in seal inscriptions paired with presentation scenes (Winter 1991, pp. 73-74, 76).

Winter 1991, pp. 73-76, 89-90; Pittman 2013, p. 338. Winter (1991, p. 86) cites both a standardization of glyptic figural imagery and an overall increase in administrative officials using seals as two factors contributing to the need for Ur III seals to identify seal owners more thoroughly via inscription (e.g., with a patronym and titles); thus, while the imagery on one seal might not have been distinguishable from another, the text of the inscription, with particular names and titles, would have been; according to Winter (ibid.), verification of one’s administrative authority via the title in the seal inscription would have mattered.


See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 442, in which a bent arm of each figure occurs inside the inscription.

The paneled inscriptions that are bisected horizontally are sometimes arranged such that there are more signs in the top half of the inscription (e.g., pl. 3A); the result of this arrangement is that the vertical sides do not line up above and below the horizontal line and the top cases extend farther to left and to right above the bottom cases.
Inscribed seals of the Ur III period commonly show a presentation scene that depicts the seal owner before a deity.\(^70\) Ur III seals with royal names introduce an important innovation on the presentation scene (pl. 3A): the seal owner, led by an interceding goddess, approaches a seated king (rather than a deity, as in earlier and non-royal examples) or directly faces a king;\(^71\) the king wears a brimmed cap and holds a cup. The king appearing in a position where previously there was a deity may reflect the king’s divine status.\(^72\)

Ur III inscribed seals also may show a single worshipper before a paneled inscription (pl. 3B).

Old Assyrian (c. 2025-1600 BCE) inscribed seals are rare.\(^73\) Of those of which we know, the inscriptions tend to follow the basic formula, PN, to which KIŠIB (“seal (of)”) is sometimes added, thus KIŠIB (“seal (of)”) PN.\(^74\) The patronymic formula, PN\(_1\) DUMU (“son (of)”) PN\(_2\), sometimes with KIŠIB preceding, is also documented;\(^75\) this can be

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\(^70\) See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 277. Winter 1986, p. 254; Suter 2010, p. 337.


\(^72\) Such scenes, and the king’s possibly divine status, have been debated; Eppihimer (2013, p. 40) highlights the political circumstances that may have inspired the possible depiction of divine kingship, as well as the ways in which the king could be considered divine. Winter (1991) provides a thorough examination of these seals and discusses how the specific imagery and content of the inscriptions are paired so as to reflect the seal owner’s relationship to the king, the king’s own status, and the overall centralization of the Ur III political apparatus; the officials using these seals operate at a high level of the bureaucracy, just below that of the king (ibid., p. 78).

\(^73\) Ricetti 2018, p. 379. For the Old Assyrian glyptic style, see Lassen (2012). Teissier (1994, p. 67), in discussing personal seals preserved on documents from Kültepe, suggests that Old Assyrian seal inscriptions were not essential with respect to the validity of the seal’s impression, noting the many seal inscriptions that were illegible, erased, replaced with figural elements, or left unedited when transferred to a new user.

\(^74\) Teissier 1994, p. 67.

\(^75\) Ricetti 2018, p. 371. A seal preserved via impression at Kültepe (c. 1900 BCE) follows the patronymic formula: “Shalim-Assur son of Kubidi” (Lassen 2014, p. 109); this seal is thought to have been reused (passed from father to son) and is considered one of the earliest Old Assyrian seals (ibid.).
augmented with a title. The inscriptions are vertically oriented and arranged with minimal paneling/case lines in the terminal field. In several instances, one or both vertical sides of the panel are not indicated; often a figural element is very close to the inscription (pl. 4A).

Royal-name seals (of Irishum I, Sargon, and Naram-Sin) constitute a cohesive group, such that they are considered an Old Assyrian royal seal-type. The inscriptions include the king’s title (iššiak Aššur), reference to him as the son of the previous ruler, and the previous ruler’s name and title (also iššiak Aššur), thus, PN1 + title1 DUMU PN2 + title2. The text is written in reverse so as to be legible on the seal itself rather than via impression. While still vertically oriented and in the terminal field, the inscriptions are arranged in a panel with three lines bisected horizontally so that there are six cases total; the inscription stands physically distinct from the figural scene. The seals feature a standardized four-figure scene (pl. 4B) that borrows heavily from Ur III royal presentation scenes: a goddess leads (by the hand) a bald, beardless male figure toward a

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76 Ricetti 2018, p. 373. A title can be placed immediately after PN1, thus applying to PN1, or immediately after PN2, thus referring to the patronym. The title laputţa’um (NU.BANDA3), a modern-day lieutenant or steward, is one title utilized for high-rank officials; see Ricetti (2018) for seals with this title.
77 Eppihimer 2013, p. 37.
78 Note how in pl. 4A, the right vertical side of the panel is not indicated and the standing figure immediately to right is placed where the panel would typically be, thus providing the boundary for the text; the top horizontal side of the panel extends over the head of the standing figure.
79 Eppihimer 2013, p. 37.
80 Ricetti (2018, p. 373) suggests the mention of the god Aššur “would have guaranteed the benevolence of the god for the ruler and the community he led.” Eppihimer (2013, p. 48) also notes that the Assyrian rulers’ seals served to highlight the king’s role as representative of the god Aššur.
81 Ricetti 2018, p. 37; Eppihimer 2013, p. 37; the seal of Naram-Sin, for example, reads: “Naram-Sin, iššiak Aššur, son of Puzur-Ashur (II), iššiak Aššur” (Eppihimer 2013, p. 37).
82 Ricetti 2018, p. 37.
83 Such an arrangement recalls the inscribed royal-name seals of the Ur III period (Eppihimer 2013, p. 37); the content of the inscriptions, however, can differ from the Ur III seals (ibid., p. 41). Ricetti (2018, p. 373) suggests that the longer inscription would draw one’s eye to the greater physical space that the text occupies on the seal. Eppihimer (2013, p. 37), like Ricetti, notes the arrangement of the inscription recalls Ur III seals and would have presented an obvious contrast to the less formal presentation of non-royal Old Assyrian seals (i.e., typically in two cases, with overall minimal paneling/case lines).
seated, bearded male figure wearing a brimmed cap and holding a vessel; a second
goddess stands behind the seated figure facing toward the procession. The goddess
behind the seated figure is an Old Assyrian addition.

Walker identifies PN₁ DUMU PN₂ ìR (“servant (of)”) DN as the “most typical
form of the Old Babylonian seal inscription,” most often paired with a worshiper. Other
well-documented formulae include PN₁ DUMU PN₂; PN “servant of” DN; PN₁ +
title₁ DUMU PN₂ “servant of” DN. Old Babylonian seal inscriptions thus often include
divine names. Another formula that includes divine names is the two-line inscription 1) ANUTU 2) AN-a (“Šamaš, Aya”). A single divine name can also occur, sometimes with

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84 Eppihimer 2013, p. 38. As Old Assyrian kings were not considered divine (in contrast to Ur III kings),
identification of the seated figure, as well as the approaching figure behind the goddess, is not as clear as in
the Ur III examples (ibid., p. 43). Eppihimer (ibid.) (following Özgüç and Özgüç and Özkan) suggests that
the seated figure is the god Aššur and the approaching figure the Old Assyrian king; she (ibid.) cites the
actual seal user as inspiring this change: in the Ur III period, officials used seals bearing the royal
introduction scene, but in the Old Assyrian period, it is the rulers themselves using this imagery.
85 Eppihimer 2013, pp. 40-41. These minor modifications are significant, Eppihimer (ibid., p. 41) notes,
because they indicate that the Old Assyrian royal-name seals do not simply copy Ur III seals, but instead
carefully borrow aspects from multiple seals in order to create the Old Assyrian royal-seal-type.
86 Walker in Collon 1986, p. 19. ìR is the same sign as ARAD, thus both mean “servant.” See Walker (in
Collon 1986, pp. 17-19) for a typology (after Gelb 1977) of Old Babylonian seal inscriptions. Walker (in
Collon 1986, p. 16) notes that in the publication of Old Babylonian seals in the British Museum (Collon
1986), only 22 seals include a title. Feingold (2014) also provides a typology of Old Babylonian seal
inscriptions.
87 See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 460: “Hubasum, son of Ahanuta;” a variation on DUMU
(DUMU.SAL, “daughter”) is on Buchanan 1966, no. 461: “Aliabi, daughter of Enum-Sin(?).”
88 See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 316: “Ana-Sîn-ta{k}laku, servant of Amurru.”
89 See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 371: “Imgur-Sîn šutak-priest of Ninlil, son of Annibabdu, servant of
Damu.”
90 Walker in Collon 1986, p. 15.
91 Ricetti 2018, pp. 377-78; Buchanan 1981, p. 455. See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 329. Speaking
specifically about seals carrying this formula from Kültepe, an Assyrian trading center, Ricetti (2018, pp.
377-78) suggests that the motivation for such an inscription lies in the inscription serving both as an act of
reverence to the gods, as well as a good omen to protect against potential fraud, which presumably was a
concern for merchants in the area.
epithets.\textsuperscript{92} Personal names can be combined with divine names such that an inscription follows the formula $\text{PN}_1 \text{ DUMU} \ (“\text{son (of)}\”) \text{ PN}_2 \text{ DN} \ (“\text{is his god}.”)\textsuperscript{93}

Old Babylonian (c. 2000-1600 BCE) inscribed seals carry both paneled and free-floating inscriptions; the text is vertically oriented. Among the paneled examples, several of the methods of displaying text with figural imagery from preceding glyptic traditions are attested: a paneled inscription with case lines occupies the terminal field;\textsuperscript{94} figural elements encroach into the panel or serve as part of the panel itself;\textsuperscript{95} a paneled inscription occupies the upper portion of the terminal field with figural elements below;\textsuperscript{96} the paneled inscription occupies space before a figure and thus is the focal point of the design;\textsuperscript{97} a paneled inscription is placed among the figural scene (but not at the center);\textsuperscript{98} signs occur outside of the panel and among the figural elements of the design.\textsuperscript{99}

Among Old Babylonian seals with free-floating inscriptions, vertically oriented text is placed in the terminal field or among the central figural elements of the design. There are two ways in which the text is arranged: in distinct lines (rather than more randomly disposed) (pl. 5A) or more randomly floating in the field, occupying the spaces above, between, and below figures (pl. 5B).

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{92}] See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 323: “Šamaš;” see, also, Porada 1948, no. 336: “Sîn.” For epithets, see, for example, Porada 1948, no. 380: “Nergal outstanding hero, leader who does not turn back;” see, also, Porada 1948, no. 442: “Nabû, scribe of (E)sagila.”
  \item[\textsuperscript{93}] Ricetti 2018, p. 378; for examples, see Porada 1948, nos. 375, 446, 507, 512-13, 530, and 567.
  \item[\textsuperscript{94}] See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 444.
  \item[\textsuperscript{95}] See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 447, in which the back arm of the seated figure is placed on top of and effectively replaces the left vertical side of the panel.
  \item[\textsuperscript{96}] See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 447.
  \item[\textsuperscript{97}] See, for example, Buchanan 1966, no. 519, in which a worshiper faces the paneled inscription; for an example with two worshipers facing the paneled inscription, one to either side, see Buchanan 1966, no. 520.
  \item[\textsuperscript{98}] See, for example, British Museum BM 89198, in which a single-line paneled inscription occurs in the lower field between the two standing figures at left.
  \item[\textsuperscript{99}] See, for example, Collon 1986, no. 105, in which one line of vertical text is paneled in the terminal field and two additional lines are free-floating between the standing figures at the center of the scene.
\end{itemize}
Old Babylonian inscribed seals often feature cult imagery with human worshipers and deities.\textsuperscript{100} One compositional formula involves the king standing with a suppliant goddess, sometimes with additional figures (e.g., priest); some designs show the king carrying offerings (pl. 5C).\textsuperscript{101} One of the most popular compositional formulae features the king holding a mace alongside a suppliant goddess (pl. 5D).\textsuperscript{102} A single worshiper facing an inscription, or a pair of worshipers (one to either side), is also well documented.\textsuperscript{103} The heroic encounter, reminiscent of Early Dynastic and Akkadian examples, shows one or two heroes controlling animals/creatures who sometimes also engage with other animals.\textsuperscript{104} Some seals, particularly from Sippar, combine the two figural themes, cult imagery and heroic encounter, in one design.\textsuperscript{105}

Kassite seal inscriptions are often difficult to read.\textsuperscript{106} Among those that are preserved, divine names are common.\textsuperscript{107} These can range from short formulae (e.g., DN with epithets/invocation) to long ones (e.g., multiple DNs and epithets, sometimes with a personal name (with or without a patronym)).\textsuperscript{108} We also find formulae that recall earlier

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Porada 1980, p. 11.
\item Collon 1987, p. 45.
\item Ibid., pp. 51-52.
\item Ibid., p. 52; Matthews 1990, pp. 49-50.
\item Collon 1987, p. 45. See, for example, British Museum BM 104486, in which two heroes each grasp a caprid by the top of the head; each caprid is also attacked by a lion, the pair of which is crossed at the center of the design.
\item Collon 1987, p. 45.
\item Lambert (in Matthews 1992, p. 67), in his discussion of Kassite seal inscriptions from Nippur, cites the use of a corrupted form of Sumerian, requiring knowledge of Akkadian, as a contributing factor. Lambert (ibid.) also suggests “illiterate craftsmen who frequently introduced corruptions, both in the shapes of the signs and in more serious ways.” Lambert (ibid.) notes further that the inscription copies at his disposal were not prepared by a “trained cuneiformist” and thus might not be fully accurate.
\item Limet (1971) provides a typology for Kassite seal inscriptions; Matthews (1990, p. 79) briefly summarizes Limet’s typology and notes the themes of figural imagery accompanying the various types of inscriptions.
\item For a shorter inscription, see, for example Matthews 1992, no. 100; for a longer inscription see, for example, Matthews 1992, no. 13.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
ones, such as PN₁ DUMU (“son of”) PN₂; a variation adds servitude of DN₁ PN₂ DUMU PN₂ “servant of” DN₁ DN₂.¹⁰⁹ Additional elements, such as geographic names, sometimes occur.¹¹⁰ Kassite inscriptions can also include lengthy invocations.¹¹¹ Inscribed seals of the Second Kassite style (see below) often include a personal name that matches a name in the tablets to which the seal is applied,¹¹² thus, the seal owner is named in the seal inscription. Such seals belong to officials and are used in an official capacity.¹¹³

Matthews defines First Kassite glyptic principally by its particular method of presenting inscriptions: paneled, vertically oriented, filling the full height of the terminal field, typically physically distinct from the figural scene.¹¹⁴ First Kassite seal inscriptions are quite long, often occupying much of the design.¹¹⁵ This arrangement impacted the overall design, as the figures needed to be elongated in order to fit in the minimal space left by the long inscription (pl. 6A).¹¹⁶ Additional layouts show signs that are placed outside of the panel.¹¹⁷

With respect to figural imagery, First Kassite glyptic (c. 1750 to at least 1400 BCE) is in many ways a continuation of the Old Babylonian glyptic tradition.¹¹⁸ Designs

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¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 570: “Bellîti son of Sîn-nâdin-šumi, servant of Sîn and Nin-mah;” see, also, Buchanan 1966, no. 559: “Multal-ili, son of Ili-išmeanni, servant of Ningiszida.”
¹¹⁰ See, for example, Porada 1948, no 575: “Mannu-ĝîr-Marduk maššugigi-priest, son of Iriîa-Marduk, offspring of Isin, native of Babylon, a slave of Marduk and Gula.”
¹¹¹ See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 571, Buchanan 1966, no. 558, and Matthews 1992 nos. 71 and 89.
¹¹³ Ibid.
¹¹⁴ Matthews 1992, pp. 20 and 55.
¹¹⁶ Ibid.
¹¹⁷ See, for example, Matthews 1990, no. 130.
¹¹⁸ Matthews 1990, p. 57; Porada 1980, p. 12. While the Kassite period is thought to have lasted nearly half a millennium, the dated tablets of the period, many from Nippur, are limited to a much shorter period (approximately 150 years), making the full chronological range uncertain (Matthews 1990, p. 55; Matthews 1992, p. 1). A large corpus of dated seal impressions from Nuzi are thought to date c. 1430-1300 BCE.
are often simple, including a few human figures in a cult context (e.g., a single figure facing an inscription (e.g., pl. 6A)). Supplemental figural elements sometimes occur: cross, vessels, rhomb, insects (e.g., locust and fly), animals (e.g., frog, caprid, and bird). Figures can be more difficult to identify (e.g., as royal or divine), as specific attributes are less common than before.\textsuperscript{120}

So-called Pseudo-Kassite style seals (c. 1300-1200 BCE) are thought to be an extension of First Kassite; they are well documented in Babylonia and Elam.\textsuperscript{121}

One change in Pseudo-Kassite seals, seen also in Middle Elamite seals (see below), is that the inscriptions, vertically oriented and paneled in the terminal field, are sometimes shorter than those in First Kassite seals, and figural elements are placed above in a frieze (e.g., the rosettes in pl. 6B).\textsuperscript{122} As First Kassite seals, inscribed Pseudo-Kassite seals can show a single standing figure, sometimes multiple figures (a king or deity (sometimes with additional deities)).\textsuperscript{123}

Matthews dates the beginning of the so-called Second Kassite style to c. 1350-1100 BCE.\textsuperscript{124} With respect to the layout of text, Second Kassite style seals exhibit more variety than First and Pseudo-Kassite.\textsuperscript{125} Horizontally oriented inscriptions are

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\textsuperscript{119} Matthews 1990, pp. 49-50, and 56.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p. 56.
\textsuperscript{121} Matthews 1990, p. 66; Matthews 1992, p. 61. Matthews (1990, p. 67) notes that Choga Zanbil is “the most important source of pseudo-Kassite seals.”
\textsuperscript{122} Matthews 1990, p. 68; Matthews 1992, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{123} Matthews 1990, p. 51. See, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 233, 237, 241-42, 251-53, and 266.
\textsuperscript{124} Matthews 1990, pp. 56 and 63.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., p. 60.
introduced, which marks an important shift in how text is presented in glyptic.\textsuperscript{126} Another new feature is the placement of paneled inscriptions in the upper field in close proximity to the figural scene (pl. 6C); this layout changes the shape of the panel, as they are no longer four-sided, but instead stepped (i.e., some cases are longer or shorter than others), apparently to accommodate figural elements around them. Similarly to Middle Assyrian seals (see below), inscribed Second Kassite seals can have vegetation and animals.\textsuperscript{127} The chthonic god with flowing waters is introduced.\textsuperscript{128} The heroic control encounter (e.g., pl. 6C) is also utilized.\textsuperscript{129}

Third Kassite glyptic (c. 1200-1100 BCE) is contemporaneous with Second Kassite, from which it has been assumed to be an outgrowth.\textsuperscript{130} While paneled inscriptions (vertically oriented in the terminal field) are still utilized, there are also examples of free-floating text throughout the design; it is common for the free-floating signs to come into close proximity with the figural elements. The figural imagery on inscribed Third Kassite seals shows animals or fantastical creatures and vegetation;\textsuperscript{131} scenes with humans are less common.\textsuperscript{132} Supplemental figural elements (e.g., cross, rhomb, crescent, star, and bird) sometimes occur.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{126} Matthews 1992, pp. 37-38.
\textsuperscript{127} Tripartite palm trees and the so-called “Second Kassite Tree” belong to Second Kassite glyptic; see, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 145-46.
\textsuperscript{128} Matthews 1990, p. 60; see, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 129-30.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 61; see, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 145-48.
\textsuperscript{130} Matthews (ibid., pp. 64 and 66) also links the style to 13\textsuperscript{th} century Assyrian seals.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., pp. 63-64; see, for example, Matthews 1990, no. 212, which features caprids (one winged) disposed heraldically to either side of a large tree.
\textsuperscript{132} Matthews 1990, p. 65. A couple of rare examples of scenes with humans occur on Matthews 1990 nos. 204 (heroic control encounter) and 197 (a standing worshiper before cult symbols).
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., p. 65.
The Mitannian style (c. 1600-1350 BCE), while originating in northern Mesopotamia, is attested throughout much of ancient western Asia. A large and important archive of sealed administrative documents, covering multiple generations in the family of Teḫip-tilla, comes from Nuzi.

Mitannian style seals with inscriptions are rare. Among those of which we know, the formulae tend to be short (e.g., “Seal (of)” PN or (“Seal”) “of” PN). Seals carrying royal names are also documented. Inscriptions are paneled with case lines, vertically oriented, and placed in the terminal field. Less common are arrangements in which the text, still vertically oriented and in the terminal field, is not fully paneled, but is placed in close proximity to the figural scene, which in turn provides boundaries for the text.

Like some Kassite seals, Mitannian style seals also reflect features of Old Babylonian glyptic. A compositional feature that is distinctive to some Mitannian style seals, however, is the stacking of figures above one another, resulting in a dense figural scene (pl. 7A). This imagery, consisting of humans, animals, and composite creatures,
shows the heroic encounter and cult imagery, often in various vignettes throughout the design. Additional scenes feature human figures in a more centralized composition.

Middle Assyrian style seals (c. 1400-1200 BCE) are rare. Of the inscribed seals that survive, they generally follow the simple formula, PN; some indicate ownership of the seal by beginning the inscription with NA, KIŠIB (“seal”). In some instances, a patronym follows.

Inscriptions on Middle Assyrian style seals occur in panels or free-floating arrangements. Paneled inscriptions, vertically oriented, occur in the terminal field, sometimes with figural imagery encroaching; other examples are horizontally oriented and placed in the upper field above figural elements. When multi-line, case lines are utilized. Free-floating inscriptions, vertically and/or horizontally oriented, occur throughout the design field, often in close proximity to figures.

Middle Assyrian seals are similar to Second Kassite seals in their compositions and imagery, particularly the symmetrical designs and use of animals and vegetation (pl.

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141 See, for example, Matthews 1990 nos. 604 and 622, in which there appears to be three or four vignettes.
142 See, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 611, 621, and 625, all of which show a central scene of standing figures in cult contexts.
143 For Middle Assyrian glyptic, see Moortgat (1942 and 1944), Porada (1948), Beran (1957), and Matthews (1990).
144 See, for example, Porada 1948, no. 595: “Aššur-kimûa.”
145 See, for example, Collon 1987, no. 283: “Seal (of) Ili-shimanni.”
146 See, for example, Collon 1987 no. 277: “Seal (of) Assur-rimanni, son of Shum-etir-Assur.”
147 See, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 280-281, and 283.
148 See, for example, Matthews 1990, nos. 320, 333, 356, and 360.
149 See, for example, Matthews 1990, no. 300, in which horizontal signs are placed above, below, and between figures; see, also, Matthews 1990, no. 380, in which signs are placed between and close to the two rampant lions; for an example of a vertical line of free-floating text in the terminal field, see Matthews 1990, no. 404. See Matthews 1990, no. 290 in which both horizontal and vertical free-floating text occurs: two lines of text are oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal above the central figures and two additional lines are oriented along the vertical axis to either side of the stylized tree in the terminal field.
These designs contrast starkly with some inscribed Mitannian style seals, which utilize composite figures in dense compositions (e.g., pl. 7A).\footnote{Porada 1980, p. 13.}

An important corpus of Middle Elamite (c. 1500-1100 BCE) inscribed seals comes from Choga Zanbil.\footnote{Porada 1979, pp. 2, 9-10; Porada 1980, p. 13; some fantastical creatures are still present (e.g., Matthews 1990, no. 283); the 13th century corpus of impressions from Tell al Rimah published by Parker (1977) offers several beautiful examples of inscribed Middle Assyrian seals.} Of the 166 seals, 29 carry legible inscriptions. They follow three main formulae: 1) on 14 seals, the inscription begins, “it is to god to (give) life, it is to the king to save” (followed by an uncertain third line); 2) on nine seals, a prayer (to Shamash, Marduk or ANBA (uncertain god)) reads, “Oh (god’s name), supreme lord have mercy;” 3) on six seals, the inscription begins, “the one who carries the seal.”\footnote{Álvarez-Mon 2020, p. 304.} These seal inscriptions offer a linguistic mixing – e.g., the Elamite word for “king” (EŠŠANA) appears, while the rest of the text is written in a Kassite variant of Sumerian.\footnote{Álvarez-Mon 2020, p. 304.}

Middle Elamite seals from Haft Tepe (c. 14th century BCE) include inscriptions that name the seal owner and patronym, followed by ÊR (“servant of”), then PN/RN/DN; sometimes titles and a prayer formula are included.\footnote{See Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2011) for the Middle Elamite seals from Haft Tepe; see, also Negahban (1991) and Amiet (1996). Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2011, pp. 295-307) provides details on the seal inscriptions from Haft Tepe. Another important corpus of Middle Elamite glyptic comes from Susa (see Amiet (1972)). Ascalone (2018, p. 641) and Garrison (2018, p. 649) provide overviews.\footnote{Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, p. 72.}} The royal-name seal of Tepti-ahar exhibits several of these elements: “Tepti-ahar, King of Susa and Anšan, the servant of the god Kirwašir (and) the god Inšušinak. As long as he lives, may they recognize him in the approval of their hearts.”\footnote{Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, p. 72.}
Inscriptions on Middle Elamite seals (c. 1500-1100 BCE) are often arranged similarly to previous traditions.\textsuperscript{157} Thus, we find paneled, vertically oriented text occupying the terminal field.\textsuperscript{158} There are also some seal inscriptions that are arranged with just case lines (still vertically oriented in the terminal field). In these instances, figures come into close contact, or even touch, the unpaneled signs.\textsuperscript{159} One particularly nice Middle Elamite seal (pl. 9A) shows heavy influence from the Mitanni style and includes horizontally oriented Elamite text arranged with just case lines in the upper portion of the terminal field;\textsuperscript{160} figural elements occur below. This particular way of presenting an inscription, especially the horizontal orientation, is frequently utilized in subsequent Late Neo-Elamite style and Persepolitan glyptic. In designs such as this Middle Elamite seal, as well as the Kassite and Middle Assyrian seals discussed above, we may be witnessing, in the middle of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium, the origins of concepts – concerning the relationships between text and figural imagery and how inscriptions are presented – that will come to dominate the glyptic landscape at Persepolis.\textsuperscript{161}

The most important figural theme among Middle Elamite seals is ritual drinking.\textsuperscript{162} The compositions show seated figures raising a cup in front of an attendant (pl. 9B) who can also hold a vessel, raise a fan, or make a worshiping gesture.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{157} Neumann 2009, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{158} See, for example, Ascalone 2018, fig. 31.8e and Porada 1970, no. 4.
\textsuperscript{159} See, for example, seals belonging to two officials (Álvarez-Mon 2020, pl. 88e-f).
\textsuperscript{160} Note, especially, the vertical stacking of figures that recalls some Mitannian style seals.
\textsuperscript{161} Garrison (2010a, p. 344) has discussed how the centaur-archers depicted on seals from the Fortification archive appear to reach back to the Middle Assyrian glyptic tradition.
\textsuperscript{162} Álvarez-Mon 2020, p. 304.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., pp. 304 and 307.
Additional figural elements (e.g., drinking accoutrements) sometimes occur. Cult imagery is also documented on Middle Elamite inscribed seals.

II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals: Assyrian, Babylonian, West Semitic, and Elamite

Glyptic of the 1st millennium BCE is especially critical to our discussion of the inscribed seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive. Inscribed seals from the Neo-Assyrian, Late Neo-Elamite, and Late Babylonian periods provide clear prototypes for most of the inscriptional formulae found in Persepolitan glyptic. West Semitic seals, often carrying Aramaic inscriptions, are also relevant to our study.

Dating of Assyrian and Babylonian seals often is difficult. Large provenanced corpora of seals from Assyria and Babylonia are rare; discussion often has to make due with unprovenanced seals in museum collections. As previous seal publications have had to rely on unprovenanced material, scholars have grappled with how to query stylistic, iconographic, and epigraphic features for diagnostic markers; in many instances, there is no consensus.

Complicating the issue is the significant overlap in seal carving styles and compositions among Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic, particularly for seals of the 8th and

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165 See, for example, Álvarez-Mon 2020, pl. 124c, in which a deity stands before a fire stand; see, also, Álvarez-Mon 2020, pl. 124b, in which a worshiper and a deity flank a fire stand and a small animal.
166 Ehrenberg 1999, p. 2; Garrison 2010b, p. 156. See, for example, Collon 2001. Herbordt (1992) collects the provenanced seals preserved as impressions from Nimrud and Nineveh. The excavations at Dur-Katlimmu (Tall Šêḥ Ḥamad) have revealed a dozen or so inscribed seals (c. 9th-7th centuries BCE); several of the seal designs are very fragmentary (see Fügert (2015)). Ehrenberg (1999) collects the seal impressions from the Eanna temple of Ištar at Uruk (612-499 BCE). Klengel-Brandt (2014) presents the glyptic from Aššur.
167 Collon 2001, p. 1. Early studies to tackle the issue include Porada (1947a), Wittmann (1992), and Collon (2001); Fügert (2015, pp. 32-37) provides an overview.
7th centuries, and especially among seals executed in a modeled style of carving; such, one is often hard-pressed to identify seals of the late 8th and 7th centuries as specifically Assyrian or Babylonian. The problem of “Assyrian or Babylonian” is exacerbated by the variety of terms that have emerged to refer to chronological, stylistic, and/or iconographic categories. For clarity, we use the following terms:

**Neo-Assyrian**: a chronological term that refers to the period of the Neo-Assyrian empire (c. 10th–7th century BCE); we use this term also to designate cultural phenomena (e.g., “Neo-Assyrian glyptic”), particularly when we discuss seals of Neo-Assyrian officials;

**Neo-Babylonian**: a chronological term that refers to the period in Babylonia contemporaneous with the Neo-Assyrian empire;

**Assyro-Babylonian**: a stylistic term to identify seals that are carved in various modeled styles and generally carry a heroic encounter scene. For various reasons having to do with the intense interactions between Assyria and Babylonia in the 8th-7th centuries BCE, the exact cultural locus of these seals, Assyria or Babylonia, cannot be definitively defined;

168 Collon 2001, pp. 1 and 166; Collon 1987, p. 80; Fügert 2015, pp. 25-26, and 33. For the modeled style specifically, Collon (2001, p. 1) goes so far as to say that she avoids the term “modeled,” as it is too subjective with “many degrees of modeling” and it is not a chronologically specific term. We use the term “modeled” not to refer to a temporally or geographically specific tradition, but to refer to the engraving style that transcends these other criteria; thus, both Assyrian and Babylonian seals are carved in modeled styles, and indeed, so are Persepolitan seals.

169 Collon (2001, p. 4) discusses the socio-historical circumstances that may have led to the present difficulty in categorizing Assyrian versus Babylonian seals: “At the time of the conquest of Babylon in 729 BC, it seems likely that Babylonian seal-cutters were deported to Assyria. Here they seem to have trained the local seal-cutters and their work, adapted to the Assyrian idiom, led to the production of seals, often of very high quality, in which the individual characteristics of the two traditions merge until it is virtually impossible to distinguish Babylonian from Assyrian work.” Collon (ibid., p. 5) also explains, “It is tempting to suggest that when Sargon II (721-705 BC) recaptured Babylon in 710, he carried off to Assyria the seal-cutters from Marduk-aplaiddina’s royal workshop and made them work for him and with his own craftsmen. Thus Sargon, in addition to founding a new capital, also seems to have imitated his Akkadian namesake in inaugurating a period of excellence in lapidary art, combining the best Babylonian and Assyrian craftsmanship and producing some of the finest seal-cutting ever seen on hard stones.”

170 Ehrenberg (1999, p. 2) notes that this term has been used inconsistently by philologists and art historians/archaeologists; with Ehrenberg, and following the philological tradition, we use the term to refer to the period in Babylonia coterminous with the Neo-Assyrian empire. Art historians/archaeologists (e.g., Collon 2001, p. 1) have used the term to refer to a period coterminous with the Neo-Assyrian empire and continuing to the mid-6th century BCE (i.e., c. 10th century – 539 BCE); again following Ehrenberg, we separate this later (i.e., post-Neo-Assyrian empire) period out and refer to it as Late Babylonian (see below).

171 Collon (2001, p. 166) uses this term especially for 8th century seals, typically executed in a modeled style of carving and depicting a human-animal/creature contest scene. Revealing the multiple glyptic
Late Babylonian: a chronological term used to denote the period starting at the end of the Neo-Assyrian empire (late 7th century BCE) and continuing to the time of Cyrus (539 BCE); a particularly important compositional formula that appears to emerge in the Late Babylonian period is the so-called Late Babylonian worship scene (a worshipper facing cult symbols); as has been long recognized, it survives down into the 5th century BCE.

Considerable research has been done on identifying specific Assyrian and Babylonian seal carving traditions in the 1st millennium. The principal carving styles include modeled (encompassing a range of modeling techniques), linear, cut, drilled, and cut-and-drilled. Inscribed seals from Assyria and Babylonia often are rendered in a modeled style that employs extensive drill work. Interestingly, inscriptions occur principally on seals executed in modeled styles of carving.

Both cylinders and stamps are documented for 1st millennium inscribed seals. Among Neo-Assyrian glyptic, inscribed cylinders are more popular than inscribed stamps. Cylinders are preferred for Assyro-Babylonian seals post-dating the 8th

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As Ehrenberg (1999, p. 2) notes, this designation follows the practice of philologists (as opposed to historians). Further, Ehrenberg (ibid.) says: “the cultural climate of Babylonia remains essentially Late Babylonian in the early Persian years.” There is some debate surrounding the start date of the Achaemenid period; this concerns the bloodline of Darius, who first rules in 522 BCE; see Briant (2002, p. 92) for details. For discussion of pre-Darius “Persians” (i.e., Cyrus and Cambyses), see Garrison (2002/2006), Henkelman (2003a and 2003b), and Potts (2005).

We frequently refer to seals attested at Persepolis that carry such cult imagery as the “Late Babylonian worship scene.” This use of the term refers to the figural imagery, not necessarily a Late Babylonian date. See Chapters 6 and 8 for details.

Fügert (2015, pp. 23-28) reviews the scholarship. One of the first attempts to categorize 1st millennium seals, specifically Neo-Babylonian, is Porada (1947c).

Collon 2001, pp. 39-78; Fügert 2015, pp. 25-26, fig. 2.

Fügert 2015, p. 25. The style generally is linked with Assyria; the seal illustrated in pl. 10F is a nice example of the style.
century. West Semitic seals prefer stamps. Cylinders predominate among the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style. Among Late Babylonian glyptic, both cylinder and stamp seals occur, but stamp seals are much more common than in Neo-Assyrian glyptic.

Neo-Assyrian seal inscriptions are Akkadian or Aramaic. Among the Akkadian inscriptions, ownership of the seal itself is commonly indicated with $\text{NA}_4\text{KIŠIB}$ (“seal (of)”) or simply with the word šá (“of”) (implying the seal itself (i.e., “(seal) of”)) preceding a personal name; sometimes a title or invocation follows. Titles are common. Inscriptions can also follow the patronymic formula, $\text{PN}_1$ A (“son (of)”) $\text{PN}_2$. Some inscriptions include simply an invocation.

A small but important group of Neo-Assyrian seals carry the phrase “ša rēši” (“eunuch”). These seals belonged to high ranking eunuchs at the Assyrian court.

While these inscriptions may include various elements, such as ownership of the seal and

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177 Wiseman 1959, p. 18.
178 For an example with $\text{NA}_4\text{KIŠIB}$, see British Museum BM 132257: “Seal (of) Aḫūa-āmur;” see, also, a seal from Aššur (Watanabe 1993, no. 8.3): “Seal of Bēl-ēmuranni.” For an example beginning with šá, see Watanabe 1993, no. 8.9: “(Seal) of Kabīlu.”
179 See, for example, an 8th century seal (Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 108) from Kalhu that begins with šá: “(Seal) of Šarru-dūri, governor of Kalhu.” See British Museum BM 89139 that begins with $\text{NA}_4\text{KIŠIB}$ PN and adds an invocation: “Seal (of) Bēl-muṣallim. May those who take this (seal) be taken by Šamaš.”
180 See, for example, Watanabe 1993, no. 7.2. that follows the formula PN + title: “Mīnu-ēpuš-ana-li, port commander;” see, also, an early 8th century seal (Watanabe 1993, no. 8.1.) that follows the formula “Seal (of)” PN + title; RN: “Seal (of) Aššur-nēmelē, messenger of Bēl-lēšir.” Multiple titles occur on a late 9th century seal (Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 88) from Kalhu: “Seal of Bēl-tarsi-iluma, eunuch of Adad-nirārī, king of the world, governor of Kalhu, of [Ḥamed]ji, Temeni and Ialūna, I trusted you, may I not be put to shame, oh Nabū.”
181 The formula $\text{PN}_1$ A $\text{PN}_2$ is synonymous to $\text{PN}_1$ DUMU $\text{PN}_2$ (see above). See, for example a 7th century seal from Nineveh (Herbordt 1992, no. Nin 94): “[Seal] of Adad-nāṣir, son of Nabū nāṣir.”
182 See, for example, British Museum BM 89145: “Oh Nabū, don't let the one who trusts you come to shame! May he stay behind you! Let him ... get ... and his life!”
183 Several of these seals can be dated based on information provided by the seal inscription, such as eponyms of the seal owner or references to particular kings; see Niederreiter (2015) for details on a cluster of seals dating to the reigns of Adad-nērārī III (810-783 BCE) or his son Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BCE); see, also, Watanabe (1993, 1995a, 1995b, and 1999).
184 Niederreiter (2015, p. 127) discusses one seal (Niederreiter 2015, no. 6) in which the inscription excludes “ša rēši” but the imagery paired with the text appears to depict a eunuch.
numerous titles (both of the seal owner and of those for whom he worked (e.g., the king)), these seals typically follow one of two formulae: 1)

“Seal (of)” PN, “eunuch of” RN, “king of Assyria;”

2) “Seal (of)” PN₁, “eunuch of” PN₂, “governor of” GN. There are sometimes minor variations to these formulae, such as the shortened “(Seal) of” PN, “eunuch” or “Seal (of)” PN₁, “eunuch of” PN₂. These base formulae can also be augmented with extra titles or an invocation. A few ša rēši seals include longer inscriptions that reference the seal itself in a votive or official context, specifically referring to transfer of the seal (e.g., from official to official).

Among the Neo-Assyrian seals with Aramaic inscriptions, the formulae sometimes indicate ownership of the seal with the Aramaic word, HTM (“seal (of)”), at

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185 Niederreiter (2015, p. 124) categorizes the seals according to how seal ownership is expressed at the beginning of the inscription: KIŠIB (“Cylinder seal of” PN) (Niederreiter 2015, no. 1), NAₖKIŠIB (“Cylinder seal of” PN) (Niederreiter 2015, nos. 2-4, 8-9), or ša (“Property of” PN) (Niederreiter 2015, nos. 7, 10, 11?). For an example with titles, see a late 9th-early 8th century seal (Niederreiter 2015, no. 2) from Kalhu that begins with NAₖKIŠIB: “Seal (of) Ninurta-šu-šukšid, eunuch of Adad-nērārī (III), king of Assyria, chief of the cooks (and) herdsmen.”

186 See, for example, Niederreiter 2015, no. 4: “Seal of Nabû-šarru-ṣur, eunuch of Adad-nērārī (III), King of Assyria.” Niederreiter (2015, p. 119) notes that there are only seven Neo-Assyrian seals that belong to these officials and that name the king – in six instances, the king is Adad-nērārī III (Niederreiter 2015, nos. 1-6), in one, Sargon II (Watanabe 1999, no. 2.2.1.).

187 See, for example, a late 9th-early 8th century seal (Niederreiter 2015, no. 8): “Seal (of) Aššūr-bēlu-ṣur, eunuch of Nergal-ēreš, governor of Rašappa.”

188 For the former, see, for example, Watanabe 1993, no. 6.9: “(Seal) of Šamaš-aḫu-ṣur, eunuch;” for the latter, see, for example, Niederreiter 2015, no. 9: “Seal (of) Išme-ili, the eunuch of Nergal-ēreš.”

189 For an example with titles, see Watanabe 1999, no. 2.2.1.: “Seal of Nabû-ussallā, governor of Tam(a)nuna, eunuch of Sargon (II), king of Assyria.” For an example with an invocation, see a late 9th century seal from Kalhu (Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 88): “Seal of Bēl-tarsī-iluma, eunuch of Adad-nīrārī, king of the world, governor of Kalhu, of [Hāmedli], Temeni and Ialūna, I trusted you, may I not be put to shame, oh Nabû.”

190 See, for example, a seal from Kiš (Niederreiter 2015, no. 6) that notes the votive context of the seal: “To the goddess Gula, his mistress, for the life of Adad-nērārī (III), king of Assyria, Pān-Aššūr-lāmur, governor of the city Assur, offered (this cylinder seal) (also) for his own life.” A late 9th century seal (Niederreiter 2015, no. 5) notes the transfer of the seal from one eunuch to another: “That which [this seal] Bīrtāiu, the eunuch of Adad-nērārī (III), king of Assyria gave to his helper Issār-dūrī, the eunuch of the commander-in-chief Nergal-ilāʾī.”
the beginning of the inscription, or with the preposition, *L* (“(belonging to)” (referring to the seal itself), attached to the first personal name;¹⁹¹ sometimes a title follows.¹⁹²

Seal inscriptions on Neo-Assyrian cylinders are often free-floating and vertically oriented. The text on *ša rēši* seals, in particular, can occur throughout the full design, thus contributing to the crowded design field.¹⁹³ There can also be some combination of free-floating text, panels, or text arranged with just case lines.

Neo-Assyrian seals carrying royal names are inscribed in Akkadian and can be cylinder or stamp seals. In the reign of Aššurbanipal, a few examples of the so-called “Assyrian royal seal-type” (stamp) featuring a royally clad hero thrusting a small dagger into the chest of a rampant lion (pl. 10A) include the simple inscription, “Property of Aššurbanipal,” around the edge of the seal.¹⁹⁴ A similar inscription (“Palace of Esarhaddon…”) paired with the same figural imagery is attested on one inscribed cylinder (pl. 10B); the inscription is vertically oriented, paneled with case lines, and in

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¹⁹¹ For an example with *HTM*, see Watanabe 1999, no. 5.1.1.: “Seal (of) *YP'HD*, dream interpreter(?).” For an example with *L*, see a late 8th century seal from Khorsabad (Watanabe 1993, no. 6.7.) that follows the formula *LPN + title RN*: “(Seal belonging) to Pān-Aššur-lāmur, eunuch of Sargon (II).”

¹⁹² See note immediately above for an example.

¹⁹³ Note how in pl. 10F, a line of text occurs between each figure and fills the full height of the seal face.

¹⁹⁴ Nadali 2009-10, p. 218; Herbordt 1992, p. 123; Radner 2008, p. 487; Winter 2010, pp. 112, 116-18. Although numerous, the so-called Assyrian royal seal-type rarely carries an inscription; Herbordt (1992, p. 125-27) documents at least 104 individual seals used over approximately 200 years that feature the compositional formula; nine have circular inscriptions. At least two begin, “Palace of Aššurbanipal…” (Winter 2010, p. 118). Radner (2008, pp. 491-94) documents the royal seal-type on various materials and in various archaeological contexts. Nadali (2009-10) discusses the problems with calling such seals “royal,” opting instead for “state” seals. When used here, the term “royal” does not denote a seal actually used by the king, but one that names him via its inscription and used by an official working in a royal capacity.
The terminal field. A handful of other stamp seals bear inscriptions naming the king with titles and filiation.

The Neo-Assyrian seal applied to the so-called Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (pl. 10C) has a lengthy and unique inscription naming Sennacherib:

Seal of Destiny with which Assyria, king of the gods, destiny of Igigi and Anunnaki, heaven and earth, and mankind seals. Everything that he seals with it must not be changed by anyone else. Those who change it may be killed by Assur, the king of the gods, and Mullissu and their sons with their powerful weapons. I, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, am a prince who fears you. Whoever erases my written name, which removes your seal of destiny, whose name and progeny will be deleted from the country.

The seal in fact was used by Sennacherib’s son, Esarhaddon, and thus was an heirloom at the time it was applied to the documents. This inscription is noteworthy for, among other things, its length and reference to the seal itself. The inscription is paneled with case lines, vertically oriented, and in the terminal field; the left vertical side of the panel terminates at the bottom above the hindquarters of the small lion-pedestal below. The figural scene consists of the king at center, flanked by a deity atop a pedestal animal to either side.

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195 Nadali 2009/2010, pp. 115, 218, and 223. For more on this seal, see Parker (1962), Dalley and Postgate (1984), Collon (1987, p. 80), and Winter 2010, (pp. 117-18). See Radner (2008, pp. 487-494) for discussion of Neo-Assyrian bureau seals, specifically how the stamp seals showing the king in combat with a lion were used to impart royal authority. See, also, Winter (2010, pp. 112-24) for discussion of the connection between the figural imagery and potential seal users. A possible variation on this royal seal-type is a stamp seal that depicts a lone lion encircled by a guilloche; a horizontally oriented cuneiform inscription (“Palace of Esarhaddon…”) is above the animal (Nadali 2009/2010, p. 218-19 (n. 5)).

196 For example, a stamp seal from Kalhu (Watanabe 1993, no. 2.1.): “[Palace of Adad-nērāri (III), king of Assyria, son of Samši-Adad (V), King of Assyria], son of Shalmeneser (III), king of Assyria.”


198 Boehmer (1975, p. 353) suggests the seal had been partially recut (the tall polos headdresses).
The figural imagery on Neo-Assyrian inscribed seals most often features heroic encounters, cultic scenes, or archers.\textsuperscript{199} It is not uncommon for more than one of these themes to be combined in one design.\textsuperscript{200}

A recurring composition on Neo-Assyrian inscribed seals involves a worshiper before an anthropomorphic deity/cult image in one of two arrangements: 1) with one worshiper before a deity (pl. 10D); 2) with multiple worshipers before a deity (pl. 10E). Many of these designs are dense with figural imagery (e.g., winged symbols (sometimes with figure emergent), pedestal animals/creatures, crescents, spade and stylus, flora and fauna (e.g., small quadrupeds and birds), and stars).\textsuperscript{201} This is particularly true of the seals that name ša rēši ("eunuch") officials (e.g., pl. 10E-F).

Another recurring cult scene among Neo-Assyrian inscribed seals shows genii flanking a stylized tree with a figure emergent from a winged disk hovering overhead (pl. 10G).\textsuperscript{202}

The heroic control encounter – a hero holding an animal/creature to either side – is also well documented on inscribed seals of the Neo-Assyrian period (pl. 10H). It is common for both the hero and the creatures that he holds to be winged.

Archer imagery also occurs among Neo-Assyrian inscribed seals. Such scenes typically feature a figure identified as Ninurta with a drawn bow and arrow in a running/striding pose over a pedestal creature aiming at a rampant animal/creature (pl.

\textsuperscript{199} Rare exceptions include heraldic animals/creatures; see, for example, Watanabe 1993, no. 8.14., in which a pair of rampant heraldic winged bulls flank a centralized tree.
\textsuperscript{200} Note, for example, the worshiper paired with the archer in pl. 11A.
\textsuperscript{201} The pedestal animals/creatures can take many different forms; see, for example, British Museum BM 132257 in which two different types are present: human-headed winged bull-creatures and a bull.
\textsuperscript{202} Fügert (2015, p. 25) discusses the scholarly treatment of this seal.
11A); supplemental figural elements, such as a worshiper, star, crescent, and winged symbol, often appear.

The methods of presenting text (cuneiform or Aramaic) on inscribed seals from Assyria and Babylonia of the late 8th and 7th centuries (what we call Assyro-Babylonian) include paneled inscriptions, text with just case lines, or free-floating text. Both horizontal and vertical orientations are utilized. Among the paneled examples, the text is often in the terminal field and distinct from the figural scene. Free-floating text is especially popular for Aramaic inscriptions. The free-floating text sometimes comes into close contact with figural elements.

The figural imagery on Assyro-Babylonian seals with inscriptions favors the heroic encounter, both control (pl. 12A) and combat (pl. 12B) scenes. Winged heroes and composite creatures are common. In contrast to the Neo-Assyrian seals discussed above (especially the ša rēši seals (e.g., pl. 10E-F)), the Assyro-Babylonian designs tend to have only two or three figures that are well-spaced; there are few ancillary elements. The style of carving is often well modeled and detailed.

The Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style is especially important for our consideration of the inscribed seals at Persepolis. The source material for this tradition remains the seals preserved as impressions on two corpora of tablets from Susa, the Acropole tablets and Apadana tablets, and some actual seals, mostly unprovenanced, attributed to the style

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203 The Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style is catalogued by Amiet (1973). For additional details on the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic corpus, see Amiet (1973) and Garrison (2002/2006 and 2018).
by Amiet (1973). In his seminal discussion of the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style, Amiet assembled some 31 inscribed seals (and 40 seals without inscriptions). In his seminal discussion of the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style, Amiet assembled some 31 inscribed seals (and 40 seals without inscriptions). Inscriptions on Late Neo-Elamite style glyptic overwhelmingly follow the patronymic formula, PN₁ DUMU (“son (of)”) PN₂. The other surviving formulae are: invocation; PN₁ DUMU + title₂ PN₂; PN₁ GN DUMU PN₂.

There are three main methods of displaying inscriptions on seals in the Late Neo-Elamite style: paneled, with just case lines, and free-floating. Paneled inscriptions are most common. In almost all instances documented by Amiet, the paneled inscriptions are multi-line and include case lines. With one or perhaps two exceptions, the paneled inscriptions occupy the terminal field. It is most common for the paneled inscriptions to be distinct from the figural scene; however, there are a few examples of figural imagery and text being more closely linked. For example, figural elements can replace

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204 Amiet (1973) recognized a linkage with Persepolitan glyptic – his nos. 24 (PFS 25*), 25 (PFS 1084*), and 27 (PFS 45*) – are in fact from the Fortification archive. As noted by Garrison (2002/2006, p. 65), dating of the tablets from Susa is uncertain; in the absence of archaeological or epigraphic clues, Amiet (1973, pp. 24-25) turned to the seal impressions (and their stylistic and iconographic features); he posited that the seals that occur on the Acropole tablets date c. late 7th-early 6th century BCE, those on the Apadana tablets c. mid-6th century BCE; Garrison (2002/2006, p. 92), in studying the seals compiled by Amiet (1973) in conjunction with glyptic from the Fortification archive (focusing on stylistic and iconographic criteria in both corpora), does not see a clear stylistic distinction between the seals in the two archives and prefers to date both glyptic corpora, and thus the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style, to c. 560-520 BCE.

205 Amiet 1973, p. 16. Of the seals documented at Susa, Amiet 1973, nos. 8 and 11 on the Acropole texts and no. 19 on the Apadana texts follow this formula; among the actual cylinders catalogued by Amiet, nos. 32-33, 35, 40-41, 43, 51-52, and 56 follow this formula.


207 Amiet 1973, nos. 16 and 34.

208 Amiet 1973, no. 28.

209 Amiet 1973, no. 19 includes a paneled inscription that is apparently in the upper field and above figural elements (a caprid); Amiet 1973, no. 6 carries a Babylonian inscription that has five lines of text within a panel in the terminal field and an additional line running above the full length of the design; the seal may be an heirloom and/or Babylonian import (Amiet 1973, pp. 8-9).

210 The Late Neo-Elamite style seals with physically distinct panels in the terminal field among Amiet’s (1973) corpus are Amiet 1973, nos. 8-9, 12-13, 29, 32-35, 37, 40-41, and 44.
part of the panel (pl. 13A) or encroach into the inscription panel (pl. 13B).

Additionally, signs can appear outside of the inscription panel and among the figural scene (pl. 13A).

Five seals in Amiet’s corpus include free-floating text, while three have only case lines; all are multi-line. These inscriptions are most often placed in the terminal field; free-floating inscriptions can also place signs throughout the design. Often the free-floating text or text with just case lines comes into close proximity with the figural scene.

One of the most important features of inscribed seals in the Late Neo-Elamite style is the consistent horizontal orientation of the text. This preference marks a divergence from Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic, where vertically oriented inscriptions are the norm.

Recurring scenes among inscribed seals of the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style are a single animal/creature marchant (pl. 13A) and a pair of animals/creatures disposed heraldically (pl. 13B) or crossed/intertwined (pl. 13C). Figures are often well modeled (e.g., pl. 13A).

Cult imagery also occurs on inscribed seals in the Late Neo-Elamite style. Two seals show figures flanking a central stylized tree (pl. 13D). This compositional formula is clearly influenced by Neo-Assyrian glyptic (e.g., pl. 10G).

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211 In pl. 13A, the front and back hooves of the creature replace the lower portions of the vertical sides of the panel. In pl. 13B, the tails of the rampant lions are placed in the second case.
212 Amiet 1973, nos. 10, 16-17, 21, 39, 52, 56, 65.
214 Amiet 1973, nos. 6 and 29.
A trio of inscribed seals of the Late Neo-Elamite style feature a winged figure in a kneeling pose with arms bent and raised to either side, apparently holding an object in each hand (pl. 13E). Two additional seals feature a female figure in isolation.

Archers are present on two Late Neo-Elamite style seals with inscriptions; in both scenes, the archer is in a kneeling pose while aiming his bow and arrow at a fleeing animal/creature. One design features an archer-horseman (riding a fantastical creature) in pursuit of a fantastical quadruped (pl. 13F).

Hunting scenes in which a horseman armed with a spear pursues a fleeing animal (pl. 13G) occurs three times. One inscribed seal in the Late Neo-Elamite style shows a standing figure feeding a caprid.

The heroic control encounter is documented once: a winged hero holds inverted animals (pl. 13H).

West Semitic glyptic designates seals that originate from the region of the modern nation-states of Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and the Palestinian territories and date contemporary with the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid periods. These seals are mainly stamps and often carry no figural imagery, only inscriptions (in various West Semitic languages, e.g., Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Ammonite, Moabite

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215 Amiet 1973, nos. 8-10.
216 Amiet 1973, no. 32 features the goddess Ištar standing with one foot atop a pedestal lion below; Amiet 1973, no. 33 features perhaps a female figure holding a large fish in each hand.
217 Amiet 1973, nos. 21 and 65.
221 Amiet 1973, no. 17.
and Edomite). Often those in Aramaic indicate ownership of the seal with the preposition \( L \) (“(belonging to”) attached to a personal name. They also commonly follow the simple formula, PN, or indicate a patronymic relationship for two personal names by placing the Aramaic word \( BR \) (“son (of)”) between them, thus PN\(_1\) \( BR \) PN\(_2\). These elements of seal ownership \( (L) \) and filiation \( (BR) \) can be combined, thus \( LPN_1\) \( BR \) PN\(_2\). Titles are also well documented. Text can be horizontally or vertically oriented or wrap around the circular seal edge. Letters are often free-floating; they can also be separated from figural elements by a horizontal line, almost as if partially paneled.

The seal impressions from the archive of the Eanna sanctuary at Uruk (612-499 BCE) provide perhaps the most important excavated corpus of inscribed seals of the Late Babylonian period. These seals are inscribed in Babylonian. A common formula is the invocation, \( ANPA\) PAP ZI, written entirely in logograms and translated as \( Nabû-uṣur-napišti\) (“Nabû, protect my life!”). On stamp seals, the inscription is written in a single line.

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223 When figural elements do occur, recurring compositional formulae are: a human or animal in isolation (e.g., Avigad and Sass 1997, nos. 751 and 759); a winged symbol, with or without accompanying figures (e.g., atlantids or worshipers) (e.g., Avigad and Sass 1997, nos. 782-83); heroes in combat with animals (e.g., Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 762).

224 The catalogue of West Semitic stamp seals by Avigad and Sass (1997) includes numerous examples: see, for example, a 7th century seal (Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 761) and a 6th century seal (Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 762); there are also numerous examples dating to the first half of the 1st millennium BCE in the catalogue by Bordreuil (1986). The use of the inscriptive element, \( L \) (“(Belonging) to”), appears to be so common among West Semitic seals that it is conventionally reconstructed when the beginning of a seal is not preserved (e.g., Avigad and Sass 1997, nos. 449, 451, 453, 457, 465, and 478). Bordreuil (1986, p. 76) notes that this inscriptive element becomes popular among seals from Syria later, on the so-called cylindres araméo-perses; Aramaic examples in Bordreuil’s (1986) catalog that are contemporary with the Achaemenid period include his nos. 125 and 128.

225 See, for example, a late 6th century seal from Susa (Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 759): “(Belonging) to ‘dy son (of) hry.”

226 See, for example, a 7th century seal (Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 754) that follows the formula, \( LPN + title: \) “(Belonging) to Hodu, the scribe.”

227 See, for example, Avigad and Sass 1997, no. 814, in which a horizontal groundline occurs below the figural scene; the horizontal Aramaic text runs below and parallel to this line.

228 See Ehrenberg (1999) for this corpus.

229 The inscribed \( ANPA\) PA ZI) stamp seals from the Eanna are Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 39, 44-45, 48, 54-56, 62, and 80; the cylinders are Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 103-05, 127, 129-40.
line of vertically oriented free-floating text next to the seal edge;\textsuperscript{230} on cylinders, the text is paneled with case lines, vertically oriented, and physically distinct in the terminal field. A common compositional formula among both stamp and cylinder seals that carry this inscription shows a standing worshiper facing cult symbols on a platform, most commonly the spade of Marduk and the stylus (or styli) of Nabû (pl. 14A).\textsuperscript{231} The worshiper can be bearded (e.g., pl. 14A) or beardless (pl. 14B). A crescent sometimes occurs at the top of the (stamp) design (e.g., pl. 14A). These designs have come to be known as the Late Babylonian worship scene.\textsuperscript{232}

\section*{III. History of Scholarship on Inscribed Seals in Ancient Western Asia (Pre-Achaemenid)}

Not only are inscribed seals rare in almost every historical period, but several factors make accessing them difficult. Cuneiform signs on seals often are archaizing and/or irregular in comparison to cuneiform signs encountered in monumental inscriptions or clay documents; the same is true of Aramaic letters.\textsuperscript{233} In some instances,

\begin{itemize}
\item Placement at left is most common, but an inscription to right of the figural scene is also attested (see, for example, Ehrenberg 1999, no. 62).
\item One seal from the Eanna at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 44) pairs this imagery with a broken inscription that possibly includes a personal name.
\item Ehrenberg (1999) catalogues a goodly number of the Late Babylonian worship scene from the Eanna at Uruk (612-499 BCE); Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 33-66, 75, 79, 82-83 (eight are inscribed); approximately 100 additional seals from Uruk feature a worshiper in a variety of compositions: approximately 13 stamp seals without inscriptions show a worshiper before a high pedestal (Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 20-32); approximately 21 seals (of which two are inscribed) show a worshiper before various other elements (stamps: Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 68-74, 76-78, 81, and 85; cylinders: Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 117-18, 120, 124-27, and 130); approximately 17 cylinders (of which 13 are inscribed) show a worshiper before \textit{kudurrus} (Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 102-05, 128-29, 132-34, 136-144); approximately six cylinders without inscriptions show a worshiper before a lion-headed symbol (Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 14-19); many seals (e.g., Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 86-101, 106-116, 118-119, 121-23, 131, 145-53) are fragmentary and preserve just a worshipper.
\item For the variations in sign forms between seals and Elamite texts in the Fortification archive, see Appendix 2. Steve’s (1992, pp. 42-141) Elamite sign list documents the changes in sign forms in texts diachronically from the Paleo-Elamite through the Achaemenid periods. For the present study, we are especially interested in his documentation of Achaemenid sign forms according to reign (Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes) and context (Fortification tablets or Treasury tablets); Steve (1992) also records Elamite
\end{itemize}
the very language of the inscription is unusual (see above inscriptions on Kassite seals). Inscriptions preserved only in impression(s) are particularly challenging. Fragmentary signs/letters can be difficult, if not impossible, to read. The addition/omission of a single cuneiform wedge, or a longer/shorter tail on an Aramaic letter, can mean the difference between one sign/letter and another. Often a diagnostic sign like DUMU, for example, which indicates at least a patronymic relationship between two personal names in an Elamite inscription, is preserved, but the names themselves and any titles, if present, are illegible.

Perhaps owing to the difficulty of their study, extended analyses of inscribed seals of particular periods and/or archives are uncommon. Scholars have noted the importance of the need to consider inscribed seals more holistically by studying a seal’s inscription and figural imagery together, as well as its archival context (when applicable). Owing to disciplinary boundaries and training, studies that address both the philological aspects of the inscriptions and the visual imagery, as well as their inter-relationships, are rare. Thus, some publications that engage with archaeological or art

sign forms on cylinder seals, drawing from a relatively limited sample (primarily Amiet 1973, nos. 24 (=PFS 25*), 27 (=PFS 45*), 28 (=PFS 93*), and 52), which we augment with the full (legible) inscribed seals corpus from the Fortification archive (see Appendix 2). Matthews and Lambert (Matthews 1992) acknowledge this in their catalogue of Kassite seals from Nippur. Rohn (2011) is an exception; see below.

Hallo (in Buchanan 1981, p. xi) noted the importance of considering text (both the texts to which seals are applied and the legends accompanying the figural scene on the seals themselves) and seal image together: “[t]his seal catalogue perhaps more than some of its predecessors, reflects a continuing collaboration between archaeologist and philologist. That is as it should be, for the art of the seal cutter and the skill of the scribe developed in tandem;” “[s]tudy of the seal inscriptions provides further grounds for collaboration between archaeologist and Assyriologist, and the present work aspires to meet this desideratum” (ibid, p. xiv). Other important collaborations on inscribed seals include Porada and Oppenheim (Porada 1948), Matthews and Lambert (Matthews 1992), and Walker and Collon (Collon 1986).

Matthews (1990, p. 79), for example, acknowledges this in his publication of Kassite seals: “In general I have not focused attention on the inscriptions being outside my competence…”
historical aspects of inscribed seals provide limited commentary on the inscriptions or opt not to focus on them at all.\footnote{238} When publications do address the content of inscriptions, they tend to separate this information from discussions of the figural imagery;\footnote{239} translations are sometimes presented without much commentary.\footnote{240}

The 1977 publication, *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, marks a paradigm shift in glyptic studies. In this volume, multiple articles address inscribed seals specifically, with a greater focus paid to the context and function of seals. There is also a greater attempt to consider inscribed seals more holistically, with figural imagery and inscriptions being considered together. Zettler, for instance, identifies a corpus of inscribed Akkadian seals that feature the inscriptive formula RN PN ARÁD-zu ("your servant") and a heroic combat scene or presentation scene, a combination (inscription and figural scene) that he considers a Sargonic (2334-2154 BCE) royal seal-type. He links the inscriptive formulae to particular seal users (Akkadian officials), using this as the basis

\footnote{238} See the immediately preceding note regarding Matthews and his publication of Kassite seals. Gibson (1977, pp. 151-52) noted such challenges: "As a by-product of the lack of communication [between cuneiformists/philologists and archaeologists], seal impressions on tablets are even now sometimes ignored in text editions, or only the inscriptive portion is treated, or the notation "seal" is put on the text copy but no drawing or photo is given. Likewise, stylistic studies of impressions on tablets will present photos or drawings of the impression, but ignore what the tablet says, with the exception of the date which allows a re-evaluation of the introduction of a style."

\footnote{239} Winter (Hallo and Winter 2001, p. 1) acknowledged the scholarly divide in studying the figural imagery of seals and seal inscriptions: "Until relatively recently, work on Mesopotamian seals had fallen almost exclusively within the domain of the art historian/archaeologist, leaving the seals' inscriptions and the texts of tablets on which many seals were impressed in the domain of the philologist/historian." Boehmer (1965, p. 151), in his publication of Akkadian seals, has a short chapter in which he identifies which compositional formulae are paired with inscriptions, as well as the methods of presenting the inscriptions among the figural imagery, while transliterations and translations are kept separate in the catalogue. He begins his inscription chapter: "Dieses Kapitel soll vor allem dem interessierten Philologen einen Überblick über das auf den akkadischen Siegeln vorhandene Inschriftenmaterial geben" (ibid.).

\footnote{240} For example, Porada (1948), in her *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, provides translations (edited by A. Leo Oppenheim) at the end of the volume with no commentary. A similar format is utilized by Buchanan and Hallo (Buchanan 1981) for seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection; Hallo provides a typology of the seal inscriptions (ibid., pp. 441-43), followed by minimal commentary on the inscriptions themselves. See, also, Lambert's (in Matthews 1992) treatment of Kassite seal inscriptions from Nippur.
for the seal users’ working relationship(s) to the king; in doing so, he also highlights the figural imagery.

A particularly important contribution in the *Seals and Sealing* volume is Gelb’s “Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions,” in which he offers a rundown of inscriptive formulae from ED I to the Neo-Assyrian period. This typology continues to prove useful to scholars today.

The 45th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (2001) also marks an important contribution to glyptic studies. This volume on seals and seal impressions (edited by Hallo and Winter) highlights seals in their archival/archaeological contexts; it also emphasized a more holistic treatment of seals (e.g., figural imagery, seal inscriptions, sealing praxis). The volume thus discusses seals in connection with seal users.

Following *Seals and Sealing* (1977) and the 45th RAI seal volume (2001), several articles highlight groups of inscribed seals, particularly those thought to belong to officials. Paley (1986), citing Porada, acknowledges the importance of considering inscribed seals as distinct objects for study; he charts preferences in figural imagery among users of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian inscribed seals. Winter (1991), in discussing Ur III seals inscribed with ARÁD-zu (“your servant”), considers the relationship between seal inscription, figural imagery, seal user, and function in the socio-administrative context of the Ur III political apparatus. Watanabe (1993, 1995a, 1995b, and 1999) discusses the “ša rēšī” (“eunuch”) seals of the 1st millennium; later,

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241 Winter (Hallo and Winter 2001, p. 11) writes in the introduction to the volume: “…there also exists today an unprecedented number of individuals with primarily philological training working with seals and/or sealings, directly paralleled by the number of archaeologists and art historians taking on issues related to legend, inscription, and text in their dealings with the artifactual and visual repertoire. This crossing of sub-field boundaries is not accidental.”
Niederreiter (2015) marries textual content and figural imagery to enrich our understanding of these seals. Rakic (2003 and 2018), studying inscribed Akkadian seals, brings together figural imagery and inscriptional formula, as well as considers the materials to which the seals are applied, to analyze their use in administrative contexts. Zettler (2007) studies changes in seal imagery and sealing practices during times of political (dis)continuity in the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE; inscribed seals feature prominently. Lassen (2012 and 2014) links Old Assyrian seals with their owners via textual information (seal inscriptions and archival documents), while also focusing on issues of figural imagery.

Rohn (2011) is an important and, in many ways, unique study: a monographic treatment of nearly all inscribed seals of specific historical periods (Early Dynastic and Akkadian). Moreover, Rohn pays careful attention both to iconographic and epigraphic elements, probing issues surrounding the identity of seal owners, connections between imagery and text, and how these features may change diachronically. The current study aims to offer a contribution similar to Rohn’s by providing a holistic treatment of the inscribed seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive.

242 Because West Semitic seals often consist mostly or entirely of an inscription, they have been the focus of monograph-length analyses; see Bordreuil (1986) and Avigad and Sass (1997). Feingold (2014) is also a monograph-length study (of Old Babylonian seals) in which inscribed seals feature prominently (482 out of the sample of 1000 seals are inscribed); Feingold is particularly interested in the physical seals themselves (e.g., raw materials, recut seals) and seal production and trade. Feingold provides a typology of the seal inscriptions according to formula; she also considers the possible connections between seal materials, deities (as mentioned in the seal inscriptions), and seal owners; figural imagery is not considered.

243 Boehmer (1965) is an early study of Akkadian glyptic that noted the issue of inscription and figural imagery; while Boehmer’s catalogue offers little consideration of the content of inscriptions, he acknowledges the presence of inscriptions according to the figural imagery paired with them, with animal combat best represented (ibid., pp. 130-34).
Chapter 3: The Persepolis Fortification Archive: Introduction to Texts and Seals

I. Introduction

The present chapter provides a brief introduction to the texts and seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive.244

I.a. The Persepolis Fortification Archive

Most of the documents from the Fortification archive date to 509-493 BCE within the reign of Darius I (ruled 522-486 BCE).245 The reign of Darius marks an important nexus in the socio-political history of ancient western Asia. During Darius’ reign, the empire reached its greatest geographical extent, a successful administrative apparatus was implemented across the whole of the empire, grand architectural projects were initiated, and courtly protocols were codified.246 The site of Persepolis in eastern Fârs, the new capital city, emerged as a central cultural locus.247

244 The present overview relies heavily on the more extensive introductions to the Fortification archive in Henkelman (2008), Azzoni et al. (2017), Garrison (2017a), and Garrison and Henkelman (2020a). For a list of sigla, see above pp. v-vi.
245 See below for details on dating the archive.
247 The building projects initiated by Darius at Persepolis were not completed by his death; Garrison (2017a, pp. 25-27) discusses which were present during Darius’ reign and which were completed afterward. Garrison (ibid., pp. 23-24) discusses the possible motivations behind Darius’ selection of this site.
I.a.1. Discovery of the Archive

The tablets were discovered in two small chambers of the Fortification wall on the north side of the Takht (pl. 1A). In spring 1933, E. Herzfeld, working for the Oriental Institute Persepolis Excavation, discovered the tablets as part of a project to create a path off of the terrace. The tablets were excavated and a very large selection of them were eventually brought to the Oriental Institute at The University of Chicago.

Early study of the Elamite documents was by R. T. Hallock, G. G. Cameron, and P. M. Purves under the direction of A. Poebel. R. A. Bowman studied the Aramaic texts. Hallock would later become the main scholar working on the Elamite texts. Between 1937 and 1950, Hallock edited approximately 1,400 of the Elamite texts; in 1969, he published 2,087 Elamite documents. Following this publication, Hallock

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248 Henkelman (2008, pp. 69-71) summarizes the initial discovery of the tablets.
249 Henkelman (ibid., pp. 162-61) highlights various theories surrounding why the tablets were in the Fortification wall; while archaeological context does not allow us with certainty to know the exact circumstances under which the tablets were placed in the Fortification wall, it seems clear that the tablets were not stored there as trash/construction fill; Henkelman (ibid., 171) notes: “…it seems likely enough that the northeastern Fortification, as well as the structures east of the Persepolis terrace were used for administrative activities and therefore had an independent access via the opening in the northwestern Fortification. The two sealed tablet spaces are probably to be considered as parts of this larger administrative complex.”
250 Garrison 2017a, p. 28. 2,236 Elamite texts, 23 uninscribed documents, and c. 35,000 fragments were returned to Iran (now in the National Museum of Iran) in three different shipments (1951, 2004, and 2019) (Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 174 (n.12)). 12 additional Elamite texts have been identified in public and private collections (Henkelman 2008, p. 75); two more Elamite texts were discovered by Iranian excavators at Persepolis and housed in the National Museum of Tehran (ibid., p. 76 (n. 170)).
251 Henkelman 2008, p. 72.
252 Cameron translated approximately 150 Elamite texts (now in Tehran) (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 3 (n. 10); Henkelman 2008, p. 72); these texts are included in the glossary of Hallock 1969 with the siglum “Fort.” (Henkelman 2008, p. 76). Henkelman (ibid.) is preparing a full (re)publication of the approximately 2,500 texts read by Hallock.
253 Henkelman 2008, p. 72. Later on, A. Arfa’i and C. E. Jones worked with Hallock on the Elamite texts (ibid.).
255 Ibid. Concerning Hallock’s recording of information, Henkelman (ibid., p. 73) notes: “Seen as a whole, these [Hallock’s] notes are in fact an analytical re-creation of the entire archive: nothing could capture the image of the intricate bureaucracy better than Hallock’s comprehensive system of neatly-kept lists, notebooks and file cards.”
edited another 2,586 Elamite texts (33 of which were published separately (Hallock 1978)).\(^{256}\) In addition to his study of the Elamite documents, Hallock also recorded information on many of the seals impressed on the tablets.\(^{257}\)

By 1979, Bowman had studied and edited (but never published) 501 of the Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive, as well as 83 Aramaic glosses on the Elamite tablets.\(^{258}\)

**I.a.2. Constitution of the Archive**

The surviving clay documents from the Fortification archive are estimated to number approximately 20,000-25,000 whole tablets and fragments from approximately 15,000-18,000 original documents.\(^{259}\) There are three principal types of documents: those that carry cuneiform Elamite (approximately 10,000); those that have no text, only the impression(s) of seals (what we call uninscribed documents) (approximately 5,000); those that carry Aramaic in ink and/or inscribed (approximately 850 tablets).\(^{260}\) Henkelman has suggested that the original archive dating 509-493 BCE could have included 100,000 or more tablets.\(^{261}\) As the surviving documents of the Fortification

\(^{256}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 73.
\(^{257}\) Ibid.
\(^{258}\) Ibid., p. 89; Azzoni 2008, p. 253. Annalisa Azzoni is presently studying and preparing for publication the complete corpus of Aramaic texts.
\(^{259}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 30. The original archive must have been much larger (ibid.). By “document,” we mean any clay tablet from the Fortification archive, whether inscribed in Elamite or incised/inked in Aramaic, or uninscribed (no text, but carrying seal impressions). By “text,” we mean what is written on the Elamite/Aramaic documents.
\(^{260}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 30. There are in addition single attestations of documents in the following languages: Demotic, Greek, Akkadian, Old Persian, Phrygian, an unknown cuneiform script (Henkelman 2008, pp. 80, 93-95); for the Demotic tablet(s), see Azzoni et al. (2019); for the Old Persian tablet, see Stolper and Tavernier (2007).
\(^{261}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 179.
archive date to approximately half of the reign of Darius, there may have been as many as 200,000 documents dating to the period 522-486 BCE.262

The date range of the archive is, in fact, broader than 509-493 BCE.263 One text (Fort. 1289-101) refers to year 4 (518/17 BCE);264 a fragmentary text (Fort. 1270) mentions month 2, year 35 (May 487 BCE);265 an account (NN 1) covers years 8-9 (514/13-513-12 BCE).

Our understanding of how the institution functioned comes from the Elamite documents. Those documents are coherent and indicate that the archive represents part of the records associated with an agency that was concerned with the collection of agricultural products (and by-products) and their re-distribution as rations for workers and administrators. As Henkelman states:

Its purpose was to arrange, survey, record, and account for the streams of these [agricultural] commodities within what I will call the ‘Persepolis economy.’ The prime tasks involved were the receipt, taxation, storage, and transport of goods and their redistribution to gods, members of the nobility, officials, travellers on the royal roads, workers and livestock.266

The geographic extent of the system as recorded in the Elamite documents is somewhat unclear; it likely spans most of modern Fārs, ranging from Behbahān in the northwest to Nīrīz in the southeast.267 Garrison summarizes the nature of the territory:

“…one should imagine the administrative zone covered by the agency represented in the

262 Henkelman 2008, p. 179. As Henkelman notes (ibid.), the Fortification archive concerns one distinctive type of administrative activity, the provisioning of workers, etc.; thus, other administrative entities having to do with other aspects of society (and having clay administrative records) certainly existed.
263 As Garrison (Forthcoming(B)) notes, “This temporal range [509-493 BCE] is…due purely to the serendipity of archaeological discovery. That is, the institution represented by the Fortification archive most assuredly existed well before 509 BC and continued well after 493 BC.”
264 See Stolper (2017a, pp. 735-37, 767-69, no. 6).
265 See Stolper (Forthcoming).
266 Henkelman 2008, p. 65.
267 Henkelman 2008, p. 44; Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 172.
Fortification archive as a network of linearly linked towns, villages, and so on, rather than a contiguous block of land."²⁶⁸

There are two main branches of this commodity oversight: 1) storage and supply; 2) logistics and rationing.²⁶⁹ In both of these branches, authority stemmed from the central Persepolitan administration and the general director (for most of the time, Parnakka).²⁷⁰ The deputy-director of the agency was Ziššawiš.²⁷¹

The administrative zone covered by the surviving archive consists of three geographic regions, each of which is headed by a regional director and represented by office seals:²⁷²

Persepolis (PFS 1*, named officials Karkiš and Šuddayauda);
Kāmfirūz (PFS 3 and PFS 30, no named officials);
Fahliyān (PFS 4* and PFS 2, named officials Iršena and Irtuppiya).

Within each region there are storehouses where commodities are collected and then disbursed (= the storage and supply branch of the agency). The most visible officials at these storehouses are identified in the Elamite documents by the term kurman.²⁷³ For short-hand, we call the individuals “kurman officials.”²⁷⁴ They are responsible for the

²⁶⁸ Garrison 2017a, p. 36. Approximately 150 place names occur in the texts (ibid.).
²⁷¹ Garrison 2017a, p. 37.
²⁷³ Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, p. 168) note: “Officials in charge of handling the commodities, the actual storekeepers and the more elevated district suppliers (and possible intermediate ranks), are recognisable by the term kurman, which is not a title or designation, but a marker of agency. Other, high-ranking officials occasionally stepped into this role, if circumstances required so.”
²⁷⁴ Garrison and Henkelman (ibid., pp. 187-268) discuss kurman officials in detail, namely their seal usage, professional activities, and administrative context; they document 700 named suppliers at present (ibid., p. 188).
actual allocation of commodities at each of the storehouses; they occur often in texts with the formula, kurman PN-na (“allocation from PN”).

Various officials have the authority to order the allocation of commodities and to set the amount of rations for animals and work-groups (= logistics and rationing branch of the agency). The most visible of these officials are designated by the Elamite terms šaramanna or damanna. For ease of reference, we call these individuals “šaramanna officials” and “damanna officials.” Garrison and Henkelman suggest they are perhaps akin to a “supervisor.”

The monolingual Aramaic documents (distinct from the Elamite documents with Aramaic glosses) are written in ink and/or incised. Generally, the Aramaic texts consist of only three to four lines. The texts record rations, sometimes with specific commodities noted; some appear to be concerned with rations for travel. The texts are often terse: a personal name and/or date, perhaps a type of commodity, rarely measurements; for example, PFAT 27: “Rations (for the) month of Adar, year 22, belonging to Bēl-iddin.” In addition to the shared findspot, various features of the

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275 Garrison 2017a, p. 38; Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 171. Garrison and Henkelman (ibid., p. 193) define kurman at its most basic as, “the administrator of a storage facility for either grain, wine, or another commodity.” A kurman official could be involved in two types of commodity handling: 1) as the recipient of revenue/transfer of a commodity that is to be allocated; 2) as distributor of a commodity; see Garrison and Henkelman (ibid., pp. 194-95) for details and examples of these types of kurman activities.

276 Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 183. The terms refer more to functions, rather than a particular status/rank/title (ibid., p. 186).

277 Ibid., p. 183; Garrison 2017a, pp. 38 and 42. It is clear that some šaramanna officials exercise greater authority than others (Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 185).

278 Azzoni 2008, p. 256; Henkelman 2008, p. 89. Aramaic glosses, or dockets, are written in ink on some Elamite texts (approximately 110) (ibid., p. 91); many tend to be short (e.g., date formulae, single words), while others are longer, essentially summaries of what the Elamite text says (ibid., pp. 91-92); such texts may have served filing purposes (ibid., p. 93).

279 Azzoni 2008, p. 257; some Aramaic texts are as short as a single word, others as long as 11 lines (ibid.).

280 Ibid., p. 258. See the discussion in Azzoni (ibid., pp. 260-61) for details.

281 Ibid., p. 258.

282 Ibid., p. 259.
Aramaic documents link them to the Elamite texts: tablet shapes, dates, personal and geographic names, titles, text formulae, types of commodities, administrative concern (i.e., records of food commodities; travel rations), seals (see below), and sealing protocols (see below).²⁸³

The uninscribed documents are tablets that carry at least one seal impression but no text.

Seals occur on all three document types (Elamite, Aramaic, uninscribed); in some instances, the same seal occurs on two or three document types; we call these “cross-over seals.” Presently, the number of cross-over seals is as follows:²⁸⁴

- Seals that occur on both Elamite and Aramaic documents: 74 total
- Seals that occur on both Elamite and uninscribed documents: 155 total
- Seals that occur on both Aramaic and uninscribed documents: 124 total
- Seals that occur on Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed documents: 39 total

How, exactly, the Aramaic and uninscribed documents function in relation to the Elamite documents (together, separately?) is unclear.²⁸⁵ Currently, we can identify 4,079 distinct and legible seals in the archive. The cross-over seals (see above) constitute, thus, a very small fraction of the sealing activity in the agency.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Garrison Forthcoming(A).
²⁸⁵ Henkelman 2008, p. 91-109; Garrison 2017a, pp. 30-32; Garrison Forthcoming(A); Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, pp. 176-82.
²⁸⁶ Garrison (2017a, p. 32) comments: “…I am still inclined to link the bulk of the uninscribed and Aramaic documents with some type of commodity flow associated with travel rationing; thus, an extension of the Elamite documents that we call travel rations (Hallock’s Q texts).” See, also, Garrison (Forthcoming(A)).
II. The Persepolis Fortification Archive: Elamite Text Categories, Elamite

Document Formats, and Sealing Protocols

Hallock (1969) categorized the Elamite texts into 32 categories (designated A-W) based on a variety of factors, but principally by the content of the text. We can broadly group the texts as follows:

- A, B, some D, E-G = commodity movements and transfers
- C = in field accounting/audits
- some D, H-S = ration allocations
- T = letters/letter-orders
- U = labels
- V = journals
- W = accounts

Text categories A-C and E-G texts record in field accounting/audits and “receipt, deposit, exchange and transfer of commodities and by-products,” some D texts and H-S texts are ration allocations to a variety of officials, workers, and animals. Rations to travelers on state business (Q texts) are the most common type of transaction in the archive; they record “the payment of daily subsistence rations to individuals traveling on official business on what we today, following the ancient Greek sources, call the ‘royal road’.”

Letters and letter-orders (T texts) concern irregular situations that require administrators of high authority to intervene. These texts are distinguished by identifying the person issuing the orders (we call this individual the addressor) and the person to whom the order is directed (whom we call the addressee).

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287 Hallock 1969, pp. 3-8, 13-69; Garrison 2017a, p. 33; Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 179. See Garrison (2017a, pp. 42-43) and Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, pp. 177-78) for discussion of the logistics (e.g., when, where, who was present) of the documents being written.
289 Garrison 2017a, p. 43.
290 Ibid.
291 For example, a particular commodity can be requested for a particular official; thus, this request anticipates a transaction that could occur later and would be recorded in the single transaction texts (i.e.,
Labels (U texts) carry brief texts;\textsuperscript{292} their exact function(s) is unclear.\textsuperscript{293} Some appear to function like condensed letter-orders;\textsuperscript{294} others were perhaps file tags that helped with organization of documents.\textsuperscript{295}

Journals (V texts) compile individual transactions recorded in memoranda concerning specific commodities at a particular place in a period of one year.\textsuperscript{296} Accounts (W texts) record year-end balances, income, and expenses for specific depots.\textsuperscript{297} Journals were, in part, used to generate accounts.\textsuperscript{298} Accounts represent the end of the administrative process (as far as we can discern).\textsuperscript{299}

Groups of text categories generally occur on tablets of specific size and configuration. The most commonly occurring tablet shape is the memorandum (a term first used by Cameron (1948)): a small, tongue-shaped tablet with text running along the long axis, the distinctive flattened edge at left, the rounded/pointed edge at right.\textsuperscript{300} Text categories that generally occur on memoranda are A-S and those Ts that are letter-orders.\textsuperscript{301}
A second tablet shape is rectangular. Text categories that generally occur on rectangular tablets are V, W, and those Ts that are true letters. The journals and accounts, as Henkelman notes, “are always rectangular, yet mutually differentiated by size, orientation and the ratio between width and height.”

Finally, Hallock’s text category U, “labels,” occur on small tablets generally conical and ovoid in shape.

Approximately 86 percent of the Elamite documents have seal impressions, spanning all text categories; 100 percent of the Aramaic and uninscribed documents carry seal impressions.

Hallock was acutely aware that investigating how the seals related to the documents was necessary to understand the functioning of the administrative system represented by the archive. Seals served both to reiterate information in the texts and, in many cases, to provide additional information about the transaction/accounting. For example, the seals that occur on letters/letter-orders belong to the addressor of the letter/letter-order. Some seals occur on tablets that do not name any official; or, in

(conical, ovoid, lenticular or rectangular), and generally are unsealed (Henkelman 2008, p. 103); Root (2008, p. 101) identified a pattern within Hallock’s text categories, specifically regarding the shape of the tablet (typical v. anomalous) and the presence of seals (seals occur on the typically shaped tablets; anomalously shaped tablets carry no seal(s)).

Henkelman 2008, p. 107. Note Brosius’ (2003) discussion of various types of texts (e.g., livestock accounts) and their distinctive shapes/layouts.


Garrison 2017a, p. 51.

Ibid.


PF 1833, for example, names Hiumizza as addressor; his seal PFS 124* (with an inscription that names him) is the sole seal applied to the tablet.
some cases, there are more seals applied to a tablet than officials named in the text. In these (and other) instances, seals clearly add information to the text.\textsuperscript{308}

On memoranda and rectangular tablets, there are six distinct surfaces to which a seal could theoretically be applied (pl. 2A): obverse, reverse, upper edge, bottom edge, left edge, and right edge.\textsuperscript{309} In many instances, where a seal is applied to a tablet indicates a specific administrative function.

There are four distinctive sealing protocols that occur on memoranda:\textsuperscript{310}

\textit{Single-seal}: one seal occurs on a tablet, often applied to multiple surfaces. In some instances, a seal following the single-seal protocol may mark an official of high administrative rank.\textsuperscript{311} Letters and letter-orders, with rare exceptions, carry only one seal, that of the addressor; the seal generally is applied to the left edge.\textsuperscript{312}

\textit{Counter-seal}: two seals occur on the tablet – one seal only on the left edge, the other on one or more of the other surfaces. Travel rations (Q texts) generally follow this sealing protocol. As Hallock recognized, on travel rations the seal of the \textit{kurman} (supply) office/official occurs on the left edge, the seal of the receiver(s) (i.e., the individual who will consume the commodity or the individual overseeing the individual(s) who will consume the commodity) on any surface(s) but the left edge (usually the reverse and/or upper edge).\textsuperscript{313}

\textit{Parallel-seal}: two seals occur in a pattern other than that of the counter-seal protocol (i.e., the seal on the left edge is not limited to the left edge, or the left edge carries no seal at all).

\textit{Multiple-seal}: three or more seals occur on the tablet. Repeated occurrences of the same three or four seals on the same tablet is sometimes documented. For example, the same

\textsuperscript{308} PFS 81*, for example, is applied to the reverse of a travel ration (NN 163), indicating the receiver; however, no receiver is named in the document; instead, a group of 50 men receive rations. From other applications in the archive (see the catalogue entry for PFS 81*), we know that PFS 81* represents an official, probably Šati-kitin, who oversees workgroups. The application of PFS 81* to the tablet indicates that he (or someone in his bureau) is acting as an agent in receipt of the commodities (that will be allocated to the workers).

\textsuperscript{309} On Elamite memoranda, text generally occurs on the obverse, reverse, and bottom edge; the upper edge may also, in some instances, carry text. Journals and accounts also have six surfaces, but the application of seals to those surfaces does not appear to have any significance.

\textsuperscript{310} Garrison (2017a, pp. 53-67) discusses sealing protocols in detail.

\textsuperscript{311} E.g., Parnakka (PFS 9* and PFS 16*), Ziššawiš (PFS 83* and PFS 11*), the regional directors Karkiš and Šuddayauda (PFS 1*).

\textsuperscript{312} Garrison 2017a, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{313} Ibid.
three seals often occur consistently on field accounting transactions (C1 texts) and delivery of commodity texts (B texts). In most instances, we are unable to determine the seal users in the multiple-seal protocol; in general, the significance of the multiple-seal protocol is not clear (to us).

III. The Persepolis Fortification Archive: Glyptic Imagery

To date, we have identified some 4,079 distinct and legible seals from the Fortification archive. These seals survive via impressions on the clay documents from the Fortification archive. Garrison suggests the glyptic from the Fortification archive may, in fact, “represent the single largest and densest collection of glyptic imagery that has survived from ancient western Asia.”

III.a. Figural Themes

Garrison and Root (2001) organize their catalogue of the seals that occur on the PF tablets by thematic types. The present chapter follows this same practice by providing an overview of the thematic types of the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive. Theme refers to the main activity in the principal figural scene. Various compositional formats may occur within a theme. For example, within the theme of the heroic combat encounter, one compositional formula is “Hero threatens rampant animal or creature with weapon held down behind body.”

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314 Garrison 2017a, p. 62.
315 There are 759 impressions on documents from the Fortification archive that are illegible.
316 Garrison 2017a, p. 49.
318 The themes and compositional formulae discussed here follow the typology of Persepolitan seals created by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project; see Chapter 5 for an accounting of figural themes for inscribed versus seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive.
Among the 4,079 distinct and legible seals from the Fortification archive, we recognize 28 thematic types. In the tally below, we list the themes in order of the number of occurrences (highest to lowest):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal Combat</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic Control Encounter</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Animal/Creature on Stamp</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archers</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragmentary Animals</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic Combat Encounter</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heraldic Animals/Creatures</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seated Figures</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometric/Floral</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariots</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic Encounter Other</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Animal/Creature + Object (Plant (24), Structure (21), Inscription (18), Structure and Plant (3)):</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human(s) Interacting with Animal(s)/Creature(s)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crossed Animals</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human (unclassifiable)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal File</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Human</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warfare</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Animal/Creature on Cylinder</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal + Young</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero Holds Animal/Creature at Chest</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscription on Own</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: 3 (1 (horticultural); 1 (processions); 1 (musicians))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular theme in Persepolitan glyptic is animal combat. At present, there are 741 examples (approximately 18 percent of the glyptic corpus). In these scenes, one or more animal(s)/creature(s) attacks another animal/creature. The number and types

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319 The numbers refer to the number of distinct and legible seals that feature that theme.
of animals determine the particular compositional formulae (e.g., three-figure animal combat involving lions and caprids).

The heroic control encounter – a hero holding an animal/creature to either side of his body – is the second most common figural theme, occurring on 570 seals (approximately 14 percent of the glyptic corpus). Both the hero and the antagonists can be winged/composite creatures.

The third most popular theme is a single animal/creature on a stamp seal, some 437 seals (approximately 11 percent of the glyptic corpus). While the animal/creature on these seals can vary, caprids and winged caprids are by far the most common.

A substantial group of 374 seals (approximately nine percent of the glyptic corpus) features cultic imagery. Cult imagery is rather varied; in general, the theme is defined by the presence of at least one figure making a gesture of worship (e.g., one or both arms raised in front of the body, the hands generally upturned) while facing one or more divine/numinous symbols. This thematic type also includes, however, scenes that show divine/numinous figures or symbols without worshippers (e.g., atlantid figures who support a divine symbol).

Scenes with archers comprise the next most common theme, with 341 seals (approximately eight percent of the glyptic corpus). Such designs typically include a single archer (human, winged human, or composite) in either a standing or an active pose (running, kneeling, lunging) aiming at an animal/creature. In some instances, the animal/creature has already been struck by an arrow or the animal/creature is engaged

320 This is the only thematic type that is defined also by seal shape.
with another animal/creature. We distinguish as a separate thematic type hunt scenes with spears.\textsuperscript{321}

The heroic combat encounter – a hero threatens an animal/creature with a weapon or stabs an animal/creature – accounts for 253 seals (approximately six percent of glyptic corpus). In heroic combat, the hero is often depicted in the moments directly before stabbing an animal/creature, with the weapon poised up behind the head or down behind the body. In some instances, the hero actively thrusts a weapon into an animal’s/creature’s chest.\textsuperscript{322}

Scenes featuring a pair of heraldic animals/creatures occur on 237 seals (approximately six percent of the glyptic corpus). The types of animals/creatures can vary, but lions and caprids – as well as fantastical iterations of them (e.g., human-faced/-headed, winged) – are especially well represented.

A group of 154 seals (approximately four percent of the glyptic corpus) feature seated human figures. The dynamics/compositions of the scenes vary; there are two principal compositional formulae: 1) banquet scenes wherein seated figures hold cups, sometimes with additional banqueting accoutrements (e.g., rhyta, bowls, etc.), sometimes accompanied by attendants, etc.; 2) processional/audience scenes wherein one or more

\textsuperscript{321} Reasons for this have to do with the very distinctive nature of the two compositions, archers and hunt, and the fact that archers most often aim toward fantastical creatures while, with one exception, hunts with spears involve real animals.

\textsuperscript{322} As Garrison and Root (2001, p. 56) have noted, the heroic combat encounter (as opposed to the heroic control encounter) is the only figural theme that appears quantitatively significantly in both glyptic and monumental media of the Achaemenid period; occurrences of the theme in the inscribed seals corpus are especially numerous (see Chapter 5). Among monumental art, we find heroic combat on doorjambs/doorways of three buildings at Persepolis: the Palace of Darius, the Hall of One Hundred Columns (the Throne Hall), and the so-called Harem of Xerxes; for the Palace of Darius, see Root (1979, pp. 76-86) and Schmidt (1953, pls. 144-46); for the Hall of One Hundred Columns, see Root (1979, pp. 105-08) and Schmidt (1953, pls. 114-17); for the so-called Harem of Xerxes, see Root (1979, pp. 101-03) and Schmidt (1953, pls. 195-96).
figures (human or composite human-animal) approach or stand before a seated figure. Other less common compositional formulae include a single seated human and an animal and/or plant.

130 seals (approximately three percent of the glyptic corpus), typically stamps, consist solely of geometric or floral elements.

At present, 109 seals (approximately three percent of the glyptic corpus) show a chariot pulled by draft animals (with one exception bulls, lions, or fantastical creatures).

66 seals (approximately two percent of the glyptic corpus) pair a single animal/creature with an object: plant, structure, or inscription.323

64 seals (approximately two percent of the glyptic corpus) feature scenes that show humans interacting with animals/creatures. The exact dynamics of these scenes are for the most part unclear, but they are visually distinct from the heroic encounters. A recurring compositional formula is a figure holding a staff and standing before an animal.

The next most common figural theme is crossed animals, with 55 seals (approximately one percent of the glyptic corpus). These scenes are closely related to the theme of heraldic animals/creatures (see above); however, the animals/creatures cross each other at the torso or intertwine their long necks. The type of animals/creatures can vary, but caprids, lions, and bulls are the most common.

323 See Chapter 5 for 19 cylinder seals that show a single animal/creature (typically a winged lion marchant) and an inscription. 24 seals pair an animal/creature (often a caprid or lion) with a plant. 21 seals pair an animal/creature with a structure. Three seals pair an animal/creature with both a structure and a plant.
Hunting scenes appear on 51 seals (approximately one percent of the glyptic corpus). These designs show a human figure on foot (and once on horseback) who thrusts a spear into an animal.

A small group of seals, 26 at present (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus), shows a file of animals/creatures.

A cluster of 18 seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus) shows a single human in a variety of poses – running, seated, standing; the motif occurs commonly on stamp seals.

A group of 16 seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus) depicts warfare. The specific compositions include warfare on horseback or on foot; a variety of weaponry (e.g., spears, daggers, bows and arrows) appears.

A single animal/creature occurs on 10 cylinder seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus). The dynamic of such scenes is similar to the animal file (see above): when the cylinder is rolled to produce recurring impressions, the single animal/creature is repeated as if in a file.

A group of 10 seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus) have Egyptian hieroglyphs and/or imagery. All of the seals are stamps and almost all are non-local.

Eight stamp seals and one cylinder (together less than one percent of the glyptic corpus) show an animal (most often a caprid) with one or two young.


325 See Garrison and Ritner (2010) for these seals.
A group of five seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus) display imagery that is sexual in nature.

A very rare thematic type, attested on four seals (less than one percent of the glyptic corpus), is an inscription on its own.\textsuperscript{326}

An additional three themes each appear on a single seal at present: horticulture, human procession (without any animals/creatures), and musicians.

**III.b. History of Scholarship**

Hallock, recognizing the importance of seals in tracking administrative activity in the archive, assigned seal numbers (1-314) for all seals that he identified as occurring on more than one tablet.\textsuperscript{327} For his personal use, he made sketches of individual impressions of these “multiple-occurrence” seals. Hallock recognized the art historical importance of the glyptic corpus and the need for its study.\textsuperscript{328}

In the late 1970s, M. C. Root assumed the monumental task of documenting the seals that occur on the Elamite documents (PF tablets) published by Hallock (1969).\textsuperscript{329} In the 1980s, M. B. Garrison worked as a research assistant on Root’s seal project and eventually wrote a dissertation (1988) on the theme of heroic encounter on the seals that occur on the PF tablets, marking the first large-scale study of the figural imagery of the seals from the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{330} Volume I of the seal project, co-authored by

\textsuperscript{326} See Chapters 5-6 for details on these seals.
\textsuperscript{327} Hallock 1969, pp. 78-81. Hallock (1977, p. 127) updated the count of multiple-occurrence seals to 580.
\textsuperscript{328} Hallock 1969, p. 78: “The seals demand a special study on their own merits.” Note Hallock 1977 in which some discussion of seal imagery, as well as illustrations of the seal impressions, is given.
\textsuperscript{329} Root (1979, pp. 118-21) includes three of the royal-name seals of Darius (PFS 7*, PFS 11*, and PFS 113*), as well as the heirloom seal, PFS 93*, in her catalogue of official Achaemenid monuments.
\textsuperscript{330} Garrison (1988) groups the seals according to style of carving, workshop, and even hand attribution.
Garrison and Root (2001), was devoted to the heroic encounter – they documented 1,162 distinct and legible seals on the 2,087 Elamite texts published by Hallock (1969).

While the early years of the seal project were devoted to the task of simply determining how many individual seals there were on the PF tablets and documenting those seals, hints of the potentially paradigm-shifting nature of the glyptic began to emerge. Perhaps the most far-reaching discovery was the identification of a gold Daric used as a seal on two tablets from the archive. The discovery provided the only securely dated example of the type II Darics and, indeed, perhaps the most securely dated coin in the whole of the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE in western Asia and Greece.  

In addition to the efforts of Garrison and Root (1996, 2001, and Forthcoming) and Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison (Forthcoming) to document the glyptic from the Fortification archive, scholars have recognized the potential for studying the figural imagery on Persepolitan seals throughout several broad research agendas.


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332 Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison (Forthcoming) catalogue the seals preserved as impressions on the Aramaic documents. We highlight here studies that focus on the figural imagery of the seals, in contrast to study of the seals exclusively as administrative devices (e.g., Aperghis 1998 and 1999; Arfa’i 1999; Brosius 1996; Garrison 2008 and Forthcoming(A); Henkelman 2008; Koch 1990; Mikołajczak 2018; Root 1996 and 2008; Stolper 2017a; Tuplin 1987 and 2008). This discussion does not intend to note every publication in which a seal from the Fortification archive is mentioned.
Scholars have also studied specific carving styles, artists, and workshops represented in the seals from the Fortification archive. Colburn (2020b), for instance, discusses various carving styles to highlight the diverse nature of Achaemenid glyptic and to counter the perspective that Achaemenid art is limited stylistically and iconographically. Garrison has published numerous articles on carving styles and iconography and how they relate to the officials who used them. In addition to his analyses of the seals, he has created a new way of thinking about Persepolitan glyptic imagery: his work on carving styles, the Court Style in particular, and on the phenomenon of court-centric iconography, has given scholars methods for contextualizing Persepolitan seals during the reign of Darius I.

Scholars have also done iconographic studies of Persepolitan seals: Tuplin (2020), Garrison and Henkelman (2020b), and Wu (2014), for example, discuss seals from the Fortification archive with depictions of warfare. Garrison (1988) and Garrison and Root (2001) discuss the heroic encounter in seals from the Fortification archive. Garrison and Ritner (2010) present the seals with Egyptian/Egyptianizing imagery/inscriptions.

Seals from the Fortification archive have figured prominently in recent discussions of Achaemenid religion. Garrison (2017a) focuses on cult imagery and seals that show stepped and tower structures. Not only did he write the first monograph-

length treatment of Persepolitan glyptic imagery, but he considers, crucially, seals across all document types from the archive (Elamite, Aramaic, uninscribed).  

Scholars have also used Persepolitan glyptic as a tool for understanding socio-administrative hierarchies in the archive. Garrison (2014b), for example, illuminates a specific group of officials (Iranian, high-ranking, but not royal) using the so-called royal-name seals of Darius. Garrison (2017a) also discusses the seals of Zīššawiš (PFS 83* and PFS 11*), considering their iconographic, stylistic, and socio-historical dimensions, as well as their connections to Achaemenid monumental relief.

Another thread of scholarship evaluates administrative issues, focusing on how the function of seals and their figural imagery may be linked. Root (2008), for example, investigates how seals looked, “the legible image” created via seal application; in doing so, she queries whether seals on the Fortification documents were “readable,” the imagery of one seal distinguishable from the next, and whether the seal was applied in distinctive (legibly or illegibly) ways. This has important implications for inscribed seals in particular, the inscriptions of which are not always legible (at least not to us) or distinctive (note, for example, the several Babylonian inscriptions that are identical).

Scholars have also used Persepolitan seals to contextualize glyptic from other parts of the empire and/or earlier periods. Dusinberre (1997), for example, considers

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342 Root (2008, p. 110) points out, for example, that a cylinder seal does not have to be rolled in each instance, but can instead be stamped to manipulate the final impressed image.

Persepolitan glyptic has also contributed to our understanding of the larger artistic environment of ancient Iran.345 Root (2013), for example, uses Persepolitan glyptic comparatively in her discussion of Achaemenid notions of kingship, the divine/numinous, and the relief at Behistun.

The present work aims to contribute to several of these research agendas and to lay the groundwork for future scholarship on inscribed seals from the Achaemenid period in particular. This dissertation presents many seals that previously were unpublished from the Fortification archive. It therefore adds a substantial new body of data to the published corpus. This study also explores issues surrounding seal imagery and administrative rank (see Chapter 7) and the Assyro-Babylonian and Late Neo-Elamite heritage (see Chapter 8).

344 See, also, Waters (2004 and 2011). PFS 93*, the late 7th-early 6th century BCE heirloom, is the most often published seal from the Fortification archive (see the catalogue entry for the bibliography).
Chapter 4: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Languages and Formulae of Inscriptions

I. Introduction

The current chapter focuses on the epigraphic features of inscribed seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive – the languages and formulae of the seal inscriptions. The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive carry inscriptions in at least seven languages and three scripts: cuneiform Elamite, Babylonian, Akkadian, and Old Persian; hieroglyphic Egyptian; alphabetic Aramaic and Lydian. In the case of the royal-name seals, three different languages occur: Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. In all other instances, inscribed seals at Persepolis are monolingual. There is a goodly number of cuneiform inscriptions whose text is preserved too poorly to allow for identification of the language; we refer to these as “Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable.” Owing to the prevalence of Elamite at Persepolis, both in texts and among seal inscriptions, we suspect most, if not all, of these unrecognizable inscriptions are, in fact, Elamite. Lastly, there is a handful of what appear to be mock inscriptions (i.e., shapes meant to mimic cuneiform signs or Aramaic letters).

346 The current chapter does not discuss the orthography and ductus of inscribed seals, which will be the focus of a future study. See Appendix 2 for the Elamite sign forms as preserved in the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (as distinct from the sign forms used on the clay Elamite documents). See, also, the catalogue, which includes details on specific sign forms when they are relevant for clarifying readings. See Appendix 1 for all of the personal names preserved in the seal inscriptions.

347 We exclude discussion of the seals inscribed with Egyptian/Egyptianizing text, as these clearly constitute a different, non-Persepolitan glyptic tradition; these seals have previously been published in detail by Garrison and Ritner (2010).
The two most common languages among the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive are Elamite and Aramaic. These two languages emerge from very distinct, and separate, linguistic traditions. Their concurrence at Persepolis in the late 6th century BCE in fact is one of the most interesting aspects of the study of the seal inscriptions.

Owing to the difficulties of reconstructing complete inscriptions among Persepolitan seals, our readings rely heavily on what to expect based upon the surviving formulae. There is a variety of inscriptional formulae employed in the corpus of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions exhibit clearly defined patterns. In some instances, however, high-ranking individuals seem to have chosen (or been allowed) unusual inscriptional formulae. Often, the combined imagery and inscription create exceptional glyptic artifacts.

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348 Aramaic is part of the Semitic language family (Huehnergard 2020, p. 346); Elamite is considered a language isolate (ibid., p. 349).

349 The glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive is quite notable owing to the relatively high occurrence of Aramaic in relation to Elamite/Akkadian. For Aramaic in Assyrian archives, see, for example, Fales (1986) who (re)published Aramaic epigraphs on clay legal (cuneiform) documents. Fales (1991), Zadok (1978), Garelli (1982), and Tadmor (1982) are early studies focusing on West Semitic onomastics in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. Wall reliefs (e.g., Fig. 8 in Novák 2016, p. 130) dating to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III and later depict scribes writing both in cuneiform and Aramaic. During the seventh century especially, most Neo-Assyrian sites have clay dockets inscribed in Aramaic (Novák 2016, p. 131). A mid-9th century statue from Tell Fekheriya includes a bilingual (Akkadian and Aramaic) inscription (ibid., pp. 128-29).

350 The present study is indebted methodologically to one of the early works to tackle epigraphic features of seal inscriptions, Gelb’s (1977) typology for inscribed Mesopotamian seals, which offers a breakdown of inscriptions according to formula. Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 69) discuss Aramaic seal inscriptions from Persepolis, also focusing on inscriptional formulae. The present chapter also benefited greatly from the work of Charles E. Jones and Wouter F.M. Henkelman who, in various publications, translated many of the Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive; these translations are noted in the catalogue. All of the Aramaic seal inscriptions were collated and translated by Annalisa Azzoni, who also provided insight into the Aramaic seal inscriptional formulae, names, and titles. Matthew Stolper also assisted in the translation of several Elamite seal inscriptions and offered insight into their inscriptional formulae. The 2018 dissertation of Tytus Mikolajczak has also been consulted for readings of some Elamite seal inscriptions from Persepolis. The author has collated all Elamite seal inscriptions in this study.

351 See Chapter 7 for discussion of these seals and their users.
Below we discuss the various formulae, according to language, of the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. We also highlight the figural imagery paired with each formula.\textsuperscript{352}

At the end of the chapter, we discuss the legible titles from the seal inscriptions. We also summarize the patterns among Elamite versus Aramaic seal inscriptions. Lastly, we highlight some specific combinations of figural imagery and seal inscriptions according to language and formula.

II. Inscribed Seals from The Persepolis Fortification Archive

We use the following classification system for organizing the inscriptions on seals from the Fortification archive. Language is the highest organizational level; Elamite is the most popular language for seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive, followed by Aramaic, thus we begin with these languages. Monolingual Babylonian is discussed next, and, finally, the trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian) royal-name inscriptions. Within each language, seals are arranged by formulae, with all surviving variations noted; sometimes a formula is attested by a single example. In these instances, we do not mean to imply that the formulae constitute a trend or pattern; we seek simply to document all surviving formulae in the Fortification archive. We have taken a very conservative approach to classifying the seal inscriptions according to formula. As is often the case, a broken inscription cannot, with certainty, be reconstructed. There are, however, a few exceptions in which circumstances, fortuitously, do allow for a reasonable reconstruction; in these instances, notes explain this reconstruction.\textsuperscript{353}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{352} Chapter 5 provides detailed discussion of each thematic type.
\textsuperscript{353} For details on every seal inscription, legible or otherwise, see the catalogue.
\end{footnotesize}
Typology

1) Elamite
   a. PN₁ DUMU PN₂
   b. HAL/hal-mi PN₁ DUMU PN₂
   c. HAL/hal-mi PN₁ DUMU + title₂
   d. PN
   e. PN-na
   f. HAL/hal-mi PN
   g. PN + title
   h. PN₁ šá PN₂

2) Aramaic
   a. ḤTM PN
   b. ḤTM PN + title
   c. PN + title
   d. ḤTM PN₁ BR PN₂
   e. ḤTM LPN
   f. PN
   g. PN ŠMH + title
   h. PN₁ PN₂ + title₁…
   i. PN₁ BR PN₂

3) Babylonian
   a. DN
   b. Invocation

4) Trilingual
   a. “I,” RN + title

II.a. Languages and Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

122 seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive have legible scripts:³⁵⁴

Elamite: 64 seals;
Aramaic: 37 seals;
Babylonian: 13 seals;
Trilingual: four seals;
Old Babylonian: three seals;
Lydian: one seal.

Of these 122 seals, eight seals certainly predate the Fortification archive: Old Babylonian seals PFS 50*, PFS 165*, and PFS 2687*; 9th-8th century BCE seal PFS

³⁵⁴ 51 seals have illegible scripts: 45 are cuneiform (most, if not all, are presumably Elamite), six are mock/fake/unknown script; one seal has no text preserved.
2117*; late 7th-early 6th century BCE seals PFS 77*, PFS 93*, PFS 1308*, and PFUTS 332*. As these seals are heirlooms when used in the Fortification archive, we exclude them from discussions that follow. Thus, the total number of seals with legible inscriptions that we consider is 114.356

II.a.1. Elamite

Monolingual Elamite is the most common language for seal inscriptions at Persepolis. At present, there are 60 seals in the Fortification archive that carry monolingual Elamite inscriptions (accounting for approximately 53 percent of the 114 legible inscribed seals):357

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<td>PFUTS 182*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 643*</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>PFUTS 787*</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>PFUTS 1422*</td>
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355 Details on these seals’ inscriptions can be found in the catalogue.
356 See Chapter 3 for details on how we consider the glyptic from the Fortification archive to encompass a period c. 530-493 BCE.
357 We assume this number, in reality, to be much higher owing to the 45 seals with cuneiform inscriptions but unrecognizable languages.
Owing to issues of preservation, 21 of these seals carry Elamite inscriptions for which a formula cannot be determined. Therefore, we do not include them below in discussion of specific formulae. Thus, the total number of Elamite seal inscriptions for which a formula can be determined is 39.

II.a.1.a. Elamite Formulae

Personal names are the most common element in monolingual Elamite inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic. The second most common element is the logogram DUMU (syllabically Elamite šak, “son”), placed between two personal names to indicate a patronymic relationship (PN₁ DUMU (“son (of)”) PN₂). Only a handful of Elamite inscriptions do not include DUMU. A third element that occurs in a few Elamite inscriptions is the Elamite word, halmi (“seal”) (rendered logographically HAL, syllabically hal-mi), placed at the beginning of an inscription to indicate ownership of the seal. In only four instances can we document both halmi and DUMU in the same inscription.

We begin with the most common formula in Elamite inscriptions, PN₁ DUMU (“son (of)”) PN₂ (and variations), and end with formulae that have a single PN as their base.


359 Percentages below will thus be out of a total of 39 seals.

360 See Appendix 1 for the personal names in seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. See Chapter 7 for discussion of seal users.

361 In all instances, the logogram DUMU is used.

362 For a brief overview of halmi in the Fortification archive, see Henkelman (2008, pp. 151-52).
II.a.1.a.1. PN₁ DUMU ("son (of)") PN₂

The most common inscriptional formula among the monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive is PN₁ DUMU PN₂. At present, 28 seals (approximately 72 percent of the 39 seals that carry legible monolingual Elamite inscriptions) follow this formula.³⁶³

1. PFS 4*  11. PFS 160*  21. PFS 1637*
2. PFS 27*  12. PFS 188a*  22. PFS 2089*
3. PFS 32*  13. PFS 188b*  23. PFS 2096*
4. PFS 43*  14. PFS 272*  24. PFS 2277*
5. PFS 45*  15. PFS 299*  25. PFS 2707*
6. PFS 73*  16. PFS 390*  26. PFS 2737*
7. PFS 85a*  17. PFS 706*  27. PFUTS 334*
8. PFS 98*  18. PFS 1566*  28. PFUTS 1422*
9. PFS 103*  19. PFS 1567*
10. PFS 124*  20. PFS 1574*

A well-preserved example illustrates the formula’s various components; PFS 45*, a seal that belongs to the šaramanna official Üštanna:

1. DIŠú-ʾiš-
2. tan-na
3. DUMU am-
4. ma-mar-da

“Üštanna, son (of) Ammamarda”³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Eight seal inscriptions are fragmentary (PFS 272*, PFS 299*, PFS 390*, PFS 706*, PFS 1566*, PFS 1567*, PFS 2277*, and PFS 2737*). Even though full readings are not possible, we reconstruct their inscriptional formula as PN₁ DUMU PN₂ based on two criteria: 1) DUMU separates what appear to be two personal names; 2) we do not believe additional lines occurred that augment the formula.

³⁶⁴ This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 71).
The inscription begins with the masculine determinative, DIŠ, followed by PN₁ (Uštanna); DUMU (“son”) occurs next, lastly PN₂ (Ammamarda). The omission of DIŠ preceding PN₂ is consistent throughout seal inscriptions from Persepolis.

In several instances of this formula at Persepolis, the genitive enclitic, -na, is applied at the end of the inscription (attached to PN₂) to indicate possession, ownership, or filial connection; in the context of the patronymic chain – PN₁ DUMU PN₂ – the filial relationship between personal names is made more explicit (PN₁ DUMU (“son of”) PN₂-na). It is often not possible to tell whether an inscription includes -na at the end, owing to the frequent poor preservation of the end of seal inscriptions. For this reason, the number of seals that include -na is certainly higher than what we can document here. We do not include the genitive enclitic as a defining feature of the current inscriptional formula.

Of the seals that employ the formula PN₁ DUMU PN₂, the following 16 seals, at present, definitely also include the genitive enclitic, -na:

1. PFS 27*  
2. PFS 73*  
3. PFS 103*  
4. PFS 124*  
5. PFS 160*  
6. PFS 272*  
7. PFS 299*  
8. PFS 706*  
9. PFS 1566*  
10. PFS 1574*  
11. PFS 1637*  
12. PFS 2096*  
13. PFS 2277*  
14. PFS 2707*  
15. PFUTS 334*  
16. PFUTS 1422*

Among the monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions that follow the formula PN₁ DUMU PN₂, the heroic combat encounter is the most common figural theme (at present, there are 19 seals with Elamite inscriptions that appear to utilize the patronymic formula (either on its own or part of a longer formula) and are broken/have no text indicated at the end and thus could include -na: PFS 85a*, PFS 98*, PFS 181*, PFS 188a*, PFS 188b*, PFS 320*, PFS 390*, PFS 425*, PFS 588*, PFS 769*, PFS 848*, PFS 1567*, PFS 2346*, PFS 2632*, PFS 2737*, PFS 2748*, PFS 2781*, PFS 2789*, and PFUTS 643*.

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365 There are 19 seals with Elamite inscriptions that appear to utilize the patronymic formula (either on its own or part of a longer formula) and are broken/have no text indicated at the end and thus could include -na: PFS 85a*, PFS 98*, PFS 181*, PFS 188a*, PFS 188b*, PFS 320*, PFS 390*, PFS 425*, PFS 588*, PFS 769*, PFS 848*, PFS 1567*, PFS 2346*, PFS 2632*, PFS 2737*, PFS 2748*, PFS 2781*, PFS 2789*, and PFUTS 643*.
seven seals representing approximately 24 percent of the current category).\textsuperscript{366} Appearing in almost equal number are designs featuring a single animal/creature (six examples) and archers (five examples).\textsuperscript{367}

\section*{II.a.1.a.2. HAL/hal-mi ("seal of") PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU ("son of") PN\textsubscript{2}}

The occurrence of HAL/hal-mi ("seal (of)") at the beginning of the patronymic formula, PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}, attributes ownership of the seal to PN\textsubscript{1}. Three seals (approximately eight percent of the 39 legible Elamite inscriptions) follow this formula.\textsuperscript{368} PFS 81* and PFS 261* include the syllabic rendering of halmi (hal-mi); PFS 320* uses the logogram (HAL).

\begin{enumerate}
\item PFS 81*
\item PFS 261*
\item PFS 320*
\end{enumerate}

As an example, PFS 81*:

\begin{enumerate}
\item hal?-'mi?'
\item ANšá-ti-'ki-
\item tin DUMU HALzí-
\item ma?-ka\textsubscript{4}-na
\end{enumerate}

"Seal (of) Šati-kitin, son of Zimaka"\textsuperscript{369}

\textsuperscript{366} PFS 4*, PFS 43*, PFS 98*, PFS 272*, PFS 1566*, PFS 1637*, and PFUTS 334*. Unless otherwise noted, images of all inscribed seals from the Fortification archive are provided (according to seal designation PFATS, PFS, PFUTS, then ordered numerically) at the beginning of Part 3: Plates.


\textsuperscript{368} Two of these seals, PFS 81* and PFS 261*, are almost fully preserved, and thus we can recognize their formulae; one additional seal, PFS 320*, is partially preserved. However, given the presence of diagnostic signs HAL and DUMU, and the height of the preserved inscription (more or less in line with the top and bottom of the figural scene), we reconstruct the formula HAL/hal-mi PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{369} This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 81).
Three different figural themes are represented: crossed/intertwined animals (PFS 81*), archer (PFS 261*), and heraldic creatures (PFS 320*).

II.a.1.a.3. HAL/hal-mi (“seal (of)”) PN₁ DUMU (“son (of)”) + title₂

One seal, PFUTS 787*, includes a unique formula that combines seal ownership (halmi) and patronymic elements (DUMU, -na) with the addition of a title:

1. hal!-mi
2. še-mi
3. DUMU EŠŠANA-
4. na-na

“Seal of Šemi, son of the King”³⁷⁰

In this instance, DUMU is included not to draw an explicit filial connection between PN₁ and PN₂, but instead to indicate that PN₁ is the son of an implied patronym for whom the title (EŠŠANA) stands in. In this case, the title-patronym is, remarkably, EŠŠANA (“king”).³⁷¹ The imagery paired with this inscription is the heroic combat encounter featuring a hero wearing the Persian court robe and a crown.

II.a.1.a.4. PN

Three monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions (approximately eight percent of the 39 legible Elamite inscriptions) appear to consist simply of a PN:

1. PFS 57*
2. PFS 543*
3. PFS 2099*

³⁷⁰ This reading was suggested to me by Matthew Stolper.
³⁷¹ We discuss this unusual formula and the title in more detail below.
These seals comprise somewhat of an unusual group and each requires a few words of introduction. Perhaps only PFS 57* has a complete inscription among the current cluster. With its free-floating text, we cannot be certain that there were no additional lines, but given that the height of the figural scene is more or less aligned with the preserved text, it seems unlikely. PFS 543*, apparently missing one sign (the penultimate?) at present, is unlikely to contain additional lines of text (the lowermost preserved sign aligns with the lower legs of the creature). In the absence of DUMU, a personal name is most likely. PFS 2099*, despite being almost fully preserved, is obscure. Beginning with DIŠ, and in the absence of DUMU, we suggest it also follows the formula, PN.

Among this group of seals, the heroic combat encounter occurs twice (PFS 57* and PFS 2099*); a single creature occurs on PFS 543*.

**II.a.1.a.5. PN-na**

On PFS 25*, the simple formula, PN, adds the suffix, -na, the genitive enclitic, indicating possession (literally “of” PN):

1. DIŠ un-sa-
2. ak-
3. na

“(Belonging) to Unsak”\(^{372}\)

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\(^{372}\) This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 71). Garrison (2017a, pp. 56-61) discusses in detail the seal and its inscription.
The word, *unsak*, has been much debated. In some contexts, it is thought to be a title; in others, including PFS 25*, apparently a personal name. The word occurs also on PFS 1*, where it might be a title. The figural imagery on PFS 25* is a crossed animal pair.

**II.a.1.a.6. HAL/hal-mi (“seal (of)”) PN**

By placing “seal (of)” (HAL/hal-mi) immediately before PN, ownership of the seal is attributed to PN. At present, only one seal, PFS 523*, seems to follow this formula:

1. hal-˹mi?˺ HAL
2. ia-ap
3. [...] ‘na’

“Seal of Yap…”

The genitive enclitic, -*na*, at the end of the inscription, reinforces the ownership aspect of *halmi* (literally, “seal of”). The scene on PFS 523* is the heroic combat encounter.

**II.a.1.a.7. PN + title**

The inscriptional formula, PN + title, is presented here with some hesitation. PFS 1*, the only possible example, includes the poorly understood word, *unsak*, as on PFS 25* (see above):

1. ˹Diš.URU?-ki-su-na

---

373 -*na* is typically attached to personal names in the patronymic formula (i.e., PN₁ DUMU (“son (of)”) PN₂-*na*; see above).
374 See immediately below and Section III for extended discussion of *unsak*.
375 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 307).
2. Dišun-sa-ak?-te\(^{376}\)

"unsak", in line two, appears to follow a personal name; in the absence of DUMU, it makes most sense here as a title (although the exact meaning of the word is uncertain).\(^{377}\)

While the figural imagery – the heroic control encounter – paired with the inscription on PFS 1* is well documented among Persepolitan glyptic, the particular expression of it on PFS 1* – the winged bull-headed hero-creature and inverted winged bird-headed lion-creatures – is unique. The combination of this special imagery with the unique inscriptive formula results in an exceptional glyptic artifact.

II.a.1.a.8. PN\(_1\) šá ("of") PN\(_2\)/title?

One seal, PFS 36*, is unique among the seals inscribed in Elamite from the Fortification archive for apparently following the formula PN\(_1\) šá PN\(_2\)/title: \(^{378}\)

1. Diš-zî-iš-šâ-

2. bar-na šá [...]

3. [...] ’na`

"Ziššabarna of …"\(^{379}\)

As the last line is broken, the exact reading is unclear. The inscription is perhaps a variant of the patronymic formula involving DUMU (see above); however, instead of DUMU indicating a patronymic relationship, it is possible that šá, the relative pronoun meaning "of," does so. Thus, on PFS 36*, it could have a partitive sense preceding a patronym that

\(^{376}\) This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273).

\(^{377}\) See Section III for extended discussion of unsak.

\(^{378}\) Even though the inscription is broken, the beginning (Diš) and end (-na), crucially, are mostly preserved, allowing us to speculate about the formula.

\(^{379}\) This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 71) with minor variation.
would occupy the last line (i.e., PN₁ “of” PN₂). Another possibility is that šá precedes a title or office in the last line with which PN₁ is affiliated (e.g., PN₁ “of the treasury”). The genitive enclitic at the end would emphasize the possessive meaning in either scenario (patronymic or official).

The imagery paired with the inscription on PFS 36* is the heroic control encounter atop composite pedestal creatures.

II.a.2. Aramaic

Aramaic is the second most common language for seal inscriptions at Persepolis. At present, there are 37 seals in the Fortification archive that carry legible monolingual Aramaic inscriptions (accounting for approximately 32 percent of the total 114 legible inscribed seals): 382

1) PFATS 22*  
2) PFATS 24*  
3) PFATS 130*  
4) PFS 9*  
5) PFS 16*  
6) PFS 54*  
7) PFS 66a*  
8) PFS 66b*  
9) PFS 66c*  
10) PFS 71*  
11) PFS 82*  
12) PFS 83*  
13) PFS 123*  
14) PFS 164*  
15) PFS 266*  
16) PFS 535*  
17) PFS 815*  
18) PFS 981*  
19) PFS 1568*  
20) PFS 1612*  
21) PFS 1633*  
22) PFS 2084*  
23) PFS 2899*  
24) PFS 2106*  
25) PFS 2361*  
26) PFUTS 19*  
27) PFUTS 114*  
28) PFUTS 230*  
29) PFUTS 232*  
30) PFUTS 264*  
31) PFUTS 273*  
32) PFUTS 305*  
33) PFUTS 336*  
34) PFUTS 559*  
35) PFUTS 1217*  
36) PFUTS 1530*  
37) PFUTS 1555*

380 I am aware of a few instances in which šá appears before a second PN on a seal: an Old Babylonian seal in Gelb’s (1977) typology (section XXXI, p. 125, no. 3) includes šá between PN₁ and PN₂ and between PN₁ and PN₃; a Late Babylonian votive seal in Gelb’s (1977) typology (section XX, p. 121) includes šá as part of a longer patronymic formula: …PN₁ A-šu šá PN₂…  
381 šá is used like the genitive enclitic, -na, to indicate possession on Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian seals; see Gelb’s (1977) typology, section XXVI (e.g., šá PN (p. 124)).  
382 By “legible” we mean that the inscription is positively identifiable as Aramaic; this does not imply that the inscription can necessarily be read in full.
11 of these seals have Aramaic script but are too poorly preserved for their specific formulae to be read. Thus, we proceed with a discussion of inscrptional formulae with a corpus of 26 legible Aramaic seal inscriptions.

II.a.2.a. Aramaic Formulae

As with Elamite inscriptions, personal names are the most common element in Aramaic seal inscriptions at Persepolis. The second most common element in Aramaic inscriptions is the word $HTM$ (“seal”); it occurs at the beginning of the inscription to attribute ownership of the seal itself to PN/PN. It appears with various additional elements to form several formulae. The Elamite equivalent, $halmi$ (HAL/hal-mi), is much rarer (see above). The next most common inscriptional element is a title; at present, nine Aramaic seal inscriptions include a title. A fourth element that occurs in a few Aramaic inscriptions is the word $BR$ (“son (of)”) (similarly to Elamite DUMU (see above)), placed between two personal names to indicate a patronymic relationship. $BR$ is much less frequently attested than its Elamite equivalent, DUMU (see above).

We begin with the most common formula, $HTM$ (“seal (of)”) PN.

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384 Percentages below will thus be out of a total of 26 seals.
385 See Appendix 1 for the personal names in seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. See, also, Chapter 7 on seal users.
386 See Section III of the present chapter for discussion of titles.
387 At present, it occurs definitively on two seals (PFS 16* and PFS 71*). There is one additional seal, PFS 1530* (see below), that we suggest may have included $BR$ in its inscription; at present, it is broken. Note the discussion of PFS 981*, which we suggest implies $BR$. 
II.a.2.a.1. ḤTM ("seal (of)") PN

At present, seven seals (approximately 27 percent of the 26 legible Aramaic seal inscriptions) follow the formula, ḤTM PN:\[^388\]

1. PFS 83*
2. PFS 164*
3. PFUTS 114*
4. PFUTS 264*
5. PFUTS 305*
6. PFUTS 559*
7. PFUTS 1217*

As an example, PFS 83*:

1. ḤTM ŠŠ˹W˺Š

“Seal (of) Ziššawiš”

As evident on PFS 83*, ḤTM attributes the seal itself to the personal name (Ziššawiš).

Seals carrying this formula tend to pair the inscription with the heroic control encounter (PFS 164* and PFS 264*) and the heroic combat encounter (PFUTS 114* and PFUTS 1217*). Seated personages occur twice (PFATS 24* and PFUTS 305*).

II.a.2.a.2. ḤTM ("seal (of)") PN + title

At present, seven seals (approximately 27 percent of the 26 seals with legible Aramaic inscriptions) follow this formula:\[^389\]

1. PFS 54*
2. PFS 266*
3. PFS 2106*
4. PFS 2899*
5. PFUTS 230*
6. PFUTS 336*
7. PFUTS 1555*

As an example, PFS 266*:

1. ḤTM SYW

[^388]: While the design on PFUTS 264* is broken at the bottom, we suggest that the inscription is complete.

[^389]: The last line of the inscription on PFS 54* is broken, thus rendering two letters illegible at present. Given what precedes this line, and in the absence of BR (to prompt a patronym), we suggest a title occurs here. PFUTS 336* is also broken; with the absence of BR, we suggest the second line of the inscription is a title. The first line of PFUTS 1555* is not preserved at present; however, with a personal name occupying line two, and a title in line three, and the overall absence of BR, we suggest ḤTM occupies line one.
2. [D]YNʾ

“Seal (of) Syava, the judge”

PFS 54* is noteworthy for the addition of ʾ at the end of HTM:

1. ḤTMʾ
2. G?DHZY
3. ḤR/DK
4. ´..ʾ

“The seal (of) G...”

The addition of ʾ is an emphatic construction, thus “the seal....”

The heroic combat encounter (PFS 54* and PFS 266*), the heroic control encounter (PFUTS 230* and PFUTS 1555*), and warfare (PFS 2899* and PFUTS 336*) each occur twice; an additional thematic type is hunting (PFS 2106*).

II.a.2.a.3. PN + title

Five seals (approximately 19 percent of the 26 seals with legible Aramaic inscriptions) augment the PN with a title:

1. PFS 66a*
2. PFS 66b*
3. PFS 66c*
4. PFS 535*
5. PFS 815*

As an example, PFS 535*:

1. ŠLMN
2. WSTRBR

---

390 Only one other seal inscription in the Fortification archive, PFS 71* (see immediately below), also uses HTMʾ.

391 At present, a full reading of PFS 815* is not possible; however, in the absence both of HTM at the beginning and BR in the middle, a title following the personal name (clearly line one) makes the most sense; we include the seal here with some hesitation.
“Šālamana, vastrabara”

The three replica seals, PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*, have the same title.\(^{392}\)

The figural scenes, with one exception, feature seated personages; the exception, PFS 815*, shows the heroic combat encounter.

**II.a.2.a.4. HTM (“seal (of)”) PN\(_1\) BR (“son (of)”) PN\(_2\)**

Two seals follow the formula, \(HTM\) PN\(_1\) BR PN\(_2\) (accounting for approximately eight percent of the 26 seals inscribed with legible Aramaic formulae from the Fortification archive):

1. PFS 16*
2. PFS 71*

The inscription on PFS 16* reads,

1. ḤTM
2. PRNK
3. BR
4. 'RŠM

“Seal (of) Parnakka, son of Aršama”\(^{393}\)

The inscription on PFS 71* reads,

1. ḤTM'
2. 'RTWR
3. ZY BR

---

\(^{392}\) All titles are discussed in detail below (Section III).
\(^{393}\) This reading follows Jones (Garrison 1996a, pp. 44-50, n. 70).
“The seal (of) Artavarziya, son of…”

PFS 71* stands out for the addition of ’ following HTM, which is emphatic (“the seal (of)…”).

It is interesting that both seals, PFS 16* and PFS 71*, belong to very high-ranking officials within the Achaemenid administration. PFS 16* pairs its inscription with the heroic control encounter, PFS 71* an archer.

II.a.2.a.5. HTM (“seal (of)”) LPN

The inscription on PFATS 22* is unique. It attaches the preposition, L (“(belonging) to”), to the front of the personal name, which, when following HTM, serves to emphasize the possessive aspect. PFATS 22* reads:

1. Ḥ’T[M]
2. LKNWNY

“Seal (belonging) to Kanuni”

The inscription is paired with the heroic combat encounter.

II.a.2.a.6. PN

PFS 9* includes an inscription that consists simply of PN (PRNK, “Parnakka”).

The scene paired with the inscription is the heroic combat encounter.

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394 Hinz 1971, p. 304f. Bowman (Schmidt 1957, p. 12) earlier read the inscription as “Artadara who (is) chief…”
395 Note, also, PFS 54* above.
396 See Chapter 7 for details.
397 This formula is similar to the Elamite formula, PN-na, where the genitive enclitic (-na) indicates possession of the seal (for PN). As L is typically translated “(belonging) to,” it offers a similar function to the Aramaic word, HTM.
II.a.2.a.7. PN ŠMH (“his/by name”) + title

PFUTS 19* places ŠMH (“by/his name”) between the personal name and the title:

1. ʾP?ʾTR/DK ŠMH
2. KMR

“...by name, priest”

ŠMH is common in imperial Aramaic texts (including those of the Fortification archive), however PFUTS 19* marks its only appearance in seals from the Fortification archive.³⁹⁸

PFUTS 19* features cult imagery (two figures, each holding a lotus and making worshiping gestures, flank a tower structure). It is, of course, noteworthy that the imagery is a ritual scene.

II.a.2.a.8. PN₁ PN₂ + title₁...

One seal, PFS 981*, reads PN₁ PN₂ + title₁. The end of the inscription is broken, thus it certainly contained additional text:

1. ʾRŠYʾNʾ
2. KRKYŠ
3. GNZBR
4. […] YB
5. […] Y

“Iršena, Karkiš, treasurer...”

---

³⁹⁸ Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication. For examples of ŠMH in Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive, see Azzoni (2008, pp. 259 and 262).
In all other Aramaic seal inscriptions in the Fortification archive where there are two personal names, *BR* ("son (of)") occurs between them to indicate a patronymic relationship. The omission of *BR* between two names is, however, documented in rare instances on West Semitic seals.\(^{399}\) We see no other way to make sense of the inscription on PFS 981* other than adding an understood *BR*. Lines four and five, with one or two preserved letters each at present, are somewhat of a mystery. As line three includes a title, it may be that additional titles followed, but this is otherwise unattested at Persepolis. At five lines, this is the longest Aramaic inscription among the seals from the Fortification archive. Lastly, Aramaic conventions would dictate that the title in line three modify the first personal name, Iršena, but the existence of lines four and five again cloud the issue.\(^{400}\)

The scene on PFS 981* is the heroic control encounter. Visually, it stands out for its inclusion of the rare bird-headed creatures and the hero’s elaborate garment.

**II.a.2.a.9. PN\(_1\) *BR* ("son (of)") PN\(_2\)**

The inscription on PFUTS 1530* is fragmentary. We suggest restoring *BR* in the patronymic formula;\(^{401}\) thus, PN\(_1\) *BR* PN\(_2\).\(^{402}\)

1. […]DN

2. [(BR) B]GPN

---

\(^{399}\) Avigad and Sass (1997) supply *BR* between two back-to-back personal names on two West Semitic seals (nos. 797 and 831); see, also, two Hebrew seals in the catalogue by Bordreuil (1986, nos. 47 and 57).

\(^{400}\) Aramaic grammar dictates that attributes/appositions not interrupt a genitive chain (i.e., PN\(_1\) ("son (of)") PN\(_2\)) (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication).

\(^{401}\) We appear to have the beginning of two personal names (see the catalogue entry for details). It makes most sense, therefore, to restore *BR* between them. Considering the height of the figural scene, as preserved at present, it is unlikely that there was any additional text.

\(^{402}\) See above PFS 16* and PFS 71* in which *HTM* ("seal (of)") precedes PN\(_1\) *BR* PN\(_2\).
“…dana (son of) Bagapana”

The preserved scene on PFUTS 1530* shows a hero holding lions at the chest alongside a large winged disk floating over a stylized tree.

II.a.3. Babylonian

The third most common language for seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive is Babylonian. At present, 13 seals carry a monolingual Babylonian inscription (approximately 11 percent of the 114 legible inscribed seals):

1. PFATS 34*s
2. PFS 108*
3. PFS 115*
4. PFS 161*s
5. PFS 289*s
6. PFS 451*s
7. PFS 813*
8. PFS 1205*s
9. PFS 1216*s
10. PFS 1228*s
11. PFS 1240*
12. PFS 1632*
13. PFUTS 219*

Three of these seals are not preserved well enough for us to read their inscriptions.403 Thus, we exclude them from discussion of specific formulae below and proceed with a group of 10 legible monolingual Babylonian seal inscriptions.404

II.a.3.a. Babylonian Formulae

In contrast to the Elamite and Aramaic inscripational formulae discussed above, the monolingual Babylonian seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive exhibit much less variety, following only two formulae, DN (most common) or an invocation. Neither

403 PFATS 34*s, PFS 115*, and PFS 1632*. We exclude, also, the Old Babylonian seals, PFS 50*, PFS 165*, and PFS 2687*, since they predate the Fortification archive. See the catalogue for details on these seals.
404 Percentages will thus be out of 10 seals.
of these formulae include personal names, marking an important distinction from the Elamite and Aramaic seal inscriptions.\footnote{The one exception is PFS 1632*, which appears to include a personal name; the inscription is, however, badly broken. PFS 115* also carries a Babylonian inscription, but it is poorly understood; see the catalogue entry for details.}

\section*{II.a.3.a.1. DN}

Seven seals (approximately 70 percent of the 10 seals with legible monolingual Babylonian inscriptions), follow the simple formula, DN:

1. PFS 161*s 
2. PFS 451*s 
3. PFS 813* 
4. PFS 1205*s 
5. PFS 1216*s 
6. PFS 1228*s 
7. PFS 1240*

All seven inscriptions are the same divine name, $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$. The name is well documented on seals from non-Persepolitan contexts, dating mostly to the 6\textsuperscript{th}-5\textsuperscript{th} centuries BCE.\footnote{Bregstein (1993) discusses impressions of five seals from the Murašu archive at Nippur that carry $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ (ibid., nos. 217, 219, 222, 225, and 232); she notes (ibid., p. 108 (n. 172)) the earliest examples of the inscription include a stamp seal impression from Babylon (year 6 Darius I) and a stamp seal impression from Sippar (year 30 Darius I); the latest example of $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ is in the Murašu archive (year 6 of Darius II) (ibid., no. 225). From Babylon, cylinder seals with $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ were impressed on tablets from the Kasr mound dated to Artaxerxes I (Klengel-Brandt 1969, pp. 329-336). $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ occurs also on a seal from Babylon in the catalogue by Jakob-Rost (1975, no. 237), an unprovenanced seal in the catalogue by Buchanan and Moorey (1988, no. 369), and a 6\textsuperscript{th}-5\textsuperscript{th} century seal in Porada 1948 (no. 799). Seal impressions on tablets from the British Museum dated to the late 6\textsuperscript{th}-early 5\textsuperscript{th} century BCE have $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ (Mitchell and Searight 2008, nos. 379, 395, 410, 456, and 460). A Neo-Assyrian seal from Kalhu (Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 121) uses $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ in an expanded formula: 1. $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}S}[\text{in}]$ 2. $[\text{A}]\text{N}KASKAL$ (Watanabe (1993, p. 128) translates “Sin, god of Harran”).} No attestation of $\text{\textsuperscript{AN}KASKAL}$ predates the reign of Darius I. There is some debate as to how to translate the name. Remarkably, it is not found in non-glyptic contexts in any period.\footnote{Bregstein 1993, p. 105.} $\text{KASKAL}$, on its own (i.e., without the divine determinative, AN), is a logogram that signifies Akkadian $\text{harrānu}$ (“highway/path/road/journey”).\footnote{Ibid., pp. 105-06; Chicago Assyrian Dictionary volume 6 (“\text{H}”): 106-113.} Buchanan and Moorey suggest reading the sign, with the divine determinative, as an...
abbreviation for the god Sîn.\textsuperscript{409} Ehrenberg notes a connection between worship of the god Sîn at the city Harran and the sign KASKAL (signifying harrānu).\textsuperscript{410} Klengel-Brandt proposes that the name represents an unknown god.\textsuperscript{411} Reiche and Sandowicz offer the possibility that it may represent “some expression or a catchword,” rather than serving to identify a particular deity.\textsuperscript{412}

Bregstein suggests that the seal inscription, specifically the second sign, be read not as a cuneiform sign at all, but as a symbol.\textsuperscript{413} The shape of the sign, essentially an X, resembles a pair of crossed styli.\textsuperscript{414} Thus, with the divine determinative, the symbol (representing writing paraphernalia) could be understood (by an illiterate seal user) as a reference to the god of writing, Nabû.\textsuperscript{415} The imagery most often paired with the inscription, in Persepolitan and non-Persepolitan contexts, is the so-called Late Babylonian worship scene – a worshiper before cult symbols on a pedestal/podium.\textsuperscript{416} PFS 161*s, which is clearly related to such figural scenes, differs in having two

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{409} Buchanan and Moorey 1988, p. 59; they offer no rationale for reading Sîn as the referent.
\item \textsuperscript{410} Ehrenberg (1999, p. 19, n. 59) says, “It seems logical to suggest Sîn in connection with KASKAL/Harrānu, as the city of Harran in northern Mesopotamia was a major center for the worship of Sîn in the first millennium.”
\item \textsuperscript{411} Klengel-Brandt 1969, p. 332.
\item \textsuperscript{412} Reiche and Sandowicz (2009, p. 211, n. 82) note \textit{ANKASKAL} seems to appear exclusively with scenes of worship.
\item \textsuperscript{413} Bregstein 1993, pp. 107-08.
\item \textsuperscript{414} Bregstein 1993, pp. 107-08; Bregstein’s (ibid., p. 107) hesitation to accept the KASKAL reading is due, in part, to the fact that the sign is not rendered exactly as it is in cuneiform documents. Discrepancies in glyptic and textual renderings of cuneiform signs are also evident in the Fortification archive (see the Elamite glyptic sign list, Appendix 2, for examples).
\item \textsuperscript{415} Bregstein 1993, pp. 107-08; Lambert (1989, pp. 543-44) suggests that the inscription be read \textit{DUH}, rather than KASKAL; Lambert (ibid., p. 544) cites a similar inscription that reads either \textit{ANTUK} or \textit{ANTUK.MEŠ}, which he translates as “He has a god/May he have a god/Cause him to have a god” (\textit{ila raši/lirši/šurši}); as Bregstein (1993, p. 106 (n. 165)) points out, “the \textit{kas}/KASKAL (Labat no. 166) and \textit{DUH} (Labat no. 167) signs are similar; Altavilla and Walker (2009, p. 154) note the possibility of \textit{ANDUH.DUH}, for which they admit the meaning is unclear. In their catalogue of Achaemenid period stamp seal impressions on tablets from the British Museum, Mitchell and Searight (2008) do not translate or offer any notes on the meaning of the inscription, \textit{ANDUH.DUH} (e.g., BM 62050).
\item \textsuperscript{416} See Chapter 5 for discussion of this imagery. See Chapter 8 for the linkages to other 1\textsuperscript{st} millennium BCE seals.
\end{itemize}
worshipers flanking a central device.\textsuperscript{417} The consistent pairing of cult imagery with the same Babylonian inscription among this group of seals is striking. PFS 813* is unique among this group of Persepolitan seals for being a cylinder.

\textbf{II.a.3.a.2. Invocation}

Three seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 30 percent of the 10 seals that carry legible monolingual Babylonian inscriptions) have very similar invocations that refer to the god Nabû:

1. PFS 108*
2. PFS 289*s
3. PFUTS 219*

PFS 108* has the basic formula:\textsuperscript{418}

1. ANPA PAP ‘ZI’

“The Nabû, protect my life!”\textsuperscript{419}

The inscription on PFUTS 219* is an expanded version of the invocation:

1. ANPA PAP ZI
2. ‘TIN’ BA

“The Nabû, protect life, give health!”\textsuperscript{420}

The seal inscription, ANPA PAP ZI, consists entirely of logograms; the translation is Nabû-uṣur-napištî. The inscription is well documented on seals from Late Babylonian

\textsuperscript{417} Garrison (2017a, pp. 354-55) has suggested that the double attendants on PFS 161*s may represent a Persepolitan variation on the Late Babylonian worship scenes.

\textsuperscript{418} The inscription on PFS 289*s is broken; based on the similarities with PFS 108* (and Late Babylonian seals with similar inscriptions), we restore ANPA’ [PAP] ‘ZI.’MEŠ.

\textsuperscript{419} This reading follows Mikolajczak (2018, p. 363). The logograms, ANPA PAP ZI, correspond to and have been translated as Nabû (ANPA), uṣur (PAP), and napištî (ZI); see Wittmann (1992), Watanabe (1995a), and Ehrenberg (1999). See Watanabe (1995a, p. 225) for bibliography on the early history of translating the inscription.

\textsuperscript{420} In addition to the logograms noted immediately above, this expanded version of the invocation to Nabû adds the second line (TIN (corresponding to balāta) and BA (qīṣ)).
contexts.\textsuperscript{421} Thissen notes that $^{AN}$PA PAP ZI (as on PFS 108*) reflects the formula DN-
\textit{uṣur-napištī}, which “is part of a[n expanded] well-known literary construct used on seals
‘DN Imp[erative] Obj[ect], Obj. Imp.’ = ‘DN uṣur napištī, balāṭa qiša’” (as on PFUTS 219*).\textsuperscript{422} Reiche and Sandowicz state that this expanded version of the invocation, $^{AN}$PA
PAP ZI TIN BA (\textit{Nabû uṣur napištī balāṭa qiš(a)}, as on PFUTS 219*), “became so
popular in the First Millennium BC Babylonia that it might be called standard.”\textsuperscript{423}
PFS 289*s, the sole stamp seal among the three seals that carry the invocation,
features a version of the Late Babylonian worship scene: a worshipper before a \textit{kudurru}
from which lightning bolts of Adad emerge.

PFS 108* and PFUTS 219* are noteworthy among the seals that carry
monolingual Babylonian inscriptions. Firstly, they are cylinder seals; most seals with
monolingual Babylonian inscriptions at Persepolis are stamp seals. Secondly these two
seals do not carry the Late Babylonian worship scene: PFS 108* shows a pair of heraldic
creatures; PFUTS 219* shows the heroic control encounter.\textsuperscript{424} Thirdly, both inscriptions
are carved to be read on the seal (rather than via impression).\textsuperscript{425}

\textsuperscript{421} Unlike $^{AN}$KASKAL, which currently is attested first in the reign of Darius I (see above).
\textsuperscript{422} Thissen 2017, p. 135.
\textsuperscript{423} Reiche and Sandowicz 2009, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{424} Note three Assyro-Babylonian seals in the British Museum that pair this inscription with scenes of
heroic encounter: BM 89021, BM 89130, and BM 89019.
\textsuperscript{425} This phenomenon is present on seven Persepolitan seals: among Aramaic, PFATS 22* and PFUTS
230*; among cuneiform, PFS 35* (presumably Elamite), PFS 108* (Babylonian), PFS 1601* (presumably
Elamite), PFS 1632* (Babylonian), and PFUTS 219* (Babylonian).
II.a.4. Trilingual

Four seals (approximately four percent of the 114 legible inscribed seals from the Fortification archive) carry trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian) inscriptions. The formula is “I,” RN + title; in all instances, the inscription names Darius I.

1. PFS 7*  
2. PFS 11*  
3. PFS 113*  
4. PFUTS 18*

As an example, PFS 7*:

1. [a]-da- ma: da-a-ra-ya-va- [...] (Old Persian)
2. [v.ú] m da-ri-ya-ma-u-iš [...] (Elamite)
3. [ana-ku m] da-ri-iá-muš [...] (Babylonian)

“I (am) Darius” (in Babylonian ‘Great King’)

The inscription is known as the standard trilingual seal inscription of Darius (SD). It occurs on eight seals to date, seven preserved via impressions from the Fortification and Treasury archives at Persepolis, the eighth being the London Darius cylinder. In all exemplars, the first line is Old Persian, the second Elamite, and the third Babylonian. The London Darius Cylinder (SDa) preserves the full text and allows for reconstruction of the partially preserved inscriptions from Persepolis.

The figural imagery paired with the trilingual inscriptions of Darius from the Fortification archive are the heroic control encounter (PFS 7*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18*).

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427 SDe (PFS 7*), Sdf (PFS 11*), SDg (PFS 113*), SDh (PFUTS 18*), SDb (PTS 1*), SDc (PTS 2*), SDd (PTS 3*), and SDa (London Darius Cylinder). Garrison (2014b) discusses each of these seals in detail. PFUTS 18* was unknown to Schmitt; Garrison (2014b, p. 75) has suggested the designation SDh.  
18*) and cult imagery (PFS 11*). The seals are closely related in style and iconography (e.g., palm trees, Persian court robe, and dentate crown).

III. Titles

This section explores briefly the titles that occur in the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. For a discussion on personal names that occur in the seal inscriptions, see Chapter 7.

Only 15 seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive include titles. At present, nine Aramaic seal inscriptions include a title; the four trilingual royal-name seals also have titles. Two Elamite seal inscriptions may include one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Seal Inscription</th>
<th>Title in Seal Inscription</th>
<th>Origin of Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66a*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*PTPKN (&quot;overseer of ration delivery&quot;)</td>
<td>Old Iranian (*Piθfakāna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66b*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*PTPKN (&quot;overseer of ration delivery&quot;)</td>
<td>Old Iranian (*Piθfakāna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66c*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*PTPKN (&quot;overseer of ration delivery&quot;)</td>
<td>Old Iranian (*Piθfakāna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 266*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*DYN (&quot;judge&quot;)</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 535*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*WSTRBR (&quot;garment bearer&quot;)</td>
<td>Old Persian (vaçabara-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 981*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>*GNZBR (Elamite: kapnuškira)</td>
<td>Old Iranian (*Ganzabara-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

429 See Chapter 5 for detailed discussion of these themes.
430 See Chapters 7 and 8 for discussion of these iconographic elements.
431 Appendix 1 is a complete list of the legible personal names among the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.
432 PFS 1* and PFUTS 787* are included with hesitation (see below).
433 Tavernier 2007, p. 430 (no. 4.4.7.92).
434 Ibid.
435 Ibid., p. 434 (no. 4.4.4.121).
436 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49). Stolper (2012) notes “the common Old Iranian form was originally non-Persian, so-called Median.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Language(S)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Other Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>BR BYT’ (“son of the house” = “prince”)</td>
<td>Old Persian (*Viθapuça-)438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 19*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>KMR (“priest”)</td>
<td>Aramaic439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 1555*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>GRDPT (Elamite: kurdabattiš) (“chief of workers”)</td>
<td>Old Iranian (*Gṛdapatiš)440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>unsak</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 787*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>EŠŠANA (Elamite: sunki) (“king”)</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 7*</td>
<td>Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian</td>
<td>XŠ (Old Persian) (“king”) EŠŠANA (Elamite) (“king”) šárru rabû (Babylonian) (“great king”)</td>
<td>Old Persian; Elamite; Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 11*</td>
<td>Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian</td>
<td>XŠ (Old Persian) (“king”) EŠŠANA (Elamite) (“king”) šárru rabû (Babylonian) (“great king”)</td>
<td>Old Persian; Elamite; Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 113*</td>
<td>Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian</td>
<td>XŠ (Old Persian) (“king”) EŠŠANA (Elamite) (“king”) šárru rabû (Babylonian) (“great king”)</td>
<td>Old Persian; Elamite; Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 18*</td>
<td>Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian</td>
<td>XŠ (Old Persian) (“king”) EŠŠANA (Elamite) (“king”) šárru rabû (Babylonian) (“great king”)</td>
<td>Old Persian; Elamite; Babylonian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

438 Tavernier 2007, p. 355 (no. 4.2.1934); Viθ-, “royal house,” Puça, “son” (ibid., pp. 568); for more on the title, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 74). Note, also, Tuplin (2020, p. 389).
439 Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication); see, also, Holm (2017, p. 12).
440 Tavernier 2007, p. 424 (no. 4.4.7.56).
Given the rarity of titles in Persepolitan glyptic it is perhaps not surprising that these seals exhibit some interesting features. We discuss each title below.

PFS 266* is a thoroughly fascinating seal. The title in its inscription, *DYN* ("judge"), is a well-known Aramaic title, though not otherwise attested in texts from the Fortification archive. It is one of only two Aramaic (rather than Iranian) titles among the seal inscriptions from Persepolis. The layout of the inscription is also noteworthy: paneled without case lines, vertically oriented, and in the terminal field; the inscription on PFS 266* is the only one in the glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive so displayed. The figural imagery is the heroic combat encounter, a popular thematic type at Persepolis, but with some interesting features.

PFUTS 19* carries the other Aramaic (rather than Iranian) title: *KMR*, "priest." The word also appears in two Aramaic texts from the Fortification archive; one of these documents carries impressions of PFUTS 19*. The inscription on PFUTS 19* is also the only glyptic example of the expression *ŠMH* ("by/his name") in the Fortification archive. While the name preceding the title is not fully preserved at present, it may be Egyptian in origin. Like PFS 266*, which carries the other Aramaic title (see above),

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441 The other is *KMR* ("priest") on PFUTS 19* (see below).
442 PFS 54*, also with an Aramaic inscription, is the only other inscribed seal from Persepolis to have a paneled inscription without case lines; it is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Conventionally, paneled inscriptions at Persepolis have case lines and are oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. See Chapter 6 for details on the display of seal inscriptions.
443 Garrison and Root (2001, p. 305) have noted some curious elements of composition and iconography on PFS 266* (e.g., a Persian court robe with an unusual hem line and without sleeves).
444 Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication; see, also, Holm (2017, p. 12).
445 PFAT 390 (in the plural form) and PFAT 619.
446 PFAT 390.
447 The word is common in Imperial Aramaic texts, including those from the Fortification archive (e.g., PFAT 1).
448 With the first letter broken, the beginning of the inscription is somewhat unclear, but it certainly begins with a personal name – *PTR*, which may suggest an Egyptian name. The Aramaic texts offer no assistance in providing a name, although one (PFAT 774) hints intriguingly at a possible name beginning *PTR*.
the inscription on PFUTS 19* is oriented vertically, a relatively rare method of presenting inscriptions among seals from the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{449}

Parnadadda, using PFS 66a* (and presumably PFS 66b* and PFS 66c*), is identified via the seal inscription as PTPKN (“overseer of ration delivery”). From the documents of the Fortification archive, he appears to have been responsible for securing flour provisions for the table of the king.\textsuperscript{450} Thus, his title (PTPKN) appears to reflect his administrative duties.

The title on PFS 535*, WSTRBR, is the Aramaic rendering of *Vastrabara-, which is the Median equivalent of the Old Persian vaçabara- attested at Naqš-i Rustam (DNd 1).\textsuperscript{451} This word is well known in the Neo-Babylonian Murašu archive, where it is attested in the Babylonian form (the Babylonian appellative ustarbar).\textsuperscript{452} The Aramaic form is possibly influenced by the Babylonian form, as is the case for some other titles.\textsuperscript{453} The word is thought to mean “chamberlain” (literally “garment-bearer”).\textsuperscript{454} An Elamite phrase, lipte kuktir (lipte “garment”, ku(k)tir “bearer”), has been identified as synonymous with *vastrabara-.\textsuperscript{455} In at least one Elamite document, lipte-kutira refers to

(Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication). Most personal names among Persepolitan seal inscriptions are Iranian in origin (see Appendix 1).

\textsuperscript{449} See Chapter 6 for discussion of the methods for presenting inscriptions.

\textsuperscript{450} The word, PTP[kN], occurs also in Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Bactria (ADAB C1:47, C4:20) in reference to an individual overseeing rations (Naveh and Shaked 2012, pp. 143 and 209; Tuplin 2017, pp. 629, 660-76). For PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c* used on texts pertaining to food consumed “before the king,” see Garrison (1991) and Henkelman (2010a).

\textsuperscript{451} Tavernier 2007, p. 434 (no. 4.4.4.121).

\textsuperscript{452} Ibid.; for all individuals known as ustarbarus, most of whom occur in the Murašu archive, see Tavernier (2014, pp. 297-322); Tavernier 2017, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{453} For example, GRDPT (PFUTS 1555*) reflects the Babylonian transliteration gardapata (Tavernier 2007, p. 424 (no. 4.4.7.56)).

\textsuperscript{454} Tavernier 2014, p. 309; Henkelman 2008, p. 127 (n. 283); Henkelman 2003a, p. 120; see Tavernier (2014, pp. 308-09, 311-15) for details on the position of *vastrabara-.

\textsuperscript{455} Tavernier 2014, pp. 309-10, 320; Henkelman 2008, pp. 232, 288, and 320; Henkelman 2003a, p. 120.
an individual in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{456} It is unlikely that those holding the title served literally as garment bearers; rather, they probably had various administrative roles. The title is linked with the court (e.g., the DNd1 at Naqš-i Rustam) and indicates high social status in Babylonian sources.\textsuperscript{457} Those carrying the title in the Babylonian sources own large estates or manage royal estates, as well as have subordinates;\textsuperscript{458} they also often have direct connections with the royal family.\textsuperscript{459}

Šalamana, the individual named in the inscription on PFS 535*, and to whom we suggest the seal belongs, is a highly-placed šaramanna official associated with the bureau of Queen Iritašduna.\textsuperscript{460} We discuss the seal in more detail in Chapter 7.

The inscription on PFS 981* has another important title, GNZBR, the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian word *Ganzabara- (“treasurer”).\textsuperscript{461} The title occurs in Elamite in transcription, kanzabara, and translation, kapnuškira. PFS 981* is the only occurrence of the title in Persepolitan glyptic. There are six individuals (and one unnamed official) designated kapnuškira or kanzabara in Elamite texts from Persepolis:

Karkiš kapnuškira;\textsuperscript{462}
Šuddayauda kapnuškira;\textsuperscript{463}
Mitrabada (Miššabada?) kanzabara;\textsuperscript{464}
Mannuya kazabara;\textsuperscript{465}

\textsuperscript{456} Tetutka (PF 1256).
\textsuperscript{457} Aspathines, the co-conspirator of Darius, is the most famous example; Tavernier 2014, p. 310; Henkelman 2008, pp. 127 (n. 283), and 320; Henkelman 2003a, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{458} Tavernier 2014, pp. 311-14; Henkelman 2008, p. 339.
\textsuperscript{459} For example, Darius II assigned the title to individuals who supported him in his accession of kingship (Tavernier 2014, p. 311, 320-21).
\textsuperscript{460} See Chapter 7, as well as the catalogue entry for PFS 535*, for details on seal attribution.
\textsuperscript{461} Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49). In Achaemenid contexts, Stolper (2012) summarizes the title as “provincial and sub-provincial financial administrators in the Achaemenid empire, extended to workers attached to Achaemenid treasuries.”
\textsuperscript{462} NN 1724.
\textsuperscript{463} NN 1069, NN 1411, NN 2079.
\textsuperscript{464} NN 1564.
\textsuperscript{465} PF 1342.
Mirakkama, kapnuškira;\(^{466}\)
Šarbaladda kapnuškira, kandabra (kanzabara “treasury-bearer,” “treasurer”); tipira (“scribe”), kandabarra;\(^{467}\)
unnamed kapnuškira.\(^{468}\)
The title also appears in four Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive, but not linked with any individual.\(^{469}\)

The recent discovery of the title on PFS 2899*, BR BYTʾ (literally “son of the house”), is remarkable.\(^{470}\) While the title is well attested in non-Persepolitan contexts, PFS 2899* is the earliest known occurrence of it.\(^{471}\) It is the Aramaic equivalent of the Old Persian word *Viʔapuça- (“prince”).\(^{472}\) The individual named in the inscription, Aršāma (Elamite Iršama), occurs elsewhere in the archive. He is, moreover, the son of Darius and Iritašdana.\(^{473}\) The placement of the inscription in the upper field and the very large size of the seal are also notable.\(^{474}\) The scene – a rare example of human combat in the glyptic from the Fortification archive – and details of iconography, further distinguish the seal.\(^{475}\)

The Aramaic inscription on PFUTS 1555* includes the title GRDPT (Persian *Grďpatiš; in Elamite transcription kurdabattiš); the Aramaic GRDPT shows an influence of the Babylonian transliteration gardapatā.\(^{476}\) PFUTS 1555* is the only

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\(^{466}\) PF 2070.
\(^{468}\) PF 1947.
\(^{469}\) PFAT 64, PFAT 234, PFAT 431, and PFAT 504.
\(^{470}\) See Garrison and Henkelman (2020b) and Tuplin (2020) for detailed discussion of PFS 2899* and the title.
\(^{471}\) Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 74.
\(^{472}\) Tavernier 2007, p. 355 (no. 4.2.1934); Viʔ-, “royal house,” Puça, “son” (ibid., pp. 568).
\(^{473}\) Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 50.
\(^{474}\) See Chapter 6 for details on the layout of the inscription.
\(^{475}\) See Chapter 5 for details on the figural imagery.
\(^{476}\) Tavernier 2007, p. 424 (no. 4.4.7.56).
appearance of the title on a seal inscription at Persepolis. While the translation of the title seems clear, “chief of workers,” the specific nature of the title/position, kurdabattiš, in the Fortification agency is, however, uncertain. The office is concerned with responsibilities exceptionally high up in the administration; at present, it is a title that only eight individuals are known to carry.

The challenging inscription on PFS 1* may include a title, unsak. The word has been the subject of much discussion. It appears in two seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive: PFS 1* and PFS 25*. In two Elamite texts from the Fortification archive, PF 102 and NN 2080, an individual named/titled unsak delivers flour. In a third text, NN 2541, unsak is included in a long list of personal names. In all three Elamite texts, the word is preceded by HAL, the male determinative, which, in the texts of the Fortification archive, precedes either a personal name or a title. In another Elamite text, PF 355, the word unsakra, preceded by HAL, appears to function as a title for an exchange-official. The word is present also in Elamite texts from the Treasury archive at Persepolis.

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477 The word, in its Elamite form, occurs in 28 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive.
479 Garrison 2017a, p. 109 (n. 232); in addition to Iršena, other officials designated kurdabattiš are: the Persepolitan regional directors Karkiš and Šuddayauda, and the šaramanna/damanna officials Mišparma, Bakadada, Datukka, and Zimakka; for additional details on the position of kurdabattiš, as well as Iršena, see Briant (2002, pp. 426-28, and 431).
481 See, for example, NN 2529: ‘HAL kur-da-bat-’ti-iš’.
482 unsak can mean “exchange.” unsaka, the verbal adjective form, appears in several Elamite documents where it qualifies commodities as “exchanged”: PF 274, PF 275, PF 276, PF 277, PF 279, PF 367, PF 376, PF 1957, NN 236, NN 762, NN 1077, NN 1877, NN 2104, NN 2268, and NN 2362.
483 In the Treasury archive at Persepolis, PT 5 records disbursement of silver paid by a kurman official called unsak. It is not clear whether this is a name or a title; this name/title is also applied to the kurman noted in four additional Treasury texts (PT 4, PT 6, PT7, and PT 8). In these contexts, Cameron (1948, pp.
Among the seal inscriptions carrying the word, PFS 25* reads,

1. \texttt{DIŠ}un-sa-
2. ak-
3. na

“(Belonging) to Unsak”

Here, DIŠ, the male determinative, precedes un-sa-ak; -na, the genitive enclitic indicating possession, follows. Thus, we suggest unsak is a personal name on PFS 25*.\textsuperscript{484}

PFS 1* reads,

1. \texttt{\textasciitilde{DIŠ}}\texttt{URU}-ki-su-na
2. \texttt{DIŠ}un-sa-ak?-te

In line one of the inscription on PFS 1*, the sign URU appears inexplicably; as it follows DIŠ, it may constitute part of a name, unidentifiable at present. unsak, in line two, could reasonably be a title; indeed, without DUMU following the first personal name, a title would make sense.\textsuperscript{485} However, unsak, like the name with URU before it, is also preceded by DIŠ; one thus conventionally would read \texttt{DIŠ}un-sa-ak as a personal name.\textsuperscript{486}

The formula PN + title (i.e., PN + unsak) is not otherwise attested among the monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{487} However, given

\textsuperscript{58, 89, 91-92} understood the word as a title and translates it as “administrator,” equating it with Sumerian ensi\texttt{(k)} and Akkadian \texttt{iššakku}.
\textsuperscript{484} unsak also appears on an inscribed seal from Susa (Amiet 1973, no. 40), apparently as the patronym in the formula, PN\texttt{1} DUMU PN\texttt{2};
\textsuperscript{485} While it is possible that DUMU is implicit between two personal names here, such a formula is otherwise undocumented among the Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.
\textsuperscript{486} It is very rare for DIŠ to precede titles in the Fortification archive; out of the 265 Elamite texts in which DIŠ occurs, it is used before a personal name in 259 texts. I am aware of four examples in which it precedes a title (PF 1860, NN 1276, NN 3029, and NN 1702). Two other uses are: NN 1252, preceding \texttt{šalup} (“gentlemen”); NN 3010, preceding \texttt{šīšī} (perhaps “one-third”).
\textsuperscript{487} Among the Aramaic seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive, this formula appears on PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*, PFS 535*, and PFS 815*; the so-called royal-name seals, PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18*, have trilingual inscriptions (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian) in this formula.
the often experimental nature of Persepolitan inscribed seals, the absence of this formula among other seals need not eliminate the possibility that it occurs on PFS 1*. At present, we suggest *unsak* is a title on PFS 1*.

Like PFS 1*, PFUTS 787* is also presented here with some hesitation. The inscription reads,

1. hal!-mi
2. še-mi
3. DUMU EŠŠANA-
4. na-na

“Seal (of) Šemi, son of the King”

In this instance, DUMU is followed by a titular patronym; in other words, the title stands in for the patronym, what we would normally expect to be PN₂. In all other instances of DUMU in seal inscriptions from Persepolis, a patronym directly follows.

The last line of the inscription on PFUTS 787*, -na-na, is also difficult to understand. One wonders whether it is the genitive enclitic repeated, with one -na intended to be understood with *halmi* (“seal of”), the other with DUMU (“son of”). At present, no parallels for this phenomenon are known.

The four royal-name seals of Darius – PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18* – also carry the title EŠŠANA. These seal inscriptions are written in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. They all name Darius and include the title, “king;” the Babylonian text reads “great king.”

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488 The Elamite text of SDA does not employ -na. Two Late Neo-Elamite style seals catalogued by Amiet (1973, nos. 16 and 34) use EŠŠANA in reference to PN₂. Garrison (2018, p. 661) provides the updated reading of Amiet 1973, no. 16, which captures the title.
IV. Conclusion: Summary and Analysis

Two principal observations emerge from this analysis of seal inscription languages and formulae at Persepolis. Firstly, there are preferences in inscriptionsal formulae for each of the three principal languages used in seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive – Elamite, Aramaic, and Babylonian. Secondly, there are some clear patterns as regards combinations of specific figural imagery and specific languages/formulae.

IV.a. Elamite, Aramaic, and Babylonian Inscriptional Formulae

The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive exhibit an impressive array of languages; most common are Elamite and Aramaic. Babylonian is also well represented.

Interesting patterns emerge when we compare the inscriptional formulae used in Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions. One of the most pronounced differences is the use of Aramaic HTM and Elamite halmi. At present, 18 Aramaic seal inscriptions begin with HTM (accounting for approximately 49 percent of the total 37 Aramaic seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive). In contrast, only eight monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions begin with (HAL/hal-mi) (accounting for approximately 13 percent of the total 60 monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive).

The Elamite patronymic formula, PN₁ DUMU PN₂, is extremely well attested among the monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive: at

489 This total includes all seals with HTM, including those for which we cannot read the full formula at present, as well as those in which we reconstruct HTM: PFATS 22*, PFS 16*, PFS 54*, PFS 71*, PFS 82*, PFS 83*, PFS 164*, PFS 266*, PFS 2106*, PFS 2899*, PFUTS 114*, PFUTS 230*, PFUTS 264*, PFUTS 305*, PFUTS 336*, PFUTS 559*, PFUTS 1217*, and PFUTS 1555*.

490 This total includes all seals with HAL/hal-mi, including those for which we cannot read the full formula at present, as well as those in which we reconstruct HAL/hal-mi: PFS 81*, PFS 261*, PFS 320*, PFS 523*, PFS 1334*, PFS 2781*, PFS 3257*, and PFUTS 787*.
present, 28 seals (approximately 72 percent of the 39 seals that carry legible monolingual Elamite inscriptions) follow this formula. In contrast, there are only three possible examples of the Aramaic equivalent, \( \text{PN}_1 \ BR \ \text{PN}_2 \) or \( \text{HTM} \ \text{PN}_1 \ BR \ \text{PN}_2 \).\(^{491}\)

Another distinction between the two languages is the relatively large number of titles among the Aramaic seal inscriptions.\(^{492}\) At present, nine Aramaic seal inscriptions include a title; only two monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions may contain a title (both readings are uncertain at present). The four trilingual royal-name seals also include titles.

The monolingual Babylonian inscriptions are noteworthy for the almost total absence of personal names and the almost exclusive use of one of two formulae, both of which employ divine names.\(^{493}\) These formulae are \( \text{AN} \ \text{KASKAL} \) and \( \text{AN} \ \text{PA} \ \text{PAP} \ \text{ZI} \). The first, \( \text{AN} \ \text{KASKAL} \), appears to be a divine name. It is well attested in seal inscriptions found in the later Achaemenid period.\(^{494}\) The occurrence of \( \text{AN} \ \text{KASKAL} \) on seal inscriptions at Persepolis is the earliest dated attestation of it. The second, \( \text{AN} \ \text{PA} \ \text{PAP} \ \text{ZI} \), is a divine invocation. It is well attested on seals from the Late Babylonian period.\(^{495}\) These two inscriptional formulae used in Babylonian seal inscriptions at Persepolis stand in marked contrast to inscriptional formulae used in Elamite and Aramaic seal inscriptions, which never include a divine name and almost always have a personal name. As discussed in more detail below, these Babylonian inscriptions at Persepolis occur

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\(^{491}\) \( \text{PN}_1 \ BR \ \text{PN}_2 \): PFUTS 1530* (fragmentary); \( \text{HTM} \ \text{PN}_1 \ BR \ \text{PN}_2 \): PFS 16* and PFS 71*.

\(^{492}\) See Section III for all titles in seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

\(^{493}\) There are two seals from Persepolis (PFS 115* and PFS 1632*) that appear to have Babylonian inscriptions that could include personal names; neither is well understood at present.

\(^{494}\) See above for details.

\(^{495}\) See Chapter 2 for examples.
almost exclusively with one figural compositional format, the Late Babylonian worship scene.

IV.b. Combinations of Specific Figural Imagery and Languages/Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

Below we explore some relationships between thematic types and seal inscriptions from Persepolis. We look first at the themes that occur with particular languages. Within each language, we discuss the figural themes according to inscriptional formula.

In pl. 1A, we present the distribution of thematic types occurring on inscribed seals by language: Elamite, Aramaic, Babylonian, trilingual, and cuneiform (language unrecognizable).496

Among the seals that carry monolingual Elamite inscriptions, the heroic combat encounter is, by far, the most common thematic type: 19 examples account for approximately 32 percent of the 60 seals with legible Elamite inscriptions.497 The heroic combat encounter is nearly three times more common than the heroic control encounter (seven examples, approximately 12 percent of the 60 seals with legible Elamite inscriptions).498 This is noteworthy, since the heroic control encounter is two times more common than the heroic combat encounter in the overall glyptic corpus of the Fortification archive.499

496 The thematic types are presented in descending order of popularity.
498 PFS 1*, PFS 32*, PFS 36*, PFS 103*, PFS 199*, PFS 2748*, and PFS 293*.
499 At present, heroic control is attested on 570 seals, heroic combat on 253 seals.
Overall, seals with Aramaic inscriptions exhibit significant diversity with respect to the thematic types. Whereas the 60 seals with Elamite inscriptions have seven thematic types represented, the 37 seals with Aramaic inscriptions have eight thematic types. The seals that carry Aramaic inscriptions also prefer the heroic control and combat encounters; each thematic type (control and combat) has eight examples (each one accounting for approximately 22 percent of the 37 seals with monolingual Aramaic inscriptions).

The figural imagery on the seals with Babylonian inscriptions, as noted above, is overwhelmingly cultic. 10 of the 13 seals with monolingual Babylonian inscriptions (approximately 77 percent of the seals with monolingual Babylonian inscriptions) show cult imagery; the Late Babylonian worship scene accounts for almost all scenes. The single example each of the heroic combat encounter, heroic control encounter, and heraldic creatures, thus, are noteworthy.

The four trilingual royal-name seals of Darius show the heroic control encounter in three instances and cult imagery once.

Some thematic types are limited, or almost always limited, to one language. The designs that feature a single animal/creature, or a pair of heraldic/crossed/intertwined animals/creatures, occur exclusively with Elamite inscriptions. Scenes with archers

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501 See Chapter 5 for details on the Late Babylonian worship scene.
502 See Chapter 5 for details on these thematic types.
503 Heroic control: PFS 7*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18*; cult: PFS 11*.
504 See Chapter 8 for the connections of such designs to the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style.
also trend strongly toward Elamite, with 10 examples (compared to two Aramaic examples).

Four thematic types occur almost exclusively with Aramaic inscriptions: seated personages, warfare, hunting, and hero holding animals at chest.\(^{505}\) Warfare and a hero holding an animal at the chest occur only with Aramaic inscriptions. Hunting scenes occur only with Aramaic inscriptions or cuneiform (language unrecognizable). Seated personages trends strongly toward Aramaic with six examples; there are two examples with cuneiform (language unrecognizable) inscriptions.

A particular composition within cult imagery, the Late Babylonian worship scene, occurs only with Babylonian inscriptions.

Cult imagery overall is almost exactly evenly distributed, accounting for 11-12 percent each of Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions from the Fortification archive.\(^{506}\)

Two of the patterns of figural imagery found on seals carrying cuneiform inscriptions of unrecognizable languages support our suspicion that most of these inscriptions are, in fact, Elamite: 1) high percentage of the heroic combat encounter; 2) all of the single animal/creature, or a pair of crossed animals/creatures. As we noted, the most commonly occurring theme among seals that carry Elamite inscriptions is the heroic combat encounter. The themes of the single animal/creature and a pair of crossed animals/creatures occur exclusively with seals that have Elamite inscriptions.

\(^{505}\) PFS 3204*, perhaps showing two seated personages, is very poorly preserved; the one other example of seated personages with a cuneiform inscription (language unrecognizable) is PFS 1601*. Two seals have cuneiform inscriptions (language unrecognizable) and show hunting: PFS 2076* and PFUTS 314*.

In addition to the heroic combat encounter and the single/paired animal(s)/creature(s) themes, cult imagery is paired with a cuneiform inscription of unrecognizable language(s) on three seals that look like they should track with Elamite: PFS 3094*, PFS 790*, and PFS 1572*. PFS 3094* shows a worshiper facing a paneled inscription and a winged symbol with figure emergent supported by an atlas figure; PFS 790* shows a worshiper facing a stepped structure; PFS 1572* shows a worshiper facing a large creature. Each of these compositional formulae are documented among the seals from the Fortification that carry Elamite inscriptions.507

On the other hand, the high percentage of cult scenes among the seals with cuneiform inscriptions of unrecognizable language (nine of the 30 inscribed seals showing cult imagery, approximately 30 percent) may indicate that some of these inscriptions are Babylonian, rather than Elamite. Almost all of the seals with legible monolingual Babylonian inscriptions from the Fortification archive show cult imagery. Among the examples of cult imagery with cuneiform inscriptions of unrecognizable languages, several scenes appear unusual. Four seals, PFS 1095*, PFS 2117*, PFS 3113*, and PFS 2684*, seem highly archaizing in imagery and sign forms (where preserved). Based on these factors, these seals could predate 530 BCE and thus have a higher likelihood of carrying Babylonian inscriptions. PFUTS 824*, showing the goddess Ištar atop a pedestal creature, a rare design in Achaemenid glyptic, is also perhaps more likely to carry a language other than Elamite.

Another example of cult imagery occurs with an unrecognizable language on PFS 3035*. Despite the unusual inscription on PFS 3035*, the figural imagery is right at home

507 See Chapter 5 for details on these designs.
among Persepolitan seals that show similar scenes with Elamite inscriptions (e.g., PFS 389*); if the inscription on PFS 3035* is meant to be legible (i.e., it is not “mock”), it thus could be Elamite.

In pl. 2A, we chart the thematic types according to Elamite inscrip\(tional\) formulae. There are seven thematic types represented across eight different formulae; among the most common formula, PN\(_1\) DUMU PN\(_2\), all seven thematic types on the seals with Elamite inscriptions are represented. Single animal/creature is most common, followed by the heroic combat encounter, archers, and cult imagery.

Pl. 3A shows the breakdown of thematic types according to Aramaic inscrip\(tional\) formulae. There are eight thematic types represented across nine different formulae; HTM PN, the most common formula, has five of the eight thematic types represented. The four instances of seated personages concentrated among PN + title are noteworthy; the only other design with seated personages occurs with HTM PN. This appears to suggest a distinct combination of inscrip\(tional\) formula and thematic type: seated personages with an Aramaic inscription, most often PN + title.

It is interesting to note that there is a larger number of both thematic types (eight) and formulae (nine) among the seals with Aramaic inscriptions compared to the seals with Elamite (seven thematic types, eight formulae). Moreover, the seals with Aramaic inscriptions have thematic types more evenly distributed across formulae than the seals with Elamite inscriptions. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the seals with Aramaic inscriptions also include more diversity in the methods of presenting the inscriptions and placing them within designs.
The seals with monolingual Babylonian inscriptions exhibit the least overall variety in theme and formulae; pl. 4A shows the two formulae across three different thematic types. The vast majority of seals with monolingual Babylonian inscriptions show cult imagery, specifically the Late Babylonian worship scene.\textsuperscript{508} Moreover, the formula, DN (\(^{\text{AN}}\text{KASKAL}\)), occurs exclusively with cult imagery. The inscriptions that are invocations (\(^{\text{ANPA PAP ZI}}\)) occur with three different themes, equally represented: cult, heraldic creatures, heroic control encounter. Both inscriptions are well known in non-Persepolitan contexts.\textsuperscript{509}

We see thus that there are some clear patterns in the pairing of specific languages with specific figural themes (and in one instance, inscription language, formula, and compositional format) at Persepolis. So, too, some of these pairings of language and thematic types (or compositional formulae) have clear linkages with seal carving traditions of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam.\textsuperscript{510}

Three thematic types – hunt, warfare, and seated figures – occur almost exclusively on seals that carry Aramaic inscriptions. This pattern does not appear to be simply fortuitous, given the large number of seals inscribed in Elamite at Persepolis. We note also there is no pre-existing tradition of the pairing of Aramaic inscriptions with the themes of hunt, warfare, and seated figures in Assyrian or Babylonian glyptic.\textsuperscript{511} One wonders accordingly whether the combination of scenes of hunt, warfare, or seated

\textsuperscript{508} See Chapter 5 for examples.  
\textsuperscript{509} See above for details.  
\textsuperscript{510} We discuss this in greater detail in Chapter 8.  
\textsuperscript{511} Aramaic inscriptions in glyptic of Assyria and Babylonia generally occur with scenes of heroic control/combat or cult imagery (see Chapter 2).
personages with Aramaic inscriptions reflects a specifically Achaemenid innovation in the glyptic landscape at Persepolis.
Chapter 5: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Figural Imagery

I. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the figural imagery of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The discussion is organized first by the themes of the main figural scenes (e.g., cult imagery). Each theme is then further sub-divided according to compositional formulae (e.g., Worshiper(s) before structure).

The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive exist, of course, within a much broader visual context, the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive. At the end of the chapter, we discuss the similarities and differences in thematic types among the inscribed seals and the seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive. Lastly, we explore the phenomenon of court-centric iconography among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

II. Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Figural Themes

At present, sixteen figural themes are represented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. While this diversity is noteworthy, three thematic types in

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512 Given the richness of the glyptic from the Fortification archive and the fact that the contexts of date, place, and usage of these seals are known, we limit our comparative focus exclusively to the seals from the Fortification archive. We make no attempt to tackle in this study the several hundred unprovenanced seals traditionally attributed to the Achaemenid period (see, for example, d’Amore 1992).

513 These themes represent broad categories of figural imagery widely recognized in glyptic research (although scholars may not always employ the exact same wording to identify these themes); e.g., the catalogue of Persepolitan seals by Garrison and Root (2001) is devoted to the themes of the heroic control encounter and the heroic combat encounter. The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project uses these themes
fact account for approximately 57 percent of all inscribed seals from the Fortification archive: cult imagery, the heroic combat encounter, and the heroic control encounter. 514

Cult imagery (36 seals, approximately 21 percent): PFATS 34*, PFS 11*, PFS 50*, PFS 82*, PFS 83*, PFS 85a*, PFS 85b*, PFS 161*s, PFS 165*, PFS 289*s, PFS 389*, PFS 451*s, PFS 532*, PFS 706*, PFS 790*, PFS 813*, PFS 1095*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, PFS 1240*, PFS 1308*, PFS 1567*, PFS 1572*, PFS 2089*, PFS 2096*, PFS 2117*, PFS 2207*, PFS 2361*, PFS 2684*, PFS 2687*, PFS 3035*, PFS 3094*, PFS 3113*, PFUTS 19*, and PFUTS 824*;


Seated personages (10 seals, approximately six percent): PFATS 24*, PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*, PFS 77*, PFS 535*, PFS 1601*, PFS 3204*, PFUTS 305*, and PFUTS 332*;

as one basis for organizing the glyptic from the archive. The themes that follow are those documented for inscribed seals; for a list of all thematic categories in the Fortification archive, see Chapter 3 and pl. 34 in this chapter.

514 The accounting that follows does not include one fragmentary seal, PFATS 130*; thus, the total number of seals under consideration here is 173. This accounting does include the heirloom seals, PFS 50*, PFS 77*, PFS 93*, PFS 165*, PFS 1308*, PFS 2117*, PFS 2687*, and PFUTS 332*; however, little to no discussion is offered on these seals in other parts of this chapter, as they predate the Fortification archive; see the respective catalogue entries for details on each seal.
Crossed animals/creatures (eight seals, approximately five percent): PFS 25*, PFS 81*, PFS 160*, PFS 588*, PFS 1084*, PFS 2088*, PFS 2228*, and PFUTS 334*;

Warfare (six seals, approximately three percent): PFS 93*, PFS 2084*, PFS 2899*, PFUTS 273*, PFUTS 336*, and PFUTS 559*;

Heraldic creatures (five seals, approximately three percent): PFS 108*, PFS 320*, PFS 816*, PFS 2737*, and PFUTS 333*;

Hunt (four seals, approximately two percent): PFS 2076*, PFS 2106*, PFUTS 232*, and PFUTS 314*;

Inscription on own (four seals, approximately two percent): PFATS 376*, PFS 296*, PFS 2482*, and PFUTS 361*;

Human(s) interacting with animal(s)/creature(s) (one seal, less than one percent): PFS 739*;

Hero Holds Animals at Chest (one seal, less than one percent): PFUTS 1530*;

Animal combat (one seal, less than one percent): PFUTS 563*.

II.a. Cult Imagery

The most common thematic type among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is cult imagery. At present, 36 inscribed seals (approximately 21 percent of the inscribed seals) feature the theme:515

1. PFS 82* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 83* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 2361* (Aramaic)
4. PFUTS 19* (Aramaic)
5. PFATS 34*s (Babylonian)
6. PFS 50* (Old Babylonian)
7. PFS 161*s (Babylonian)
8. PFS 165* (Old Babylonian)
9. PFS 289*s (Babylonian)
10. PFS 451*s (Babylonian)
11. PFS 813* (Babylonian)
12. PFS 1205*s (Babylonian)

515 This list, as those that follow, is arranged according to the language of the seal inscription (noted in parentheses) and then alphanumerically.
13. PFS 1216*s (Babylonian)
14. PFS 1228*s (Babylonian)
15. PFS 1240* (Babylonian)
16. PFS 2687* (Old Babylonian?)
17. PFS 85a* (Elamite)
18. PFS 85b* (Elamite)
19. PFS 389* (Elamite)
20. PFS 706* (Elamite)
21. PFS 1308* (Elamite)
22. PFS 1567* (Elamite)
23. PFS 2089* (Elamite)
24. PFS 2096* (Elamite)
25. PFS 790* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
26. PFS 1095* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
27. PFS 1572* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
28. PFS 2117* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
29. PFS 2207* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
30. PFS 2684* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
31. PFS 3035* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
32. PFS 3094* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
33. PFS 3113* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
34. PFUTS 824* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
35. PFS 11* (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
36. PFS 532* (NA)

There is a variety of compositions within the theme of cult imagery among the inscribed seals. The basic syntax, however, is a worshiper before some type of cult object, structure, tree, or figure (animal/creature, winged symbol); we include in this thematic type scenes with atlas figures and scenes with an anthropomorphic deity in isolation.

Five seals showing cult imagery predate the Fortification archive: the Old Babylonian seals, PFS 50*, PFS 165*, and PFS 2687*; the 9th-8th century seal, PFS 2117*; the late 7th-early 6th century seal, PFS 1308*. We exclude these seals from
discussion of particular compositional formulae below. Thus, we proceed with a total of 31 seals showing cult imagery.\footnote{Percentages will thus be out of 31 seals.}

II.a.1. Cult Imagery: Worshiper Before Symbols/Cult Objects on Podium/Pedestal

With eight examples (approximately 26 percent of the inscribed seals with cult imagery), a worshiper standing before symbols/cult objects on a pedestal is the most common compositional formula within cult imagery (pl. 1):

1. PFATS 34*s (Babylonian)
2. PFS 289*s (Babylonian)
3. PFS 451*s (Babylonian)
4. PFS 813* (Babylonian)
5. PFS 1205*s (Babylonian)
6. PFS 1216*s (Babylonian)
7. PFS 1228*s (Babylonian)
8. PFS 1240* (Babylonian)

This scene is commonly called the Late Babylonian worship scene.\footnote{See Chapters 2 and 8 for details.} It is very popular in the Fortification archive.\footnote{At present, there are approximately 103 examples (95 without inscriptions, eight inscribed) from the Fortification archive; this is the largest corpus of the Late Babylonian worship scene archaeologically excavated.} The scene occurs on stamp and cylinder seals at Persepolis; among the inscribed examples, the scene appears on six stamp seals and two cylinder seals. With one exception, the inscribed designs are carved in a heavily modeled style (e.g., PFS 451*s (pl. 1C); PFS 1205*s (pl. 1E) is an abstracted cut-and-drilled style.\footnote{See Chapter 2 for discussion of these carving styles. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the inscriptional formulae paired with this imagery.}

The worshiper generally has a long beard (e.g., PFATS 34*s (pl. 1A)); in two instances, however, he is beardless (PFS 289*s (pl. 1B) and PFS 813* (pl. 1D)). All of
the worshipers wear an ankle-length garment; in two instances (PFS 289*s and PFS 451*s (pl. 1C)), it is belted. The garment on PFS 289*s has additional detailing on the sleeve and skirt.

The cult symbols on the pedestals/podia among the inscribed seals are: *mušḫuššu* with spade and stylus (PFS 451*s (pl. 1C)) and PFS 813* (pl. 1D)); goat-fish and ram-headed staff (PFS 1216*s (pl. 1F) and PFS 1240* (pl. 1H)); bull with lightning bolts (PFATS 34*s (pl. 1A)); *kudduru* with lightning bolts (PFS 289*s (pl. 1B)); spade, double styli, and tall stand/lamp (PFS 1205*s (pl. 1E)); spade and double styli (PFS 1228*s (pl. 1G)).

A crescent commonly occurs in the upper field (e.g., PFATS 34*s (pl. 1A)); there is one example each of a dot (PFS 1240* (pl. 1H)), winged symbol (PFS 289*s (pl. 1B)), stand (PFS 813* (pl. 1D)), and teardrop (PFS 813* (pl. 1D)).

**II.a.2. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Animal/Creature**

Five inscribed seals (approximately 16 percent of the inscribed seals with cult imagery) show a worshiper before an animal/creature (pl. 2):

1. PFS 85a* (Elamite)
2. PFS 85b* (Elamite)
3. PFS 706* (Elamite)
4. PFS 2096* (Elamite)
5. PFS 1572* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

A standing figure facing to left makes a worshiping gesture – both arms raised in front of the body, hands cupped upward. The pose of the animal/creature varies: marchant (PFS 706* (pl. 2C) and PFS 1572* (pl. 2E)); rampant (PFS 85a* (pl. 2A) and PFS 85b* (pl. 2B)); recumbent (PFS 2096* (pl. 2D)).
There are three types of animals/creatures: lion (PFS 85a* (pl. 2A) and PFS 85b* (pl. 2B)); winged composite creature (PFS 706* (pl. 2C) and PFS 1572* (pl. 2E)); mušhuššu (PFS 2096* (pl. 2D)).

The worshipers wear a long garment with minor variations: sheath at waist (e.g., PFS 85a* (pl. 2A)); long ribbon-like element hanging down back (e.g., PFS 2096* (pl. 2D)); belt with long tie (PFS 1572* (pl. 2E)).

On PFS 85a* (pl. 2A) and PFS 85b* (pl. 2B), a worshiper stands with a rampant lion in nearly identical scenes: the lion moves to the right toward the inscription but away from the worshipper, its paws resting on the left side of the panel; it turns its head back to face toward the worshiper. The worshiper faces toward the inscription and the rampant lion.

PFS 706* (pl. 2C), PFS 2096* (pl. 2D), and PFS 1572* (pl. 2E) show a worshipper standing directly in front of a large creature.

Supplemental figural elements do not occur.

II.a.3. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Winged Symbol

Five designs (approximately 16 percent of the inscribed seals with cult imagery) have one or two worshipers facing a winged symbol (pl. 3):

1. PFS 82* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 389* (Elamite)
3. PFS 1567* (Elamite)
4. PFS 3035* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
5. PFS 3094* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

With one exception, each of the winged symbols includes a figure emergent (e.g., PFS 82* (pl. 3A)). The exception, PFS 389* (pl. 3B), shows a very large winged ring
with curved yoke along the top; this is the largest example of a winged symbol among the current cluster of seals.

Each design pairs the winged symbol with an additional element below: pedestal animal/creature (PFS 82* (pl. 3A) and PFS 1567* (pl. 3C)); inscription (PFS 389* (pl. 3B)); stylized tree (PFS 3035* (pl. 3D)); atlas figure (PFS 3094* (pl. 3E)).

The worshipers wear a variety of garments: Assyrian garment (PFS 82* (pl. 3A) and PFS 3035* (pl. 3D)); long garment, likely Persian court robe (PFS 389* (pl. 3B)); long double-belted garment (PFS 1567* (pl. 3C)); belted garment (PFS 3094* (pl. 3E)).

With one exception, at least one worshiper holds a lotus (e.g., PFS 1567* (pl. 3C)); on the exception, PFS 82* (pl. 3A), both worshipers hold a staff.

II.a.4. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Structure

Four inscribed seals (approximately 13 percent of the inscribed seals with cult imagery) show worshipers before a structure (pl. 4):

1. PFUTS 19* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 161*s (Babylonian)
3. PFS 790* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
4. PFS 11* (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))

The basic syntax is two figures flanking a central structure. There are three types of structure: tower (PFUTS 19* (pl. 4A) and PFS 11* (pl. 4D)); stepped podium (PFS 790* (pl. 4C)); table/stand (PFS 161*s (pl. 4B)). The tower structure on PFS 11* (pl. 4D) has a V-shaped top with three spherical objects. The tower structure on PFUTS 19* (pl. 4A) is quite large, standing taller than the attendants, with an elaborate base; the

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520 While PFS 790* is partially preserved, we suggest that the figure at right of the preserved scene also faces the structure.
521 For a detailed study of structures in Achaemenid glyptic and monumental media, see Garrison (2017a).
rectangular base with dentate frieze is unparalleled in Persepolitan glyptic.\textsuperscript{522} The scene of attendants flanking a crenellated tower structure, as on PFS 11* and PFUTS 19*, is rare in Persepolitan glyptic.\textsuperscript{523} The stepped structure on PFS 790* (pl. 4C) is unique for its rounded steps;\textsuperscript{524} the two figures facing a fire would appear to be an expanded version of scenes that appear on stamp seals showing a figure before a fire.\textsuperscript{525} The two figures on PFS 161*s (pl. 4B) flank a stand with a flared base and triangular top, perhaps an incense burner.

The figures wear the Persian court robe (PFUTS 19* (pl. 4A) and PFS 11* (pl. 4D)) or a belted ankle-length garment (PFS 161*s (pl. 4B)).\textsuperscript{526}

PFS 11* (pl. 4D) is particularly dense with supplemental elements (in addition to the central structure): palm trees, winged symbol, and staffs. PFUTS 19* (pl. 4A) has lotus flowers; PFS 161*s (pl. 4B) has a crescent.

**II.a.5. Cult Imagery: Atlas Figure**

Two inscribed seals (approximately six percent of the inscribed seals with cult imagery) have an atlas figure in miscellaneous compositions (pl. 5):

1. PFS 83* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 2361* (Aramaic)

\textsuperscript{522} Garrison 2017a, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., p. 354.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid., p. 130.
\textsuperscript{525} E.g., PFS 578s, PFUTS 110s, and PFUTS 156s.
\textsuperscript{526} Details of clothing are not clear for PFS 790* (pl. 4C).
PFS 83* (pl. 5A) is a special glyptic artifact. It shows the rare theme of a suckling animal. It also combines two distinctive themes: 1) winged female cow and calf; 2) atlas figure (a winged bull-man elevating winged disk).

PFS 2361* (pl. 5B), though partially preserved, apparently depicts a winged atlantid. This figure is rendered similarly to the atlas figure in PFS 83* (i.e., winged, twisted standing pose, four wings, shape of face, beard, and hair). Whether the figure elevated some type of symbol overhead, or simply appears in the atlas pose without any accompanying symbols, is uncertain. There appear to be two sets of arms that emerge from the top of the wing.

II.a.6. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Stylized Tree

PFS 2089* (pl. 6) shows two genii flanking a large stylized tree:

1. PFS 2089* (Elamite)

The stylized tree fills nearly the full vertical height of the design. It is comprised of a semi-circular base with a thin band; the trunk consists of two horizontal ovular elements from which spring two vertical elements, stacked one above the other. A third ovular element tops the trunk from which tendrils emerge terminating in cone-shaped elements. Additional tendrils and cone terminations emerge from the ovular elements of the trunk.

The genii, each with two large wings, wear the Assyrian garment. Each holds a small bucket in one hand; the other hand is cupped and held close to the tree.

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527 PFS 83* is one of only four seals, and the only inscribed seal, from the Fortification archive to include the motif (Garrison 2017a, p. 341); the others are PFS 2987s, PFUTS 138s, and PFUTS 145.

528 Garrison 2017a, p. 341.
The design exhibits multiple connections to earlier visual traditions from Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. The composition is, of course, famous in the wall reliefs at Nimrud and in Assyrian glyptic. The heavily modeled style of carving is documented in glyptic from Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. The length of the genii’s wings (equal at top and bottom) may be a Babylonian trait. The headdresses of the genii recall those worn by the composite creatures on PFS 4*. The length of the genii’s wings (equal at top and bottom) may be a Babylonian trait.

The stylized tree is well attested in Persepolitan glyptic. In most instances, it is paired with a winged symbol held aloft by atlantid bull-men (cf. PFS 83* above). A few seals at Persepolis have winged genii (PFS 166) or human worshipers/attendants (PFS 2201 and PFS 3270) flanking a stylized tree over which there is a winged symbol. On PFS 310, bull-men atlantids hold aloft a winged symbol over a stylized tree; this central group is flanked by a winged genius (at left) and a human worshipper/attendant (at right). PFS 2089* is the only design in the Fortification archive where the attendants/worshippers flank a stylized tree without a winged symbol.

II.a.7. Cult Imagery: Anthropomorphic Deity in Isolation

PFUTS 824* (pl. 7) features an anthropomorphic deity in isolation:

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529 See, for example, a relief (Slab B23) from the throne room (B) from the Northwest Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud (British Museum BM 124531); see Winter (2010, pp. 126-129, figs. 13-14), who makes the comparison specifically between Neo-Assyrian seals featuring a pair of figures flanking a stylized tree and royal wall reliefs. Collon (2001, pp. 82-85) discusses stylized trees on Assyrian and Babylonian seals; for examples of the compositional formula in glyptic, see Collon 2001, nos. 151-60 and Collon 1987, nos. 341, 345, 347, 351, and 355.

530 Garrison (2000, pp. 129-30, and 134) discusses the connection to Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic.

531 Collon (2001, p. 176) notes that wings of equal length are a Babylonian feature.

532 Hinz (1971, p. 281) suggests dating PFS 4* to the Neo-Elamite period; see the catalogue entry for details.

533 PFS 122, PFS 310, PFS 420, PFS 2130s, PFS 2602, PFS 3062s, PFUTS 291s, PFUTS 327, PFUTS 1455, and PFUTS 1466s.

534 PFS 2201 and PFS 3270 are poorly preserved and may in fact be one and the same seal.
1. PFUTS 824* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

The scene is partially preserved at present. The figure, wearing the Assyrian garment with a belt/tie hanging from the waist, stands atop a horned lion-creature. The forward arm holds a small bow and perhaps a small club; the back arm holds lightning bolts. Arrows, or extra lightning bolts, are visible over each shoulder.

An unprovenanced seal in the Louvre (A.836) is an almost exact duplicate of PFUTS 824*. Delaporte, who first published the seal, identified the deity as Ištar and dated it to the Neo-Elamite period. On the Louvre seal, the goddess raises her forward leg to place her foot on the back of a lion; her back leg rests on the ground. She raises her forward arm to hold a bow that rests on the head of the lion; she holds her back arm down and grasps three arrows. From her forward hand a rope runs down to the snout of the lion. She wears an elaborate Assyrian garment and a tall feathered polos headdress and has two quivers with bows on her back (one quiver and bow visible over each shoulder). The iconography and composition (a rope attached to the muzzle of the lion on which she stands is a well-known compositional trope linked with depictions of the goddess) without a doubt indicates that the deity is Ištar. The deity depicted on PFUTS 824*, based upon Louvre A.836, would, thus, appear to be Ištar.

535 Delaporte, 1923, no. A.836. Frankfort 1939, pl. 36i, an unprovenanced seal formerly in the Southesk Collection (now in the British Museum (Collon 2001, no. 243)), likewise shows Ištar with one foot on a lion, one hand holding a bow, the other arrows; above the outstretched arm of Ištar is a star, to her right a worshipper and tall spade of Marduk. The seal does not carry an inscription. Frankfort (1939, p. 218) identified the objects in the goddess’ back hand as lightning bolts, Collon (2001, p. 129) as arrows. Both Frankfort and Collon attributed the seal to the Late Babylonian period. It employs a modeled carving style, but the figures are short and stocky and the carving lacks the sharp drill work seen on Louvre A.836 and PFUTS 824*.

536 Note on the Louvre seal how the tail runs behind the goddess’ back foot (cf. PFUTS 824*, where clearly the goddess stands on the tail).
Owing to the Elamite inscription, Amiet (1973) included the Louvre seal in his seminal study of Late Neo-Elamite style glyptic, although, in his opinion, the seal stylistically was Assyro-Babylonian, not Late Neo-Elamite. Because of its Assyrianisms, Amiet dated the Louvre seal to the 7th century BCE. This dynamic miniaturist modeled style of carving, with emphatic drill work, is, as noted, well attested in the glyptic from the Fortification archive. A date in the late 6th century for both PFUTS 824* and Louvre A.836 is not out of the question. The scene, Ištar (or indeed any goddess) standing on the back of a lion, is, however, unique at Persepolis.

II.a.8. Cult Imagery: Exact Composition Unclear

Five inscribed seals that appear to show cult imagery are not preserved well enough for their specific compositional formulae to be determined (pl. 8):

1. PFS 1095* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
2. PFS 2207* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
3. PFS 2684* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
4. PFS 3113* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
5. PFS 532* (NA)

Some of these seals may, in fact, predate the 1st millennium BCE. PFS 1095* (pl. 8A) and PFS 2684* (pl. 8C) appear to have similar compositions (as preserved at present): figures disposed to either side of a paneled inscription; exact dynamics,

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537 Amiet, 1973, pp. 17-18, no. 32.  
538 As discussed in Chapter 2, earlier 1st millennium seals from Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam, often exhibit a range of modeled styles of carving. On smaller seals, modeled styles of carving have come to be termed “miniaturist;” some distinctive features include volumetric forms, pinched waists, heart-shaped torsos, and segmented musculature. A common style of carving for inscribed seals from Persepolis is the Modeled Style (see Garrison and Root (2001, pp. 16-17) and Root (2018)); several seals are carved in a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style. See Garrison (2002/2006) for the linkages with the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style.
however, remain unclear. The inscriptions are poorly understood; the sign forms may be Old Babylonian.

Based on stylistic and iconographic criteria, it is possible that PFS 3113* (pl. 8D) is also Old Babylonian; however, with so little preserved at present, this is speculative.

PFS 2207* (pl. 8B) is obscure; as preserved at present, there is a single figure, perhaps making a worshiping gesture.

As preserved at present, PFS 532* (pl. 8E) appears to have two figures making a worshiping gesture; they apparently face away from the paneled inscription. The figure at left has animal-like legs, reminiscent of bull-man atlantids (e.g., PFS 83* (pl. 5A)).

II.b. Heroic Combat Encounter

The heroic combat encounter is the second most common theme among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. 35 inscribed seals (approximately 20 percent of the inscribed seals) depict the theme:

1. PFATS 22* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 9* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 54* (Aramaic)
4. PFS 266* (Aramaic)
5. PFS 815* (Aramaic)
6. PFS 1612* (Aramaic)
7. PFUTS 114* (Aramaic)
8. PFUTS 1217* (Aramaic)
9. PFS 1632* (Babylonian)
10. PFS 4* (Elamite)
11. PFS 43* (Elamite)
12. PFS 57* (Elamite)
13. PFS 98* (Elamite)
14. PFS 272* (Elamite)
15. PFS 523* (Elamite?)
16. PFS 584* (Elamite)
17. PFS 769* (Elamite)
18. PFS 1334* (Elamite)
19. PFS 1566* (Elamite)
20. PFS 1637* (Elamite)
21. PFS 2099* (Elamite)
22. PFS 2249* (Elamite)
23. PFS 2437* (Elamite)
24. PFS 2632* (Elamite)
25. PFS 2781* (Elamite?)
26. PFS 2789* (Elamite)
27. PFS 3257* (Elamite?)
28. PFUTS 787* (Elamite)
29. PFS 526* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
30. PFS 859* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
31. PFS 931* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
32. PFS 1025* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
33. PFS 1227* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
34. PFUTS 245* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
35. PFUTS 927* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

Following Garrison and Root (2001), we distinguish four main compositions: 1) hero threatens animal/creature with weapon held down behind body; 2) hero threatens animal/creature with weapon held up behind head; 3) hero stabs animal/creature; 4) two heroes combat animals/creatures.

II.b.1. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Threatens Animal/Creature with Weapon Held Down Behind Body

Among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, the most common compositional formula of the heroic combat encounter depicts a hero threatening an animal/creature with a weapon held down behind the body. At present, 13 inscribed seals (approximately 36 percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic combat encounter) have such a composition (pls. 9-10):

1. PFATS 22* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 9* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 815* (Aramaic)
4. PFUTS 114* (Aramaic)
5. PFS 1632* (Babylonian)
6. PFS 57* (Elamite)
7. PFS 98* (Elamite)
8. PFS 1566* (Elamite)
9. PFS 2437* (Elamite)
10. PFS 3257* (Elamite?)
11. PFUTS 787* (Elamite)
12. PFS 526* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
13. PFS 1025* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

These seals tend to be carved in a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style with much detailing, particularly in the wings of the creatures/heroes and the garments of the heroes (e.g., PFS 57* (pl. 9F)).

The hero stands with both feet on the ground (e.g., PFATS 22* (pl. 9A)) or lunges and places one foot on an animal/creature (e.g., PFS 815* (pl. 9C)).

In all examples, the animal/creature is rampant. When the hero stands flat on the ground, the creature always faces toward him. When the hero lunges, the creature always moves away and, with one exception, turns its head back to face the hero; on the exception, PFS 1632* (pl. 9E), while partially preserved, the creature appears to face away from the hero.

With two exceptions, the antagonist is a winged composite creature (e.g., PFATS 22* (pl. 9A)); on PFS 9* (pl. 9B), it is an ostrich; on PFS 2437* (pl. 10A), it is a horned lion.

In three instances, the hero has wings (e.g., PFS 1632* (pl. 9E)). The hero most often wears the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 98* (pl. 9G)), but the Persian court robe is also well attested (e.g., PFUTS 114* (pl. 9D)); in one instance each, he wears a long garment with a curved hem (PFS 2437* (pl. 10A)) or a short skirt with lappet (PFS 57* (pl. 9F)).

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539 See Chapter 8 for additional discussion of this compositional formula.
The heroes hold a variety of weapons, most often the scimitar (e.g., PFUTS 787* (pl. 10C)); PFS 9* (pl. 9B) may show an abbreviated scimitar. Other weapons are an elaborate axe (PFS 57* (pl. 9F)), a mace (PFS 98* (pl. 9G)), a short weapon (PFS 526* (pl. 10D)), and a dagger (PFUTS 114* (pl. 9D)).

PFATS 22* (pl. 9A) is dense with supplemental elements: crescent and dot, small tree, and small bull marchant; PFS 9* (pl. 9B) also includes multiple elements: crescent, star, and caprid. PFUTS 114* (pl. 9D) has an archer and a small animal; the design is unusual, conflating two distinct themes (a heroic combat encounter and archers).

II.b.2. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Threatens Animal/Creature with Weapon

Held Up Behind Head

10 inscribed seals (approximately 29 percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic combat encounter) show a hero threatening an animal/creature with a weapon held up behind the head (pls. 11-12):

1. PFS 54* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 1612* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 4* (Elamite)
4. PFS 272* (Elamite)
5. PFS 769* (Elamite)
6. PFS 1637* (Elamite)
7. PFS 2099* (Elamite)
8. PFS 2632* (Elamite)
9. PFS 2781* (Elamite?)
10. PFUTS 927* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

With two exceptions, all of the animals/creatures are rampant, move away from the hero, and turn their head back toward the hero; on PFS 4* (pl. 11C), the creature is

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540 The weapon on PFS 1025* (pl. 10E) is not preserved.
marchant facing the hero; on PFS 769* (pl. 11E), the creature is sejant and turns its head back to face the hero.

The antagonists are most often winged composite creatures (e.g., PFS 54* (pl. 11A)); lions occur three times (e.g., PFS 272* (pl. 11D)).

The heroes most often wear a short skirt/kilt (e.g., PFS 4* (pl. 11C)); there is one instance each of an Assyrian garment (PFS 1612* (pl. 11B)) and a belted knee-length garment (PFS 54* (pl. 11A)). It is noteworthy that the Assyrian garment appears only once, as it is the most popular attire for the heroes that threaten an animal/creature with a weapon held down behind the body (see above).

Most of the heroes hold a dagger (e.g., PFS 54* (pl. 11A));\(^{541}\) there is one instance each of a projectile (PFS 4* (pl. 11C)) and a spear (PFS 1612* (pl. 11B)).

Supplemental elements are rare. At present, two types occur: a second antagonist (PFS 4* (pl. 11C)) and a large tree (PFS 1612* (pl. 11B)). Owing to the density of additional figural elements among the designs in which a hero threatens an animal/creature with a weapon held down behind the body (see above), it is surprising only two seals in the present group have supplemental elements.

Two other features distinguish this compositional formula (weapon up) from the previous (weapon down): no hero has wings; there is a higher percentage of real animals (see above).\(^{542}\)

**II.b.3. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Stabs Animal/Creature**

\(^{541}\) Three seals, PFS 272*, PFS 769*, and PFUTS 927*, are not preserved well enough for weaponry to be identified.

\(^{542}\) In the previous composition, one example of an animal antagonist (PFS 9*) constitutes approximately eight percent of that group of seals; cf. 30 percent of the current group.
A third composition of the heroic combat encounter depicts a hero stabbing an animal/creature; at present, it appears on nine inscribed seals (approximately 26 percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic combat encounter) (pls. 13-14):

1. PFS 266* (Aramaic)
2. PFUTS 1217* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 43* (Elamite)
4. PFS 523* (Elamite?)
5. PFS 584* (Elamite)
6. PFS 2249* (Elamite)
7. PFS 2789* (Elamite)
8. PFS 859* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
9. PFUTS 245* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

The pose of the hero is very consistent: he thrusts a small weapon into the torso of a rampant animal/creature while holding it by the top of the head or neck. Two designs, PFS 523* (pl. 13D) and PFS 2789* (pl. 13G), have the heroic encounter atop pedestal creatures. PFS 43* (pl. 13C) is unique among this group for featuring the hero in a lunging pose with the forward foot on the hindleg of the rampant animal. Moreover, the lion stands with its back toward the hero and its head turned back to face the hero; in all other designs in the current group, the rampant animal/creature stands body turned toward the hero.

As the previous heroic combat composition, none of the heroes are winged. The animals/creatures are lions; in three instances, they are winged (e.g., PFS 266* (pl. 13A)).

The heroes most often wear the Persian court robe (e.g., PFS 266* (pl. 13A)); they also wear the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 523* (pl. 13D)), short skirt/kilt (PFS 43* (pl. 13C)), or a belted knee-length garment (pl. 1217* (pl. 13B)).

543 Cf. above, heroes with a weapon held down.
Two types of extra weaponry occur: quiver with/without extra arrows (e.g., PFS 266* (pl. 13A)) and a bow (PFS 2249* (pl. 13F) and PFS 859* (pl. 13H)).

Supplemental elements are limited: pedestal animals occur in two designs (PFS 523* (pl. 13D) and PFS 2789* (pl. 13G)); a small bird occurs on PFS 266* (pl. 13A) and a rampant composite creature is on PFS 1217* (pl. 13B).

II.b.4. Heroic Combat Encounter: Two Heroes Combat Animal(s)/Creature(s)

Three inscribed seals (approximately nine percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic combat encounter) have two heroes engaged in combat with one or two animal(s)/creature(s) (pl. 15):

1. PFS 1334* (Elamite)
2. PFS 931* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
3. PFS 1227* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

While each of these scenes features two heroes, the compositions and details vary. PFS 1334* (pl. 15A) is a spectacular seal with many unique features. The design includes two heroes wearing the Persian court robe and holding weaponry (at left, a dagger is held down behind the body; at right, a weapon (not preserved) is held up behind the head) while standing to either side of seated winged human-headed lion-creatures atop a paneled inscription. The armed heroes and their grasping of the creatures firmly place the scene within the theme of heroic combat. The seated, passive pose, diminutive size, and elevation of the composite creatures on a platform-like inscription panel, however, evoke the visual dynamics of cult/ritual scenes. The creatures on PFS 1334* seem more akin to the small, static cult symbols (e.g., mušuššu) placed before worshipers in the so-

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544 The use of an inscription in this way, as a support for figural imagery, is unique; see Chapter 6 for details.
called Late Babylonian worship scenes (see above) than the large, active animals/creatures in the heroic combat encounter (e.g., PFATS 22*, PFS 43*, and PFS 54*).\textsuperscript{545}

PFS 931* (pl. 15B) shows two heroes in a lunging pose atop pedestal creatures to either side of a pair of crossed bulls; the heroes are winged and wear an Assyrian garment. The composition is a conflation of two separate themes, the heroic combat encounter and crossed animals (see below). The pose of the heroes, with one leg lifted, suggests a combat encounter (cf. PFS 2099* (pl. 11G)), yet there are no weapons and the heroes grab the bulls with both hands.

PFS 1227* (pl. 15C) shows two heroes on either side of a winged composite creature; both appear (certainly at right) to lift the forward leg (presumably to place on the creature (cf. PFS 931* (pl. 15B)). Both heroes hold a weapon (likely a dagger at left; at right the weapon is not preserved) down behind the body with one arm and grab the horn of the creature with the other. The heroes differ in their attire – Persian court robe at left, Assyrian garment at right. Two heroes wearing two different garments in the same scene is rare.

\textbf{II.c. Heroic Control Encounter}

In the heroic control encounter, a human figure (sometimes winged) holds to either side of his body an animal/creature, typically rampant. Overall, the scene is less

\textsuperscript{545} The elevated symbols in cult scenes with worshipers tend to appear on platforms (e.g., PFS 813*, PFS 668s, PFS 1121s, PFS 1140s, PFS 1216*s, and PFS 1240*). For more on the Late Babylonian worship scene, see above, as well as Chapters 2 and 8. Garrison (2010b, pp. 161 and 63) has discussed the ritualized nature of the heroic encounter in Assyrian art, specifically the king killing lions. Perhaps the scene on PFS 1334* is attempting to capture some other aspect of the otherworldly nature of the heroic encounter.
active compared to the heroic combat encounter (see above). As Garrison and Root describe,

the control encounter… suggests a hieratic equilibrium – a balancing of forces – that is really quite different from the combat encounter, with its suggestion of aggression either held at bay or actively thwarted through the imminent or realized smiting of the hero’s antagonist.\textsuperscript{546}

28 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 16 percent of the inscribed seals) show the heroic control encounter:

1. PFS 16\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
2. PFS 123\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
3. PFS 164\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
4. PFS 981\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
5. PFS 1633\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
6. PFUTS 230\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
7. PFUTS 264\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
8. PFUTS 1555\textsuperscript{*} (Aramaic)
9. PFUTS 219\textsuperscript{*} (Babylonian)
10. PFS 1\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
11. PFS 32\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
12. PFS 36\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
13. PFS 103\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
14. PFS 199\textsuperscript{*}\textsuperscript{547} (Elamite)
15. PFS 2748\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
16. PFUTS 293\textsuperscript{*} (Elamite)
17. PFS 284\textsuperscript{*} (Lydian)
18. PFATS 195\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
19. PFS 64\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
20. PFS 677\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
21. PFS 883\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
22. PFS 2138\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
23. PFS 3008\textsuperscript{*} (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
24. PFS 7\textsuperscript{*} (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
25. PFS 113\textsuperscript{*} (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
26. PFUTS 18\textsuperscript{*} (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
27. PFS 671\textsuperscript{*} (mock/fake)
28. PFUTS 234\textsuperscript{*} (mock/fake)

\textsuperscript{546} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{547} PFS 199\textsuperscript{*} is technically categorized as a fragmentary design suggesting heroic control or combat; while we cannot type it definitively, we include it here as a scene of heroic control.
There are two main compositions: 1) a hero controls rampant animals/creatures; 2) a hero controls inverted animals/creatures.

**II.c.1. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Rampant Animals/Creatures**

The most common composition of the heroic control encounter among the inscribed seals is a hero controlling rampant animals/creatures. At present, 20 inscribed seals (approximately 71 percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic control encounter) are so disposed (pls. 16-18):

1. PFS 16* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 123* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 164* (Aramaic)
4. PFS 981* (Aramaic)
5. PFS 1633* (Aramaic)
6. PFUTS 230* (Aramaic)
7. PFUTS 264* (Aramaic)
8. PFUTS 219* (Babylonian)
9. PFS 36* (Elamite)
10. PFS 103* (Elamite)
11. PFS 199* (Elamite)
12. PFUTS 293* (Elamite)
13. PFS 284* (Lydian)
14. PFATS 195* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
15. PFS 883* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
16. PFS 2138* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
17. PFS 3008* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
18. PFS 7* (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
19. PFS 113* (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
20. PFUTS 234* (mock/fake)

With two or perhaps three exceptions, a hero controls a rampant animal/creature to either side by grasping some part of the animal/creature: horn (PFS 7* (pl. 18B)), neck (PFS 16* (pl. 16A)), wing (PFS 284* (pl. 17E)) or foreleg (e.g., PFS 36* (pl. 17A)). The compositions on PFS 284* (pl. 17E) and PFUTS 234* (pl. 18D) are unique among this group of seals: on PFS 284*, the hero controls a single (double-headed) creature; on
PFUTS 234*, two heroes control two composite creatures (one hero stands between the creatures and holds the upper foreleg of each creature; the other hero stands outside of that central scene and grasps the wing of each creature).548

Each hero stands flat-footed; three are atop pedestal creatures (e.g., PFS 164* (16C)). The rampant animals/creatures can face toward the hero (e.g., PFS 7* (pl. 18B)) or turn their head to face away from the hero (e.g., PFS 113* (pl. 18C)).

Only in four instances is the hero himself winged (e.g., PFS 36* (pl. 17A)). Most of the antagonists are composite creatures (e.g., PFS 103* (pl. 17B)); two designs have lions (PFS 16* (pl. 16A) and PFUTS 230* (pl. 16F)), one has bulls (PFATS 195* (pl. 17F)).

The heroes most often wear the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 16* (pl. 16A)) or Persian court robe (e.g., PFUTS 264* (pl. 16G)); there is one example each of a belted knee-length garment (PFS 284* (pl. 17E)), a belted calf-length garment (PFUTS 234* (pl. 18D)), and an ankle-length garment (PFS 103* (pl. 17B)).

Multiple scenes have supplemental imagery. PFS 123* (pl. 16B) has a variety of elements: crescent, star, palm trees, bird. PFUTS 264* (pl. 16G) is also dense, with a winged symbol, diamond, and pedestal creature(s)). PFS 7* (pl. 18B) has a winged symbol and palm trees. PFS 164* (pl. 16C) and PFS 36* (pl. 17A) have pedestal creatures. PFS 1633* (pl. 16E) has small quadrupeds. PFS 113* (pl. 18C) has a palm tree. PFUTS 234* (pl. 18D) has a small stand.

548 PFS 199* (pl. 17C), which is partially preserved, may also include more than one hero; see the catalogue entry for details on this design.
PFS 7* (pl. 18B) and PFS 113* (pl. 18C), both carrying the trilingual royal-name inscription of Darius, show similar scenes: a central hero wearing the Persian court robe and crown holds a rampant winged composite creature to either side of his body; at least one palm tree is present. PFS 7* has a figure emergent from a winged symbol hovering overhead.

II.c.2. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Inverted Animals/Creatures

The second compositional formula of the heroic control encounter among the inscribed seals depicts a hero holding a pair of inverted animals/creatures. At present, eight inscribed seals (approximately 29 percent of the inscribed seals with the heroic control encounter) are so disposed (pl. 19):

1. PFUTS 1555* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 1* (Elamite)
3. PFS 32* (Elamite)
4. PFS 2748* (Elamite)
5. PFS 64* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
6. PFUTS 18* (trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian))
7. PFS 671* (mock/fake)
8. PFS 677* (mock/fake)

With one exception, the hero always holds a hindleg of the animal/creature; on the exception, PFS 64* (pl. 19E), the hero grasps the tail of one inverted lion. Each hero stands flat-footed; in two instances, he is atop pedestal creatures (PFUTS 1555* (pl. 19A) and PFUTS 18* (pl. 19F)).

In two designs, the hero is winged (PFS 2748* (pl. 19D) and PFS 64* (pl. 19E)), once he is a composite human-animal (PFS 1* (pl. 19B)). The bull-man hero on PFS 1*
is one of only five seals in the whole of the heroic encounter corpus where the hero’s head is animal and its body composite human-animal.\textsuperscript{549}

The inverted animals/creatures are almost evenly divided among composite creatures (e.g., PFS 1* (pl. 19B)) and lions (e.g., PFUTS 1555* (pl. 19A)).

The hero most often wears the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 32* (pl. 19C)) or the Persian court robe (PFUTS 1555* (pl. 19A) and PFUTS 18* (pl. 19F)); one hero (PFS 671* (pl. 19G)) wears a long garment.

Supplemental elements are minimal, thus PFUTS 18* (pl. 19F) stands out for its especially dense design: pedestal creatures, palm trees, winged symbol. PFUTS 1555* (pl. 19A) has pedestal creatures, PFS 32* (pl. 19C) has a dot.

PFUTS 18* (pl. 19F), like PFS 11* and PFS 113*, has a trilingual royal-name inscription of Darius. The inverted placement of the lions, as well as the use of pedestal creatures, distinguishes the scene from those on PFS 7* and PFS 11* (see above).

\textbf{II.d. Single Animal(s)/Creature(s)}

18 inscribed seals (approximately 10 percent of the inscribed seals) show a single animal/creature (pls. 20-22).\textsuperscript{550}

1. PFS 27* (Elamite)
2. PFS 45* (Elamite)
3. PFS 73* (Elamite)
4. PFS 124* (Elamite)
5. PFS 188a* (Elamite)

\textsuperscript{549} PFS 2937, PFS 2950, PFUTS 893, and PFUTS 737s. The winged bird-headed lion-creatures are also a rare addition.

\textsuperscript{550} PFS 2325 (not illustrated or included in this study) may also follow the compositional formula of a single winged creature. The type and pose of the creature – winged lion marchant – certainly suggests so. However, nothing of the inscription is preserved at present. There seems to be a large negative space just before the creature, certainly enough room for an inscription. It is possible that this space had not yet been utilized for an inscription, or that it was impressed too lightly for any of an inscription to be preserved. The element at left is perhaps the tip of the creature's tail.
6. PFS 188b* (Elamite)
7. PFS 543* (Elamite)
8. PFS 1574* (Elamite)
9. PFS 2346* (Elamite)
10. PFUTS 643* (Elamite?)
11. PFS 1161* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
12. PFS 2036* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
13. PFS 2698* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
14. PFS 2710* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
15. PFS 2732* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
16. PFS 2734* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
17. PFS 3096* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
18. PFS 610* (fake/mock)

The carving style on all of these seals is remarkably similar: a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style with extensive drill work; some animals/creatures are exceptionally well modeled (e.g., PFS 27* (pl. 20A)) and with many details, particularly in the wings, faces, and manes (e.g., PFS 45* (pl. 20B)).

The animals/creatures are most often marchant (e.g., PFS 27* (pl. 20A)); in two instances (PFS 124* (pl. 20D) and PFS 2346* (pl. 21A)), they are rampant. Three animals/creatures turn their head back (e.g., PFS 45* (pl. 20B)).

With one exception, all of the animals/creatures are winged lions; the exception, PFS 2734* (pl. 21H), shows a lion. On PFS 73* (pl. 20C) the creature is human-faced and has a horn; on PFS 124* (pl. 20D) it has talons.

PFS 27* (pl. 20A) is unique among this group of seals for the inclusion of additional elements – the spade and stylus in the terminal field.552

551 PFS 610* (pl. 22B) perhaps shows a winged bull; poor preservation makes identification unclear.
552 See Chapter 6 for discussion of this particular combination of figural imagery and text.
II.e. Archers

16 inscribed seals (approximately nine percent of the inscribed seals) feature archers who aim a bow toward at least one animal/creature (pls. 23-24):

1. PFS 71* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 1568* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 115* (Babylonian)
4. PFS 181* (Elamite)
5. PFS 261* (Elamite)
6. PFS 299* (Elamite)
7. PFS 390* (Elamite?)
8. PFS 425* (Elamite?)
9. PFS 848* (Elamite)
10. PFS 2277* (Elamite)
11. PFS 2707* (Elamite)
12. PFUTS 182* (Elamite)
13. PFUTS 1422* (Elamite)
14. PFS 35* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
15. PFS 629* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
16. PFS 1127* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

The archer assumes one of three poses: kneeling/running (e.g., PFS 71* (pl. 23A)); standing with feet flat on the ground (e.g., PFS 425* (pl. 23H)); standing with one leg lifted (PFS 1422* (pl. 24E) and PFS 390* (pl. 23G)). PFS 390* and PFUTS 1422* both have archers who stand with the forward leg lifted, the foot atop an animal/creature (on PFS 390*, one foot is on the ground, the other on the back of a creature couchant; on PFUTS 1422*, both feet are on an animal couchant). On PFS 261* (pl. 23E), the archer is emergent from the creature below.\(^{553}\)

There is variety in the poses of the animal/creature:\(^{554}\) rampant and facing the archer (e.g., PFS 71* (pl. 23A)); rampant and moving away from the archer but turning

\(^{553}\) The archer shown from the waist up and above a winged creature recalls the figure emergent (also from the waist up) from a winged symbol (e.g., PFS 82* (pl. 3A)).

\(^{554}\) The animal/creature on PFS 1127* (pl. 24H) is fragmentary.
its head back toward him (e.g., PFS 115* (pl. 23C)); rampant and attacking another animal (PFS 35* (pl. 24F)); rampant and intertwined with another animal/creature (PFS 181* (pl. 23D) and PFS 425* (pl. 23H)); marchant and facing the archer (e.g., PFS 848* (pl. 24A)).

With two exceptions, the archers are human. The composite human-animal archer on PFS 629* (pl. 24G) and the archer emergent from a winged creature on PFS 261* (pl. 23E) stand out among the inscribed seals with archer imagery. The composite human-animal archer on PFS 629*, akin visually to the Greek centaurs in their human torsos grafted onto animal bodies, occurs, however, commonly on seals that do not have inscriptions at Persepolis.\footnote{At present, 64 seals (without inscriptions) show composite human-animal archers (Garrison 2017a, p. 79).}

The prey are most often animals, lions or caprids (e.g., PFUTS 1422* (pl. 24E)); fantastical creatures also occur (PFS 848* (pl. 24A) and PFUTS 182* (pl. 24D)). The human-faced creature on PFS 848* and PFUTS 182* is very rare in Persepolitan glyptic, with fewer than 20 examples in the Fortification archive to date; approximately 25 percent of those examples occur among the inscribed seals.

The archers most often wear the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 115* (pl. 23C)) or the Persian court robe (e.g., PFS 71* (pl. 23A)); one hero (PFS 35* (pl. 24F)) wears a belted coat and trousers.\footnote{No clothing is indicated on PFS 299* (pl. 23F), PFS 629* (pl. 24G), and PFS 2707* (pl. 24C).}

Many of the designs are dense with supplemental elements. PFS 71* (pl. 23A) has a crescent, spent arrows, a dead animal, and a rosette. PFS 1568* (pl. 23B) has a small caprid (perhaps kid) and spent arrows. PFS 115* (pl. 23C) has a tree and a winged
symbol. PFS 390* (pl. 23G) has creatures couchant. PFS 2277* (pl. 24B) has an attacking animal and spent arrows. PFUTS 182* (pl. 24D) has a small attacking animal. PFUTS 1422* (pl. 24E) has a pedestal animal. PFS 35* (pl. 24F) has a downed animal and spent arrows.

PFS 181* (pl. 23D) and PFS 425* (pl. 23H) are very similar: an archer aims at a pair of intertwined animals/creatures in close proximity. The similarity in style, iconography, and composition suggest that we have to do with the same workshop/hand.

A recurring feature among seals with archers is a sense of implied movement and narrative. The kneeling/running pose of the archer (e.g., PFS 71* (pl. 23A)) provides a sense of action, as does the tension on the bow, the rampant/intertwined/fleeing pose of the prey, spent arrows or a dead animal, and/or animals mid-attack.\(^{557}\) PFS 1568* (pl. 23B) offers a clear example: the tension of a drawn bow, the implied movement of two fleeing animals (one with its head turned back), and the implication of time passed by the presence of spent arrows, all suggest that we have caught the action in a moment in time: something has occurred previously and something will occur afterwards. Garrison has discussed in some detail the compositional linkages with the heirloom seals PFS 51 and PFS 93*.\(^{558}\) Like PFS 51, PFS 1568* shows stacked animals; like PFS 93*, it has spent arrows and stacked figures. The result of these features is a deep temporal sequencing.\(^{559}\)

In contrast to these active designs, PFS 848* (pl. 24A) and PFUTS 182* (pl. 24D), both with large winged human-faced horned lion-creatures, depict a subdued

\(^{557}\) Note the discussion in Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, pp. 124-29) on temporal sequencing and archer scenes in Persepolitan glyptic.

\(^{558}\) Garrison 2017a, pp. 371-72.

\(^{559}\) Ibid., p. 372.
version of the archer scene. The creatures’ very large size, marchant stance, and apparent eye contact with the archer, bring a calmness to the scenes, even as the archers draw their bows. On PFUTS 182*, moreover, the large creature appears unphased by the diminutive rampant/attacking animal before it.

PFS 390* (pl. 23G) and PFUTS 1422* (pl. 24E) share some compositional features: an archer aims his bow at a rampant lion with arms outstretched. Each of these seals also has unique iconographic features: PFS 390* has a second recumbent creature (like the creature supporting the forward leg of the archer); PFUTS 1422* utilizes a lion as a pedestal (rather than a composite creature).

II.f. Seated Personages

Eight inscribed seals (approximately five percent of the inscribed seals) have at least one seated figure (pl. 25):560

1. PFATS 24* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 66a* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 66b* (Aramaic)
4. PFS 66c* (Aramaic)
5. PFS 535* (Aramaic)
6. PFUTS 305* (Aramaic)
7. PFS 1601* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
8. PFS 3204* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

One or two figures stand before/approach a seated personage. On PFS 66a* (pl. 25B), PFS 66b* (pl. 25C), and PFS 66c* (pl. 25D), a standing human figure and a rampant composite creature approach a seated human. The exact dynamics of PFATS 24* (pl. 25A) are not immediately clear; the kneeling figure between the seated and

560 PFS 3204* will not be discussed in any additional detail here, as it is very fragmentary. PFS 77* and PFUTS 332* also show seated personages; these seals predate the Fortification archive, thus we do not discuss them here. See the respective catalogue entries for details on these designs.
standing figures is unusual. The seal face appears faceted, which adds another complicating factor to the reading of its imagery.

On PFS 535* (pl. 25E) and PFS 1601* (pl. 25G), a figure stands across a table from a seated person. The presence of a table and drinking paraphernalia indicate we have to do with a banquet.

PFS 535* (pl. 25E) is a spectacular seal. The design features a seated figure across from a standing figure. Between the two are an incense burner and a small table on which there is an animal-shaped stand on which a horizontally ridged bowl rests. The form of the inscription panel – the top extending over the vertical sides to create a sort of molding – has a furniture-like appearance, recalling the small table at the center of the design. The iconography and dynamics of the composition are complex and appear to blend various compositional formats. The banqueting paraphernalia suggest that the scene may be read on one level as a banquet, while the formality of the attendant and seated figure (with the flower above the lap) suggests an audience/procession scene. In this sense, PFS 535* cannot also help but recall the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis where a seated king holds a lotus in one hand and is approached by a formally attired and posed figure; incense burners are also present in the Apadana panels. For an extended discussion of the reading of the scene, see Chapter 7.

On PFS 1601* (pl. 25G) shows two figures, one seated and one standing, flanking a small stand, atop which is what appears to be an animal-headed rhyton; a winged symbol hovers over the inscription in the terminal field. The hand of the elevated arm of the seated figure is not preserved; he may have held a drinking vessel.
PFUTS 305* (pl. 25F) is another remarkable seal.\textsuperscript{561} Two standing figures face a seated personage; an additional figure – an attendant with a large quiver or bowcase – stands behind the seated figure. The figure at far right bends forward at the waist. The long thin element running from the bottom of the hand of the seated figure to the thigh of the small figure may be a rope; if so, one assumes that he is a prisoner. The size differential between him and the other figures in the scene would seem to suggest the same. Each of the three standing figures is atop a floral-shaped device; there is a footstool (and perhaps also a floral device) below the feet of the seated figure. The design blends multiple thematic types: audience/procession, and, perhaps, presentation of prisoners. The composition also evokes the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis: a royally-attired (Persian court robe and crown) seated figure holds a lotus while centrally enthroned; armed attendant(s) stand behind and a standing figure faces while bending forward at the waist and making a hand-over-mouth gesture. If the diminutive figure is, in fact, a prisoner, the scene would recall also the relief at Behistun, where the rebel kings stand bound before the king. PFUTS 305* is exceptional for the floral-shaped devices below each figure that elevate the scene.

The seated figures wear a long garment (e.g., PFS 66a* (pl. 25B)), the Iranian riding costume (PFS 535* (pl. 25E)), or the Persian court robe (PFUTS 305* (pl. 25F)).\textsuperscript{562} The standing human figures wear a double-belted Assyrian garment (PFATS 24* (pl. 25A)), a coat (possibly over pants) (e.g., PFS 66b* (pl. 25C)), or the Persian

\textsuperscript{561} Garrison (Forthcoming(B)) discusses this seal in detail.
\textsuperscript{562} On the Iranian riding costume on PFS 535*, see Root (Forthcoming (A) and (B)).
court robe (PFS 1601* (pl. 25G) and PFUTS 305* (pl. 25F)). The kneeling figure on PFATS 24* wears a belted garment.

The standing human figures hold a staff (e.g., PFS 66a* (pl. 25B)) or a bridge-handled jar and ladle and flower (PFS 535* (pl. 25E)). The seated figures hold a lotus (e.g., PFS 66a* (pl. 25B)), perhaps a small baton (PFATS 24* (pl. 25A)), and/or a cup (PFS 535* (pl. 25E)).

Owing to issues of preservation, the exact configuration of some of the chairs is unclear. Among those that are preserved, there is a stool (e.g., PFS 66a* (pl. 25B)) and a simple backed chair (PFATS 24* (pl. 25A)).

II.g. Crossed/Intertwined Animals/Creatures

Eight inscribed seals (approximately five percent of the inscribed seals) show a pair of animals/creatures crossed at or intertwined by the neck (pl. 26):

1. PFS 25* (Elamite)
2. PFS 81* (Elamite)
3. PFS 160* (Elamite)
4. PFS 588* (Elamite)
5. PFUTS 334* (Elamite)
6. PFS 1084* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
7. PFS 2088* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
8. PFS 2228* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

Most of the animals/creatures are horned (deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid)) (e.g., PFS 81* (pl. 26B)); there is one example each of bulls (PFS 25* (pl. 26A)), winged bulls (PFUTS 334* (pl. 26E)), and lions (PFS 160* (pl. 26C)).563

No supplemental elements occur.

563 The type of animal on PFS 2228* (pl. 26H) is uncertain.
A distinguishing feature of the crossed/intertwined group is a more active visual dynamic. As noted by Garrison, there is a “restless, dynamic visual quality” that the intertwined and crossed bodies create.\textsuperscript{564} The open mouths of the lions on PFS 160* (pl. 26C) further emphasize this visual quality.\textsuperscript{565}

**II.h. Warfare**

Five inscribed seals (approximately three percent of the inscribed seals) depict warfare (pl. 27):\textsuperscript{566}

1. PFS 2084* (Aramaic)
2. PFS 2899* (Aramaic)
3. PFUTS 273* (Aramaic)
4. PFUTS 336* (Aramaic)
5. PFUTS 559* (Aramaic)

While we characterize these seals as warfare, in three instances we clearly have to do with fantastic human-animal creatures. On PFS 2084* (pl. 27A), a winged human figure engages with a composite creature emerging from a bird. On PFUTS 336* (pl. 27D), two winged human-animal creatures stab an animal-headed human figure between them. On PFUTS 559* (pl. 27E), two winged human figures appear to stand one after the other, arms extended in both directions; it is unclear whether the figures are armed (their arm gesture would seem to suggest that they engage in hand-to-hand combat).

Human combat occurs on PFS 2899* (pl. 27B) and PFUTS 273* (pl. 27C); both designs show a spear-wielding combatant engaged with another human as a dead

\textsuperscript{564} Garrison 2017a, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{565} See Chapter 8 for further discussion of this thematic type.
\textsuperscript{566} The late 7\textsuperscript{th}-early 6\textsuperscript{th} century BCE seal, PFS 93*, also shows warfare; as it predates the Fortification archive, we exclude it from discussion here. See the catalogue entry for details on this seal.
figure(s) lies in the field below (one foot of the figure with the spear is atop the dead figure); a winged symbol hovers overhead.  

The figures wear a variety of clothing: coat over trousers (PFS 2899* (double-belted on spearman) (pl. 27B) and PFUTS 273* (archer and dead combatant) (pl. 27C)); Persian court robe (PFUTS 273* (spearman) (pl. 27C)); long belted garment (PFUTS 336* (central combatant) (pl. 27D)).

The combatants most often use a long spear (e.g., PFS 2899* (pl. 27B)) or a bow and arrow (PFS 2084* (pl. 27A) and PFUTS 273* (pl. 27C)); there is one instance of a small dagger (PFS 2084* (pl. 27A)). The spearmen on PFS 2899* and PFUTS 273* wear a bowcase at their waist.

PFS 2899* (pl. 27B) stands out for its density of figural elements: no other inscribed seal has five human figures, let alone five humans plus two horses, combat realia, a crescent, and a winged ring. PFUTS 273* (pl. 27C) is also relatively dense with a winged symbol and a dead combatant.

The visual dynamics of PFS 2899* (pl. 27B) and PFUTS 273* (pl. 27C) evoke those of the famous heirloom seal, PFS 93*: note the presence of a spearman (on a horse), wounded and stacked figures, and bows and arrows. The use of dead figures in the midst of active combat adds a sense of temporal narrative to the scenes. As the viewer, we imagine the past events that led to the dead figures’ demise, the current...  

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567 For the latest study of PFS 2899*, including a detailed discussion of the iconography and composition, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b).
568 No clothing is indicated on PFS 2084* (pl. 27A) and PFUTS 559* (pl. 27E).
569 Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 118) relate the motif of dead combatants in the lower field to the stacking of figures in the heirloom seals, PFS 51 and PFS 93*.
570 For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon, specifically regarding PFS 2899*, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, pp. 122-29).
moment of combat being depicted, as well as what is soon to befall those still engaged in fighting. In this way, these scenes recall compositions involving archers shooting animals/creatures and spent arrows (see above).

II.i. Heraldic Animals/Creatures

Five inscribed seals (approximately three percent of the inscribed seals) show a pair of heraldic animals/creatures (pl. 28):

1. PFS 108* (Babylonian)
2. PFS 320* (Elamite)
3. PFS 2737* (Elamite)
4. PFS 816* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
5. PFUTS 333* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

With one exception, the poses are rampant (e.g., PFS 108* (pl. 28A)); the exception, PFUTS 333* (pl. 28E), has creatures that are marchant. On PFS 2737* (pl. 28C) and PFS 816* (pl. 28D), the upper forelegs touch (the forward forelegs of the winged lions marchant on PFUTS 333* appear likewise to touch).

The heraldic composition always involves fantastical creatures; there are three varieties: winged human-faced bulls (PFS 108* (pl. 28A) and PFS 320* (pl. 28B)); winged lion-creatures (PFS 2737* (pl. 28C) and PFUTS 333* (creature at left) (pl. 28E)); winged human-faced lion-creature (PFUTS 333* (creature at right) (pl. 28E)). As noted above, PFUTS 333* is unique among this series of seals for the marchant pose of the creatures; it is also the only design to utilize two different types of creatures.

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571 See especially PFS 35*, PFS 71*, and PFS 1568*; for additional examples, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, pp. 124-29).
572 The creatures on PFS 816* (pl. 28D) may also be winged lion-creatures.
In two instances, there is an element between the creatures: a stylized plant (PFS 108* (pl. 28A) or an inscription (PFS 320* (pl. 28B)).

**II.j. Hunt with spear**

Four inscribed seals (approximately two percent of the inscribed seals) show a hunter spearing an animal (pl. 29):

1. PFS 2106* (Aramaic)
2. PFUTS 232* (Aramaic)
3. PFS 2076* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
4. PFUTS 314* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

These scenes are distinguished (for us) from archers by the use of spears against real animals. With one exception, the hunter is on foot. PFS 2076* (pl. 29C), is exceptional: the hunter rides a horse and the prey is fantastical (a winged horned lion-creature). The prey in the other three scenes are boars (PFS 2106* (pl. 29A) and PFUTS 314* (pl. 29D)) or a lion (PFUTS 232* (pl. 29B)).

With one exception, the hunter wears the Persian court robe (e.g., PFS 2106* (pl. 29A)). On the exception, PFS 2076* (pl. 29C), he would appear to wear trousers; the wavy element on his back may be a weapon’s case.

PFUTS 232* (pl. 29B) is the only design with additional elements – a dog attacks the rampant lion.

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573 See Chapter 8 for additional discussion of this thematic type.
574 PFS 2076* (pl. 29C) is an exception; see below.
575 While not preserved at present, we suggest that the horseman on PFS 2076* also carries a spear. The fantastical prey recalls the seals displaying an archer as protagonist, which often include composite creatures (Garrison 2017a, pp. 92 and 94); see above for details. Moreover, the very large size of the creature adds to the fantastical nature of the scene. While the fantastical nature of this creature removes the scene from the more realistic realm of hunting, we include it here for lack of a better category at present.
576 Among all of the seals from the Fortification archive, there are perhaps six examples of a dog: PFATS 331, PFS 195, PFS 522, PFS 1122, PFS 1533, and PFUTS 232*. The composition of a human hunter
II.k. Inscription on Own

Four inscribed seals (approximately two percent of the inscribed seals) are comprised entirely of text (pl. 30):

1. PFATS 376*s (uncertain script (mock/fake?))
2. PFUTS 361*s (uncertain script (mock/fake?))
3. PFS 296* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)
4. PFS 2482* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

None of the inscriptions are well understood. PFATS 376*s (pl. 30A) and PFUTS 361*s (pl. 30B), both stamp seals, are nearly identical in the way in which the letters(?) are disposed throughout the design. The script is not recognizable at present.

PFS 296* (pl. 30C) and PFS 2482* (pl. 30D) are also somewhat of a mystery. Several features of PFS 296* are unusual: the varying sizes, shapes, and orientation of wedges, as well as the presence of both curved and straight lines. PFS 2482* apparently consists of a single line of signs. Both designs are fragmentary, making it difficult to determine whether the preserved signs were perhaps part of larger compositions.

II.l. Human(s) Interacting with Animal(s)/Creature(s)

One seal, PFS 739* (pl. 31A), shows a human interacting with a creature:

1. PFS 739* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable)

PFS 739* (pl. 31A) is a highly unusual seal. The composition evokes multiple thematic types. Both figures hold projectiles as if in some type of combat scene. They face, however, in the same direction recalling scenes of procession. The placement of one of the figures within the paneled inscription is not otherwise attested in Persepolitan dressed in the Persian court robe spearing an animal that is attacked by a hound appears also on PFS 522 and PFS 1533 (both without inscriptions).
glyptic. There appears to have been some attempt at incorporating the composite creature into the very elements of the inscription, as the feet of the creature replace part of the lowermost horizontal line, and the bottom hem of the creature’s skirt – a banded border – aligns with the second case line. These anomalies may be the result of re-cutting. While the design is unique, several elements firmly situate the seal within Persepolitan glyptic. The seal recalls the regional office seal, PFS 4*, with the poses, garments, and headdresses of the human figure. PFS 4* and PFS 739* are also stylistically very similar, perhaps indicating that they were produced in the same workshop or even by the same hand.577

II.m. Hero Holds Animals at Chest

PFUTS 1530* (pl. 32A) shows a hero holding animals at his chest:

1. PFUTS 1530* (Aramaic)

The hero holds a small lion to either side of his body. He wears an Assyrian garment. The design also has a large winged disk and a stylized plant. The lions are relatively small compared to the animals/creatures that occur in the heroic control and combat encounters (e.g., PFS 7*).

II.n. Animal Combat

One potentially inscribed seal, PFUTS 563*s (pl. 33A), is tentatively identified as an animal combat:

1. PFUTS 563* (unknown script)

577 See the catalogue entry for PFS 4* where we discuss the possibility of PFS 4* predating the Fortification archive.
The majority of the design is occupied by two horned animals, one above the other, perhaps in a combative relationship. There are perhaps letters around the seal edge; the “letters” are unusual and may not, in fact, be letters, but a decorative border. The exact dynamics of the scene are unclear, and it is unusual in comparison to most animal combats in the Fortification archive, which typically involve two or more animals facing off, one animal chasing another, etc.578

III. The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Summary

Observations on Thematic Types

As discussed above, inscribed seals from Persepolis utilize several different thematic types, with cult imagery and the heroic combat and heroic control encounters particularly favored. Interestingly, the frequency of occurrence of themes among the inscribed seals in some instances differs from seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

III.a. Figural Imagery: Inscribed Seals Versus Seals Without Inscriptions from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

Pl. 34A shows a breakdown of distinct and legible thematic types for the inscribed seals versus the seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive.579

578 While fantastical composite creatures are present, the most common animals are lions (e.g., PFUTS 17), bulls (e.g., PFATS 139), boars (e.g., PFATS 218), and horned animals (deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid)) (e.g., PFS 702). For animals in Achaemenid art, see Root (2002a).
579 Percentages are approximate and out of the total number of inscribed seals (174) or seals without inscriptions (3,905); for the sake of clarity, percentages less than one percent have been rounded to one percent.
Cult imagery is very popular among the inscribed seals: 36 examples represent 21 percent of the inscribed seals corpus. Among the seals without inscriptions, cult imagery appears on 338 seals, representing only nine percent of the designs. Thus, cult imagery is more than twice as common on inscribed seals than seals without inscriptions.

The heroic control and combat encounters are very well documented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive: 35 scenes of heroic combat account for approximately 20 percent of designs; 28 scenes of heroic control account for approximately 16 percent of designs. These themes are also well attested among the seals without inscriptions: 218 seals with heroic combat account for approximately six percent of designs; 542 scenes of heroic control account for approximately 14 percent of designs. It is particularly noteworthy that the heroic combat theme constitutes a significantly greater percentage of inscribed seals than seals without inscriptions: among inscribed seals, it accounts for approximately 20 percent; among seals without inscriptions, it accounts only for six percent.

Approximately 10 percent of all inscribed seals from the Fortification archive show a single animal/creature. Among the seals without inscriptions, only approximately one percent depicts the theme. The closely related thematic type, crossed animals/creatures, accounts for approximately five percent of the inscribed seals; among seals without inscriptions, it occurs on approximately one percent of designs. Both themes – single or crossed animal(s)/creature(s) – are significantly more common among

580 We do not consider in this comparison the many stamp seals from the Fortification archive that show a single animal/creature.
the inscribed seals at Persepolis. Both themes occur also in the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style. We discuss this connection in detail in Chapter 8.

One of the most significant differences among the inscribed seals and the seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive is the complete absence of conventional scenes of animal combat on inscribed seals. The 740 designs of animal combat constitute the single most common theme on seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 19 percent of all legible seals). The reading of the one possible example of animal combat among the inscribed seals, PFUTS 563*, is uncertain; if an animal combat, it depicts the theme unlike any other scene of animal combat in the Fortification archive.

Another significant difference is the complete absence of a single animal/creature on a stamp seal among the inscribed seals; among the seals without inscriptions, the theme accounts for approximately 11 percent of designs.

It is also notable that no inscribed seal shows a geometric/floral design. In comparison, such designs account for approximately three percent of the seals without inscriptions.

The lack of chariot scenes among inscribed seals seems noteworthy, as there are 109 seals from the Fortification archive that show a chariot. Additionally, one of the most famous seals in Achaemenid glyptic, the so-called London Darius cylinder, which carries the trilingual royal-name inscription of Darius, features a chariot.581

581 It is surprising that the Fortification archive has four seals with the same inscription as the London Darius cylinder (PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18*), but no seal uses the chariot. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the London Darius Cylinder. See Garrison (2014b) for PFUTS 603, a fragmentary seal that recalls the London Darius cylinder.
As the chart (pl. 34A) reveals, there are several thematic types completely unrepresented among the corpus of inscribed seals. A single animal/creature on a stamp seal, geometric/floral designs, chariots, sexual scenes, a single human/winged human, human processions, musicians, animals and young, and animal files are entirely absent from the inscribed seals. These thematic types, however, are rare overall in the Fortification archive.

With the overall prevalence of animal combat in Persepolitan glyptic, its absence among the inscribed seals is one of the most striking discrepancies among seals with inscriptions and seals without. Such an omission would appear to indicate that animal combat was consciously avoided among elite seal users (many inscribed seals belonging to users of high status/rank (see Chapter 7)). One notable exception, however, is PFS 857s, the seal of Kambarma (Gobyras, a conspirator of Darius). The design is a beautifully rendered three-figure animal combat (two lions attacking a stag) that fills the large seal face. Root has discussed the seal’s similarities to Greek art; the theme of animal combat is, of course, well known in the ancient Near East. The seal’s very large size, superior quality, and special rendering of the animal combat theme make PFS 857s stand out. Given its unique qualities, it is hardly representative of the many hundreds of examples of animal combat in the Fortification archive.

At the same time that animal combat is absent from the inscribed seals, we are struck by the very high percentage of cult imagery, the heroic combat encounter, and

584 Root 1990b, p. 130.
single/crossed animal(s)/creature(s) on inscribed seals. These preferences would appear to mark a distinctive “taste” among these elite seal users at Persepolis. Such themes are well documented in earlier glyptic traditions of the 1st millennium.\footnote{585}

**III.b. Iconography**

Broadly speaking, the iconographic repertoire that we see on inscribed seals echoes that seen on seals that are not inscribed at Persepolis. However, we do find a much higher percentage of court-centric iconography on inscribed seals in comparison to the seals without inscriptions.

**III.b.1. Court-Centric Iconography**

That Achaemenid art, both monumental and glyptic, is characterized by a distinctive repertoire of iconographic elements has long been recognized.\footnote{586} Garrison termed the distinctive Achaemenid iconographic package “court-centric.”\footnote{587} The principal elements of court-centric iconography are: Persian court robe, dentate crown, bow and arrow, quiver, staff, baton, flower, date palms, bulls, human-headed/-faced bulls, winged symbol, and paneled inscription. Of course, many of these elements are not unique to Achaemenid art; and no one Achaemenid relief or seal has all of these iconographic elements. The Persian court robe is, however, generally recognized as a defining feature of Achaemenid art.

\footnote{585} See Chapter 8 for additional discussion of these thematic types.
\footnote{586} Root (1979) has articulated the imperial message reflected in the iconography, style, and composition of official Achaemenid art. Note, also, Garrison (1991, 2000, 2013, 2014a, 2017b, and Forthcoming(B)).
\footnote{587} Court-centric iconography is to be distinguished from what is known as the Persepolitan Court Style, a glyptic carving style that often employs court-centric iconography (Garrison 2017b, p. 195). The Court Style is a local Persepolitan glyptic phenomenon (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 18); modeling tends to be more restrained. For the Court Style, see Garrison and Root (2001, pp. 18-19).
Overall, court-centric iconography is rare in the glyptic from the Fortification archive. Garrison suggests that court-centric iconography first appears in an experimental phase, perhaps dating to the period 520-505 BCE; this phase of experimentation in court-centric iconography culminates with the introduction of the Court Style represented by the royal-name seals PFS 7* (pl. 35A) and PFS 11* (pl. 35B) around the year 502 BCE.

Court-centric iconography occurs more frequently in the corpus of inscribed seals than it does in seals that are not inscribed:


Winged symbol (16 seals, approximately nine percent): PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 82*, PFS 83*, PFS 115*, PFS 289*s, PFS 389*, PFS 1567*, PFS 1601*, PFS 2899*, PFS 3035*, PFS 3094*, PFUTS 18*, PFUTS 264*, PFUTS 273*, and PFUTS 1530*;


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588 Garrison 2013, p. 584.
589 Garrison 2017b, p. 195. PFS 11* (pl. 35B), which is used by Ziššawiš, is considered one of the earliest examples of the Court Style in Persepolitan glyptic (Garrison 2013, p. 506). PFS 11* is first used in the Fortification archive in 502 BCE (PF 678). Regarding PFS 11*, Garrison (ibid.) notes: “The royal-name inscription, in tandem with the court-centric iconography, define/highlight Ziššawiš’ relation to the king in a distinctly, and exclusively, official context.”
590 Percentages are approximate and out of the total inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (174). The winged symbol, for example, is more than three times as common among the inscribed seals than the seals without inscriptions from the Fortification archive.
Dentate crown (10 seals, approximately six percent): PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, PFS 164*, PFS 3257*, PFUTS 18*, PFUTS 19*, PFUTS 264*, PFUTS 305*, and PFUTS 314*;

Quiver (nine seals, approximately five percent): PFS 71*, PFS 261*, PFS 266*, PFS 848*, PFS 859*, PFS 2084*, PFS 2249*, PFS 2277*, and PFUTS 305*;

Flower (seven seals, approximately four percent): PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*, PFS 535*, PFS 1567*, PFUTS 19*, and PFUTS 305*;

Date palm (six seals, approximately 3 percent): PFATS 22*, PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, PFS 123*, and PFUTS 18*;

Staff (four seals, approximately two percent): PFATS 24*, PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*.

At present, 69 inscribed seals (approximately 39 percent) contain at least one element of court-centric iconography; 17 inscribed seals include two elements; eight inscribed seals contain three elements; four inscribed seals contain four elements. PFS 7* (pl. 35A) is the only seal to contain five elements (Persian court robe, dentate crown, palm tree, winged symbol, bulls).

PFS 11* (pl. 35B), PFS 113* (pl. 35C), PFUTS 18* (pl. 35D), and PFUTS 305* (pl. 35E) each contain four elements of court-centric iconography:

- PFS 11*: Persian court robe, dentate crown, palm tree, and winged symbol;
- PFS 113*: Persian court robe, dentate crown, palm tree, and human-headed bull-creatures;
- PFUTS 18*: Persian court robe, dentate crown, palm tree, and winged symbol;
- PFUTS 305*: Persian court robe, dentate crown, flower, and quiver.

PFS 7* (pl. 35A), PFS 11* (pl. 35B), PFS 113* (pl. 35C), and PFUTS 18* (pl. 35D) carry paneled trilingual inscriptions naming Darius.\textsuperscript{591} PFUTS 305* (pl. 35E) carries a free-floating Aramaic inscription naming a šaramanna official.\textsuperscript{592}

\textsuperscript{591} Garrison (2014b) discusses these seals in detail.

\textsuperscript{592} See the catalogue entry for details on this inscription and seal attribution.
The more frequent occurrence of court-centric iconography among inscribed seals may reflect a socio-political phenomenon: i.e., a greater investment in the new state ideology among some officials using inscribed seals than in the seal-using population as a whole at Persepolis. At the same time, it is noteworthy that many officials using inscribed seals clearly prefer imagery and carving styles that look back to Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. Parnakka, the director of the agency, for example, uses PFS 16*, one of the most aggressively Assyrianizing seals in the whole of the glyptic corpus at Persepolis. PFS 4*, the Fahliyān regional office seal, exhibits a mix of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Elamite elements. Ašbazana, an exceptionally highly placed official, also uses an Assyrianizing masterpiece, PFS 1567*. 594

The inscribed seals from Persepolis thus reveal two radically distinct glyptic profiles. One tracks directly back, compositionally, stylistically, and iconographically, to the glyptic traditions of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. The other looks forward to the time when a distinctive court-centric iconographic repertoire is distributed across the Achaemenid empire. We explore these phenomena in more detail in Chapter 8.

593 Root (1990b) discusses the phenomenon of high-ranking Persepolitan officials using seals PFS 857s (animal combat), PFS 16* (see above for description), and PFS 3 (intertwined animals) with imagery that does not utilize court-centric iconography.

594 See Garrison (2014a) for PFS 1567* and Ašbazana.
Chapter 6: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Text and Figural Imagery

I. Introduction

There are multiple levels of interconnectedness between text and figural imagery in glyptic at Persepolis. In addition to deciding the language, formula, and content of a seal’s inscription, there are decisions concerning how the inscription is displayed and where it is placed in relation to the figural elements of the design. As with the thematic types described in Chapter 5, clear patterns emerge when we evaluate the design elements of inscriptions.

This chapter explores some of the visual interplays of text and figural imagery among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Here we utilize the interpretive framework Text qua Image, which highlights inscriptions based not on their role as conveyors of textual information, but as an essential component of imagery and compositional dynamics. An inscription in a seal design in essence becomes part of that design, with the potential to drive the compositional dynamics and/or act as an element of iconography.

Garrison (and others) has previously discussed the role that text may play in the visual dynamics of imagery in the context of ancient western Asia (as opposed to text as a

595 This is not to downplay the importance of inscriptions and the meaning they impart via their textual content, but to recognize that inscriptions play a critical role in the visual qualities of the design. For the content of the inscriptions, see Chapter 4.
conveyor of grammatical and syntactical meaning and semantics). In comparing inscribed seals with Achaemenid monumental inscriptions, Garrison articulates the visual aspects of text and highlights its possible numinous and ideological qualities. In the present chapter, we expand upon Garrison’s analysis of the visual qualities of text and explore the specific ways in which the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive utilize inscriptions as a component of visual design.

As has often been observed, the majority of people using or encountering seals and their impressions were most likely illiterate and, thus, could not read the content of the inscriptions. The deliberate, intricate, and innovative ways in which text and figural imagery combine among many of the inscribed seals from Persepolis reveal, however, a dynamic, non-literal quality of inscriptions. A visual “reading” of inscriptions could code multiple levels of meaning to the non-literate viewer or user.

Among inscribed seals, there is a variety of methods for integrating text into the visual design. The classification system utilized below for the inscribed seals from the

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597 Garrison 2014b, p. 86. Lewis (1994) argues for a conservative estimate of literacy during the Achaemenid period, limiting the ability to read and write to scribes and excluding those ranking highest in the Achaemenid administration and royal family (e.g., Darius, Parnakka, Ziššawīš); Lewis (ibid., p. 30) also suggests that in the absence of textual literacy among some individuals working in the administration, seals could be “read” and recognized as unique, so much so that transactions could omit suppliers and receivers, thus their seals stand in for the omitted names. In considering the trilingual inscriptions of Darius, Finn (2011) ponders not only potential mortal readers of text and figural imagery (in both monumental and glyptic contexts), but also the cosmic (i.e., divine). Based on our understanding of how seals were used in the Fortification archive, specifically how some individuals would have carried and applied seals on the spot of a transaction (i.e., the memoranda), we do not assume that only the scribal class activated seals; Garrison 2017a, p. 42.
598 Some inscribed seals from the Fortification archive are not preserved well enough for the composition to be determined. Thus, the current chapter seeks to identify many of the main trends that emerge within this corpus, rather than to offer a comprehensive analysis of every inscribed seal. Additional details for specific seals are provided in the catalogue.
Fortification archive is based on the method of display of the inscription and its physical and functional relationship with the figural imagery in a glyptic design. There are three primary levels of organization:

1) an inscription appears within a panel, almost always with case lines

2) an inscription has case lines (but no panel)

3) an inscription is free-floating in the field (having neither a panel nor case lines)

Within each of these categories – paneled, with just case lines, and free-floating – designs are next organized according to where the inscription appears in the design (terminal field, as the central focus of the figural imagery, or in the upper field). The complete classification is as follows:

1) Paneled inscriptions
   a. Panel is in terminal field
      1. Panel is isolated
      2. Figural imagery encroaches into panel or serves as part of the panel itself
      3. Inscription in panel carries over into figural field
      4. Panel is above figural imagery
      5. Panel is below figural imagery
   b. Panel serves as central focus of figural imagery
   c. Panel appears above figural imagery in figural field

2) Inscriptions with just case lines
   a. Letters/signs fill-out the terminal field

3) Free-floating inscriptions
   a. Letters/signs fill-out the terminal field
   b. Letters/signs fill-out space above, between, below figures in the figural field
   c. Letters/signs comprise full design
   d. Letters/signs occur at edge of stamp seal

II. Text and Image: Seal Inscriptions in the Persepolis Fortification Archive

The current section of this chapter explores the various display methods for combining text and figural imagery in the glyptic evidence of the Fortification archive.
As paneled inscriptions are the most popular format, seals with this particular presentation of text will be discussed first, followed by inscriptions that have just case lines but no panels, and lastly the inscriptions that are free-floating (having neither a panel nor case lines).

II.a. Paneled Inscriptions

By far the most common way to present an inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to place the text within a panel. Typically, a panel is comprised of four straight sides (two horizontal and two vertical) that meet at right angles around the signs/letters; most often, when multiple lines of text are involved, case lines separate each line. At present, 109 of the total 174 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 63 percent) have inscriptions within a panel; 81 of the 109 seals with paneled inscriptions (approximately 74 percent) have text oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Placement in the terminal field is most common, with 98 examples at present (approximately 90 percent of all of the paneled inscriptions). Thus, the combination of a horizontally oriented paneled inscription in the terminal field is the most common way to present an inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive – approximately 41 percent of all of the seals presented here are so disposed.

The following organizational categories are utilized for the paneled inscriptions:

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600 In several instances, inscriptions are written in a single line; thus a designation of “NA” (not applicable) is given, as these inscriptions have no need for case lines.
601 PFS 296*, PFS 2361*, PFS 3113*, PFS 3204*, PFUTS 824*, and PFUTS 927* are too fragmentarily preserved to determine their exact typological category; while they appear to have paneled inscriptions, and
1) Panel is in terminal field
   a. Panel is isolated
   b. Figural imagery encroaches into panel or serves as part of the panel itself
   c. Inscription in panel carries over into figural field
   d. Panel is above figural imagery
   e. Panel is below figural imagery
2) Panel serves as central focus of figural imagery
3) Panel appears as central focus of figural imagery in figural field

The 109 inscribed seals in the Fortification archive that present text within a panel are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 24*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 16*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 54*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66a*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66b*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66c*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 71*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 83*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 266*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 535*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 981*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1568*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2106*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2361*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 1555*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus are accounted for in tallies here, the specific relationship of text and figural imagery cannot be determined. Therefore, they are not discussed in any additional detail.

602 In the present chapter, lists of seals and plates correspond directly in their organization: the first organizing principle is language of inscription, second is the alpha-numeric designation of the seal. In some sections throughout the present chapter, smaller clusters of seals are grouped not by language, but by a different organizing principle (e.g., according to thematic type).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PFS</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Writing Direction</th>
<th>Is header</th>
<th>Is header</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 50*</td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 165*</td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2687*</td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 25*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 36*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 43*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 45*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 73*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 77*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 81*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 85b*</td>
<td>Elamite?</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 93*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 124*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 160*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 188a*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 188b*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 199*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 261*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 272*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 320*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 389*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 523*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 543*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>584*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>706*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>769*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1308*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1334*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1566*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1567*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1574*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
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<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
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<td>PFS 11*</td>
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<td>PFS 113*</td>
<td>trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian)</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
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<td>PFUTS 18*</td>
<td>trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian)</td>
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<td>PFS 610*</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>PFS 671*</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
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<td>PFS 532*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>horizontal?</td>
<td>yes</td>
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</table>
The majority of the paneled inscriptions (91 of the 109 seals, approximately 83 percent), are written in cuneiform: 51 are monolingual Elamite, 33 are cuneiform with an unrecognizable language, four are trilingual cuneiform (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian), three are monolingual Old Babylonian. Sixteen seals (approximately 14 percent) are written in Aramaic. Three seals carry mock/fake inscriptions or have no text preserved.

Eight of the seals with paneled inscriptions predate the Fortification archive: the Old Babylonian seals, PFS 50*, PFS 165*, and PFS 2687*; the 9th-8th century BCE seal, PFS 2117*; the late 7th-early 6th century BCE seals, PFS 77*, PFS 93*, PFS 1308*, and PFUTS 332*. We exclude these seals from the discussion below and thus proceed with a group of 101 seals with paneled inscriptions.

II.a.1. Paneled inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field

The most common location for a paneled inscription among seals from the Fortification archive is the terminal field. At present, 90 seals (approximately 89 percent of all of the seals with paneled inscriptions) are so disposed. There are five subcategories that reflect the varying levels of engagement of the panel in the terminal field with the figural imagery:

1. Panel is isolated
2. Figural imagery encroaches into panel or serves as part of the panel itself
3. Inscription in panel carries over into figural field
4. Panel is above figural imagery
5. Panel is below figural imagery

---

603 Owing to the high concentration of Elamite in the Fortification archive, presumably most, if not all, of the unrecognizable cuneiform inscriptions are in fact Elamite.
II.a.1.a. Paneled inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field: Panel is isolated

The most common method of presenting a paneled inscription in the terminal field is to isolate it with no physical overlap with any figural elements. At present, 64 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 63 percent of the seals with paneled inscriptions) are so disposed (pls. 1-8):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
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<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
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<td>PFS 54*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66a*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66b*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 66c*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>PFS 71*</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>PFS 266*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
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<td>PFS 981*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
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<td>Aramaic</td>
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<td>PFUTS 1555*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
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<td>PFS 1*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 671*</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
<td>vertical</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 532*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>horizontal?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 of the seals in this group carry monolingual Elamite inscriptions (approximately 52 percent of the current group); an additional 14 seals (approximately 22 percent of the current group) carry cuneiform inscriptions written in an unrecognizable
language, which we assume to be Elamite. 10 inscriptions are written in Aramaic (approximately 16 percent of the current group). All four of the trilingual “royal-name” seals belong in this group.

The vast majority of the inscriptions in this category (48 of the 64 seals, approximately 75 percent) are oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Of the inscriptions that are multi-line, all but two inscriptions (PFS 54* (pl. 1B)) and PFS 266* (pl. 1G)), both of which have Aramaic text, are arranged with case lines.

The thematic types represented among these seals overwhelmingly trend toward the heroic combat and control encounters:

**Heroic combat encounter (16 seals, approximately 25 percent):** PFS 43*, PFS 54*, PFS 266*, PFS 272*, PFS 526*, PFS 584*, PFS 769*, PFS 859*, PFS 1227*, PFS 1566*, PFS 2099*, PFS 2437*, PFS 2632*, PFS 2789*, PFS 3257*, and PFUTS 787*;

**Heroic control encounter (14 seals, approximately 22 percent):** PFS 1*, PFS 7*, PFS 16*, PFS 36*, PFS 64*, PFS 113*, PFS 199*, PFS 671*, PFS 981*, PFS 2138*, PFS 2748*, PFUTS 18*, PFUTS 293*, and PFUTS 1555*;

**Single Animal/Creature (10 seals, approximately 16 percent):** PFS 73*, PFS 124*, PFS 188a*, PFS 188b*, PFS 543*, PFS 610*, PFS 2036*, PFS 2734*, PFS 3096*, and PFUTS 643*;

**Crossed/Intertwined Animals/Creatures (seven seals, approximately 11 percent):** PFS 25*, PFS 81*, PFS 588*, PFS 1084*, PFS 2088*, PFS 2228*, and PFUTS 334*;

**Archers (six seals, approximately nine percent):** PFS 71*, PFS 1127*, PFS 2277*, PFS 2707*, PFUTS 182*, and PFUTS 1422*;

**Cult Imagery (four seals, approximately six percent):** PFS 11*, PFS 532*, PFS 1567*, and PFS 2207*;

**Seated Personages (three seals, approximately five percent):** PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*;

**Heraldic Animals/Creatures (one seals, approximately two percent):** PFS 2737*;

**Hunt with Spear (one seals, approximately two percent):** PFS 2106*. 

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This format of paneled inscription in the terminal field is utilized on several seals that are real glyptic masterpieces. These seals, to no surprise, are used by high-ranking officials/offices: PFS 1* (pl. 2C), the Persepolitan regional office seal; PFS 16* (pl. 1A), the second seal of Parnakka, the director of the agency represented in the documents of the Fortification archive; PFS 981* (pl. 1H), the seal of Iršena, the Fahliyān regional director (years 17-24) who is also a šarammana official, damanna official, and a kurdabattiš;604 PFS 71* (pl. 1F), the seal of Irdumartiya, an important administrator who is possibly the predecessor of Parnakka,605 PFS 1567* (pl. 4C), the seal of Ašbazana, likely the person named vaçabara (Aspačanā) and depicted at Naqš-e Rostam, and possibly the successor of Parnakka;606 also, all four of the royal-name seals, PFS 7* (pl. 8B), PFS 11* (pl. 8C), PFS 113* (pl. 8D), and PFUTS 18* (pl. 8E), are in this group. This format – a panel isolated in the terminal field – is clearly extremely popular among seals used by offices/officials of high rank.

II.a.1.b. Paneled inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field: Figural imagery encroaches into panel or serves as part of the panel itself

A closely related composition with paneled inscriptions in the terminal field shows figural imagery encroaching into the panel or serving as part of the panel itself. At present, 11 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 11 percent of the

604 He uses PFS 4* in his role as regional director; for details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 4*.
605 Henkelman 2008a, p. 127 (n. 283). PFS 71* is also one of only four seals to appear in both archives at Persepolis, the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive; in the latter it is known as PTS 33* (Schmidt 1957, pp. 11-14, 16, 30-31, pl. 10).
seals with paneled inscriptions) feature designs in which the figural imagery physically intersects with the inscription panel (pls. 9-10).\textsuperscript{607}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 45*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 261*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 706*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2781*</td>
<td>Elamite?</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 35*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>vertical (bottom to top)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 739*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 816*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2076*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2698*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2710*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2732*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the inscriptions are Elamite.\textsuperscript{608} With one exception, the text is oriented horizontally and there are case lines; on the exception, PFS 35* (pl. 9E), the text is vertical.

\textsuperscript{607} PFS 2076* (pl. 9H) is included here with some hesitation. While some details are not fully preserved, the hindlegs and tail of the horse at left appear to be placed within the vertical space of the inscription; additionally, it would be somewhat unusual for a paneled inscription to be as narrow as what is preserved. Instead, it is possible that signs extend to right, perhaps around the tail/hindlegs of the horse, with the figural imagery encroaching into the panel.

\textsuperscript{608} While some seals are too poorly preserved to be identified at present as Elamite (thus designated “Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable”), we assume they are, in fact, Elamite.
The designs have figural elements that encroach into the panel or in some way replace part of the panel itself. PFS 35* (pl. 9E), for example, demonstrates the former: the back arm of the archer extends into the case immediately to left. Additionally, the tail of the composite creature on PFS 261* (pl. 9B) crosses over the right vertical side of the panel, on top of the fourth case line, and inside the fourth case. The sheath behind the standing figure at right on PFS 706* (pl. 9C) is placed behind the left vertical side of the panel and inside the third preserved case. On PFS 2781* (pl. 9D), the hand of the winged composite creature is placed on top of the left vertical side of the panel. While not fully preserved at present, it seems likely that the hindleg of the creature on PFS 2698* (pl. 10A) is placed on top of, or replaces, the right vertical side of the panel.

PFS 739* (pl. 9F) is unusual and may have perhaps a more extreme version of this phenomenon, where an entire standing figure appears within the middle of the inscription panel. The seal is highly unusual in this respect and probably, in fact, is recut.

In addition to the seals that include figural imagery encroaching into the space occupied by the panel, several of the seals in this group show figural elements that serve as part of the panel itself. Figural imagery replacing part of the panel can range from some part of a figure’s body or clothing (e.g., a foot on PFS 45* (pl. 9A) and PFS 2732* (pl. 10C); a horn on PFS 35* (pl. 9E); a (scorpion) tail on PFS 261* (pl. 9B)) serving as a portion of the panel, to an entire figure serving as a vertical side of the panel (e.g., the composite creature at left on PFS 706* (pl. 9C) and the composite creature at left on PFS 816* (pl. 9G)).

In some instances, when the figural imagery replaces part of the panel, various elements of the panel appear to react to this invasion of figural elements. On PFS 706*
(pl. 9C), in which the back of the creature stands in for the right vertical side of the panel, the case lines help to accommodate this arrangement by extending as far to the right as the composite creature allows; this results in case lines of uneven lengths.\textsuperscript{609} On PFS 35* (pl. 9E), the left vertical side of the panel is closed off at the top with a rounded edge just below where the tip of the caprid’s horns meet it; this rounded edge, immediately followed by the horns of the animal in exact alignment with the panel, results in the horns completing the vertical side of the panel at the top. On PFS 2732* (pl. 10C), a similar rounded edge appears at the bottom of the right vertical side of the panel just above where it meets the back leg of the creature. These interactions between inscription panel and figural imagery result in carefully crafted designs in which the figural imagery and paneled inscription work together to create a complete frame for the text.

There are seven thematic types represented among this cluster of seals. With four examples, a single composite creature is well represented:

- **Single Animal/Creature (four seals, approximately 36 percent):** PFS 45*, PFS 2698*, PFS 2710*, and PFS 2732*;
- **Archers (two seals, approximately 18 percent):** PFS 35* and PFS 261*;
- **Heraldic Animals/Creatures (one seal, approximately nine percent):** PFS 816*;
- **Cult Imagery (one seal, approximately nine percent):** PFS 706*;
- **Hunt with Spear (one seal, approximately nine percent):** PFS 2076*;
- **Seated Personage (one seal, approximately nine percent):** PFS 739*;
- **Heroic Combat Encounter (one seal, approximately nine percent):** PFS 2781*.

\textsuperscript{609} Note how the third preserved case line is shortest, as it likely terminates at the leftmost part of the creature, its left hindleg.
II.a.1.c. Paneled inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field: Inscription in panel carries over into figural field

Another closely related composition involving paneled inscriptions in the terminal field has at least one sign that occurs outside of the panel in the figural field. At present, six seals (approximately six percent of the seals with paneled inscriptions) are so disposed (pl. 11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 160*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1574*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1637*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2096*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2781*</td>
<td>Elamite?</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>vertical (and horizontal?) (top to bottom; left to right)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the inscriptions are Elamite.\(^{610}\) With one exception, the inscriptions are horizontally oriented with case lines; on the exception, PFS 3008* (pl. 11F), there is a single line of vertically oriented text.

Signs can partially emerge from the panel into the figural field or entire signs can occur outside of the panel. On PFS 1574* (pl. 11B), PFS 2096* (pl. 11D), and PFS 2781* (pl. 11E), a sign or part of a sign toward the beginning of the inscription occurs on top of the panel and/or inside the space of the figural scene. PFS 1574* is especially

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\(^{610}\) PFS 3008* is presumably Elamite.
interesting, as DUMU in line two apparently utilizes the right vertical side of the panel as the vertical wedge of the sign, with the right horizontals placed outside of the panel. On PFS 160* (pl. 11A) and PFS 1637* (pl. 11C), the final sign of the inscription (likely the genitive enclitic, -na, in both cases) is placed under the body of an animal at the center of the design.

PFS 3008* (pl. 11F) is an outlier. The inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the design. There appears to be in the field between the wing of the creature at right and the paneled inscription a sign, but it is oriented horizontally. Otherwise the composition, iconography, and carving style are completely at home in Persepolitan glyptic.

There is no clear preference for thematic type:

*Heroic Combat Encounter (two seals, approximately 33 percent):* PFS 1637* and PFS 2781*;

*Heroic Control Encounter (one seal, approximately 17 percent):* PFS 3008*;

*Single Animal/Creature (one seal, approximately 17 percent):* PFS 1574*;

*Intertwined Animals/Creatures (one seal, approximately 17 percent):* PFS 160*;

*Cult Imagery (one seal, approximately 17 percent):* PFS 2096*.

II.a.1.d. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field: Panel is above figural imagery

Three seals with paneled inscriptions in the terminal field (approximately three percent of all of the seals with paneled inscriptions) are composed with the panel above figural elements in the terminal field (pl. 12):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One of the inscriptions is written in Aramaic, two in cuneiform Elamite. All of the inscriptions are oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal with case lines. The designs on all three seals are quite innovative.

On PFS 1568* (pl. 12A) and PFS 523* (pl. 12B), the panel is above part of an animal; in both instances, the outstretched forelegs of a quadruped (caprid on PFS 1568*, lion on PFS 523*) appear to extend horizontally into the space below the inscription.

PFS 3035* (pl. 12C) features an especially innovative design: the paneled inscription is supported on the tails of the two pedestal creatures who also support the two worshippers. In no other example of Persepolitan glyptic do we see figural elements supporting an inscription panel in this way. Additionally, the form of the panel is unusual; it includes both case lines and intersecting perpendicular lines, each sign appearing within its own frame. The text appears to repeat only two signs.

Each seal in this group features a different thematic type:

*Heroic Combat Encounter (one seal, approximately 33 percent): PFS 523*;

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611 As the last-preserved sign on PFS 523* is likely -na, the genitive enclitic, which would mark the end of the inscription, we can probably rule out that the inscription continues below what is preserved at present, thus the inscription would be placed fully above the extended animal rather than intersecting it.

612 The full length of the scene on PFS 1568* is not preserved in any known impressions of the seal, nor do impressions allow for a full collation of the design, thus the exact configuration of the inscription is somewhat unclear. The right side of the panel (at far left of the preserved design) appears to extend down at least to mid-leg of the archer. The left side of the panel (at far right of the preserved design) occupies the upper portion of the terminal field, while the animals appear below; there is no indication that the inscription above the animals (i.e., the left side of the panel) extends downward, as on the right side of the panel (left of the preserved design), thus one is hard-pressed to reconcile the two sides.
Archers (one seal, approximately 33 percent): PFS 1568*;

Cult Imagery (one seal, approximately 33 percent): PFS 3035*.

II.a.1.e. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in terminal field: Panel is below figural imagery

Only one seal, PFS 1601* (pl. 13), places the paneled inscription in the terminal field below figural imagery:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1601*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>vertical (bottom to top)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inscription is, presumably, Elamite. The text is vertically oriented with case lines. The thematic type is a banquet; a small winged symbol hovers above the inscription in the terminal field. This seal recalls PFS 389* (discussed below), which also includes a paneled inscription below a winged symbol, but there is some variation: the scale of the winged symbol (it is much larger on PFS 389*), the placement of the winged symbol (in the upper terminal field on PFS 1601*, the upper field at the center of the design on PFS 389*), and the orientation of the inscriptions (vertical on PFS 1601*, horizontal on PFS 389*).

II.a.2. Paneled inscriptions: Panel serves as central focus of figural imagery

Seven inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately seven percent of the seals with paneled inscriptions) feature designs in which the paneled inscription is the central focus of the figural imagery (pl. 14):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With perhaps one exception, the inscriptions are Elamite.\textsuperscript{613} With two exceptions, the text is horizontally oriented with case lines; on the exceptions, PFS 2684* (pl. 14F) and PFS 3094* (pl. 14G), the text is vertical.

All of the seals pair the inscription with figural imagery that is cultic/ritual in nature. With two exceptions, PFS 320* (pl. 14C) and PFS 1334* (pl. 14E), a worshiper faces toward the paneled inscription. All of these seals are striking and highly innovative.

On PFS 85a* (pl. 14A) (and presumably PFS 85b* (pl. 14B), its replica), a figure making a worshiping gesture (hands raised diagonally upward in front of the body, palms cupped upward) stands facing an inscription panel to left. On the other side of the inscription is a rampant lion moving toward the panel; its forelegs appear to rest on the left vertical side. Because the human figure faces the inscription panel and makes a worshiping gesture, the inscription, as oddly as it may seem, would appear to be the object of his worship. The gesture that the standing figure makes is a common one of worship; it is most often performed before cult/ritual symbols, such as the spade of

\textsuperscript{613} PFS 2684* (pl. 14F) is poorly understood. It may, in fact, carry Old Babylonian text.
Marduk and stylus of Nabû (e.g., PFS 451*s), on scenes known as the Late Babylonian worship scene.\textsuperscript{614}

PFS 389* (pl. 14D) likewise features a worshipper, but in this instance, he stands on the tails of pedestal fish-men and faces toward a winged ring-in-disk over a paneled inscription. He holds one arm extended diagonally upward in front of the face, the other extended horizontally and holding a lotus in front of the torso. The winged fish-men are themselves in a worshiping gesture (arms bent and held near the chest) and disposed to either side of the paneled inscription. The central placement of the inscription, its close proximity to the winged symbol overhead, and the figures facing toward it, all serve to highlight the text, perhaps the name of the seal owner.\textsuperscript{615} Garrison has suggested that the inscription, and its placement at the center of the design, is a reworking of the scene in which figures flank a stylized tree and support a winged symbol.\textsuperscript{616} If correct, such a compositional reworking, replacing the stylized tree with an inscription, highlights the iconographic quality of text.\textsuperscript{617}

The dynamics of PFS 3094* (pl. 14G) appear very similar to those on PFS 389* (pl. 14D). The attendant on PFS 3094* strikes a worshipping pose (one arm raised in front of the face, the other extended horizontally and holding a lotus). He stands immediately before a paneled inscription; at left, highly fragmentary, appears the arm of an atlas figure supporting a figure in a winged device. The stepped outline of the top of

\textsuperscript{614} See Chapter 5 for details on the figural imagery.
\textsuperscript{615} Garrison (1998, p. 122) noted the proximity between the inscription and winged disk; see, also, Garrison and Dion (1999, p. 6).
\textsuperscript{616} Garrison 2011b, p. 60. See, for example, PFS 3035*, which includes a central stylized tree between worshipers.
\textsuperscript{617} Garrison 2011b, p. 60.
the panel allows for the standing figure and wing of the winged symbol to come into particularly close contact with it: the figure’s arms are above the first line of text and the upper hand nearly touches the second line; the wing of the winged symbol intrudes into the top of line two, while the tendril touches the top of line three. In both designs, PFS 3094* and PFS 389*, the presence of the worshipper draws attention to the paired inscription and winged symbol. The stepped form of the panel on PFS 3094*, however, is quite unusual in Persepolitan glyptic.

On PFS 320* (pl. 14C), a unique design in the corpus, rampant winged human-faced bull-creatures flank a paneled inscription. The winged human-faced creatures add a numinous quality to the design, perhaps indicating a cult/ritual setting. The two creatures on PFS 320* place the hoof/paw of the upper foreleg on the vertical side of the inscription panel directly before them. The scene shares some qualities with designs in which a pair of heraldic animals/creatures flank a plant or floral device.619

PFS 1334* (pl. 14E) features a unique design, two heroic combat encounters with sejant creatures; the placement of the inscription likewise is unique, enclosed in a panel that acts as a platform for the creatures. At the center of the design, the two composite creatures sit atop the inscription panel and thus are physically supported by it; the use of an inscription panel as a pedestal for figural elements is unique among Persepolitan glyptic. The act of elevating figural elements recalls pedestal animals/creatures that

618 There is extensive use of human-headed bulls at Persepolis (e.g., composite capitals on various buildings; see, for example, the human-headed bull-lion creatures flanking a winged ring-and-disk on the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius; see Schmidt 1953, pl. 127).
619 While only the upper paw of the creature at left is preserved, we assume the creature at right stood in the same pose and relationship to the panel. cf. PFS 85a* (pl. 14A) and PFS 85b* (pl. 14B).
620 See, for example, PFS 108*; like PFS 320*, PFS 108* also clearly has numinous qualities with the composite creatures and central stylized tree.
elevate figures both in monumental and glyptic arts. The inscription panel has an almost furniture-like appearance – the top of the panel extends outward slightly over the vertical sides, providing a lip, similar to a stool or platform. Platforms holding aloft cult symbols are a common component of cult scenes in glyptic. The composition of composite creatures sitting atop the platform-like panel on PFS 1334* thus evokes the visual dynamics of ritual scenes. The central placement of the inscription also emphasizes the design’s cult nature; the inscription and creatures sejant clearly serve as a focal point of the scene. The inscription panel also serves what would appear to be a practical aspect of the design: it raises the creatures to a level where the heroes can grasp the tops of their heads. The paneled inscription functions, thus, as an integral element in both the dynamics and semantics of the scene. The symmetry of the design, paired with the inscription and cult symbols at center, recalls the visual dynamics of PFS 389*. The inscription occupying the lower field at center makes PFS 1334* unique among the current cluster of seals.

The scenes in the present group are highly innovative. Garrison has suggested that they belong with a substantial group of experimental seal designs that anticipate the Court Style at Persepolis. Note, for example, the distinctively Achaemenid features on PFS 1334* (pl. 14E): the poses of the heroes (i.e., standing with weapon held down
behind body); Persian court robes; human-headed winged lions; paneled inscription oriented horizontally.

**II.a.3. Paneled inscriptions: Panel appears above figural imagery in figural field**

Two seals from the Fortification archive (approximately two percent of all of the seals with paneled inscriptions) include an inscription panel above elements in the figural field (pl. 15):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
<th>Case Lines?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 83*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 314*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 83* (pl. 15A) carries a single-line Aramaic inscription. PFUTS 314* (pl. 15B) has a multi-line cuneiform inscription (presumably Elamite) with case lines; both are oriented along the horizontal axis. In both designs, a panel is placed above animals in the figural scene (a composite creature and young on PFS 83*, a boar on PFUTS 314*).\(^626\)

Two thematic types are represented:

*Cult Imagery (one seal, 50 percent):* PFS 83*;

*Hunt with Spear (one seal, 50 percent):* PFUTS 314*.

**II.b. Inscriptions with Just Case Lines**

Nine inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately five percent of the inscribed seals) have text that is separated only by case lines (no panel) (pls. 16-17):

\(^626\) PFS 83* has an especially important design and is discussed in more detail in the summary of the present chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 273*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 1530*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 4*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 98*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 181*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 425*</td>
<td>Elamite?</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1025*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1161*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all examples, the text occurs in the terminal field. With the exception of two Aramaic inscriptions (PFUTS 273* (pl. 16A) and PFUTS 1530* (pl. 16B)), the text is cuneiform (presumably all Elamite). With one exception, the text is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal; on the exception, PFUTS 1530*, it is oriented vertically. The visual qualities of the inscriptions in each of these designs recall paneled inscriptions among other Persepolitan seals: the text is in the terminal field, the signs/letters are most often oriented horizontally, and there are case lines.627

The signs/letters in several instances come into close contact with figural elements. Many of the seals in the current group include inscriptions that are placed within the design such that the figural imagery acts as a frame next to the text. This proximity to figural elements can result in varied line lengths. PFS 4* (pl. 16C), for example, includes five lines of text, the lengths of which vary as determined by the figural imagery to either side. Note, for example, how lines two, three, and four are shortened to accommodate the wings and tails of the composite creatures; lines one and  

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627 See above for examples.
five, however, are longer, extending into the spaces available above and below the creatures. Line length also varies on PFS 931* (pl. 16G), in which line four extends farther to the right, under the wing of the standing figure at left, whereas lines two and three terminate at the outstretched wing of the figure that extends further left and within the vertical space of the inscription; the unusual penultimate and final lines, separated by a diagonal case line, are also abbreviated.

The form of the case lines among the current group are similar: thin lines with rounded edges or, in the case of PFS 4* (pl. 16C), pointed. On PFS 931* (pl. 16G) and PFS 1161* (pl. 17A), at least one case line terminates at a figural element. On PFS 931*, the right side of the first and second case lines comes into physical contact with the top wing of the hero at left. On PFS 1161*, the second case line starts at the chest of the composite creature, almost as if an outgrowth of it. In these examples, the case lines are physically connected to the figural imagery, as opposed to floating in isolation, as on PFS 4* (pl. 16C), PFS 98* (pl. 16D), and PFS 425* (pl. 16F). PFS 931* (pl. 16G) is unusual for its final case line running along the diagonal with one sign above, one below.

The heroic combat encounter is the best represented thematic type:

*Heroic Combat Encounter (three seals, approximately 33 percent):* PFS 4*, PFS 98*, PFS 931*, and PFS 1025*;

*Archers (two seals, approximately 22 percent):* PFS 181* and PFS 425*;

*Single Animal/Creature (one seal, approximately 11 percent):* PFS 1161*;

*Warfare (one seal, approximately 11 percent):* PFUTS 273*;

*Hero Holding Lions (one seal, approximately 11 percent):* PFUTS 1530*.

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628 The case lines on PFS 181* (pl. 16E), PFS 1025* (pl. 16H), and PFUTS 273* (pl. 16A) are poorly preserved.
Three of the scenes, PFS 4* (pl. 16C), PFS 98* (pl. 16D), and PFS 931* (pl. 16G), in addition to being heroic combat encounters, share stylistic and iconographic elements: bodies are modeled with rounded forms, the human/winged-human figures have highly detailed garments, the creatures’ wings are covered with multiple rows of feathers, faces are highly detailed. The figural elements included in these designs are rare: human-faced bull-creatures (PFS 98*), human-headed scorpion men (PFS 4*); the composition on PFS 931* involving two heroic combats with crossed animals atop pedestal creatures is also rare. PFS 98* and PFS 931*, both with winged humans, employ the compositional trope of the hero raising his forward leg to place his foot on the hindleg of the animal/creature. This stepping pose is common among seals of this modeled style of carving and with designs featuring heroic combat. Note also how the hero on PFS 4* stands on the feet of the scorpion-men. It is possible that this cluster of seals originated from the same workshop.

Overall, the seals with text that have only case lines appear to represent something of an in-between formal category, one that draws upon both paneled inscriptions (placement in terminal field, case lines) and free-floating inscriptions (disposed more randomly and often in close contact with the figural scene).

II.c. Free-Floating Inscriptions

A free-floating inscription consists of text that appears without paneling around it and without case lines. Free-floating inscriptions on seals in the Fortification archive are arranged in the following ways:

1. Letters/signs fill-out the terminal field
2. Letters/signs fill-out space above, between, below figures in the figural field
3. Letters/signs comprise full design

There are 56 seals in the Fortification archive that employ free-floating inscriptions (approximately 32 percent of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 22*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 130*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 9*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 82*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 123*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 164*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 815*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1612*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1633*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2084*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 19*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 114*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 230*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 232*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 264*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 305*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 336*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 559*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 1217*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 284*</td>
<td>Lydian</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 34*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 108*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 115*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 289*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 813*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1205*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1216*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1228*s</td>
<td>Babylonian?</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1240*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1632*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 219*</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 32*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 57*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 103*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 390*</td>
<td>Elamite?</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 848*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2089*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right; and right to left?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2346*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 195*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>horizontal? (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 629*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 677*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>vertical (and horizontal?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 790*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 883*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>vertical (bottom to top)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1572*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2482*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>horizontal? (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 245*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 333*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>mock/fake?</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>mock/fake?</td>
<td>horizontal?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 361*s</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 563*s</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 of the seals with free-floating inscriptions (approximately 38 percent) are written in alphabetic scripts (20 Aramaic, one Lydian). 31 of the inscriptions (approximately 55 percent) are cuneiform: 13 are monolingual Babylonian, nine are monolingual Elamite, and an additional nine are an unrecognizable language (presumably most, if not all, are Elamite). The high percentage of Aramaic inscriptions among the free-floating format marks a noticeable difference from paneled inscriptions where
Aramaic is relatively rare: of the paneled examples, approximately 14 percent (compared to 38 percent for free-floating) feature alphabetic (i.e., Aramaic) text, while approximately 84 percent (compared to 55 percent for free-floating) carry cuneiform (in most instances, Elamite).

The orientation of the legible (i.e., not mock/fake) inscriptions is almost evenly distributed between horizontal (26 seals) and vertical (27 seals). This distribution is markedly different from the paneled inscriptions from the Fortification archive, the majority of which are oriented along the horizontal axis – approximately 74 percent have text oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal.

Four seals appear to have free-floating inscriptions but are too fragmentarily preserved to be typed beyond this broad classification of free-floating.629 These seals are not discussed below, thus we proceed with a total of 51 seals carrying free-floating inscriptions.630

II.c.1. Free-floating inscriptions: Letters/signs fill-out the terminal field

The most common arrangement for free-floating inscriptions places signs/letters in the terminal field, generally occupying most of this space. 25 inscribed seals (approximately 49 percent of all free-floating inscriptions from the Fortification archive) are so disposed (pls. 18-21):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFS 82*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 164*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 815*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1633*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

629 PFATS 130*, PFATS 195*, PFS 2482*, and PFUTS 232*.
630 Percentages are thus out of 51 seals.
11 of the inscriptions (approximately 44 percent) are written in Aramaic; six seals (approximately 24 percent) carry Babylonian text. The remaining eight seals (approximately 32 percent) have cuneiform inscriptions, four of which are certainly Elamite.

The majority of these inscriptions (16 seals, approximately 64 percent) are oriented along the vertical axis of the seal; nine seals (approximately 36 percent) are oriented along the horizontal axis. The pronounced preference for vertically oriented text marks a significant contrast to those seals which employ paneled inscriptions, where there is a strong preference for horizontally oriented text (approximately 74 percent of paneled inscriptions are horizontally oriented).
Inherent features of free-floating text are the flexibility of letter/sign placement and the possibility of interesting interaction between letters/signs and figural elements. Despite these features, it is interesting to note that the majority of the designs in this group (approximately 64 percent) keep the text in the terminal field with minimal, if any, interaction with figural elements. There are, however, some interesting exceptions in which figural elements encroach into the terminal field. For example, PFS 883* (pl. 20H) and PFS 1633* (pl. 18D) are arranged similarly: some of the signs/letters are placed in the upper portion of the terminal field and above the wings of two rampant creatures; additional signs/letters occur in the lower portion of the terminal field near the hindfeet of two rampant creatures. PFS 2899* (pl. 18E) and PFUTS 264* (pl. 18H) have inscriptions that share the terminal field with an entire figure (or figures) – on PFS 2899*, the two-line horizontal inscription occurs in the upper portion of the terminal field above the horse (and presumably also the entirety of the dead human figure in the lower field, partially preserved at present); on PFUTS 264*, three lines of text are preserved below a figure emergent from a winged symbol in the upper portion of the terminal field. With the figural elements and signs/letters occupying the same vertical space in each of these designs, the inscriptions border on being incorporated within the figural scene. While technically limited to the terminal field, the free-floating inscription, which comes into close proximity with figural elements, leads to a more integrated arrangement of text and

632 Note the comments of Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 81) about the placement of the inscription on PFS 2899*.
figural imagery. This is in stark contrast to many paneled inscriptions that occupy the terminal field and are physically distinct from the figural scene.633

PFS 299* (pl. 20D) also includes an inscription that is placed in the terminal field and in close proximity to figural elements: the horizontal cuneiform inscription is arranged such that two lines appear above the outstretched forelegs of the caprid, an additional line occurs below the animal’s forelegs, and a final line is below the wavy line running through the design (what may be a break in the stone). The animal’s forelegs serve, in a sense, as a case line.634 While the inscription is technically placed in the terminal field, the free-floating layout allows it to interconnect with the figural imagery.635

While there is considerable variety in the thematic types that employ free-floating inscriptions in the terminal field, the heroic control and combat encounters are most common:

*Heroic Control Encounter (seven seals, approximately 28 percent): PFS 32*, PFS 164*, PFS 677*, PFS 883*, PFS 1633*, PFUTS 219*, and PFUTS 264*;

*Heroic Combat Encounter (six seals, approximately 24 percent): PFS 57*, PFS 815*, PFS 1632*, PFUTS 114*, PFUTS 245*, and PFUTS 1217*;

*Cult Imagery (three seals, approximately 12 percent): PFS 82*, PFS 813*, PFS 1240*, and PFUTS 19*;

*Archers (three seals, approximately 12 percent): PFS 115*, PFS 299*, and PFS 390*;

*Warfare (two seals, approximately eight percent): PFS 2899* and PFUTS 599*;

633 See above for several examples.
634 See, also, PFS 57* (pl. 20C), in which the forelegs of the rampant creature separate two lines of text.
635 PFS 390* (pl. 20E) is similar in that the free-floating text and figural imagery overlap vertically in the terminal field (the first line of text is carved above the back arm of the archer and the creature couchant; the last sign is under the left hindfoot of the rampant lion). However, the seal may have been recut, thus we can only speculate as to how the inscription and figural imagery were meant to interact – the vertical band running perpendicular to the text is likely a remnant of a previous design.
Single Animal/Creature (one seal, approximately four percent): PFS 2346*;  
Heraldic Animals/Creatures (one seal, approximately four percent): PFS 108*;  
Seated Personages (one seal, approximately four percent): PFUTS 305*.

II.c.2. Free-floating inscriptions: Letters/signs fill-out space above, between, below figures in the figural field

17 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 33 percent of the seals with free-floating inscriptions) embed free-floating text within the figural field (pls. 22-24) (rather than in what we would call the terminal field on cylinders).636

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 22*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 9*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 123*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1612*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2084*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 230*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 336*</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>horizontal (right to left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 284*</td>
<td>Lydian</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 103*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 848*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 2089*</td>
<td>Elamite</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right; and right to left?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 629*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 790*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1572*</td>
<td>cuneiform – language unrecognizable</td>
<td>horizontal (left to right)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

636 The inscription on PFS 2084* (pl. 22E) is not fully preserved at present. What is visible appears in the terminal field above the wings of each figure. As the inscription is incomplete, we suggest that the text continues before and/or after the three letters that are preserved at present, in which case the inscription would run over the head(s) of the figure(s); one wonders whether the shallow curve of the horn of the composite archer was so designed in order to accommodate letters above (typically double-horned animals/creatures have horns of equal heights (cf. PFS 222, PFS 341, PFUTS 398, PFUTS 182*, PFATS 110, and PFATS 359). Such an arrangement would resemble PFS 123* (pl. 22C) and the top line of PFUTS 336* (pl. 22G).
The languages of the inscriptions are diverse: seven are written in Aramaic and one in apparently Lydian; eight inscriptions are cuneiform, with four certainly Elamite;\textsuperscript{637} one additional seal has a mock/fake inscription. The high percentage of Aramaic in this group (approximately 41 percent) is noteworthy, perhaps reflecting the flexibility of the Aramaic script.

It is most common for the text to be oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal, with 14 examples (approximately 82 percent of the current cluster); only three seals, PFS 9* (pl. 22B), PFS 848* (pl. 23C), and PFS 629* (pl. 23E), have inscriptions oriented along the vertical axis.\textsuperscript{638} This distribution according to orientation is quite different from the previous category involving free-floating inscriptions that fill-out the terminal field, of which only 36 percent are horizontally oriented.

There is some variety in the placement of the free-floating text within the designs. With six examples each (approximately 35 percent), the most common locations are along the top of the design above figural imagery and throughout the design (i.e., signs/letters occur in more than one location and/or are interspersed with figural elements).\textsuperscript{639} There are three examples (approximately 18 percent) in which the

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
PFUTS 333* & cuneiform – language unrecognizable & horizontal (left to right) \\
\hline
PFUTS 234* & mock/fake? & horizontal? \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{637} While too fragmentary to identify at present, the other four are presumably Elamite, as well.
\textsuperscript{638} The overall layout of PFS 848* (pl. 23C) is somewhat uncertain; while it is clear that there is vertically oriented free-floating text, the function of the horizontal band above is unclear. It is possible that this band is the border of the top edge of the seal (the seal may have slipped when being applied, which makes the band appear in close proximity to the figures (if it were to continue, the band would intersect with the horn of the creature and the bow of the archer) and the inscription); alternatively, it could be a remnant (e.g., part of an inscription panel) of an earlier design, thus the seal is recut when it is applied to documents in the Fortification archive.
\textsuperscript{639} Above figural imagery: PFATS 22*, PFS 123*, PFS 284*, PFS 629*, PFS 1612*, and PFS 2084*; throughout design: PFS 27*, PFS 103*, PFS 848*, PFS 1572*, PFS 2089*, and PFUTS 333*.
signs/letters are placed among figural elements at the center of the design; in these instances, text is placed between figures (PFS 9* (pl. 22B)) and/or throughout the limbs of figures (PFUTS 230* (pl. 22F) and PFUTS 234* (pl. 24A)). Only one seal, PFUTS 336* (pl. 22G), includes text both above and below the figural imagery.

The extent to which letters/signs are placed throughout their design ranges from text infiltrating nearly every part of the figural scene (e.g., PFS 103* (pl. 23B) and PFS 2089* (pl. 23D)) and filling almost all of the spaces between figural elements, to text that is relegated to small areas (e.g., PFS 9* (pl. 22B) and PFS 1612* (pl. 22D)). When the inscription is spread throughout the design, the letters/signs can appear more randomly disposed and the text sometimes comes into close contact with figural elements (e.g., PFS 103* (pl. 23B)). The principal visual effect of free-floating text placed throughout a design is the dense interaction with the figural imagery.

The size of the letters/signs range in size. Among Aramaic, very small letters occur on PFS 1612* (pl. 22D), very large on PFATS 22* (pl. 22A). So, too, the size of cuneiform signs vary (e.g., PF 27* (pl. 23A) versus PFS 2089* (pl. 23D)).

PFUTS 230* (pl. 22F) features a design in which elements of the figural imagery serve as physical “dividers” between the lines of the inscription, effectively acting as case lines. The inscription is placed toward the center of the scene, to either side of the hero. Above the first line of text (to either side of the hero) are the outstretched forelegs of the rampant lions; below the first line of text are the animals’ hindlegs. The way in which the legs serve as a case line is especially clear at left of the design, as the lion’s foreleg and raised hindleg run the entire length of the lines. Additionally, most of the letters come into contact with the legs of the animals; this feature would appear to be related to those
paneled inscriptions where the tops and/or bottoms of signs/letters physically touch a case line.\(^{640}\)

PFUTS 336* (pl. 22G) exhibits iconographic, compositional, and epigraphic similarities with PFUTS 230* (pl. 22F); it is possible that both originate from the same workshop. The large size of the Aramaic letters, the manner in which the text is interspersed throughout the design, and the close proximity of text and figural imagery, is similar in both designs. Both PFUTS 336* and PFUTS 230* render lion’s heads similarly and both designs incorporate supplemental figures; when combined with the large Aramaic letters, the designs appear dense with a frieze-like quality.

PFUTS 336* (pl. 22G) includes a very clever design in which text and figural imagery are physically one-and-the same. The free-floating Aramaic inscription runs along the top and bottom edges of the seal. The second letter of the inscription at top, \(T\), is placed above and slightly to left of the spear-wielding composite creature at left. The arched, right side of the letter curves downward to terminate at the raised fist of the creature. Also terminating at the creature’s fist, but at the underside of it, is the spear, at the same angle as the right side of the \(T\). As a result, the spear acts as a continuation of the letter, and vice versa. This must be an intentional interplay of text and figural imagery, as none of the other several letters of the inscription come into physical contact with any of the several figures in the scene. Further, it is often the case that long spears are depicted in Persepolitan glyptic as extending back beyond the hand of the figure holding it, not terminating at it, as would be the case on PFUTS 336* if we were to ignore the letter’s continuation of it past the figure’s hand. Instead, the letter serves as the

\(^{640}\) Note, for example, PFS 45*, where nearly every sign physically touches the case lines above and below.
back end of the spear past the figure’s fist. This is a creative and unique blending of text and figural imagery.

PFS 27* (pl. 23A) has a particularly striking design. At first glance, it would appear to have case lines, the vertical spade and stylus, as these elements provide equal spacing between the signs. However, the text is actually oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal, thus the vertical posts do nothing to aid in the reading of the inscription (i.e., they do not distinguish readable lines of text). Exactly how we are to “read” the particular combination of figural elements (winged lion marchant, spade, and stylus) and curious disposition of the inscription is unclear; nevertheless, the whole is a visual tour de force.

PFS 103* (pl. 23B) is another example of a dense design with free-floating signs throughout. The figural scene – the heroic control encounter – is combined with free-floating signs that fill every space not occupied by the figural elements. Thus, signs are placed in the terminal field, above, below, and between figures. Like PFS 27* (pl. 23A), such a design does not distinguish between a figural and a textual space.

PFS 2089* (pl. 23D) has a similar dynamic – the highly detailed figural scene is paired with free-floating signs that occupy two vertical zones, the terminal field and between the tree and figure at right. The result is a highly dense design in which the figural elements and signs are intertwined.

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Note the length of the spears in PFATS 88, PFS 51, PFS 157, PFS 220, PFS 308, PFS 331, PFS 650, PFS 734, PFS 1000, and PFUTS 314*.
Among the seals with free-floating inscriptions that occupy space above, between
and/or below figures in the figural field, the heroic control encounter and combat
encounters are the most popular thematic types:

*Heroic Control Encounter (five seals, approximately 29 percent): PFS 103*, PFS 123*,
PFS 284*, PFUTS 230*, and PFUTS 234*;

*Heroic Combat Encounter (three seals, approximately 18 percent): PFATS 22*, PFS 9*,
and PFS 1612*;

*Cult Imagery (three seals, approximately 18 percent): PFS 790*, PFS 1572*, and PFS
2089*;

*Warfare (two seals, approximately 12 percent): PFS 2084* and PFUTS 336*;

*Archers (two seals, approximately 12 percent): PFS 629* and PFS 848*;

*Single Animal/Creature (one seal, approximately six percent): PFS 27*;

*Heraldic Animals/Creatures (one seal, approximately six percent): PFUTS 333*.

II.c.3. Free-floating inscriptions: Letters/signs comprise full design

Two inscribed seals consist entirely of text (pl. 25):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>mock/fake?</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 361*s</td>
<td>mock/fake?</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On both PFATS 376*s (pl. 25A) and PFUTS 361*s (pl. 25B), signs/letters are
scattered throughout the seal face. At present, the script, language, and orientation of both
inscriptions are unknown; it is possible that they are fake or meant to mimic text, thus
“mock/fake.” While these inscriptions cannot be read at present, their compositions recall
inscribed west Semitic stamp seals which often consist solely of text.642

642 See, for example, Avigad and Sass 1997, nos. 753, 794, 821, and 841.
II.c.4. Free-floating inscriptions: Letters/signs occur at edge of stamp seal

Eight inscribed stamp seals (approximately five percent of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive) have an inscription located at the edge of the seal (pl. 26):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Language of Inscription</th>
<th>Orientation of Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFATS 34*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 289*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1205*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1216*s</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>vertical (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFS 1228*s</td>
<td>Babylonian(?)</td>
<td>vertical(?) (top to bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUTS 563*s</td>
<td>mock/fake</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group of seals is very consistent. With one exception (PFUTS 563*s (pl. 26H)), all of the inscriptions are Babylonian (the content being one of two standard inscriptions for the so-called Late Babylonian worship scene) and are oriented along the vertical axis of the seal.\(^{643}\) The scenes are all variations of the Late Babylonian worship scene: a worshiper facing cult symbols atop a pedestal.\(^{644}\) PFS 161*s (pl. 26B), wherein two worshipers stand to either side of a central device, while clearly related to the Late Babylonian worship scene, may track from a separate thematic type.\(^{645}\) With one exception, the inscription is along the left side of the design, between the back of the worshiper and the edge of the seal; on the exception, PFATS 34*s (pl. 26A), the inscription is at right behind the cult symbols and along the edge of the seal.

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\(^{643}\) See Chapter 4 for details on the inscriptional formulae.
\(^{644}\) See Chapters 2 and 5 for details on the Late Babylonian worship scene.
\(^{645}\) See Chapter 5 for this thematic type.
III. Conclusion: Summary and Analysis

This brief survey of the methods in which inscriptions are deployed in seal designs at Persepolis reveals various solutions to the issue of the relationship of text to image. In all instances, text is a critical component of the overall design. The main methods for displaying text – within a panel, with just case lines, or free-floating – have a long tradition in the glyptic arts of ancient Western Asia. Seal carvers at Persepolis both perpetuated these earlier traditions and, in many instances, created something new and distinctively Achaemenid.646 This spirit of innovation is one of the defining characteristics of Persepolitan glyptic as a whole. We discuss the links with earlier glyptic in Chapter 8.

The various categories of display methods discussed throughout this chapter reveal the diversity of Persepolitan inscribed seals. The presence/absence of panels, the orientation of text, and its placement within a design allow for a variety of solutions for inscribed seal designs at Persepolis. The result is an especially dynamic corpus of seals.

Some of the main themes to emerge from this chapter warrant additional discussion below:

1. inscriptional display formats for seals carrying Elamite versus Aramaic inscriptions;
2. deliberate interaction of text and figural imagery;
3. recurring pairings of particular thematic types with particular inscriptional display formats.

III.a. Inscriptional Display Formats for Seals Carrying Elamite Versus Aramaic Inscriptions

Among the 174 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, some design patterns are clear: paneled inscriptions are most common, generally horizontally oriented, almost always with case lines, and typically placed in the terminal field. Elamite inscriptions in particular prefer this display mode (among the seals with Elamite inscriptions, approximately 80 percent are paneled). We see Aramaic inscriptions more commonly without a panel – text with just case lines, as well as free-floating text (arranged with neither a panel nor case lines). Approximately 59 percent of the seals with Aramaic inscriptions are so disposed (only approximately 20 percent of Elamite seal inscriptions are free-floating). These inscriptions without panels appear in two principal formats – in the terminal field or intermingled with the figural imagery throughout the design. In the latter, text and figural elements often come into close contact.

Horizontal orientation of text is preferred for both Elamite and Aramaic. Elamite especially, with approximately 84 percent, favors this display mode. While the majority of Aramaic inscriptions, approximately 62 percent, are also horizontally oriented, we see a much higher percentage of texts that are vertically oriented (approximately 38 percent). In general, there is more diversity in the methods of presenting Aramaic inscriptions than Elamite.

While one can document various formats of Elamite seal inscriptions at Persepolis, it is clear that the quintessential seal inscribed in Elamite features a paneled text, horizontally oriented, with case lines, in the terminal field.
Aramaic inscriptions on seals at Persepolis exhibit more variety in format than Elamite, but there are clear tendencies. There is a much more pronounced presence of free-floating text. These free-floating inscriptions exhibit great variety in layout (the very nature of free-floating text would appear to enable/encourage such).647 Interestingly, the very rare arrangement of a paneled inscription without case lines is utilized only for Aramaic inscriptions, PFS 54* and PFS 266*, another testament to what appears to be a greater freedom in formatting of text in Aramaic than in Elamite.

III.b. Deliberate Interaction of Text and Figural Imagery

Throughout the corpus of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, we witness what appears to be a concerted effort to have text and figural imagery directly interact. This is true both for paneled and free-floating inscriptions. For example, a significant number of seals with paneled inscriptions incorporate figural imagery that encroaches into the panel or serves as part of the panel itself (II.a.1.b. (pls. 9-10)). As noted above, this phenomenon can range from some part of a figure’s body or clothing extending into or replacing a portion of the panel to an entire figure serving as a vertical side of the panel.

An intentionality in linking text and figural imagery is often seen in seals that deploy free-floating inscriptions. Even when the free-floating text is placed in the terminal field, figural elements often encroach into this space. When figures have some part of their body extending into an inscription in the terminal field (e.g., the forelegs of the rampant winged creature on PFS 57* (pl. 20C)), the design takes on a decorative

647 For example, placement within the design and sizing of signs/letters.
frieze-like quality that elides the conventional hiatus provided by the terminal field as a space. This visual effect is heightened when free-floating text occurs in the space above, between, and below figures, as PFS 103* (pl. 23B); in this design, text invades all of the negative space not occupied by the figural elements, effectively interlocking the two components.

The seals that feature a single animal/creature and a paneled inscription exhibit a particularly interesting interconnectedness of figural imagery and text. Even though the paneled inscription is, in several instances, fully distinct from the figural imagery, there is a dynamic relationship between the two components that is actualized upon rolling of the seal: the figural imagery and inscription balance each other owing to the fact that the two elements, figural and epigraphic, generally have the same horizontal and vertical dimensions. On a few seals, the inscription is even broader than the figural imagery (e.g., PFS 45* (pl. 9A) and PFS 73* (pl. 2G)). In these designs, the inscription takes on an expanded role in the overall visual dynamics. We can contrast these seals with more complex figural compositions (e.g., the heroic control encounter) where the figural imagery generally constitutes a larger proportion of the overall design space.

III.c. Recurring Pairings of Particular Thematic Types with Particular Inscriptional Display Formats

Several interesting clusters of seals reveal distinct patterns for combining specific figural imagery with specific methods of presenting text. By way of example, we highlight four scenes with cult imagery that have paneled inscriptions above or below figural elements.
PFS 83* (pl. 27A), PFS 1334* (pl. 27B), PFS 1601* (pl. 27C), and PFS 3035* (pl. 27D), while visually quite distinct, strategically place paneled inscriptions within scenes of highly charged ritual/numinous imagery. The paneled inscription either is elevated (PFS 83* and PFS 3035*) or serves to elevate numinous entities (PFS 1334* and PFS 1601*). The distinctive placement of the paneled inscriptions within these scenes evokes inscriptions in monumental relief at both Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam.648

On PFS 83* (pl. 27A), the paneled inscription is in the upper field and immediately next to a winged disk held aloft by a winged bull-man atlantid figure. The composition of this seal works in multiple ways to draw attention to the inscription: the inscription exists in the same visual zone as the winged symbol; both inscription and winged symbol float above objects (in the case of the inscription, a winged bovine, while the winged symbol is held aloft by the winged bull-man atlantid). The winged bull-man atlantid recalls, of course, the extensive use of atlantid figures in Achaemenid monumental relief.649 The caption-like panel on PFS 83* also vividly evokes monumental relief: the panel-like inscriptions in the field above Darius and his attendants at Behistun (DBa, DBb); the actual captions identifying the rebel kings at Behistun (DBb-DBk); and the captions identifying the subject peoples of the empire (DN I-XXIV aka DNe) and the

648 Garrison (2017a) discusses in detail various connections between Persepolitan glyptic and the relief at Naqš-e Rostam.
649 See, especially, the façade of the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, which includes two registers of atlas figures. For examples at Persepolis, see the south jamb of the eastern doorway of the Central Building (Schmidt 1953, pl. 77); see Chapter 5 for more on atlas figures. For the notion of ascension in Achaemenid art, see Garrison (2017a, p. 346), Garrison (2011b), and Garrison (2010a, pp. 350-51, 355-56); Root (1979) first discussed this phenomenon as “the king on high.”
nobles Kambarma, Ašbazana, and the attendant at top right whose name is not preserved (DNc, DNd, DNf) on Darius’ tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam.  

PFS 1601* (pl. 27C) has a slightly different dynamic: next to the central banquet scene is a paneled inscription in the middle and lower portions of the terminal field; above is a small winged symbol. Here the inscription panel is not the central focus of the scene. Nevertheless, the winged symbol placed directly over the inscription is critical, as the inscription then functions as a “support” for the winged symbol similarly to a pedestal creature or bull-man atlantid (cf. PFS 83* (pl. 27A)).

The inscription panel on PFS 1334* (pl. 27B) actually serves as a pedestal on which the winged human-headed lions sit. As PFS 83* (pl. 27A) and PFS 1601* (pl. 27C), the paneled inscription on PFS 1334* is closely linked with a cult symbol.

Lastly, PFS 3035* (pl. 27D) includes an elevated paneled inscription in the terminal field; the inscription is balanced on the tips of the fins of two fish-men. As discussed above, the pedestal creatures elevate the inscription just as they do the standing worshipers. Like PFS 83* (pl. 27A), the inscription panel on PFS 3035* is elevated by a supportive composite creature and placed in closer alignment with a winged symbol. The inscription’s large size, its intersecting horizontal and vertical lines, and the repeated

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650 See Schmidt (1970) for details on the relief and inscriptions at Naqš-e Rostam. A new trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian) inscription (DNf) was recently identified at Naqš-e Rostam (Delshad and Doroodi 2019). It occurs above the top attendant at right and serves to identify this figure (ibid., p. 5); it reads, “[Personal Name, Pati]schorian, invokes blessing upon Darius the King” (ibid., p. 10).

651 Garrison (2013) has discussed the concept of elevation of figures in various Achaemenid media. A very similar composition involving composite creatures sejant and a paneled inscription is documented in Achaemenid monumental relief. At the Palace of Darius at Persepolis, a centrally placed paneled inscription on the southern stairway is flanked by guards (Schmidt 1953, pls. 126-27); to right and to left of the inscription, in the field above the standing figures, is a pair of human-headed creatures sejant; the motif is repeated on the façade of the main stairway of the Central Building (ibid., pls. 62-63). These architectural examples recall the composition of PFS 1334*.
vertical cuneiform wedges, draw the eye to it, just as the central hatching and radiating vertical cones of the stylized tree at center. Indeed, this pairing – dense inscription and detailed stylized tree – integrates the design overall (in addition to the physical connection of the inscription and fish-men).

This cluster of seals with paneled inscriptions in ritually charged scenes demonstrates multiple ways in which an inscription can serve as the focal point of a design, even when it is placed away from the center of the scene. The inscriptions assume a crucial role in how one approaches the reading of the imagery; the text is not simply “added onto” the scenes (as one could argue for the placement of some inscriptions isolated in the terminal field that do not interact with figural imagery) but comprises an essential part of the visual dynamics. Several of these seals deploy methods of combining text and figural imagery that are also attested in Achaemenid monumental relief, revealing the potential for studying the seals in tandem with other media dating to the reign of Darius I.
Chapter 7: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Seal Users

I. Introduction

One of the most intriguing aspects of Persepolitan glyptic is the possibility of linking a seal with its user(s). Critical to determining a user of a given seal is understanding sealing protocols on the Elamite documents.\textsuperscript{652} Below we discuss some of the challenges in attributing specific seals to specific users. We offer a preliminary accounting of the inscribed seals that can be linked with their user(s) according to administrative function. We provide a list of the legible names (PN\textsubscript{1} if more than one) in the seal inscriptions and note the instances in which the name appears to match that of its user (as identified in the Elamite text(s) to which it is applied). We conclude with a case study of a particularly interesting set of circumstances that allow us to attribute a user for an especially intriguing seal design, PFS 535*.

II. Attributing Specific Seals to Specific Seal Users

Seals applied to Elamite and/or Aramaic documents at Persepolis can either reiterate information about the administrative official or office mentioned in the text or provide information not conveyed in the text concerning the presence of an official or office. Seals on uninscribed documents, obviously, are the only source of information

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\textsuperscript{652} Sealing protocols on Aramaic and uninscribed documents follow those on the Elamite documents; see Chapter 3.
that we have about those documents. The Aramaic documents, when legible, are typically
terse and in many cases do not include names, making seal attribution challenging. 653

As Hallock early on recognized, there exist defined sealing protocols within the
Elamite documents. 654 Those sealing protocols, in many instances, allow us to link the
seals applied to a document with specific officials. 655 There are four sealing protocols: 656

*Single-seal:* one seal occurs on the tablet;

*Counter-seal:* two seals occur on the tablet, the one on the left edge, the other on any
other surface(s) (generally the reverse and/or upper edge);

*Parallel-seal:* two seals occur on the tablet in a pattern other than that of the counter-seal
protocol (i.e., neither one of the two seals occurs on the left edge, or the seal on the left
dge also occurs on another surface(s));

*Multiple-seal:* three or more seals occur on the tablet.

Hallock noted that the sealing protocols associated with two types of texts, travel
rations (Q, S3) and letters/letter-orders (T), allowed for clear connections between seal
and seal user to be determined. The travel rations typically follow the counter-seal
protocol (the supplier’s seal on the left edge, the receiver’s seal generally on the reverse
and/or upper edge). The letters/letter-orders generally follow the single-seal protocol (the
seal of the addressor applied generally to the left edge (and often other surfaces)).

In other text categories, linking the seals with officials/offices named (or not
named) in the texts is challenging. One key is the appearance of known *kurman* seals,
which almost always occur on the left edge. If the *kurman* seal is a known one, and if we

653 See Chapter 3 for details.
655 The discussion that follows applies to all text categories except for journals (V) and accounts (W). Thus,
generally we are concerned with the tongue-shaped memoranda, not the large rectangular formats of
journals and accounts. For an extended discussion of sealing protocols, see Garrison (2017a, pp. 53-67).
656 See Chapter 3 for more discussion of sealing protocols in the Fortification archive.
have enough attestations of the other seals applied to a tablet, we can generally make
some headway into identifying the function of the other seals applied to tablets regardless
of sealing protocol.

Below is a brief survey of other text types and our ability to link seals to users:657

* A and C texts (commodity movements, transfers, balances, audits): if a seal occurs only in
  these text types, it is almost impossible to link it to a specific official/office;

* B, D, E, H, K-N, P, R-S1-2, and U texts (generally ration allocations, with exception of
  some B, D, E, and U texts): if we have enough attestations of a seal (c. 5-10 documents),
  we can often attribute it to a specific official/office;

* J texts (special disbursements before the king): these texts have been well studied and we
  can attribute all seals on them to offices or individuals;658

* V and W texts (journals and accounts): the seals that occur on these documents are
  unambiguously linked to accounting officials and offices at Persepolis; individual
  accountants are never named in these texts.

### II.a. Seal Users and Administrative Function

Below is a breakdown of inscribed seals for which we can reasonably suggest seal
users (officials or offices, noted in parentheses), organized by administrative function in
the Fortification archive.

#### II.a.1. The Royal Family

At the very top of the socio-administrative hierarchy are members of the royal
family.659 Only one of them, Iršama, royal prince and son of Darius I and Irtašduna, uses

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657 See Garrison (2017a, pp. 62-67) for a detailed exposition of the sealing protocols that occur with
specific text types. See Appendix 3 for an accounting of inscribed seals that can be attributed to seal users
according to Elamite text type.

658 See Henkelman (2010a) for the texts and Garrison (1991 and 1996a) for the seals.

659 For the royal family, see, for example, Garrison (1991, 1996a, and 2011a), Brosius (1996), Briant
(2002), and Henkelman (2008 and 2010a).
an inscribed seal. While Iršama is mentioned in several texts, the footprint of his seal in the archive is very small.

**Inscribed seals belonging to members of the royal family (Iršama):**

1. PFS 2899* (warfare) (pl. 1A)

   PFS 2899* (pl. 1A) is a spectacular seal, showing the relatively rare thematic type, warfare. The composition is ambitious and has no exact parallel in Achaemenid glyptic. A restrained modeled carving style is employed.

**II.a.2. Director and Deputy-Director**

At the very top of the organization matrix are the director and the deputy-director. These individuals oversee the day-to-day administrative activities. They are most prominent in the archive as recipients of special rations (H texts), issuers of travel authorizations (halmi, Q texts), and addressors of letter-orders (T texts).

**Inscribed seals belonging to the director:**

1. PFS 9* (Parnakka) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 2A)
2. PFS 16* (Parnakka) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 2B)
3. PFS 1567* (Ašbazana) (cult imagery) (pl. 2C)
4. PFS 71* (Irdumartiya) (archer) (pl. 2D)

**Inscribed seals belonging to the deputy-director (Ziššawiš):**

1. PFS 11* (cult imagery) (pl. 2F)
2. PFS 83* (cult imagery) (pl. 2G)

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660 Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 50.
661 See Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, pp. 56-62) for the dossier of Iršama.
662 See Chapter 5 for details on the thematic type. See Garrison and Henkelman (2020b) for a comprehensive discussion of the imagery on the seal.
663 See Henkelman (2008, p. 127 (n. 283)) for details on Ašbazana becoming director after Parnakka (year 28).
664 Henkelman (ibid.) suggests that Irdumartiya was director up until year 15, when Parnakka assumes the role; it is possible that Irdumartiya was reinstated as director sometime between the end of Parnakka’s tenure (year 25) and the beginning of Ašbazana’s (year 28) (ibid.). PFS 261* (archer) (pl. 2E) may belong with the bureau of Irdumartiya.
With two exceptions, the thematic types displayed on the seals used by the directors (Parnakka, Ašbazana, Irdumartiya) and deputy-director (Ziššawiš) in the Fortification archive are consistent with the most common thematic types among all of the inscribed seals: cult imagery, the heroic combat encounter, and the heroic control encounter. PFS 71* (pl. 2D) shows an archer, a less common thematic type among the inscribed seals.

PFS 9* (pl. 2A), PFS 16* (pl. 2B), PFS 1567* (pl. 2C), and PFS 83* (pl. 2G) are heavily Assyrianizing in style and/or iconography; PFS 11* (pl. 2F), however, is a royal-name seal (Darius) and is rendered in the Court Style (see below). PFS 71* (pl. 2D) is carved in the Modeled Style and includes court-centric iconography in a scene full of movement and narrative.

II.a.3. Regional Directors

The administrative level immediately under the director and deputy-director are the regional directors. As previously discussed, Hallock recognized three distinct administrative regions and the seals associated with them. Henkelman has identified a northern administrative zone and a southern one, but to date no specific seals can be linked with those two regions.

Inscribed office seals of regional directors:

1. PFS 1* (Persepolis region, Karkiš and Šuddayauda) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 3A)
2. PFS 4* (Fahliyān region, Iršena) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 3B)

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665 See Chapter 5 for details on the thematic types among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.
666 See Garrison (2014b and 2017a) for detailed discussion of this seal.
Two of the four regional office seals are inscribed. The two inscribed seals, PFS 1* (pl. 3A) and PFS 4* (pl. 3B), show two of the most common thematic types among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive – the heroic control encounter and the heroic combat encounter. Both designs, however, have some very unusual features. The bull-man hero on PFS 1* is one of only five seals in the whole of the heroic encounter corpus from the Fortification archive where the hero’s head is an animal and its body a composite human-animal; the winged bird-headed lion-creatures are also rare. The hero on PFS 4* apparently has a projectile in his back hand (cf. PFS 739*). The creatures on PFS 4*, winged human-headed scorpions, are very rare in Persepolitan glyptic. The hero’s garment and the headdresses of the winged human-headed scorpion creatures are also noteworthy. Both PFS 1* and PFS 4* employ a miniaturist Modeled Style of carving.

II.a.4. Šaramanna and Damanna Officials

The officials responsible for the logistics and rationing branch of the agency represented by the Fortification archive are identified in the Elamite texts by the terms šaramanna or damanna. These terms “refer, respectively, to the offices and officers with oversight of rationing of animals and workers and to those responsible for assigning workers to specific tasks and animals to herds or grazing grounds.”
texts, individuals and workgroups are often identified by the šaramanna or damanna official responsible for their rationing.  

There are approximately 150 named šaramanna officials in the Fortification archive. An additional 34 officials are designated as damanna only. Of the approximately 185 officials designated šaramanna and/or damanna, 23 use an inscribed seal:

*Inscribed seals linked with šaramanna/damanna officials:*  

1. PFS 25* (Karkiš) (crossed animals) (pl. 4A)  
2. PFS 32* (Šuddayauda) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 4B)  
3. PFS 35* (šaramanna office) (archer) (pl. 4C)  
4. PFS 36* (Rašda) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 4D)  
5. PFS 43* (Uštanna) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 4E)  
6. PFS 45* (Uštanna) (single creature) (pl. 4F)  
7. PFS 64* (šaramanna office, possibly Tiridada) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 4G)  
8. PFS 77* (Rašda) (seated personage) (pl. 4H)  
9. PFS 81* (Šati-Kitin) (crossed animals) (pl. 5A)  
10. PFS 82* (Maraza/Hašina) (cult imagery) (pl. 5B)  
11. PFS 85a* (Kinnadadda) (cult imagery) (pl. 5C)  
12. PFS 85b* (Kinnadadda) (cult imagery) (pl. 5D)  
13. PFS 98* (Abbateya) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 5E)  
14. PFS 113* (Baratkama) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 5F)  
15. PFS 124* (Hiumizza) (single creature) (pl. 5G)  
16. PFS 164* (Attiyaka) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 5H)  
17. PFS 535* (Šalamana) (seated personage) (pl. 6A)  
18. PFS 588* (unnamed šaramanna) (crossed animals) (pl. 6B)  
19. PFS 815* (Daddapparna) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 6C)

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*676* Garrison 2017a, p. 41.  
*677* Ibid., p. 42; Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 187. Approximately 20 of these šaramanna officials are also designated damanna.  
*678* Ziššawiš and Parnakka are designated as damanna officials, but their seals are not included in the list that follows (Garrison 2017a, p. 39); see above for their seals. See Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, pp. 183-86) on šaramanna/damanna officials. While we have already mentioned Karkiš and Šuddayauda, the regional directors above, we include them here with their personal seals.  
*679* Uštanna occurs twice in this list. PFS 45* is certainly his personal seal. PFS 43* occurs on several texts that name Uštanna; thus, we leave open the possibility that both seals belong to the same šaramanna official, Uštanna. See the catalogue entries for PFS 43* and PFS 45* for details.  
*680* See the catalogue entry for this seal and the interesting dossier that makes attribution to Tiridada somewhat tentative.
20. PFS 981* (Iršena) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 6D)
21. PFS 1566* (Abbateya) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 6E)
22. PFS 1572* (Indapippi) (cult imagery) (pl. 6F)
23. PFUTS 305* (Zarnamiya) (seated personage) (pl. 6G)

All of the seals in this group are of very high quality. The distribution of thematic
types among these seals is similar to what we see in the corpus of inscribed seals as a
whole. The themes which do not occur among this group are all relatively rare: warfare,
heraldic animals/creatures, hunt, inscription on own, human(s) interacting with
animal(s)/creature(s), hero holds animals at chest, and animal combat.

Generally, the seals in this group employ various modeled styles of carving. PFS
25* (pl. 4A) and PFS 98* (pl. 5E) are rendered in a miniaturist Modeled Style; PFS 82*
(pl. 5B) is executed in a more restrained version of the style. Also modeled are PFS 32*
(pl. 4B), PFS 35* (pl. 4C), PFS 45* (pl. 4F), PFS 815* (pl. 6C), PFS 1566* (pl. 6E), and
PFS 1572* (pl. 6F); modeling is more restrained on PFS 81* (pl. 5A), PFS 124* (pl. 5G),
PFS 164* (pl. 5H), and PFS 535* (pl. 6A). PFS 588* (pl. 6B) is the only seal carved in
the Fortification Style;681 the animals on PFS 85a* (pl. 5C) and PFS 85b* (pl. 5D) are
Fortification style, while the human figures are slightly modeled. PFS 981* (pl. 6D) also
shows a mixture of Fortification and modeled styles. PFS 113* (pl. 5F) and PFUTS 305*
(pl. 6G) are Court Style. PFS 43* (pl. 4E) is somewhat unusual with elongated figures
with geometric forms. PFS 77* (pl. 4H) is an heirloom.682

681 The Fortification Style is a local Persepolitan glyptic phenomenon (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 18).
Seals carved in the Fortification Style tend to exhibit less modeling (some animal hindquarters excluded)
(ibid.); human and animal forms, particularly limbs, can appear thin and linear; contours of human bodies
tend to be simple (ibid.).
682 See the respective catalogue entries for additional details on the carving styles of these seals.
There are clearly various ranks of šaramanna officials in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{683} Below are the most commonly attested šaramanna officials in the Fortification archive, listed according to how many texts in which they are designated šaramanna (and/or damanna);\textsuperscript{684} in parentheses are the seals with which they have been linked and a count of memoranda, journals, and accounts in which they occur.

\textit{Attested as šaramanna in 20+ texts:}

1. Abbateya (PFS 1566*) (29 memoranda, 3 journal entries)
2. Iršena Fahliyān (and damanna) (PFS 4* and PFS 981*) (79 memoranda, 1 journal entry, 3 accounts)
3. Karkiš (and damanna) (PFS 1*, PFS 25*, perhaps PFS 188a*) (58 memoranda, 31 journal entries, 2 journal epitomes, 4 accounts)
4. Masdayašna (seal uncertain) (7 memoranda, 10 journal entries, 1 journal epitome, 2 accounts)
5. Mištanna (=Mišdana, Uštanna, Uštana) (PFS 15, PFS 43*, and PFS 45*) (45 memoranda, 2 journal entries)
6. Rašda (PFS 36* and PFS 77*) (65 memoranda, 3 journal entries, 1 journal epitome)
7. Šuddayauda (and damanna) (PFS 1* and PFS 32*) (109 memoranda, 29 journal entries, 1 journal epitome)
8. Iršena Persepolis (PFS 75) (23 memoranda, 57 journal entries, 7 journal epitomes, 4 accounts)

\textsuperscript{683} Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{684} These lists indicate how many times a given official is designated šaramanna/damanna, not how many attestations there are of a given name throughout the Elamite texts. We distinguish between memoranda, journal entries, journal epitomes, and accounts. Memoranda are single transactions (e.g., a travel ration). Journals are compilations of individual transactions and thus consist of multiple entries; a šaramanna/damanna official can occur in multiple entries within one journal. We count each journal entry in which a šaramanna is noted as a separate attestation. A journal concludes with a summary of information (e.g., total amounts, dates, the officials and places involved), what we call an epitome. We consider a šaramanna official that is named in a journal epitome as the šaramanna of the whole document; thus, in these instances, we count him only once. Accounts, while similar to journals in that they also record data from multiple streams and over time, typically do not list more than one šaramanna/damanna official; out of the total 263 accounts, seven accounts include both a šaramanna and a damanna official, one account includes more than one šaramanna official as well as listing one damanna official, and one text lists multiple šaramanna officials. Thus, in most instances we can count only one šaramanna/damanna official per account. Henkelman (2008, pp. 136-38) discusses these types of documents in detail.
These eight officials are designated šaramanna/damanna more than 20 times and are attested in at least two of the three types of Elamite documents, memoranda, journals, and/or accounts. We can identify the seal(s) for seven of those officials; of those seven officials, six use at least one inscribed seal (approximately 86 percent). Five of the six officials using an inscribed seal use more than one inscribed seal; the whole group, thus, has 11 inscribed seals among the total seven officials with known seals.685

Attested as šaramanna in 10-19 texts:

1. Harrena (PFS 1568*) (2 memoranda, 3 journal entries, 2 journal epitomes, 6 accounts)
2. Irtuppiya (PFS 2) (5 memoranda, 1 journal epitome, 8 accounts)
3. Maraza (and damanna) (PFS 82*) (7 memoranda, 2 journal entries, 1 journal epitome, 3 accounts)
4. Marduša (and damanna) (seal unknown) (12 memoranda)
5. Parnakka (only damanna) (PFS 9* and PFS 16*) (13 memoranda, 3 journal entries)
6. Sadakuš (and damanna) (seal unknown) (13 memoranda, 1 journal epitome)
7. Zimakka (seal unknown) (12 memoranda, 1 account)
8. Zīššawiš (only damanna) (PFS 11* and PFS 83*) (6 memoranda, 4 journal entries)

With one exception, these eight šaramanna/damanna officials occur in at least two of the three types of Elamite documents, memoranda, journals, and/or accounts. We can identify the seal(s) for five of the total eight officials; of those five officials, four (approximately 80 percent) use at least one inscribed seal. Two of the officials using an inscribed seals use more than one inscribed seal; thus, the whole group has six inscribed seals among the five officials with known seals.

Attested as šaramanna in 5-9 texts:

1. Attiyakka (PFS 164*) (8 memoranda)
2. Bakadadda (and damanna) (seal uncertain) (9 memoranda)
3. Bakunda (PFS 941, PFS 2909, and PFS 2973) (8 memoranda, 1 journal entry)

685 This accounting considers PFS 1* only once.
4. Baraddumawiš (seal uncertain) (9 memoranda)
5. Baratkama (and damanna) (PFS 113*) (6 memoranda)
6. Datapparna (PFS 815*) (4 memoranda, 1 journal entry, 3 journal epitomes)
7. Hiumizza (PFS 63 and PFS 124*) (9 memoranda)
8. Irdumartiya (and damanna) (PFS 71* and PFS 261*) (2 memoranda, 4 journal entries)
9. Irištimanka (seal uncertain) (7 memoranda)
10. Manaka (PFS 58) (6 memoranda)
11. Miššābadda (seal unknown) (8 memoranda)
12. Naptāš (seal unknown) (7 memoranda)
13. Nariyapikna (PFS 1399) (5 memoranda)
14. Sarakuzziš (PFS 975) (9 memoranda)
15. Šandupirzana (PFS 165*)\(^\text{686}\) (6 memoranda)
16. Šedda (seal unknown) (9 memoranda)
17. Šiyana (PFS 818) (9 memoranda)
18. Tiyama (and damanna) (PFS 91) (5 memoranda)
19. Unapa (seal unknown) (6 memoranda)
20. Urikama (seal unknown) (2 memoranda, 1 journal entry, 2 journal epitomes, 1 account)

Sixteen of these twenty officials occur exclusively in memoranda. We can identify the seal(s) for 12 of the total 20 officials; of those 12 officials, six (approximately 50 percent) use at least one inscribed seal. One official uses two inscribed seals, thus the overall number of inscribed seals in this group is seven.

The three groups above contain the names of 36 šaramanna/damanna officials. While we cannot state definitively that these officials account for every high-rank šaramanna/damanna official named in the archive, they are unambiguously the ones that are named most commonly in the surviving texts, and, in many cases, we can be certain of their high rank.\(^\text{687}\) 16 of them (approximately 44 percent) use at least one inscribed seal. This is significantly higher than the use of inscribed seals as a whole in the Fortification archive (approximately four percent).

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\(^\text{686}\) Šandupirzana recurs in the documents carrying PFS 165*; however, the sealing protocols for some of the text types are uncertain, thus attribution is speculative.

\(^\text{687}\) Note, for example, Irdumartiya, Ziššawiš, Parnakka, Abbateya, Iršena, Karkiš, Šuddayauda, and Rašda.
With the exception of Masdayašna, to whom we cannot definitively attribute a
seal, and the Persepolitan Iršena, who uses PFS 75, the most commonly occurring
šaramanna/damanna officials (the 20+ group) use inscribed seals. Inscriptions are thus
a critically important feature of these officials’ seals.

II.a.5. Accounting Officials/Offices

There are different types of accounting officials/offices in the Fortification
archive. Seemingly at the top of the ladder are those officials/offices whose seals occur
only on journals and/or accounts. These officials/offices are the ones responsible for
overseeing the digest of memoranda into journals and then the creation of year-end
accounts onto various rectangular tablet formats. It is generally assumed that these
officials/offices were resident at Persepolis. Given the high-order processing skills
needed to create journals and accounts, we assume that these accountants were of fairly
high administrative rank. Unfortunately, these accountants who oversaw or actually
produced the Elamite journals and accounts are never named in those records. Thus,
we are hard-pressed to know whether these seals represent officials, offices, or some mix
of the two.

688 PFS 75 is the most commonly occurring seal to follow the single-seal protocol on the uninscribed
documents (Garrison 2017a, p. 45); in the Elamite texts, Iršena recurs as the šaramanna responsible for
supplying rations to workers. See Garrison (Forthcoming(A)) for a discussion of the Persepolitan Iršena
and PFS 75. Iršena’s dossier stands out for the very high number of journal entries in which he is named
(57); this is nearly double the next most commonly occurring šaramanna/damanna officials named in
journal entries, Karkiš (31 journal entries) and Šuddayauda (29 journal entries).
689 Mikołajczak 2018, p. 262.
690 What this phenomenon indicates is unclear. See Mikołajczak (2018) for details on the accounting seals
from the Fortification archive.
64 distinct seals (inscribed and seals that are not inscribed) occur in accounting contexts at Persepolis.\textsuperscript{691} 36 seals occur exclusively on journals and accounts (V and W texts); of these 36 seals, 11 (approximately 31 percent) are inscribed.

*Inscribed seals used exclusively on journals and accounts (V and W texts):*

1. PFS 27* (single creature) (pl. 7A)
2. PFS 1574* (single creature) (pl. 7B)
3. PFS 1633* (heroic control encounter) (pl. 7C)
4. PFS 2076* (hunt) (pl. 7D)
5. PFS 2084* (warfare) (pl. 7E)
6. PFS 2088* (crossed animals) (pl. 7F)
7. PFS 2089* (cult imagery) (pl. 7G)
8. PFS 2096* (cult imagery) (pl. 7H)
9. PFS 2099* (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 8A)
10. PFS 2106* (hunt) (pl. 8B)
11. PFS 2249* (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 8C)

Among these 10 seals that occur exclusively on journals and accounts, six are rendered in a miniaturist Modeled Style of carving: PFS 27* (pl. 7A), PFS 2088* (pl. 7F), PFS 2089* (pl. 7G), PFS 2096* (pl. 7H), PFS 2099* (pl. 8A), and PFS 2106* (pl. 8B). PFS 1633* (pl. 7C), PFS 2076* (pl. 7D), and PFS 2084* (pl. 7E) include elements of the Fortification Style while also revealing some modeling; PFS 2249* (pl. 8C) is Fortification Style.

A second category of accounting seal, some 20 in number (both inscribed and not inscribed), occurs on journals, accounts, and some other text category.\textsuperscript{692} The exact status of these officials in relation to the officials/offices that occur only on journals and accounts is unknown. In most instances, these seals occur primarily on journals and accounts and only secondarily on some other text category. Of these 20 seals that occur

\textsuperscript{691} Mikołajczak (2018) catalogues 62 of these seals. To the 62 seals considered by Mikołajczak (ibid.), we add two additional seals, PFS 50* and PFS 1216*s (see below), for a total of 64 accounting seals.

\textsuperscript{692} Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 29-30) calls these “cross-category” seals.
on journals and/or accounts and other text categories, four are inscribed (approximately 20 percent).

_inscribed seals that occur on V and W texts and other text categories:

1. PFS 57* (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 8D)
2. PFS 103* (heroic control encounter) (pl. 8E)
3. PFS 108* (heraldic creatures) (pl. 8F)
4. PFS 1637* (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 8G)

With one exception, these seals show the heroic control or combat encounter. The exception, PFS 108* (pl. 8F), shows heraldic creatures. PFS 57* (pl. 8D) and PFS 1637* (pl. 8G) are rendered in a miniaturist Modeled Style; PFS 103* (pl. 8E) has elements of the Fortification Style. PFS 108* (pl. 8F) is Court Style.

A third category of seals consists of two seals that do not occur on the V and W texts, but still appear to have some involvement in accounting. We consider them here in a miscellaneous accounting category.

_inscribed seals that represent miscellaneous accounting:

1. PFS 50*693 (cult imagery) (pl. 9A)
2. PFS 1216*s694 (cult imagery) (pl. 9B)

693 PFS 50* occurs on a variety of documents; in 10 instances, it is applied to C6 texts, an accounting text type that records inventories (in the case of PFS 50*, of livestock or grain). PFS 50* occurs also on one C2 text, an accounting balance (concerned with grain); one B text (“delivery of commodities”) carrying PFS 50* is concerned with animal hides; one D text (“general receipts”) carrying PFS 50* is also concerned with livestock. Based on the consistency in commodity (livestock) and the nature of these activities (accounting balances/inventories), we suggest, with some hesitation, that PFS 50* operates in accounting contexts, perhaps “in field” accounting procedures (rather than at Persepolis). Koch (1990, pp. 72-73 (n. 326)) suggested that PFS 50* belonged to Qatruba, an official involved with livestock, and the receiver named in the two K3 texts (“regular monthly rations for named persons without qualification”) to which PFS 50* is applied. Aperghis (1998, p. 51) suggests PFS 50* belongs to Pukša, a deliverer in the B text to which PFS 50* is applied.

694 Two of the three texts that carry PFS 1216*s name a receiver (Dattana or Ištinka) designated mušin zikkira (“account writer,” “accountant”); while the dataset is limited, we suggest, with hesitation, that these receivers are involved in accounting.
Interestingly, PFS 50* (pl. 9A) is an actual Old Babylonian seal, while PFS 1216* (pl. 9B) shows the Late Babylonian worship scene carved in a modeled style.

Of the total 64 seals representing accounting officials/offices from the Fortification archive, 17 seals (approximately 27 percent) are inscribed. This density of inscribed seals is much higher than that found in the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive (inscribed seals account for approximately four percent of all seals).

As with the inscribed seals used by šaramanna/damanna officials, the figural imagery of these accounting seals more or less reflects trends that we see in the thematic types among the complete corpus of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

The high proportion of modeled styles of carving among the inscribed seals used in accounting contexts is noteworthy. In his catalogue of accounting seals (both inscribed and without inscriptions), Mikołajczak notes that approximately 51 percent of accounting seals are executed in the Modeled Style.\(^{695}\) He attributes this popularity in modeled styles to “a conservative selection of seals and antiquarian tendencies regarding styles.”\(^{696}\)

Three of the seals used in accounting contexts, PFS 2089* (pl. 7G), PFS 27* (pl. 7A), and PFS 103* (pl. 8E), utilize free-floating text in dense figural designs employing modeled styles of carving similarly to Neo-Assyrian ša rēši seals.\(^{697}\) This coincidence may simply be a random one; there are many seals used on accounting texts at Persepolis, and those seals exhibit a range of compositional types and carving styles. We may,

\(^{695}\) Mikołajczak 2018, p. 283.
\(^{696}\) Ibid., 284. Mikołajczak (ibid., p. 284-88) links this trend to the popularity of the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style in the Fortification archive, and among the accounting seals, in particular; owing to the fact that several of the inscriptions on seals linked with accounting do not name individuals who occur in the Elamite texts, he suggests that the seals must be from earlier periods and “reused” at Persepolis. See below for additional discussion of this phenomenon.
\(^{697}\) See Chapters 2 and 8 for details on ša rēši seals.
however, leave open the possibility that PFS 2089*, PFS 27*, and PFS 103* reflect a closer connection to this particular group of Assyrian seals.\textsuperscript{698}

\textbf{II.a.6. Receivers in Rations for Travel}

Rations for travelers (Q texts) are the most common type of memoranda in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{699} These texts document the payment of daily rations, typically in flour, to individuals or groups as they travel through Fārs on official business along the state road system.\textsuperscript{700} These texts generally name a supplier (\textit{kurman}) and a receiver. There are hundreds of individuals who receive travel rations in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{701} Thus, the list of 11 seals here represents an extremely small subset of seals used by travelers and/or their agents. In comparison to the previous clusters of administrators, the exact socio-administrative rank/function of receivers in rations for travel often cannot be determined. Many of them are not locally based; the Fortification archive captures them as they are moving through the system on state-sponsored business.

Stamp seals account for a relatively large percentage of the seals that are used by travelers within the rations for travelers as a whole; note that there are two among this cluster of 11 seals, whereas in the previous groups there are no stamp seals.\textsuperscript{702} As a very general observation, we may also say that the seals representing travelers as a whole tend to be less well executed than seals associated with in-system administrators.

\begin{flushleft}
\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{698} Note Garrison’s (2017a, pp. 366-68) discussion of the Assyrianizing qualities of seals belonging to high ranking officials in the Achaemenid administration.
\textsuperscript{699} Garrison 2017a, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{700} Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 168.
\textsuperscript{701} At present, there are over 1,000 travel rations in the Fortification archive.
\textsuperscript{702} Note Garrison’s (2017a, p. 102) discussion of this phenomenon.
\end{footnotesize}
\end{flushleft}
Inscribed seals used by individuals receiving rations for travel:

1. PFS 81* (unnamed receiver linked to bureau of Šati-Kitin) (crossed animals) (pl. 10A)
2. PFS 289*s (Miramana) (cult imagery) (pl. 10B)
3. PFS 299* (Kurdama) (archer) (pl. 10C)
4. PFS 1216*s (Dattana/Ištinka) (cult imagery) (pl. 10D)
5. PFS 1240* (Mitrabada) (cult imagery) (pl. 10E)
6. PFS 1308* (Bakabadada) (seated personage) (pl. 10F)
7. PFS 1334* (unnamed receiver)703 (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 10G)
8. PFS 1612* (Barnuš/Pirnuš) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 10H)
9. PFS 2228* (Aššaka)704 (crossed animals) (pl. 11A)
10. PFS 3035* (Miramanna) (cult imagery) (pl. 11B)
11. PFS 3113* (unnamed messenger and his companion) (cult imagery) (pl. 11C)

The inscribed seals used by receivers in travel rations have almost twice as many cult scenes (accounting for approximately 45 percent of the seals linked with receivers in travel rations) compared to the overall corpus of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (where cult imagery accounts for approximately 21 percent of all inscribed seals). Three of the designs are the Late Babylonian worship scene (PFS 289*s (pl. 10B), PFS 1216*s (pl. 10D), and PFS 1240* (pl. 10E)), accounting for almost half of the total eight inscribed examples of the Late Babylonian worship scene from the Fortification archive. PFS 3113* (pl. 11C) is fragmentary; it may be antique. PFS 3035* (pl. 11B) is a thoroughly fascinating seal; the figural imagery tracks with other scenes of cult imagery at Persepolis, however the inscription – both the layout and its content – is unique.

PFS 81* (pl. 10A), PFS 299* (pl. 10C), and PFS 2228* (pl. 11A) show restrained modeling. PFS 1612* (pl. 10H) and PFS 3035* (pl. 11B) mix the Fortification Style with some modeled forms. PFS 289*s (pl. 10B), PFS 1216*s (pl. 10D), and PFS 1240* (pl. 703 PFS 1334* occurs only on two documents, one of which is a travel ration on which it is the only seal (we generally expect the counter-seal protocol); in this instance, it appears to represent the receiver. 704 PFS 2228* occurs only on one document, a travel ration, that follows the single-seal protocol (we generally expect the counter-seal); in such instances, the lone seal represents the receiver.
10E) are examples of the Late Babylonian worship scene rendered in a modeled style of carving; PFS 1240* may, in fact, date to the early 6th century. PFS 1334* (pl. 10G) is Court Style. PFS 1308* (pl. 10F) is an heirloom.705

II.a.7. Receivers in Non-Travel Ration Texts

Another large category of rations is for individual workers, workgroups, or animals who are resident/working in Fārs. These texts also frequently include both a supplier and a receiver. The text types include Hallock’s L1-3 (“regular monthly rations with gal makip,” “regular monthly rations with galma,” “other regular monthly rations”), M (“special rations”), N (“mothers’ rations”), P (“daily rations”), R (“unclassifiable ration texts”), and S1-2 (“regular rations for animals,” “special rations for animals”). In many instances, these documents are sealed in the counter-seal protocol: the seal of the supplier occurs on the left edge; the seal of the official/office overseeing/managing the workgroup generally occurs on the reverse and/or upper edge.706 Seal attribution of receivers in non-travel ration texts can be challenging.707 At present, 10 inscribed seals appear to represent individuals receiving rations (or receiving rations on behalf of workgroups) in non-travel contexts.

Inscribed seals used by receivers in non-travel ration texts:

1. PFATS 22* (KNWNY)708 (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 12A)

706 There is a small group of M texts that carry two seals but not in the counter-seal protocol (Garrison 2017a, p. 61). Some ration texts may also carry a seal in accordance with the single-seal protocol, typically involving the seal of the receiver/oversight official (ibid., p. 53).
707 With respect to suppliers, multiple officials can use a given seal or one official can use several seals; with respect to receivers, an oversight official, not named in a text, can use his seal in representing a lower status worker who actually consumes the rations and is named in the text (Garrison 2017a, p. 56).
708 PFATS 22* carries the name KNWNY in the seal inscription; the name occurs also in the Aramaic texts to which the seal is applied; PFS 885, the seal that occurs with PFATS 22*, is a well known office supply seal; while speculative, we suggest that PFATS 22* represents the receiver.
The three examples of cult imagery (PFS 1095* (pl. 12H), PFS 1205*s (pl. 13A), and PFS 2117* (pl. 13B)) are noteworthy; PFS 1095* and PFS 2117*, however, may be antique. The other thematic types – heroic combat encounter, heroic control encounter, single creature, crossed animals, archer, and heraldic creatures – are consistent with common themes among the overall corpus of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. PFS 284* (pl. 12E) is unusual for the two-headed creature and Lydian inscription.

Excluding the possibly heirloom seals, PFS 1095* and PFS 2117*, carving among this group is modeled. Note, especially, PFATS 22* (pl. 12A), PFS 73* (pl. 12B), and PFS 677* (pl. 12G). Modeling is more restrained on PFS 160* (pl. 12C), and even more so on PFS 284* (pl. 12E). PFS 181* (pl. 12D) is Fortification Style. PFS 320* (pl. 12F) is Court Style. PFS 1205*s (pl. 13A) is the cut-and-drilled style.

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709 PFS 320* occurs on two documents from the Fortification archive, one a receipt of commodity movement, the other a ration allocation for animals. Bakadušda occurs in both texts, thus we suggest, with hesitation, attributing the seal to him.

710 Pukša is named consistently as the receiver in the texts carrying PFS 677*. The name, however, also occurs as the kurman official in other texts; as no other name patterns as frequently with PFS 677*, we attribute, tentatively, PFS 677* to Pukša.

711 PFS 1095* is a rare example of a seal that occurs on multiple letters with more than one addressor; the seal occurs also on texts (as the counter-seal) that note Da’uka/Dayakka as a receiver.

712 PFS 1205*s occurs only once in the Fortification archive, as the counter-seal on a ration allocation for workers; the receiver named in the text, Mišdaya, occurs only once in the archive, too; thus, we attribute the seal, with some hesitation, to him.

713 PFS 2117* occurs only once in the Fortification archive, on a letter of which Mastezza is the addressor; in six other documents a Mastezza receives commodities. With hesitation, we attribute the seal to him.
II.a.8. Kurman Officials/Offices

With its emphasis on commodity allocation, supply (kurman) officials, which number at least 700, and the seals that represent them (and/or their offices), are very common in the Fortification archive.\(^{714}\) It is thus certainly noteworthy that very few seals representing kurman authorities, presently some five total, are inscribed. This phenomenon would appear to be in keeping with other studies of seals that represent kurman authorities: overall, kurman seals tend to be less elaborately carved and rarely in modeled styles. It is generally assumed that kurman authorities represent a socio-administrative level below šaramanna/damanna officials and accountants.\(^{715}\)

Inscribed seals used by kurman officials/offices:

1. PFS 266* (kurman office) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 14A)
2. PFS 272* (kurman office)\(^{716}\) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 14B)
3. PFS 610* (Irdubama/Irdupma) (single creature) (pl. 14C)
4. PFS 883* (kurman office) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 14D)
5. PFS 1228*s (unnamed supply authority)\(^{717}\) (cult imagery) (pl. 14E)

Despite consisting of only five seals, the group of inscribed seals belonging to kurman offices/officials is interesting. Two of the seals are somewhat odd in a Persepolitan context. PFS 610* (pl. 14C) shows a single winged creature with a paneled inscription; while the thematic type is well documented, the style of carving is not what

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\(^{714}\) Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, pp. 168 and 187. We are concerned here exclusively with those kurman officials located at warehouses, not those šaramanna officials who sometimes intervene to allocate rations (what Garrison and Henkelman (ibid., p. 197) characterize as “de jure” supply/supplier).

\(^{715}\) See Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, p. 193) for the working relationship between šaramanna and kurman officials, with the latter typically taking orders from the former.

\(^{716}\) PFS 272* occurs with PFS 63 on four texts. Pukdamira is named as both supplier and receiver in the same texts in two instances. Another supplier, Sarizziš, and other receivers, Bakaparna or Pirmayauda, also occur. Three texts name the šaramanna official Hiunizza (Iumizza); PFS 63, always on non-left-edge surfaces, appears to belong to him. One wonders whether PFS 272*, consistently applied to the left edge, may also represent a kurman authority.

\(^{717}\) PFS 1228*s occurs only on one document, a ration allocation for workers or a travel ration; as PFS 1228*s occurs on the left edge, we assume it represents an unnamed supply authority.
we would expect for the thematic type (generally rendered in a miniaturist Modeled Style) and the inscription appears to be fake (the signs – apparently single triangular shapes – are disposed randomly in two cases). The hero’s horned headdress and the Babylonian inscription placed free-floating in the field on PFS 883* (pl. 14D) may indicate that it dates to the Neo-Assyrian or Late Babylonian periods. PFS 266* (pl. 14A) shows the familiar heroic combat encounter (although the bird is a rare addition in scenes with court-centric iconography), but pairs it with a very rare method of displaying an inscription – paneled without case lines.\(^{718}\) PFS 272* (pl. 14B) on the other hand, a heroic combat encounter carved in a miniaturist Modeled Style, is very familiar in Persepolitan glyptic. PFS 1228*s (pl. 14E), showing a modeled version of the Late Babylonian worship scene, is also somewhat unusual.

\section*{II.a.9. Officials/Offices Overseeing Procurements for the Royal Table}

J texts constitute a special category of commodity distribution. The texts are marked by the phrases, “dispensed before the king” and “dispensed on behalf of the king.”\(^{719}\) The disbursements tend to be very large quantities destined for the king’s table.\(^{720}\) Among the approximately 120 J texts in the Fortification archive, only nine seals occur. Six are office seals linked with overseeing the royal table: PFS 7* (various commodities), PFS 66a* (flour), PFS 66b* (flour), PFS 66c* (flour), PFS 93* (livestock), and PFS 859* (cattle). Two of the nine seals, PFS 38 and PFS 51, are the personal seals

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \(^{718}\) See Chapter 6 for details.
\item \(^{719}\) Garrison 1991, p. 3. See Henkelman (2010a) for the J texts.
\item \(^{720}\) Henkelman 2010a, p. 679. PF 702, for example, documents flour in the amount of daily rations for 11,886 people (Garrison 1991, p. 3). Henkelman (2010a, p. 686) suggests that the king’s table is more of an institution rather than a literal meal before the king.
\end{itemize}

\vspace{0.5cm} 
230
under which two royal women, Irtašduna (PFS 38) and Irdabama (PFS 51), receive these special rations. PFS 233 is the personal seal of the satrap, Karkiš, under which he receives rations. Only the office seals carry inscriptions.

Inscribed seals used by officials/offices overseeing procurements for the royal table:

1. PFS 7* (office seal) (heroic control encounter) (pl. 15A)
2. PFS 66a* (Parnadadda) (seated personage) (pl. 15B)
3. PFS 66b* (Parnadadda) (seated personage) (pl. 15C)
4. PFS 66c* (Parnadadda) (seated personage) (pl. 15D)
5. PFS 93* (office seal) (warfare) (pl. 15E)
6. PFS 859* (unknown official) (heroic combat encounter) (pl. 15F)

This is an interesting group of seals. PFS 7* (pl. 15A), of course, is one of the royal-name seals of Darius (see below), featuring the heroic control encounter with much court-centric iconography and carved in the Court Style. PFS 859* (pl. 15F) similarly includes court-centric iconography, is carved in the Court Style, and shows a heroic (combat) encounter. The triplicate seals, PFS 66a* (pl. 15B), PFS 66b* (pl. 15C), and PFS 66c* (pl. 15D), stand out among this group for their Aramaic inscriptions; the vertical orientation is especially noteworthy, as horizontal orientation is more common among the overall inscribed seals corpus. The thematic type on these three seals – a procession – is also noteworthy for its inclusion of a fantastical creature among the otherwise human figures. All three are carved in the Fortification Style. PFS 93*, an heirloom seal, shows the relatively rare theme of warfare.

With six of the nine seals (approximately 66 percent) on J texts carrying inscriptions, inscribed seals occur among this group of texts at a significantly higher rate

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721 See Garrison (1991 and 1996a) for these seals.
722 See Chapter 6 for details.
than among the general seal-using population in the Fortification archive (approximately four percent).

II.b. Summary: Seals Users and Administrative Function

In general, inscribed seals are associated with individuals/offices of high socio-administrative status/rank in the Fortification archive. While the inscribed seals of Parnakka, Ziššawiš, and Ašbazana have long been recognized, our analysis has revealed two particular categories of officials/offices where there is a very high percentage of inscribed seals: šaramanna/damanna officials and accountants.

The exact socio-political significance of an inscription on a seal is, however, difficult to determine. The glyptic landscape at Persepolis is complicated. In many cases, we cannot definitively link an inscribed seal with an official/office of high rank. So, too, inscriptions are not a requirement for seals of officials/offices of high rank. It is a remarkable fact that three of the highest status individuals who occur in the Fortification archive use seals without inscriptions:723 PFS 38, the seal of the royal woman Irtāšduna;724 PFS 51, the personal seal of the royal woman, Irdabama;725 PFS 857s, the seal of Kambarma.726 The seals of two satraps, PFS 233 (Karkiš) and PFS 1480

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723 The king is commonly named in the archive, but we do not have his seal. The king, for example, issues a halmi (authorization) in approximately 200 travel rations (Garrison 2017a, p. 44). Note, also, Henkelman’s (2010a, p. 669) discussion of the king mentioned in texts from the Fortification archive.

724 Garrison 2014a, p. 500.

725 Ibid., pp. 488-89.

726 Garrison 2014a, pp. 492 and 498; Kambarma (Old Persian Gaubaruva, Greek Gobryas) is related to the royal family by marriage, is one of the figures involved in Darius’ accession to the throne, and is named and depicted on the tomb façade of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam (DNe); for Kambarma at Naqš-e Rostam, see Schmidt (1970, p. 86, pls. 19, 22A, and 23-24) and Schmitt (2001). Note Garrison’s (2014a, p. 500) comments about the seals belonging to members of the royal family and the conspiratorial families: of the six seals he cites, three have inscriptions (PFS 16* (Parnakka), PFS 1567* (Ašbazana), PFS 2899* (Iršama)), while three are not inscribed (PFS 51 (Irdabama), PFS 38 (Irtāšduna), and PFS 857s (Kambarma)). Thus, as Garrison (ibid.) notes, “…inscriptions clearly are not a diagnostic feature since the
(Harbamišša), do not carry inscriptions. So, too, the regional office seals PFS 3 and PFS 30 are not inscribed.

III. Names in Seal Inscriptions

When a legible personal name occurs in a seal inscription, we can sometimes match it with a name that occurs in the Elamite and/or Aramaic texts. There are 38 legible names (PN$_1$ if part of a longer formula) that we can read among the total 174 inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Of these 38 legible names, four occur in more than one seal inscription:

Parnadadda (PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*)
Parnakka (PFS 9* and PFS 16*)
Iršena (PFS 981* and PFUTS 1555*)
Azzakra (PFS 73*, PFS 188a*, and PFS 188b*)

Thus, there are 41 seals that carry these 38 names.

Three names occur on seals that clearly predate the reign of Darius: the Old Babylonian seal, PFS 50* (Old Babylonian); the late 7th-early 6th century BCE seals, PFS 77* (Elamite), and PFS 93* (Elamite). As these seals certainly predate the Fortification archive, we exclude them from the accounting below and proceed with a group of 35 legible names.
Of the 41 seals that carry the 35 legible names, 34 seals occur on Elamite documents; two seals occur only on Aramaic documents or Aramaic and uninscribed documents; five seals occur only on uninscribed documents. 20 of the 35 names are Elamite; 14 are Aramaic; one is Babylonian.

III.a. Matching Names in Seal Inscriptions with Names in the Texts

Of these 41 inscribed seals that carry legible personal names (PN; if part of a longer formula) preserved in the Fortification archive, 16 inscribed seals occur on texts that name the same individual as in the seal inscription. For these 16 seals, we thus certainly have to do with a personal seal, one representing the individual named in the seal inscription:

1. PFATS 22* (Aramaic, *KNWNY (“Kanuni”), Old Aramaic (*KNNY))
2. PFS 9* (Aramaic, *PRNK (Elamite: Parnakka), Old Iranian (*Farnaka-))
3. PFS 16* (Aramaic, *PRNK (Elamite: Parnakka), Old Iranian (*Farnaka-))
4. PFS 66a* (Aramaic, *PRNDT (Elamite: Parnadadda), Old Iranian (*Farnadāta-))
5. PFS 66b* (Aramaic, *PRNDT (Elamite: Parnadadda), Old Iranian (*Farnadāta-))
6. PFS 66c* (Aramaic, *PRNDT (Elamite: Parnadadda), Old Iranian (*Farnadāta-))
7. PFS 71* (Aramaic, *RTWRZY (Elamite: Irdumartiya), Old Iranian (*Artavarziya-))
8. PFS 83* (Aramaic, *ŠŚWŠ (Elamite: Ziššawiš), Old Iranian (*Čičavahuš))

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731 PFATS 22* (Aramaic only) and PFUTS 1555*(Aramaic and uninscribed).
732 PFUTS 264*, PFUTS 305*, PFUTS 334*, PFUTS 336*, and PFUTS 787*.
733 See the catalogue for these documents and details on seal attribution.
734 The following list is arranged by language of the seal inscription; the parenthetical information indicates the language, the name and its Elamite equivalent (if applicable), followed by the origin of the name. Possible name origins include Old Aramaic, Babylonian, Old Iranian, and Elamite. Old Iranian is a source language, encompassing various languages and dialects (Tavernier 2007, p. 6); a designation of Old Iranian here follows Tavernier (ibid.). When a specific language or dialect (i.e., Old Persian or Median) is noted in Tavernier (ibid.), it is noted in place of Old Iranian as the origin.
735 Maraqten 1988, p. 175; Dirbas 2017, p. 46.
736 Tavernier 2007, pp. 178-79 (no. 4.2.567).
737 Ibid., pp. 178-79 (no. 4.2.567).
738 Ibid., p. 177 (no. 4.2.565).
739 Ibid., p. 177 (no. 4.2.565).
740 Ibid., p. 177 (no. 4.2.565).
741 Ibid., p. 44 (no. 2.2.4).
742 Ibid., pp. 155-56 (no. 4.2.406).
9. PFS 981* (Aramaic, ʿRŠYN (Elamite: Iršena), Old Iranian (*Ṛšēna-))
10. PFS 2899* (Aramaic, ʿRŠM (Elamite: Iršama), Old Iranian (*Aršama-))
11. PFS 32* (Elamite, Šuddayauda, Old Iranian (*Cušayauda-))
12. PFS 45* (Elamite, Uštanna, Old Iranian (*Hustāna))
13. PFS 81* (Elamite, Šati-kitin, Elamite)
14. PFS 124* (Elamite, Hiumizza, Old Iranian (*Yuviča-))
15. PFS 1566* (Elamite, Abbateya, Old Iranian (*Āpātaya-))
16. PFS 1567* (Elamite, Ašbaza, Old Iranian (*Aspačanā))

It is noteworthy that there is a very high percentage of Aramaic seal inscriptions (but almost always Iranian names) among this cluster: 10 of the 16 seals (approximately 63 percent) carry Aramaic inscriptions.

At present, 13 seals (from the group of 41 seals that have legible personal names) include personal names in their inscriptions that do not match names in the documents to which the seals are applied (or the seal is applied to uninscribed documents); however, the name does occur elsewhere in the texts from the Fortification archive. In most of these instances, seal attribution to the individual named in the inscription is not possible at present:

1. PFS 266* (Aramaic, SYW (Elamite: Syava), Old Iranian (*Syāva-))
2. PFS 1612* (Aramaic, WŠMN (Elamite: Višyamanā), Old Iranian (*Višyamanā))
3. PFUTS 264* (Aramaic, HNPK (Elamite: Manbaka), Old Iranian (*Huvanpāka-))

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743 Tavernier 2007, p. 290 (no. 4.2.1436).
744 Ibid., p. 44 (no. 2.2.2).
745 Ibid., p. 162 (no. 4.2.462).
746 Ibid., p. 211 (no. 4.2.831).
748 Tavernier 2007, p. 367 (no. 4.2.2031).
749 Tavernier 2007, p. 107 (no. 4.2.63).
750 Ašbaza is likely a variant of Ašbazana (Old Iranian *Aspačanā) (ibid., p. 14 (no. 1.2.7)).
751 Ibid.
752 This list is organized as the one immediately above.
753 Tavernier 2007, p. 316 (no. 4.2.1620).
754 Ibid., p. 354 (no. 4.2.1932).
755 This was suggested to me by Annalisa Azzoni; the use of a H instead of the expected H could be explained by interference of languages and is not uncommon at Persepolis (see, for example, instances of HTM as HTM); Tavernier 2007, p. 213 (no. 4.2.849).
4. PFUTS 350* (Aramaic, ZRNMY (Elamite: Š/Zarnamiya), Old Iranian (*Zarnamiya-))
5. PFUTS 336* (Aramaic, DDGŠ (Elamite: S/Šadakuš), Old Iranian (*Θataguš))
6. PFUTS 1555* (Aramaic, ṢSYN (Elamite: Iršena), Old Iranian (*Ṛšena-))
7. PFS 25* (Elamite, Unsak, Elamite?)
8. PFS 27* (Elamite, Nabbaba, Old Iranian)
9. PFS 73* (Elamite, Azzakra, Elamite?)
10. PFS 160* (Elamite, Hamiturra, Old Iranian (*Âmiθra-))
11. PFS 188a* (Elamite, Azzakra, Elamite?)
12. PFS 188b* (Elamite, Azzakra, Elamite?)
13. PFS 261* (Elamite, Šati-dudu, Elamite?)

As above, this group of seals has a high percentage of Aramaic inscriptions (but Iranian names): six of the 13 seals (approximately 46 percent) carry an Aramaic inscription.

At present, 12 seals (from the group of 41 seals that have legible personal names) name individuals who are not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive.762

1. PFS 2106* (Aramaic, DDMSG, unknown)
2. PFS 1632* (Babylonian, Marduk-nāṣir, Babylonian)
3. PFS 4* (Elamite, Huban-ahpi, Elamite)
4. PFS 36* (Elamite, Ziššabarna, Old Persian (*Čiçafarnā))
5. PFS 43* (Elamite, Huban-Kitin, Elamite)
6. PFS 103* (Elamite, Anšanar, unknown)
7. PFS 1574* (Elamite, Huban-ripir, Elamite)
8. PFS 1637* (Elamite, Uradak, unknown)
9. PFS 2089* (Elamite, Huban-dunuš, Elamite)
10. PFS 2346* (Elamite, Šati-Huban, Elamite)

756 Tavernier 2007, p. 403 (no. 4.3.274).
757 Ibid., pp. 63 (no. 2.2.56) and 546; normally one would expect θ to be rendered as S in Aramaic, but it is possible that the presence of the following voiced dental may have resulted in this change (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication).
758 Tavernier 2007, p. 290 (no. 4.2.1436).
759 See Chapter 4 for discussion of Unsak.
760 Tavernier 2007, p. 531 (no. 5.5.1.43).
761 Ibid., p. 105 (no. 4.2.46).
762 This list is organized as the two immediately above.
764 Tavernier 2007, p. 154 (no. 4.2.399).
765 Zadok 1984, pp. 12, 21, and 50.
766 Ibid., pp. 12 and 65.
767 Ibid., pp. 13 and 39.
It is interesting that the seal inscriptions among this last cluster are almost entirely Elamite (and Elamite names), contrasting starkly with the two previous clusters in which Aramaic seal inscriptions (with Iranian names) dominate.

Mikołajczak has suggested that a lack of congruence among names in seal inscriptions and names in the Elamite or Aramaic texts indicates that the seal predates the Fortification archive. These instances in which the name in a seal inscription does not occur in the Elamite or Aramaic texts may, however, reflect various phenomena. Firstly, the excavated Fortification archive is only a fragment of a larger administrative apparatus. We do not have all the documentation associated with the archive in the years 509-493 BCE. Secondly, we do not have all the documentation associated with the archive for its duration; the administrative system represented by the surviving Fortification texts clearly began before 509 BCE and lasted after 493 BCE. Thirdly, there is certainly no rule that the scribes had to record the names of administrators in texts (e.g., the names of the accountants who drew up the journals and accounts are not recorded; C1 texts rarely name individuals whose seals are applied to the tablets). In many instances, we may assume that a seal stands in lieu of a name in an administrative text. Fourthly, names are rare (or poorly preserved) in the Aramaic texts, and the uninscribed documents, sealed by hundreds of seals that occur only on the uninscribed

11. PFUTS 334* (Elamite, Huban-šupir, Elamite)
12. PFUTS 787* (Elamite, Šemi, unknown)

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768 Zadok 1984, p. 12.
769 Mikołajczak 2018, p. 279.
770 See Henkelman (2008, pp. 137, 151 (n. 335), 174-75, and 179) on the process of discarding and recycling processed (i.e., compiled into journals) memoranda.
771 See Chapter 3 for details.
documents, carry no text. Thus, there must certainly have been more officials involved in the system than named in the Elamite and legible Aramaic texts.

Lastly, as noted above, some inscribed seals clearly predate the reign of Darius, in some cases by centuries. PFS 50*, an Old Babylonian seal, carries a legible personal name (PN₁); PFS 77* and PFS 93* carry legible personal names (PN₁) and date to the late 7th century BCE. The individuals named in these inscriptions will obviously not occur also in the Elamite texts.

Other inscribed seals may pre-date the surviving archive by only one/two generations, dating to the period 530-510 BCE. These seals would have been used by administrators working in the Fortification archive or some similar administrative apparatus in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and/or early in the reign of Darius I. A likely scenario is a father involved in the administration c. 520 giving his seal to his son. We capture the name of the father (and in some cases the grandfather) in the seal inscription, the son in the Elamite administrative texts that survive.

Considering these various factors, it is remarkable that so many seals can be linked definitively with their users in the Fortification archive.

IV. The Royal-Name Seals

A small group of inscribed seals from Persepolis do not carry the personal name of an administrator, but the name of the king. There are four trilingual royal-name seals

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772 See Appendix 1 for details on these names.
773 See Garrison (2014b) for detailed discussion of these seals. Royal-name seals occur also in the Persepolis Treasury archive; PTS 1* (SDb), PTS 2* (SDc), and PTS 3* (SDd) are trilingual and name Darius; PTS 5* (monolingual Old Persian inscription), PTS 6* (monolingual Old Persian inscription), PTS 7* (trilingual), and PTS 8* (monolingual Old Persian inscription) name Xerxes.
of Darius: PFS 7* (SDe) (pl. 16A), PFS 11* (SDf) (pl. 16B), PFS 113* (SDg) (pl. 16C), PFUTS 18* (SDh) (pl. 16D). 774

The royal-name seals of Darius belong to the following officials/offices: PFS 7* is an office seal used for procurement of (principally) flour/grain for the royal table; 775 PFS 11* is the second personal seal of Ziššawiš; 776 PFS 113* is the personal seal of Baratkama; 777 PFUTS 18* occurs only on uninscribed documents, thus the seal user cannot be determined. 778

Garrison suggests that the royal-name seals of Darius belong to a distinctive rank of administrators, Iranian by birth but with no direct connections to the royal family or the conspiratorial families, who “have risen through the administrative ranks to positions of no minor administrative note.” 779

In addition to their royal-name inscriptions, these seals are noteworthy. Three of the four royal-name seals of Darius employ the heroic encounter. 780 These seals are further distinguished as a group by their carving style; all employ variations of the Court Style and a rigidly consistent set of iconographic markers (Persian court robes, dentate crowns, staffs, flowers, winged symbols, and date palms). 781

774 An unprovenanced seal known as the London Darius Cylinder (SDa) does not have clear seal attribution (Garrison 2014b, p. 82); see Garrison (ibid., pp. 82-84), the catalogue entry for PFS 7*, as well as Chapter 4, for more details on this seal.
775 Garrison 2014b, p. 70.
776 Ibid., p. 72; see the catalogue entry for PFS 83*, his first seal.
777 Garrison 2014b, p. 74. Baratkama is identified as a treasurer in the texts from the Treasury archive (ibid.).
778 Ibid., p. 75.
779 Ibid., p. 87.
780 The exception is PFS 11* (pl. 16B), which shows a royal figure to either side of a tower structure over which floats the winged symbol.
781 See Chapter 5 for details.
The Persepolitan royal-name seals thus would appear to mark a distinct class of administrator via: a distinctive carving style, the Court Style; scenes of heroic encounter; inscriptions in three languages that name the king and are disposed vertically in the terminal field, enclosed in a panel and with case lines. The vertical orientation of the royal-name inscriptions is especially noteworthy, as the most common orientation among seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive is horizontal.782

V. Conclusion: PFS 535*

The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive offer myriad research opportunities. Indeed, each individual inscribed seal has its own story to tell; that story concerns its figural imagery, the language, formula, and layout of its inscription, and who uses the seal/how it is used in the archive. We cannot tell the story of every inscribed seal here. By way of a case study that articulates some of the intricacies (and potentials) of a close reading of the seal inscription with the Elamite texts from the Fortification archive, we conclude with a brief examination of the archival context, inscription, and visual imagery of PFS 535*.783

Various features of PFS 535* (pl. 17A) mark it as a special glyptic artifact. PFS 535* is attested on all three document types (Elamite, Aramaic, uninscribed); only 39

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782 As discussed elsewhere, Neo-Assyrian seals, some of which carry royal-name inscriptions, typically have vertically oriented text. Additionally, the so-called ša rēši seals, a group of distinctive inscribed seals belonging to a particular type of Neo-Assyrian administrator, often have vertically oriented text, modeled carving, and detailed imagery. One wonders whether the vertical orientation of text, in particular, among the royal-name seals of Darius reflects influence from Neo-Assyrian seals. See Chapter 8 for discussion of the influence of Neo-Assyrian glyptic on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

783 Many of the ideas in this section draw on a paper co-authored with Annalisa Azzoni, Erin Daly, and Mark Garrison and prepared for the 2017 ASOR Annual Meeting; PFS 535* also features in Chandler and Garrison (Forthcoming).
seals within the whole of the glyptic corpus occur on all three document types. The seal is the fourth most commonly occurring seal on the uninscribed documents. The seal also follows all four sealing protocols (often applied to multiple surfaces):

one Elamite text (parallel-seal protocol);
one Aramaic text (counter-seal protocol);
44 uninscribed documents (single-seal, counter-seal, multiple-seal).

The figural imagery on PFS 535* is unique, marked especially by its inclusion of detailed realia. The seated figure appears to wear a long coat over trousers and holds a cup before an incense burner and a table on which there is an elaborate bowl supported on a stand; an attendant holding a jar and ladle in one hand, possibly a plant in the other, approaches at left.

Lastly, the Aramaic inscription is noteworthy for its orientation (vertical), panel, and title. Paneled and vertically oriented in the terminal field, the inscription reads:

“Šālamana, vastrabara.” This is the only attestation of this title in the corpus of inscribed seals at Persepolis.

The one Elamite text carrying PFS 535*, a memorandum (PF 289), records what

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784 See Garrison (Forthcoming(A)).
785 The dossier for PFS 535* in fact consists almost exclusively of uninscribed documents.
786 Dusinberre’s (2008, p. 248) statement that PFS 535* does not occur on the Aramaic documents is incorrect.
787 Note Root (Forthcoming (A)) on the realia on PFS 535*.
788 The combination of a long coat over trousers is known as the Iranian riding garment, formerly known as the “Median garment.” It can take two forms: 1) a short belted coat over trousers; 2) a long cloak over a short belted coat over trousers. Root (Forthcoming (B)) discusses in detail the Iranian riding garment.
789 Chandler and Garrison (Forthcoming) will provide a detailed study of the design and inscription on PFS 535*. Owing to its imagery, the seal has frequently been published: e.g., Garrison 2002/2006, p. 95; Root 2007, pp. 197 and 199; Garrison 2008, pp. 158-60, 163-64, 168, 182, 186, and 190; Dusinberre 2008, p. 248; Garrison 2014b, p. 75 (n. 50) and 86 (n. 118); Root 2015, p. 54 (n. 119); Root Forthcoming (A) and (B); Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 49, 51 (fig. 2.17b), 53, 91, 110, and 378.
appears to be an audit/inventory of donkeys, allocated by Tetukka. PFS 535*, in the parallel-seal protocol, occurs on the reverse, with PFS 94 on the upper and left edges. The one Aramaic text with which PFS 535* is linked, PFAT 665, is illegible; PFS 535* appears on the obverse and reverse, with PFUTS 812s applied to the left edge.

Determining the seal user for PFS 535* from the Elamite (PF 289) and Aramaic texts (PFAT 665) with which it is linked is impossible. The significance of the sealing protocols associated with these Elamite in-field audits (PF 289) is unknown to us, and the individuals responsible for them generally are not named in the texts. The Aramaic text is illegible.

PFS 535* occurs most commonly in the single-seal (15 documents, all uninscribed) and counter-seal protocols (23 documents). Among the Elamite memoranda from the Fortification archive, many instances of the single-seal protocol involving the same seal generally signal an official of high administrative authority.

The name in the seal inscription corresponds to Elamite Šalamana. The name is attested in 12 Elamite texts from the Fortification archive. It is most likely that all 12 texts refer to the same individual (see below). In three instances, he is designated

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790 Hallock (1969, p. 17) assigned the text to his C6 category, “other deposits,” noting that this category was of “uncertain character,” some of the texts perhaps concerning “brief inventories for accounting purposes.”

791 These tablets are all uninscribed documents, with the exception of the one Aramaic document, PFAT 665.

792 Note, for example, Parnakka (PFS 9* and PFS 16*) and Zīšsawiš (PFS 83* and PFS 11*). Other high-occurrence seals used on the uninscribed documents include those of the royal women Irtāšduna (PFS 38) and Irdabama (PFS 51). Additionally, the seal of the “steward” of Irdabama, PFS 75, is the most commonly occurring seal among the uninscribed documents.

793 The name is of uncertain origin (Tavernier 2007, p. 533 (no. 5.5.1.55)). Henkelman (personal communication) suggests the name is Semitic, noting that many chamberlains are Babylonian or Egyptian. Fort. 2046-102, a wine account at Batrakataš (year 16), names a Šalamana as an ullira (“deliverer”) (Henkelman 2008, p. 235)) official; this is unlikely to be the same person.
šaramanna;\textsuperscript{794} in two J texts, he assumes the \textit{(de jure)} role of a \textit{kurman} official disbursing commodities (sheep/goat and grapes) for the table of the king;\textsuperscript{795} in one memorandum, he secures grain rations for workers;\textsuperscript{796} in six letter-orders (all addressed by the royal woman Irtášduna; five of six request wine), he is the addressee.\textsuperscript{797}

Based upon the six Elamite letter-orders, we may conclude that Šalamana named in the Elamite texts is a highly-placed šaramanna official associated with the bureau of the royal woman Irtášduna, daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius I. He appears to have wide-ranging oversight of her estates in the Persepolitan region: at Kuknakka (= Kuknakkan/Kukkannakan) (NN 761), Matannan (NN 1137, PF 1836, and PF 1837), and Uranduš (PF 1835 and NN 2523); Henkelman identifies Šalamana as the queen’s “steward and chamberlain.”\textsuperscript{798}

The seal inscription on PFS 535*, naming Šalamana \textit{WSTRBR}, would appear to indicate that the individual named in the seal inscription is the same individual who is the “steward and chamberlain” of Irtášduna in the Elamite administrative texts. The title, \textit{WSTRBR}, is the Aramaic rendering of Old Iranian *\textit{vastrabar}a-, a variant of \textit{vaçabara}- (“garment bearer”).\textsuperscript{799} Although the term is not attested elsewhere in Aramaic, the identification is certain, as it closely parallels the Babylonian rendering of the title,

\textsuperscript{794} NN 222, NN 1707, and PF 168.
\textsuperscript{795} PF 718 and NN 2089. Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, p. 187 and 195) note that many of the individuals named as the \textit{kurman} official in J texts are high-rank šaramanna officials. That is, because of the special nature of these J texts, the šaramanna steps in \textit{(de jure)} and directly allocates commodities.
\textsuperscript{796} NN 1896. The name of the \textit{kurman} official in the text is broken: \textit{šalam}a’-\textit{š}a’-\textit{š}a’-\textit{i}ma’t-\textit{na}. Given the location, Uranduš, where Irtášduna has an estate (see below), we assume, following Henkelman (2010a, p. 698, (n. 111)), that this is the same Šalamana named in the other texts (see the detailed discussion in Chandler and Garrison (Forthcoming)).
\textsuperscript{797} NN 761, NN 1137, PF 1836, PF 1837, PF 1838, and PF 1839. On these texts, see Henkelman (2010a, p. 698 (n. 111-12)).
\textsuperscript{798} Henkelman 2018c, p. 29. On the estates of Irtášduna, see Henkelman (2010a, pp. 698-99) and Henkelman (2018c, pp. 29-31).
\textsuperscript{799} Tavernier 2007, pp. 434-35 (no. 4.4.7.121).
The Old Persian word is attested in various contexts, perhaps most famously at Naqš-e Rostam (DNd, Old Persian). Commentators since the 19th century have argued that vaça-bara- means “garment-bearer;” the title is probably equivalent to “chamberlain” in English, an office of high authority. Henkelman asserts that the title, as applied to Ašbazana at Naqš-e Rostam, is prestigious. The Babylonian evidence provides a fuller picture of the duties of individuals who hold this title. According to Henkelman, some of the roles that the ustarbaru played in Babylonia were managers of the “estates of the Persian royalty, such as the ‘chamberlain of the queen’,” administrative officials, and “holders of small or large estates themselves, often acting via a bailiff.”

In sum, we have a seal that occurs on all three types of documents (Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed), on many documents (the fourth most commonly occurring seal on the uninscribed documents), in all four sealing protocols, and often in the single-seal protocol. This profile is typical of a high-rank šaramanna official. That high-rank šaramanna official, we suggest, is the person named in the seal inscription, Šalamana, a vaçabara-. Elamite texts allow us to collate the individual named in the seal inscription with a high-rank individual by the same name who functions as a šaramanna official and manager of estates (in essence, a vaçabara-) in the bureau of Queen Irtāšduna.

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801 Tavernier (2007, pp. 434-35 (no. 4.4.7.121) reviews the scholarship. See Henkelman (2003a, pp. 162-64) for the Babylonian evidence; the Elamite equivalent is lipte kutip, attested in both the Fortification archive and in the Elamite version of DNd (Henkelman 2003a, pp. 117-20, 164-65).
802 Henkelman 2003a, pp. 119-20.
803 Henkelman 2003a, p. 163.
The dossier for Šalamana is an interesting case study in attempting to collate individuals named in the Elamite administrative texts with those named in seal inscriptions. In this dossier, the two C1 texts that name Šalamana as šaramanna, PF 168 and NN 222, never carry the seals of individuals named in the texts. Thus, we would not expect his seal to occur on them. The two J texts, PF 718 and NN 2089, where Šalamana intervenes as a kurman authority to allocate sheep/goat and fruit for the royal table, do not follow normal sealing protocols; these documents are always sealed by the officials who oversee the acquisition of commodities for the royal table; the seals of the individuals allocating the commodities never occur.\(^{804}\) The left edge of the one L1 text, NN 1896, where (possibly) Šalamana intervenes to allocate rations, is not preserved.\(^{805}\) In the one N text, NN 1707, Šalamana is named as the šaramanna official for a workgroup. Sealing protocols vary in these ration texts. Often, as in NN 1707, the šaramanna official is named simply as a method to identify the workgroup (and thus, his seal does not occur on the tablet). Lastly, the six letter-orders, PF 1836, PF 1837, PF 1838, PF 1839, NN 761, and NN 1137, are addressed to Šalamana; letter-orders carry only the seal of the addressor, here Irtašduna.

Rather remarkably, the imagery on PFS 535* may talk directly to the elite environment in which Šalamana, vaçabara, operated. The scene is unique within Persepolitan glyptic. A seated figure holds a flower and a cup;\(^{806}\) before them is a table

\(^{804}\) PF 718 is sealed by PFS 7* in the single-seal protocol, a seal we know represents “the general director of the royal food supply” (Henkelman 2010a, p. 690). Likewise, NN 2089 carries PFS 93* in the single-seal protocol, certainly not the seal of the supplier (ibid.).

\(^{805}\) The left edge would indicate the kurman official. See above for the possible name of the kurman official in NN 1896.

\(^{806}\) The facial features of the seated figure are noteworthy. The elongated, rounded chin appears more feminine compared to the pointed beard of the standing figure (and most male figures depicted in seals from Persepolis) in the design. Additionally, the hairstyle, with what looks some type of hair decoration.
with an elaborate bowl and stand and an incense burner; approaching at left is a standing figure holding a large jar and ladle. The three vessels – bowl held by the seated figure, bowl atop animal-shaped stand on the table, and large jar and ladle held by the standing figure – evoke a courtly milieu.\(^{807}\) The clothing worn by the seated figure, a luxurious looking Iranian riding garment, a long sleeve of the coat hanging over the seat of the chair, moreover, draws attention to the figure and further suggests an elite context.\(^{808}\) Root suggests that the seated figure is, in fact, Šalamana himself.\(^{809}\)

In addition to the realia, the visual syntax of the scene has royal connotations: a formally attired figure holding a lotus sits before an attendant and an incense burner; one thinks especially of the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis that show Darius enthroned. It is reasonable, thus, to consider the seated figure on PFS 535* as holding considerable socio-administrative status/rank.\(^{810}\) Lastly, the large jar and ladle held by the attendant, clear banqueting accoutrements, leads one to recall the nature of the administrative activity in which Šalamana is engaged – procuring wine for Queen Iritašduna in the Elamite texts. With its royal banqueting context, the scene on the seal

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\(^{807}\) See Root (Forthcoming (A)) for discussion of these imperial items.

\(^{808}\) Root (Forthcoming (B)) identifies the depiction of the Iranian riding garment in Achaemenid art as "parade dress.' On Wing A [of the Apadana], the elite Persian men in the riding costume connote the military/equestrian functions of court society." In real life, however, the king would have worn the Iranian riding garment while on horseback (ibid.). The Iranian riding garment is also depicted as one of the gifts brought to Darius on the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis. Note the comments of Root (ibid.): "Symbolically, the riding garment was redolent of social prestige, masculine virtue, intrinsic craft value, and Iranian-ness."

\(^{809}\) Root Forthcoming (A).

\(^{810}\) While the long cloak and what would appear to be trousers/leggings would suggest a male figure, the detailing in the hair and the rounded (beardless?) would appear to code female; could the seated figure in fact be Iritašduna and the figure at left Šalamana?
may refer to an elite social environment in which Šalamana was actually engaged. The drinking accoutrement may add additional significance as references to specific administrative activity (Šalamana overseeing the royal estates, especially wine) recorded in the Elamite administrative texts. The congruence of imagery, Elamite administrative documents, and seal inscription is stunning.
Chapter 8: The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Tradition and Innovation

I. Introduction

Inscribed seals offer myriad research pathways. Throughout the present study, we have addressed several issues pertaining to inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. By way of conclusion, we highlight two fascinating phenomena among the inscribed seals corpus from the Fortification archive. One phenomenon is the prominence of glyptic traditions from earlier periods in the 1st millennium BCE. Some clusters of Persepolitan seals have exceptionally strong ties to glyptic dating to the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Late Babylonian, and Late Neo-Elamite periods. The second phenomenon is the embracing of court-centric iconography and the Court Style in glyptic. This cluster of seals is in general rather innovative. They document in some instances the very early experimental phases of both court-centric iconography and the Court Style. These two phenomena – one that looks back to earlier 1st millennium traditions and one that essentially establishes the visual norms for “Achaemenid glyptic” into the future – might, at first glance, seem contradictory. The fact that both occur simultaneously within the inscribed seals corpus reveals, however, the richness and complexity of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.
II. Tradition

Persepolitan inscribed seals drew extensively upon earlier seal carving traditions of the 1st millennium BCE: Assyrian, Babylonian, Late Neo-Elamite, and Late Babylonian.\(^{811}\) Below we organize the discussion by seal carving traditions.

Within each tradition, we highlight the main languages and formulae of the seal inscriptions, the most common thematic types and compositional formulae paired with inscriptions, and the dominant display strategies of seal inscriptions.

In Chapter 2, we provide an extended discussion of these earlier seal carving traditions. The present chapter differs from that discussion in highlighting specific linkages between these earlier seals and inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

II.a. Assyro-Babylonian Inscribed Seals

In Chapter 2, we discuss the complexities in identifying the exact cultural referent, Assyria or Babylonia, for seals of the 8th-7th century BCE, often showing modeled scenes of the heroic control or combat encounter.\(^{812}\) Scholars have thus identified such scenes, and this modeled style of carving, as “Assyro-Babylonian.” As we cannot solve such attribution issues here, we discuss the seals commonly attributed either to Assyrian or Babylonian contexts together in the present section.\(^{813}\) In order to be mindful of these issues of attribution, we use the term Assyro-Babylonian here to refer to seals traditionally attributed to Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Assyro-Babylonian

\(^{811}\) This chapter makes no attempt to provide a comprehensive comparison between the iconography and style of Persepolitan inscribed seals with earlier seal carving traditions of the 1st millennium BCE.

\(^{812}\) Large provenanced corpora of seals from Assyria and Babylonia are rare, thus studies often have to rely on unprovenanced seals; see Chapter 2 for details.

\(^{813}\) As the Late Babylonian worship scene is a distinct glyptic tradition, we discuss this separately below.
When more specific contexts are known, such as Neo-Assyrian royal-name or official seals, we designate such seals accordingly (i.e., “Neo-Assyrian”).

Assyro-Babylonian seals typically carry cuneiform (Akkadian or Babylonian) inscriptions; Aramaic is sometimes utilized. Akkadian seal inscriptions often indicate ownership of the seal itself using $NA_4KIŠIB$ (“seal (of)”) or the word šá (“of”) (implying the seal itself (i.e., “(seal) of”)) preceding a personal name. Titles, invocations, and patronyms are common. Aramaic seal inscriptions may also indicate ownership, with the Aramaic word, urtles (“seal (of)”), at the beginning of the inscription, or with the preposition, $L$ (“(belonging) to”) (referring to the seal itself), attached to the first personal name; sometimes a title follows. Babylonian inscriptions tend to be invocations.

Seal inscriptions among Assyro-Babylonian seals typically consist of free-floating signs/letters oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. Sometimes a combination of free-floating and paneled text occurs; some inscriptions are paneled or arranged with just case lines. Aramaic inscriptions are sometimes oriented along the horizontal axis and more commonly so than cuneiform inscriptions.

The figural imagery on Assyro-Babylonian seals often shows cult imagery, the heroic control or combat encounters, and archers. Scenes tend to be dense with figural imagery, carving is often modeled.

Garrison, Root, and others have discussed the Assyrianizing qualities of Persepolitan glyptic. The inscribed seals from the Fortification archive offer the

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814 See Chapter 2 for details.
815 See Chapter 2 for details and examples of these glyptic features.
816 See Chapter 2 for details and examples of these thematic types.
opportunity to explore the Assyro-Babylonian heritage via features peculiar to the
inscribed seal: inscriptive language and formulae and the relationship of text and figural
imagery.

Regarding the inscriptions, the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive draw
on Assyro-Babylonian examples in limited ways. While cuneiform is most popular
among both the Assyro-Babylonian and Persepolitan inscribed seals corpora, their
languages differ – Akkadian/Babylonian for the former, most commonly Elamite for the
latter. Both corpora, however, do utilize Aramaic. Methods of presenting the inscriptions
also have somewhat limited overlap. Among the Assyro-Babylonian seals, it is very
common for signs/letters to be oriented along the vertical axis and free-floating in the
figural field; among the Persepolitan inscribed seals, text is most commonly horizontally
oriented, paneled, and in the terminal field.

In terms of figural imagery, there are several connections among the Assyro-
Babylonian and Persepolitan material. The popularity of the Assyrian garment among the
inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is especially noteworthy: 35 of the total 174
inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (approximately 20 percent) include at least
one figure wearing the Assyrian garment.818 Other iconographic borrowings include the
winged symbol (e.g., PFS 3035*), stylized tree (e.g., PFS 2089*), bull-man atlantid (e.g.,
PFS 83*), pedestal creatures (e.g., PFS 1567*), and astral symbols (e.g., PFS 83*).819 Of

818 This number is probably in fact higher owing to the scenes that are partially preserved; additionally,
there are a handful of designs that include two figures (e.g., PFS 2089*) wearing the Assyrian garment.
819 See Chapter 2 for Assyro-Babylonian examples; see Chapter 5 for the prevalence of these elements
among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.
course, this pronounced influence of Assyrianizing iconography is also a feature on Persepolitan seals that are not inscribed.

A distinctive cluster of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive show, however, an especially direct link with Assyro-Babylonian glyptic. These seals carry a distinctive version of the heroic combat encounter (pls. 1-2). The hero lunges forward, chasing after an animal or winged creature that is moving away from him. The hero lifts his forward leg to place his foot on the back leg/hindquarters of the animal/creature. The hero holds his weapon, generally a short sword, dagger, or scimitar, behind his body (with one exception, PFS 931*, see below). The hero almost always wears an often elaborately detailed Assyrian garment. Almost all these seals are rendered in a sharp miniaturist version of the Modeled Style of carving demarked by deep drill work.

The inscriptions in this cluster of Persepolitan seals are generally in Elamite, oriented horizontally, and placed in the terminal field, the most common method of presenting inscriptions at Persepolis. On two seals, PFS 1637* (pl. 1G) and PFS 2781* (pl. 2B), one sign occurs outside of the panel. PFS 98* (pl. 1A) and PFS 931* (pl. 1D) both employ a rather rare layout for Elamite inscriptions: horizontal with only case lines. The text on both seals is closely interlocked with the figural imagery. The two seals in fact are so similar in style and visual dynamics that they would appear to reflect the work of the same workshop.

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821 One of the two heroes on PFS 1227* (pl. 1E) wears the Persian court robe, while the other wears an Assyrian garment.
822 Note PFS 1632*, which has a Babylonian inscription.
823 See Chapter 6 for details.
824 Note, for example, the proximity of the creature’s forelegs to the text on PFS 98* and the heroes’ wings on PFS 931*. 

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This compositional formula, a hero chasing after a fleeing animal/creature, occurs in glyptic, both inscribed and uninscribed, from Assyria and Babylonia.\(^{825}\) When provenanced, the compositional formula is attested in a wide range of places (e.g., Uruk, Aššur, Nimrud, and Nineveh) and dates from the Neo-Assyrian to the Late Babylonian periods.\(^{826}\) Various versions of a miniaturist carving style are widespread in the 1\(^{st}\) millennium, stretching from Elam to Assyria.\(^{827}\)

The Elamite inscriptions on these Persepolitan seals clearly indicate that we are not in an Assyro-Babylonian milieu. On inscribed seals that show the scene in Assyria and Babylonia, text is Akkadian/Babylonian, often free-floating and/or vertically oriented.\(^{828}\) So, too, the preserved glyptic from the Susa archives of the Late Neo-Elamite period have no similar compositions. A miniaturist Modeled Style is, however, well documented at Susa.\(^{829}\)

These Persepolitan inscribed seals carrying this particular version of the heroic combat encounter appear to be a conscious adaptation of a popular compositional formula and carving style found in Assyria and Babylonia. The Persepolitan seals are distinguished by their small size, deeply carved forms with an emphasis on drill work, and, of course, their Elamite inscriptions. These observations suggest to us that the

\(^{825}\) Note, for example, British Museum BM 89130, in which a highly detailed and modeled winged hero threatens a rampant winged composite creature. Note provenanced examples from the following contexts: the Eanna at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 160-62, and 186); Aššur (Klengel-Brandt 2014, nos. 14, 62, 89, and 227); Niniveh and Nimrud (Herbordt 1992, nos. Nrd 66, Nin 166, Nin 139, and Nrd 42).

\(^{826}\) See note immediately above for examples.


\(^{828}\) Note the vertically oriented Babylonian inscription on British Museum BM 89130.

\(^{829}\) E.g., Amiet 1973, nos. 2-6. Garrison (2018) discusses the Late Neo-Elamite style seals carved in a miniaturist Modeled Style.
Persepolitan seals are roughly contemporary with the Fortification archive as a long-lived phenomenon, probably many of them dating from the early years of administrative activity in the region, ca. 530-510 BCE. PFS 1566* (pl. 1F) carries an inscription of an official active in the archive during the period 509-493 BCE, thus anchoring part of the production of this glyptic combination to late 6th century Persepolis.

Another small cluster of inscribed seals from Persepolis are characterized by dense figural compositions and free-floating text that extends over much of the design field. Perhaps the most striking is PFS 2089* (pl. 3A); the free-floating Elamite signs are oriented horizontally in two distinct zones. Its composition – winged genii flanking a stylized tree – is a well-known Assyrian scene. The equal length of the genii’s wings has traditionally been identified as a Babylonian trait.\(^{830}\) The headdresses of the genii, however, recall those worn by the composite creatures on PFS 4*.\(^{831}\) While various features of the design thus can be linked with glyptic traditions in Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam, the complete dynamics of the design on PFS 2089* cannot be paralleled by any seal from Assyria, Babylonia, or Elam. The style of carving calls to mind a miniaturist Modeled Style that we discussed above in association with the heroic encounters. As noted there, the style is reminiscent of seal carving styles in Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, and, of course, Persepolis.\(^{832}\)

The Elamite inscription, as with the heroic encounters discussed above, clearly situates PFS 2089* in southwestern Iran. The question then becomes whether the seal

\(^{830}\) Collon (2001, p. 176) notes that wings of equal length are a Babylonian feature.
\(^{831}\) Hinz (1971, p. 281) suggests dating PFS 4* to the Neo-Elamite period; see the catalogue entry for details.
\(^{832}\) Garrison (2000, pp. 129-30, and 134) discusses the connection to Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic.
dates to somewhere in the 6th century pre-dating Cyrus, i.e., something that we could call “Neo-Elamite” (either highlands or lowlands), or to the late 6th century post-dating Cyrus, i.e., something that we would potentially call Persepolitan. A Late Neo-Elamite style seal from Susa has similar Assyrianizing imagery and is carved in a similar style. Of course, Assyrianizing imagery, composition, iconography, and style, is one of the most striking features of Persepolitan glyptic.

PFS 27* (pl. 3B) presents another densely composed figural design where free-floating texts runs across the compositional space. The winged lion-creature marchant moves toward a huge spade of Marduk and stylus of Nabû. The design has a frieze-like quality; the conventional break provided by the terminal field as a space has instead been filled with densely intertwined text and figural imagery. The carving style is again a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style.

The design as a unit is unique in Persepolitan glyptic. The dynamics of the scene clearly relate, however, with those scenes showing an animal/creature paired with an Elamite inscription. Note also that two unprovenanced seals that Amiet attributed to his Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style show similar scenes (but are not inscribed); the one has a single winged creature and large spade of Marduk and stylus of Nabû, the other crossed lions and a spade of Marduk and a stylus of Nabû. As with PFS 2089*, a variety of scenarios could situate the seal in a variety of places; in the case of PFS 27*

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833 Amiet 1973, no. 6. The date of these seals preserved in the two glyptic corpora from Susa, the Acropole and Apadana tablets, is much debated (see Chapter 2).
834 See, e.g., the discussion above of the heroic encounters.
835 Note Garrison’s (2002/2006) inclusion of PFS 27* in his discussion of seals showing a single animal/creature marchant.
836 Amiet 1973, nos. 38 and 42.
either in a lowlands context of c. 550 BCE or a highlands context of the late 6th century BCE.

Lastly, PFS 103* (pl. 3C) has a heroic control encounter in which the inscription completely saturates the compositional field. The carving is more restrained than on PFS 2089* and PFS 27*, but it still is embedded in a miniaturist Modeled tradition. The hero’s garment is quite unusual.

We thus have three inscribed seals that exhibit various unusual features of iconography and employ free-floating inscriptions that run throughout the compositional fields. A particularly interesting group of inscribed seals from the Neo-Assyrian period have a similar aesthetic: the well-known “ša rēšī” (“eunuch”) seals. These seals belonged to high-ranking eunuchs at the Assyrian court. The ša rēšī seals are intriguing because they document how glyptic imagery may serve to identify a particular class of administrative official. In the case of the ša rēšī seals, the signifiers are (pl. 3D-E): a drilled-and-modeled carving style; cult scenes densely filled with divine symbols; long inscriptions identifying the official deployed vertically throughout the figural field. By mentioning the ša rēšī seals, we do not suggest a possible direct connection between these seals and seals from Persepolis, but instead highlight the striking similar aesthetics.

II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

As discussed in Chapter 2, the source material for the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style remains the seals preserved as impressions on two corpora of tablets from Susa, the

837 See Chapter 2 for more details on these seals.
Acropole tablets and Apadana tablets, and some actual seals, mostly unprovenanced, attributed to the style by Amiet (1973).\textsuperscript{838}

Amiet (1973) dated the glyptic preserved on the two Susa archives to c. late 7\textsuperscript{th}-mid-6\textsuperscript{th} century BCE, based upon his analysis of style and iconography. He posited that the seals that occur on the Acropole tablets date c. late 7\textsuperscript{th}-early 6\textsuperscript{th} century BCE, those on the Apadana tablets c. mid-6\textsuperscript{th} century BCE. Garrison (2002/2006 and 2018) saw no stylistic distinction between the seals from the two archives. He suggested a later date, c. 550-530 BCE, for the Susa seals as a whole, based upon compositional, stylistic, and iconographic connections to the glyptic from Persepolis and more recent analyses of the texts themselves pointing to a mid-century date.\textsuperscript{839}

Persepolitan glyptic exhibits multiple levels of connection with the seals assembled by Amiet (1973). On a broad perspective, we note the following:

1) the dominant language for seal inscriptions at Persepolis is Elamite; with one exception (Amiet no. 6, in Babylonian), all inscribed seals in Amiet’s corpus are in Elamite;

2) the most common formula (72 percent) for seals inscribed in (legible) Elamite at Persepolis is PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}; among the inscribed seals in Amiet’s corpus, approximately 39 percent follow this formula;

3) at Persepolis, the text of Elamite inscriptions is almost always (approximately 85 percent) oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal;\textsuperscript{840} all of the inscribed seals in Amiet’s corpus have horizontal orientation;

4) the most common method (approximately 78 percent) of displaying the Elamite text on inscribed seals at Persepolis is paneled with case lines; approximately 74 percent of Amiet’s inscribed seals corpus is so configured;

\textsuperscript{838} Amiet (1973) recognized a linkage with Persepolitan glyptic – Amiet 1973, nos. 24 (=PFS 25*), 25 (=PFS 1084*), and 27 (=PFS 45*) – are in fact from the Fortification archive.
\textsuperscript{839} See Tavernier (2004) on dating the texts.
\textsuperscript{840} The four royal-name seals of Darius have vertical Elamite text, as do six seals with monolingual Elamite text: PFS 1*, PFS 32*, PFS 848*, PFS 2346*, PFUTS 182*, and PFUTS 293*. 
5) The second most common method (approximately 20 percent) of displaying the Elamite text on inscribed seals at Persepolis is free-floating; approximately 16 percent of Amiet’s inscribed seals corpus is so arranged.

6) The most common placement of the text (approximately 84 percent) on inscribed seals at Persepolis is in the terminal field; approximately 87 percent of the inscribed seals in Amiet’s corpus occur in the terminal field.

Among the seals inscribed in Elamite at Persepolis, three particular thematic types show an exceptionally close connection to Amiet’s corpus of Late Neo-Elamite style glyptic (e.g., pl. 4A). The first is one of the most distinctive scenes within the inscribed corpus of seals at Persepolis, a single animal/creature marchant. Some 18 examples of this scene occur in the inscribed seals from Persepolis (pls. 4B-6C). In all instances except three, the inscription is paneled with case lines. The creatures are, with one exception, winged lions; when preserved, there is usually a horn, often bird’s talons on the rear legs. Six seals in Amiet’s corpus show the same scene; five of them are inscribed, the inscription paneled with case lines and horizontally oriented (e.g., pl. 4A). The creatures on Amiet nos. 13, 42, and 43 are winged horned human-faced lions; Amiet no. 44 is a winged horned lion. Like the Persepolitan seals, those in Amiet’s corpus are rendered in a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style of carving often

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841 In two instances, PFS 124* and PFS 2346*, the creature is rampant.
843 Note the free-floating text of PFS 27* (pl. 4B) and PFS 1161* (pl. 5B); note the free-floating and vertically oriented text on PFS 2346* (pl. 5E).
844 On PFS 73* (pl. 4D), the creature is a winged human-faced lion.
845 Amiet 1973, nos. 13, 40-44. Note that Amiet no. 42 is not inscribed; however, in the terminal field, there is a cult apparatus consisting of a spade and stylus between which are two horizontal bands (cf. PFS 27* and its large spade and stylus in the terminal field). Amiet 1973, no. 27 is in fact PFS 45* and thus is not considered in this count.
846 Amiet no. 40 is only partially preserved; perhaps an ostrich (see below); Amiet identified the winged creature on no. 41 as a horse.
showing much drill work and fussy detail. The hindquarters of animals/creatures are often elaborately worked with musculature (e.g., pl. 4A).

The second thematic type is closely related to the first: a pair of animals/creatures have their bodies crossed or intertwined (e.g., pl. 6D). Some eight examples of crossed/intertwined animals/creatures (pl. 6E-7D) occur in the inscribed seals corpus at Persepolis. The inscription is always paneled with case lines and in the terminal field. The creatures in the crossed/intertwined group are more varied than the single animal/creature marchant: caprids are the most common (PFS 81* (pl. 6F), PFS 588* (pl. 6H), PFS 1084* (pl. 7A), and PFS 2088* (pl. 7B)), but there are also single examples of bulls (PFS 25* (pl. 6E)), lions (PFS 160* (pl. 6G)), and winged bulls (PFUTS 334* (pl. 7D)). Amiet assembled six inscribed seals with crossed/intertwined animals/creatures, four of which are inscribed (e.g., pl. 6D). Like the Persepolitan examples, the creatures are varied: bulls (Amiet 1973, no. 35), winged lions (Amiet 1973, no. 36), caprids (Amiet 1973, no. 37), and ostriches (Amiet 1973, no. 39). Most of these seals, both Persepolitan and Susan, are rendered in a miniaturist Modeled Style. Others, such as PFS 81*, exhibit a restrained carving and plain surface treatment, what we would classify as Fortification Style or Mixed Styles I.

Lastly, there is a small cluster of heraldic animal/creature groups which clearly pattern with the two previous thematic types (e.g., pl. 7E). Four inscribed seals from PFS 25*, PFS 81*, PFS 160*, PFS 588*, PFS 1084*, PFS 2088*, PFS 2228*, and PFUTS 334*.

Amiet 1973, 35-39. Amiet 1973, no. 38 is not inscribed; however, the terminal field is occupied by an elaborate cult device comprised of a spade and stylus atop two vertical posts that are joined at the bottom by a horizontal band (cf. PFS 27* and Amiet 1973, no. 42). Amiet nos. 24 (=PFS 25*) and 25 (=PFS 1084*) are not included in this count.

Amiet 1973, no. 35 is a particularly nice example of a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style.

Seals carved in Mixed Styles I exhibit a combination of features of both the Modeled Style and the Fortification Style (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 19).
Persepolis have heraldic creatures (pl. 7F-8A). The creatures in three of the four heraldic groups from Persepolis are winged lions (PFS 816* (pl. 7G), PFS 2737* (pl. 7H), and PFUTS 333* (pl. 8A)); the fourth has winged human-faced lions (or bulls?) (PFS 320* (pl. 7F)). Two seals in the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic corpus have heraldic scenes (e.g., pl. 7E). They have lions (Amiet 1973, no. 11) or a long-necked creature (Amiet 1973, no. 12). The two examples from Susa are carved in a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style; the Persepolitan examples are generally Modeled Style or Mixed Styles I.

As with the Assyrianizing seals that show the heroic combat encounter from Persepolis discussed above, these three clusters of seals raise questions surrounding date and place of execution. Are we seeing mid-6th century BCE seals originally cut in Susa and re-used at Persepolis in the late 6th century, mid-6th century BCE seals originally cut in the Elamite highlands and re-used at Persepolis in the late 6th century, or late 6th century BCE seals cut in Persepolis/Fārs (perpetuating a very distinctive mid-century glyptic tradition into the late 6th century BCE)? All three phenomena are possible. Certainly, in those instances where we can match the name in the seal inscription with the name in the Elamite text to which it is applied, we have to do with a late 6th century BCE.
glyptic product. So, too, some of these seals at Persepolis may date to the period 530-510 BCE.

In a few instances, we see in the Persepolitan seals some interesting variations from Amiet’s corpus of Late Neo-Elamite glyptic. For example, the rampant pose of the winged lion on PFS 124* (pl. 4E) is not attested in Amiet’s corpus. The rampant pose is a particular favorite among many figural compositions in Persepolitan glyptic and monumental art; so, too, the winged lion is ubiquitous in Persepolitan glyptic. One wonders whether the rampant pose (and the winged creature) on PFS 124* may identify distinctly Achaemenid features. The personal name in the Elamite inscription, Hiumizza, occurs in the texts sealed by PFS 124*. Thus, we can securely anchor the production of PFS 124* to a date not far removed from 509-493 BCE. The earliest attestation of PFS 124* is year 17, thus it has a terminus ante quem of 505 BCE.

II.c. Late Babylonian Inscribed Seals

A common compositional formula among Late Babylonian seals is the Late Babylonian worship scene (e.g., pl. 9A-B): a worshiper (either with a long beard or clean-shaven) facing cult symbols (typically the spade of Marduk and stylus of Nabû atop a

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854 PFS 45*, PFS 81*, and PFS 124*.
855 Several examples of relief sculpture at Persepolis depict the king in combat with a rampant animal/creature; see, for example, the south and north doorjams of the northern and southern doorways in the western wall of the throne hall (Schmidt 1953, pls. 114-15), as well as the south and north doorjams of the northern and southern doorways in the eastern wall (ibid., pls. 116-17).
856 Among the seals actually excavated in Amiet’s corpus, winged lions are rare; Amiet 1973 no. 13 is a winged human-faced lion.
857 Note, also, PFS 2346*, that shows a rampant creature; the free-floating, vertically oriented text is distinctive.
858 See the catalogue entry for PFS 124* for details on the inscription and the texts to which the seal is applied.
859 PF 1833 and PF 1834.
It is well documented in pre-Achaemenid contexts and for some time scholars have recognized that it continues well down into the Achaemenid period. The examples from Persepolis, both those that are inscribed and those without inscriptions, closely follow in style, composition, and iconography, the earlier Babylonian seals.

Eight examples of the Late Babylonian worship scene occur among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (pl. 9C-10B). The seals from Persepolis, as, again in the earlier tradition, are executed in one of two distinct carving styles: a heavily modeled one; an abstracted cut-and-drilled style. The monolingual Babylonian inscriptions take two distinct forms: ANPA PAP ZI and ANKASKAL. As we discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, the former, ANPA PAP ZI, is well documented among seals occurring on tablets dating to the Late Babylonian period, while the latter, ANKASKAL, is to date only attested in the period of Darius and later. The text in both formulae, with one exception, are vertically oriented and free-floating behind the back of the worshiper; on the exception, PFATS 34*s (pl. 9C), the text is placed behind the cult symbols. This placement and orientation of the inscription is by far and away the most common for

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861 Ibid., p. 13; Ehrenberg (ibid.) includes a chronological breakdown of seal impressions according to king. Note Zettler (1979), Bregstein (1993), Ehrenberg (1999), and Root (2003b) who discuss the continuation of the Late Babylonian worship scene into the Achaemenid period.
862 PFATS 34*s, PFS 289*s, PFS 451*s, PFS 813*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, and PFS 1240*.
863 The modeled style among the inscribed seals occurs on PFATS 34*s, PFS 289*s, PFS 451*s, PFS 813*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, PFS 1240*: there is one example of the cut and drilled style (PFS 1205*s). Among the inscribed seals, the worshipers with a long beard appear on PFATS 34*s, PFS 451*s, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, and PFS 1240*: the worshipers on PFS 289*s and PFS 813* are clean-shaven. Additional symbols include a kudduru (e.g., PFS 289*s), mušhuššu (e.g., PFS 813*), goat-fish with ram-headed staff (e.g., PFS 1216*s), and bull with lightning bolts (e.g., PFATS 34*s).
865 ANKASKAL: PFS 161*s, PFS 451*s, PFS 813*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*, and PFS 1240*; ANPA PAP ZI (and its variants): PFS 108*, PFS 289*s, and PFUTS 219*.
those inscribed seals carrying this scene and occurring on tablets dated to the Late Babylonian period.

Thus, in imagery (composition and iconography), carving styles(s), language of inscription, and in one instance the formulae of the inscription, the inscribed seals from Persepolis that have the Late Babylonian worship scene rigidly conform to inscribed (and uninscribed) seals carrying the Late Babylonian worship scene from Late Babylonian contexts.\(^{866}\) This phenomenon is all the more remarkable when we consider these seals carrying Babylonian inscriptions in conjunction with other inscribed seals from Persepolis. They stand out owing to:

1) the language: Babylonian (Elamite and Aramaic account for the great bulk of inscribed seals at Persepolis);

2) the prayer/invocation formulae (no other inscribed seals from the Fortification archive carry such);

3) the lack of any PN (a PN is the most common feature of all other inscribed seals at Persepolis, no matter the language (including other thematic types that carry Babylonian inscriptions));\(^{867}\)

4) the consistency of figural imagery (composition and iconography) in conjunction with inscritional language and formula.

As noted, the Late Babylonian worship scene is well documented among the tablets from the Eanna at Uruk (612-499 BCE); seven examples carry the inscription

\(^{866}\) See Ehrenberg’s (1999) catalogue of the seals from the Eanna at Uruk (612-499 BCE); this corpus includes a goodly number of the Late Babylonian worship scene (ibid., nos. 33-66, 75, 79, 82-83) (eight are inscribed); approximately 100 additional seals from Uruk feature a worshiper in a variety of compositions; see Chapter 2 for details.

\(^{867}\) The exception is PFS 108*, which features a pair of heraldic winged human-faced bulls paired with the Babylonian invocation ANPA PAP ZI. PFS 108* is a striking seal for its pairing of a familiar thematic type (heraldic creatures) with a Babylonian inscription, the highly Assyrianizing stylized tree/plant, its overall large size, and Court Style carving.
ANPA PAP ZI (ANKASKAL does not occur). The Murašû archive from Nippur (c. second half of the 5th century BCE) preserves impressions of five seals that carry the inscription ANKASKAL paired with similar scenes of worship (ANPA PAP ZI does not occur). The presence of both of these inscriptional formulae, ANPA PAP ZI and ANKASKAL, at Persepolis, is noteworthy. Indeed, it would appear that the Fortification archive is the earliest attestation of the formula ANKASKAL. As the Fortification archive is chronologically roughly in between the Eanna and Murašû corpora, one wonders whether the high proportion of the ANKASKAL inscription at Persepolis marks a trend that we see continued in the Murašû archive, while the lower proportion of the ANPA PAP ZI inscription at Persepolis reflects waning influence of what, perhaps, is a pure Late Babylonian tradition. Bregstein characterizes the Babylonian seals with ANKASKAL in the following terms: “The corpus of seals that feature this often overlooked or misinterpreted inscription can now be recognized as a coherent compositional type that may be restricted to ethnic Babylonian owners active during the period from Darius I through Darius II in northern and southern Babylonia.” The evidence from the Fortification archive broadens our understanding of both where and when this particular glyptic phenomenon (inscription and figural imagery) occurs, Persepolis in the late 6th century BCE.

868 Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 39, 45, 48, 54-56, 62; one additional example, no. 44, may include a personal name (ibid., p. 56).
870 See above, as well as Chapter 4, for details.
872 In addition to glyptic, large-scale media also offer evidence of mixing Babylonian and Achaemenid culture; Garrison (2017a, pp. 26-27, 317-19) has noted the site of Tol-e Ājori in the area of Bāgh-e Fīrūzi near Persepolis, which may date to the period of Darius (or slightly before), and includes what appears to be a royal structure with glazed bricks adorned with Babylonian imagery, fragments of a lion sculpture, and a Babylonian inscription; textual fragments appear to read šarru (“king”). A study of the wide-ranging
There are several examples of the Late Babylonian worship scene on West Semitic stamp seals; these designs include the familiar imagery of the worshiper before cult symbols but pair it with an Aramaic inscription. In rare instances, the inscriptions are also presented differently than at Persepolis – horizontally oriented and placed in the upper field or central space of the design. These apparent modifications of the Late Babylonian worship scene to include Aramaic inscriptions (rather than Babylonian), sometimes in a different display format, in the West Semitic corpus put into sharp focus the strict adherence to the Babylonian tradition at Persepolis. That neither Elamite nor Aramaic, the two most common languages used in seal inscriptions at Persepolis, appear with the Late Babylonian worship scenes at Persepolis is quite striking.

As with those seals discussed above showing the heroic combat where the hero chases after an animal/creature and those linked to the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic tradition, the Late Babylonian worship scenes at Persepolis must reflect a multi-faceted phenomenon. Some Persepolitan seals (both inscribed and those that are not inscribed) carrying the Late Babylonian worship scene may indeed date to the mid-6th century and originate in Babylonia. Others may date to an intermediate period, c. 530-510 BCE, and originate in a highlands context (i.e., administrative activity associated with the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and early Darius I). Others may date to the late 6th century, contemporary with the surviving Fortification archive. Certainly, the evidence from the Murašû archive indicates that the compositional formula (worshiper before elevated cult

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874 Avigad and Sass 1997, nos. 774 (upper field) and 825 (central space).
875 There are 95 examples without inscriptions from the Fortification archive.
symbols) and the inscriotional formula (AN KASKAL) continue down well into the middle and late 5th century BCE.\footnote{Zettler (1979, pp. 258, 266, and 269), in noting the presence of the Late Babylonian worship scene on tablets dating to the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, had earlier suggested that the reign of Darius I saw the cessation of this particular compositional formula, perhaps a reflection of Darius’ centralization efforts.}

As noted, PFS 161*s (pl. 10C) reflects a variation on the Late Babylonian worship scene: two worshippers, in the pose seen in the Late Babylonian worship scene, flank what appears to be some type of cultic furniture over which there is a crescent. The inscription is, however, one of the conventional formulae found on the Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis: AN KASKAL.\footnote{A seal from the Eanna at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 77) on a tablet dated to the 14th year of Neriglissar carries a very similar scene.} PFS 161*s may represent an experimental design executed within the exceptional glyptic environment at Persepolis, one that combines a Babylonian inscription (seemingly originating in Babylonia, but certainly an inscriotional formula linked with a specific compositional formula) with an interesting variation of the Late Babylonian worship scene.\footnote{Garrison (2017a, pp. 354-55) has suggested that the double attendants on PFS 161*s may represent a Persepolitan variation on the Late Babylonian worship scenes that more often include a solitary worshiper facing cult symbols.}

Paley (1986) summarized the figural imagery on inscribed seals of the 1st millennium BCE (pre-Achaemenid):

(1) sacred tree motifs, (2) contest scenes depicting an heroic figure mastering either (one or two) animals or monsters, (3) a worshiper before divinities or divine symbols other than the sacred tree motif. Notably absent from the inscribed cylinder seal repertory of this time are ritual scenes with the king and courtiers or priests before an altar or table, contests between animals, and hunting scenes where the hunter with bow and arrow stands or kneels to shoot.\footnote{Paley 1986, pp. 212-13.}

With regard to these observations, we note the following:
1) unlike Assyrian glyptic, scenes with the sacred tree are rare on inscribed seals at Persepolis (although not among seals without inscriptions);\textsuperscript{880}

2) as in Assyrian glyptic, the heroic control encounter is very popular on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive;\textsuperscript{881}

3) as in Assyrian glyptic, cult imagery is very popular on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (although the exact compositional formulae are different in many cases from the Assyrian predecessors);\textsuperscript{882}

4) unlike Assyrian glyptic, ritual scenes with the king and courtiers (e.g., PFS 11*) or priests before an altar or table (e.g., PFS 813*) are documented on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, but they are rare;

5) as in Assyrian glyptic, animal combats are completely absent on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive;

6) unlike the Assyrian seals, archers, standing or kneeling, occur on inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

While Persepolitan glyptic clearly drew upon Neo-Assyrian glyptic traditions, the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive show a select borrowing of motifs.

III. Innovation Among the Inscribed Seals from the Fortification Archive

As discussed in Chapter 5, a particularly important feature in Persepolitan glyptic is court-centric iconography. The main features of this iconographic “package” are:

Persian court robe, dentate crown, bow and arrow, quiver, staff, baton, flower, date palms, bulls, human-headed/-faced bulls, winged symbol, and paneled inscription.\textsuperscript{883} This

\textsuperscript{880} See Chapter 5 for the rare examples.
\textsuperscript{881} See Chapter 5 for the numerous examples of the heroic control and combat encounters.
\textsuperscript{882} See Chapter 5 for the specific compositional formulae within cult imagery.
\textsuperscript{883} See Chapter 5 for an itemized accounting of court-centric iconography among the inscribed seals. Court centric iconography is, of course a conspicuous feature of monumental relief; note, for example, Root (1979, pp. 120-21) linking the figures wearing the Persian court robe in PFS 7*, PFS 11*, and PFS 113* to the figure of the king in monumental relief. On the relationship of glyptic from the Fortification archive to monumental relief, see Garrison (1991, 2000, 2013, Forthcoming(B)) and Root (1979).
iconographic repertoire has been used as the defining characteristic of “Achaemenid”
glyptic.  

Overall, court-centric iconography is rare in the Fortification archive. The
corpus of inscribed seals from Persepolis includes, however, a very high percentage of
seals that carry court-centric iconography. For instance, among the inscribed seals from
the Fortification archive, the Persian court robe occurs in approximately 17 percent of
seal designs; among the seals without inscriptions, it occurs in approximately three
percent of seal designs. Another element of court-centric iconography, the winged
symbol, occurs in approximately nine percent of inscribed seals; among the seals without
inscriptions, it occurs in only approximately three percent of seal designs.

Court-centric iconography is to be distinguished from the Court Style in
Persepolitan glyptic. Garrison and Root define the style with two examples:

…the Court Style exhibits two main and apparently contemporary stylistic
expressions. One, for example, on PFS 7*, shows restrained modeling in human
and animal bodies and a very hard linear approach to the outline of human bodies
and detailing of garments, feathers, and date palm trunks. The other expression of
the style, for example, on PFS 11*, shows a soft outline and more plastic
rendering of the musculature. These distinctions are subtle features within the
overarching stylistic unity of the group. The Court Style in glyptic generally is saturated with court-centric
iconography. The designs in Court Style seals tend toward tall, vertically oriented
figures arranged in sharply symmetrical compositions. There is generally much

885 Garrison 2013, p. 584.
detailing in faces, garments, and wings. Garrison has pinpointed the emergence of the Court Style in Persepolitan glyptic in the last decade of the 6th century BCE. As with court-centric iconography, the Court Style is rare in Persepolitan glyptic. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Court Style occurs somewhat more commonly among inscribed seals (approximately seven percent) than among seals without inscriptions.

There are some real masterpieces among the inscribed seals that carry court-centric iconography. One early example is PFS 71*: a kneeling archer wearing the Persian court robe; a quiver with extra arrows is visible above his right shoulder. PFS 71* stands out for its inclusion of narrative and movement: the spent arrows, rampant lion, dead lion, drawn bow, and kneeling pose of the archer, all suggest the passage of time. While the elements of court-centric iconography link the seal to the Court Style, the lack of symmetry, embracing of narrative, and more modeled style of carving mark PFS 71* as an early and experimental seal.

PFUTS 305* is a thoroughly fascinating design. As noted in Chapter 5, it is one of the most court-centric of the inscribed seals: Persian court robe, dentate crown, flower(s), and quiver. With its central seated figure wearing the Persian court robe and holding a lotus, as well as its approaching/bowing attendants, the design has clear

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890 Garrison (ibid., p. 18) cites PFS 7* and PFS 859* as the two earliest examples (dated 503-502 BCE).
891 Ibid.
892 Among the seals on the PF tablets published by Garrison and Root (2001), only approximately five percent are Court Style.
893 Garrison 2017a, p. 371. PFS 71* predates the royal-name seals, PFS 7* and PFS 11*, by five years (ibid.). PFS 1568* is similar to PFS 71* in that it shows an archer wearing the Persian court robe aiming at an animal already struck with arrows.
connections to the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis. The scene is carved in the Court Style, the deep profile shoulder of the seated king and attendant recalling the figures on PFS 11*.

The most famous seals that employ court-centric iconography are the royal-name seals of Darius. As noted by several commentators, PFS 7* (pl. 11A) and PFS 11* (pl. 11B), and probably also PFS 113* (pl. 11C) and PFUTS 18* (pl. 11D), appear to mark the earliest attestations of the Court Style. All four designs are dense with court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, crowns, bulls, palm trees, winged symbols, pedestal creatures, and trilingual paneled inscriptions.

The four royal-name seals in the Fortification archive carry the same inscriptive formula (“I,” RN + title), displayed in the same manner (paneled with case lines, oriented along the vertical axis, in the terminal field).

The short formula used on the royal-name seals of Darius, “I,” RN + title, is distinctive; this short formula is not otherwise attested among earlier 1st millennium BCE seals. Seal inscriptions that name the king in Assyria tend to be lengthy. When the king’s name appears, it generally is “I + RN + King of Assyria.” Note, for example, the long inscription on the seal of Sennacherib used on the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon includes the phrase “I Sennacherib, King of Assyria.”

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894 Garrison (Forthcoming(B)) discusses the monumental linkages to PFUTS 305*. See Root (1979, fig. 11) for a reconstruction of the façade of the north stairway of the Apadana with the original central panel.
895 Note Garrison’s (Forthcoming(B)) discussion of the PFUTS 305* as a relatively early and experimental example of the Court Style in glyptic.
896 “King of Assyria” is the standard title that follows the king’s name in Assyrian seal inscriptions. The royal-name seals of Darius, unlike Assyrian royal-name seals, never include a geographic referent (e.g., “of Persia”). See Chapter 4 for titles on seals from the Fortification archive.
897 See Chapter 2 for details on this seal.
The vertical orientation of the royal-name seals of Darius is yet another distinct feature. As we noted above, seal inscriptions in the Neo-Assyrian period tend to have a vertical orientation. This vertical orientation, given its rarity at Persepolis, may then mark a particular Assyrian inheritance.

In conclusion, the inscriptions on the royal-name seals of Darius appear to have little influence from earlier seal carving traditions of Assyria, Babylonia, or Elam. The formula of the inscriptions, their orientation and display, and the fact that they are trilingual, combined with the new and distinctive iconographic repertoire, really mark these seals as something distinctive. One suspects, here at the inception of the Court Style, a tightly controlled glyptic environment.

The royal-name seals of Darius thus stand out in many ways both among inscribed seals and seals that are not inscribed at Persepolis. As we have seen, Assyrian and Babylonian iconography are very prominent in Persepolitan glyptic. So, too, three compositional formats found on inscribed seals from Persepolis discussed in this chapter emerge almost verbatim from Assyrian, Elamite, and Babylonian milieus (the distinguishing feature (as regards the Assyrian and Babylonian prototypes) being the Elamite inscriptions on the inscribed seals from Persepolis). Viewed in this perspective, the royal-name seals of Darius reflect yet another aspect of the experimentation and innovation that so marks Persepolitan glyptic as a whole.

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898 This is not to eschew Assyrian influence overall. Note Garrison’s (2017a, pp. 358-62) discussion of PFS 11* and its similarities in visual dynamics to wall reliefs of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud.
899 Note Garrison’s (2014b, p. 89) discussion of the royal-name seals of Darius.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Personal Names in Seal Inscriptions from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

Names Written in Aramaic

BGPN (Elamite: Bakabana) (PN₂, PFUTS 1530*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Baga-pāna-)*

DDGS (Elamite: S/orдуkuš) (PN₁, PFUTS 336*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*θatagus)*

DDMSG (PN₁, PFS 2106*)
Origin of Name: unknown

HNPK (Elamite: Manbaka) (PN₁, PFUTS 264*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*H)uvanpāka-*

KNWNY (“Kanuni”) (PN₁, PFATS 22*)
Origin of Name: Old Aramaic (KNNY)

KRKYŠ (Elamite: Karkiš) (PN₂, PFS 981*)
Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Karkiš*)

PRNDT (Elamite: Parnadadda) (PN₁, PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Farndāta-*)

PRNK (Elamite: Parnakka) (PN₁, PFS 9*, PFS 16*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Farnaka-*)

ʾRŠM (Elamite: Iršama) (PN₁, PFS 2899*; PN₂, PFS 16*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Aršāma-*)

ʾRŠYN (Elamite: Iršena) (PN₁, PFS 981*, PFUTS 1555*)
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Ršēna-*)

ʾRTWRZY (Elamite: Irdumartiya) (PN₁, PFS 71*)

900 Tavernier 2007, p. 137 (no. 4.2.274).
901 Ibid., pp. 63 (no. 2.2.56) and 546; normally one would expect θ to be rendered as s in Aramaic, but it is possible that the presence of the following voiced dental may have resulted in this change (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication).
902 This was suggested to me by Annalisa Azzoni; the use of a h instead of the expected h could be explained by interference of languages and is not uncommon at Persepolis (see for examples instances of HTM as HTM); Tavernier 2007, p. 213 (no. 4.2.849).
903 Maraqtien 1988, p. 175; Dirbas 2017, p. 46.
904 Tavernier 2007, p. 228 (4.2.954).
905 Ibid., p. 177 (no. 4.2.565).
906 Ibid., pp. 178-79 (no. 4.2.567).
907 Ibid., p. 44 (no. 2.2.2).
908 Ibid., p. 290 (no. 4.2.1436).
Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Artavarziya-*)\(^{909}\)

\(SYW\) (Elamite: Syava) (PN\(_1\), PFS 266*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Syāva-*)\(^{910}\)

\(ŠLMN\) (Elamite: Šalamana) (PN\(_1\), PFS 535*)

Origin of Name: uncertain\(^{911}\)

\(ŠŚWŚ\) (Elamite: Ziššawiš) (PN\(_1\), PFS 83*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Čičavahuš*)\(^{912}\)

\(WSMN\) (Elamite: Višiyamanā) (PN\(_1\), PFS 1612*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Višyamanā*)\(^{913}\)

\(ZRNM\) (Elamite: Š/Zarnamiya) (PN\(_1\), PFUTS 305*)

Origin of Name: \(ZRNM\) (Elamite: Š/Zarnamiya)

**Names Written in Babylonian**

Irriba (PN\(_2\), PFS 50*)

Origin of Name: Babylonian

Marduk-nāṣir (PN\(_1\), PFS 1632*)

Origin of Name: Babylonian

Šamaš-rabi (PN\(_1\), PFS 50*)

**Names Written in Elamite**

Abbateya (PN\(_1\), PFS 1566*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Āpātaya-*)\(^{914}\)

Ammamarda (PN\(_2\), PFS 45*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Amavrtā*)\(^{915}\)

Anšanar (PN\(_1\), PFS 103*)

Origin of Name: unknown

Ašbaza\(^{916}\) (PN\(_1\), PFS 1567*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Aspačanā*)\(^{917}\)

Azzakra (PN\(_1\), PFS 73*, PFS 188a*, PFS 188b*)

Origin of Name: Elamite?

Hamiturra (PN\(_1\), PFS 160*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Āmiṭra-*)\(^{918}\)

Haturdada (PN\(_2\), PFS 32*)

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\(^{909}\) Tavernier 2007, p. 44 (no. 2.2.4).

\(^{910}\) Ibid., p. 316 (no. 4.2.1620).

\(^{911}\) See Tavernier (ibid., p. 533) for the various possibilities: Elamite, Babylonian, West Semitic/Arabic, Moabite.

\(^{912}\) Ibid., pp. 155-56 (no. 4.2.406).

\(^{913}\) Ibid., p. 354 (no. 4.2.1932).

\(^{914}\) Ibid., p. 107 (no. 4.2.63).

\(^{915}\) Ibid., pp. 104-05 (no. 4.2.43).

\(^{916}\) Ašbaza is likely a variant of Ašbazana (Old Iranian *Aspačanā*) (ibid., p. 14 (no. 1.2.7)).

\(^{917}\) Ibid.

\(^{918}\) Ibid., p. 105 (no. 4.2.46).
Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Ātrdāta-) 919
Hiiumizza (PN1, PFS 124*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Yuviča-) 920
Huban-ahpi (PN1, PFS 4*; PN2, PFS 77*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 921
Huban-dunuš (PN1, PFS 2089*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 922
Huban-Kitin (PN1, PFS 43*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 923
Huban-ripir (PN1, PFS 1574*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 924
Huban-šupir (PN1, PFUTS 334*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 925
Hunapir (PN2, PFS 2089*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 926
Hutradu (PN2, PFS 1637*)

Origin of Name: unknown 927
Kaškuk (PN2, PFS 27*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 928
Kuraš (PN1, PFS 93*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 929
Nabbaba (PN1, PFS 27*)

Origin of Name: Old Iranian 930
Šati-Huban (PN1, PFS 2346*; PN2, PFS 4*, PFS 103*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 931
Šati-kitin (PN1, PFS 81*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 932
Šati-nauru (PN2, PFS 2096*)

Origin of Name: Elamite 933
Šemi (PN1, PFUTS 787*)

Origin of Name: unknown 934
Šeraš (PN1, PFS 77*)

919 Tavernier 2007, p. 124 (no. 4.2.189).
920 Ibid., no. 4.2.2031, p. 367.
922 Ibid., pp. 12 and 65.
923 Ibid., pp. 12, 21, and 50.
924 Ibid., p. 12.
925 Zadok (ibid., p. 12) includes a similar Elamite name in his Elamite onomasticon: ^Hu-um-ba-na-pir/pi-
926 ir, hu-ban-na-[pir(?)].
927 Ibid., p. 19.
928 Tavernier 2007, pp. 528-30 (no. 5.5.1.34).
929 Ibid., p. 531 (no. 5.5.1.43).
931 For Šati-names, see Zadok (ibid., pp. 38-39); Zadok (ibid.) does not include Šati-nauru.
932 For Šati-names, see Zadok (ibid., pp. 38-39); Zadok (ibid.) does not include Šati-nauru.
Origin of Name: Elamite\textsuperscript{932}
Šešpeš (Zišpiš) (PN\textsubscript{2}, PFS 93*)
  Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Čišpiš)\textsuperscript{933}
Šuddayauda (PN\textsubscript{1}, PFS 32*)
  Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*Çutayauda-)\textsuperscript{934}
Tardumannuš (PN\textsubscript{2}, PFS 261*)
  Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Drdavanuš)\textsuperscript{935}
Unsak (PN\textsubscript{1}, PFS 25*)
  Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Drdavanuš)\textsuperscript{935}
Uradak (PN\textsubscript{1}, PFS 1637*)
  Origin of Name: unknown
Uštanna (PN\textsubscript{1}, PFS 45*)
  Origin of Name: Old Iranian (*H)ustāna)\textsuperscript{936}
Zimaka (PN\textsubscript{2}, PFS 81*)
  Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Jīvaka)\textsuperscript{937}
Ziššabarina (PN\textsubscript{1}, PFS 36*)
  Origin of Name: Old Persian (*Čičafarnā)\textsuperscript{938}

\textsuperscript{932} Henkelman 2017, p. 293 (n. 34).
\textsuperscript{933} Tavernier 2007, p. 519 (no. 5.4.2.55).
\textsuperscript{934} Ibid., p. 162 (no. 4.2.462).
\textsuperscript{935} Ibid., p. 175 (no. 4.2.547).
\textsuperscript{936} Ibid., p. 211 (no. 4.2.831).
\textsuperscript{937} Ibid., pp. 221-22 (no. 4.2.902).
\textsuperscript{938} Ibid., p. 154 (no. 4.2.399).
Appendix 2: Elamite Glyptic Sign List

The following sign list reproduces the Achaemenid period Elamite sign forms collected by Steve (1992). We augment Steve’s list with the Elamite sign forms preserved among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (in the column titled “GLYPTIC”). A sign occurs here if it differs from those documented by Steve (columns titled “2-5”). We have taken a conservative approach to identifying such signs: we do not consider broken signs, signs within uncertain readings, or signs from the heirloom seals PFS 77*, PFS 93*, PFS 1308*, and PFUTS 332*. This sign list is preliminary and aims to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive one in the future.
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2 : Darius ; 2 X : Poids
3 : Xerade ; 4 : Artaxerxes I à III
4 X : Scroûts-cylindres
5 F = PPT ; 5 T = PTT
5 X : Divers (cf. Introduction)
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GLYPHTIC

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<td>589 317</td>
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<td>597 323</td>
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</table>

**Notes:**
- ZA, ZA (ZA) are listed.
- HA, Ha are listed.
- Eššana, Eššana are listed.
- Nīg, Šā are listed.
Appendix 3: Inscribed Seals and Seal Users According to Elamite Text Type

Below are the inscribed seals that we can with some assurance attribute to specific officials or offices, arranged by Elamite text type:

Travel rations (in all instances, the receiver):

1. PFS 81*
2. PFS 289*s
3. PFS 299*
4. PFS 1216*s
5. PFS 1228*
6. PFS 1240*
7. PFS 1308*
8. PFS 1334*
9. PFS 1612*
10. PFS 2228*
11. PFS 3035*
12. PFS 3113*

Letters/letter-orders (in all instances, the addressor):

1. PFS 9*
2. PFS 11*
3. PFS 16*
4. PFS 57*
5. PFS 71*
6. PFS 82*
7. PFS 83*
8. PFS 84*
9. PFS 1095*
10. PFS 815*
11. PFS 1095*
12. PFS 1566*
13. PFS 1567*
14. PFS 1568*
15. PFS 1572*
16. PFS 1632*
17. PFS 2117*
18. PFS 2899*

Journals and accounts:

1. PFS 27*
2. PFS 57*
3. PFS 103*
4. PFS 108*
5. PFS 1574*
6. PFS 1633*
7. PFS 1637*
8. PFS 2076*
9. PFS 2084*
10. PFS 2088*
11. PFS 2089*
12. PFS 2096*
13. PFS 2099*
14. PFS 2106*
15. PFS 2249*

Other text categories (generally ration allocations and generally receivers or oversight officials):

1. PFS 1* 
2. PFS 4* 
3. PFS 7* 
4. PFS 25* 
5. PFS 32* 
6. PFS 36* 
7. PFS 43* 
8. PFS 45* 
9. PFS 64* 
10. PFS 66a* 
11. PFS 66b* 
12. PFS 66c* 
13. PFS 73* 
14. PFS 77* 
15. PFS 93* 
16. PFS 113* 
17. PFS 160* 
18. PFS 164* 
19. PFS 181* 
20. PFS 188a* 
21. PFS 188b* 
22. PFS 261* 
23. PFS 266* 
24. PFS 677* 
25. PFS 883* 
26. PFS 859* 
27. PFS 981* 

939 PFS 98* and PFS 1095* represent rare instances in which multiple users apply one seal to letters (Garrison 2017a, p. 111 (n. 290)).
940 PFS 113* also occurs on letter-orders in the Treasury archive (as PTS 4* on, e.g., PT 1), thus seal attribution is secure.
The following are some exceptional inscribed seals that we can link with specific officials or offices owing to special circumstances:

1. PFS 85a
2. PFS 85b
3. PFS 284
4. PFS 320
5. PFS 588

The following are inscribed seals that occur only on Aramaic and/or uninscribed documents and carry names in the seal inscriptions that we can possibly link with an individual named in the Elamite texts:

1. PFATS 22
2. PFUTS 305
3. PFUTS 1555

While PFS 1205*s occurs only on one tablet (as the counter-seal on a ration allocation), the receiver named in the document also occurs only once in the archive; thus, we suggest these single occurrences of the seal and the individual are meaningful and we can link seal and user.

PFS 85a occurs on three documents for which seal protocols are not well understood. However, the recurring name, Kinnadadda, in all three of the documents lead us to suggest that the seal (and PFS 85b) is linked to him.

PFS 284 always follows the single-seal protocol; in the Elamite documents, Ukama receives rations. The consistent naming of him in the documents as the receiver, coupled with the consistent use of the single-seal protocol, leads us to link PFS 284 to him.

PFS 320 occurs only on two documents and in the single-seal protocol; despite the limited data, the name, Bakadušda, recurring in both texts, leads us to suggest the seal is linked to him.

PFS 588 occurs only on three documents; Henkelman (2008, p. 228), highlighting the religious functions of the commodities, suggests the seal belongs to a šaramanna official who organized distribution of wine for a religious event.

Details on seal attribution are available in the catalogue.
Bibliography


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—. Forthcoming(B). “From Bīsotūn to Persepolis: Glyptic Imagery from the Persepolis Fortification Archive.”


The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

Part 2: A Catalogue
I. Introduction

The appearance of an inscription on a seal from the Fortification archive dictates its inclusion in this catalogue. The catalogue is organized at its highest level by the language of the inscription, starting with the most commonly occurring, Elamite:

Elamite
- cuneiform - language unrecognizable
- trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian)
Aramaic
Babylonian
unicum (Lydian)

The next organizing principal is the method of presenting the inscription. There are four visual characteristics of seal inscriptions at Persepolis that serve as the organizing principles of the catalogue within each language section:

1) orientation of the inscription:
   - horizontal
   - vertical
   - other

2) location of the inscription within the overall glyptic design:
   - terminal field (at the end of the glyptic scene and to the side of all figural elements)
   - upper field (above figural elements)
   - lower field (below figural elements)
   - central scene (at the center of the design)
   - central space (among the figural elements at the center of the design)

3) existence of a panel

4) existence of case lines separating the lines of text

II. Structure of Catalogue Entries

Each catalogue entry includes the following sections:

Seal Number: Seals are labeled in accordance with sigla standardized via study by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project:

PFATS #*: inscribed seals that occur only on the Aramaic documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive.

PFS #*: inscribed seals that occur primarily on Elamite documents from the Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic and/or uninscribed documents.

1 In rare instances, the inscription occupies two of these locations.
PFUTS #: inscribed seals that occur on the uninscribed documents from the Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic documents.

*OIP 117* Cat.No. #: Catalogue Number (in parentheses after PFS number, catalogue number of seal in *OIP 117* (Garrison and Root 2001)).

Seal Type: Cylinder or stamp

Earliest Dated Application: Determined by any dates in the documents on which a seal is impressed. For seals that appear on uninscribed tablets, or on tablets that are undated or illegible/fragmentary, “ND” (“no date”) is listed. In these cases, a seal has a *terminus ante quem* of 493 BCE, as provided by the latest dated tablet from the Fortification archive.

Typology and Style: Typology refers to iconographic groupings (i.e., thematic type and compositional formula) of seals from the Fortification archive. Style refers to the carving style of a seal.

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Language(s) or script of inscription (when known). In cases where the script is known but the language is uncertain (e.g., due to illegibility or unusual sign forms, etc.), “cuneiform – language unrecognizable” is listed. When the script is unclear, this is denoted by a question mark. In cases where the inscription appears to be fake (i.e., where shapes are intended to mimic signs/letters), “mock” is listed.

Preserved Height of Image: Maximum preserved height of the composite image as determined by analysis of all known impressions available at the time of writing.\(^2\)

Preserved Length/Width of Image: Maximum preserved length (cylinder seal) or width (stamp seal) of the composite image as determined by analysis of all known impressions available at the time of writing.

Estimated Height of Original Seal: Estimate of the reconstructed height of the original seal face (when seal’s vertical design is almost fully preserved through impression(s)). When this cannot be estimated, “NA” (“not applicable”), is listed.

Estimated Diameter/Width of Original Seal: Estimate of the reconstructed diameter (cylinder seal) or width (stamp seal) of the original seal. For cylinder seals, we only give the reconstructed diameter when the full length of the design, including the terminal field, is known. For stamp seals, we give an estimate only when we are comfortable that we can reconstruct the width of the design based upon the shape of the seal face. When we do not have the full length of the design for cylinder seals, or the shape of the stamp seal face and most of its outline, “NA” (“not applicable”) is listed.

\(^2\) All measurements are rounded to the nearest millimeter.
Number of Impressions: Number of all known impressions of a seal across all tablet types from the Fortification archive available at the time of writing.

Quality of Impressions: Approximate assessment of the degree to which information regarding a seal’s design and details can be gathered from all known impressions available at the time of writing.

Completeness of Image: Approximate assessment of the completeness of the full seal image based on the composite drawing created from all known impressions of the seal available at time of writing.

Description of Seal as Impressed Image: Detailed description of the glyptic design as reconstructed in the composite drawing incorporating all known impressions of the seal available at the time of writing. Directions (i.e., right, left) refer to the viewer’s perspective. Handedness (e.g., right arm, left leg) refers to the figure’s vantage point in the design.

Inscription: Transliteration and translation (when possible).³

Commentary on Inscription: Formula of inscription (when it can be determined). Overview of preservation and layout of inscription per the composite drawing. Description of each line, including decisions regarding the reading (when applicable). Details of inscription (e.g., formula, personal names, etc.). Left and right sides of the panel refer to the viewer’s perspective; top and bottom sides correspond to the figural scene.

Commentary on Seal Usage: List of all tablets from the Fortification archive on which a seal occurs, where on the tablet(s) it occurs, and other seals applied to the tablet(s) known at the time of writing.⁴ Issues surrounding usage pattern(s) of the seal, as indicated from its application on documents from the Fortification archive, as well as seal user(s) and document type(s). There are four types of sealing protocol:⁵

  Single-seal: One seal is applied to a tablet, sometimes multiple times and/or to multiple surfaces. When there are attestations of a seal on numerous documents, the single-seal protocol is often associated with individuals/offices of elevated socio-administrative status/rank.⁶ Letters and letter-orders, with few exceptions, carry only one seal (that of the addressor).

---
³ See the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of Part I for a list of inscription conventions. See Chapter 2 for a list of frequently used ancient words and their translations. For Aramaic inscriptions, names are rendered in accordance with their Elamite spelling, as that is how they appear in the cuneiform texts of the Fortification archive; when an English translation of a title is not clear, the Persian word is used.
⁴ In rare instances, seals appearing on Fort. tablets are listed simply as “seal.” This is due to some Fort. tablets having not been read at the time of writing, thus these seals are unidentified.
⁵ For details on the various types of sealing protocols, see Chapter 3.
⁶ The issue of single-seal protocol and administrative rank is complex. A robust dataset of Elamite texts is needed to make such associations; see Chapter 3 for details.
Counter-seal: Two seals are applied to a tablet, one on the left edge, the other on any of the other five surfaces (obverse, reverse, upper, bottom, and/or right edges). Travel rations (Q texts) generally follow this sealing protocol. On travel rations the seal of the kurman (supply) office/official occurs on the left edge (what we refer to as the supplier seal), the seal of the receiver(s) (i.e., the individual who will consume the commodity or the individual overseeing the individual(s) who will consume the commodity) on any surface(s) but the left edge (usually the reverse and/or upper edge) (what we refer to as the counter-seal).\(^7\)

Parallel-seal: Two seals are applied to a tablet in a pattern other than that of the counter-seal protocol (i.e., the seal on the left edge is not limited to the left edge, or the left edge carries no seal at all). Unlike the counter-seal protocol, the parallel-seal protocol is poorly understood and appears to represent different administrative protocols in different circumstances; it presents some challenges when it comes to identifying seal users.

Multiple-seal: Three or more seals are applied to a tablet. Repeated occurrences of the same three or four seals on the same tablet are sometimes documented. This protocol is poorly understood and only in very rare instances are we able to assign seals to specific users.

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style: Issues surrounding composition of the glyptic design, iconography, and carving style of the seal. Our comments are directed principally to glyptic within the two Persepolitan archives (Fortification and Treasury).

Bibliography: Selection of relevant bibliography known at the time of writing; this is not a comprehensive list, but rather a representative sample of the relevant scholarship. If blank, the seal has never been published.

\(^7\) Garrison 2017a, p. 53.
### THE CATALOGUE

**Elamite Group 1:**
- **Orientation:** Horizontal
- **Location in Field:** Terminal
- **With/Without Panel:** With Panel
- **With/Without Case Lines:** With Case Lines

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<td>PFS 272*</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>PFS 523*</td>
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<td>17.</td>
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<td>PFS 584*</td>
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<td>PFS 2249*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 787*</td>
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</table>

By far the most popular way to present a monolingual Elamite inscription among the seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis of the seal, in the terminal field, enclosed in a panel, and separated by case lines. At present, 43 seals (approximately 67 percent) of the 64 seals carrying monolingual Elamite inscriptions are so disposed.

#### PFS 25*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE
Typology and Style: 23.A. Crossed Animal Groups: Bulls; Modeled Style

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8 PF 1656.
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 60
Quality of Impressions: Good – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for upper and lower edges and some details along bottom of scene.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two rampant bulls cross over one another; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two rampant bulls (right rear foot of animal facing to right, both rear feet of animal facing to left not preserved), one facing to left, other to right, cross at mid-torso. Bull at left facing to right is apparently in front of bull at right facing to left. Stand on hindlegs with hooves apart. Each holds forelegs together, slightly bent, and extended outward horizontally. Each has tail that extends straight out from hindquarters and curves upward and back toward torso; tail of animal facing to right terminates in rounded tuft. Each has horn that extends from top of head and curves up at end (horn on animal facing to left curves more deeply than that on animal facing to right). Each animal has one small eye (rounded on animal facing to left, ovular on animal facing to right). Mane is indicated by thin band that runs along back of head and neck. Thin ear emerges from where mane starts at top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIšun-sa-
2. ak-
3. na
“(Belonging) to Unsak”\(^9\)

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN-na

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the corners and lower right section of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. The signs that are present are complete. The straight element of each wedge is thin with a V-shaped element attached to the end with little tapering between the two.\(^{10}\)

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\(^{10}\) Cf. PFS 1*, PFS 4*, PFS 32*, PFS 77*, and PFS 81*.
Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -un, and -sa.

Line 2: apparently only one sign: -ak.

Line 3: apparently only one sign: -na, the genitive enclitic.

The reading seems clear, a personal name, or title, followed by -na to indicate possession. The formula PN-na is, however, otherwise unattested among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. PFS 25* is, however, rather exceptional in several ways.

unsak is either a name or a title. The word has been often discussed.11 Within the Fortification archive, unsak occurs also in the inscription on PFS 1*:

Line: 1. DIŠ URU?-ki-su-na
    2. DIŠ un-sa-ak?-te12

On PFS 1*, unsak follows immediately after what appears to be a personal name. Its exact function in the inscription is difficult to determine, but the most straight-forward explanation is that it is a title.13

The word unsak also appears in several Elamite documents from the Fortification archive: in PF 102 and NN 2080, an individual named/titled unsak delivers flour; in NN 2541, unsak is included in a long list of personal names.14 In all three Elamite texts, the word is preceded by HAL, the male determinative, which precedes either a personal name or a title in the texts from the Fortification archive.15 In another Elamite text, PF 355, the word unsakra (preceded by HAL), may designate an exchange-official.16

unsak is attested also in the Persepolis Treasury archive: PT 5 records disbursement of silver paid by a kurman official called unsak; unsak is also applied to the kurman noted in PT 4, PT 6, PT7, and PT 8.17 In these contexts, Cameron understood the word as a title and translates it as “administrator,” equating it with Sumerian ensi(k) and Akkadian iššakku.18

The word unsak also appears at Susa on an inscribed seal:19

Line: 1. [hu-]

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11 See Chapter 4 for details.
12 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273).
13 See the catalogue entry for PFS 1* and Chapter 4 for details.
14 NN 2541.
15 See, for example, NN 2529: "HAL-kur-da-bat-'ti-iš".
16 unsak can mean "exchange." unsaka, the verbal adjective form, appears in several Elamite documents where it qualifies commodities as “exchanged”: PF 274, PF 275, PF 276, PF 277, PF 279, PF 367, PF 376, PF 1957, NN 236, NN 762, NN 1077, NN 1877, NN 2104, NN 2268, and NN 2362.
17 For the Persepolis Treasury texts, see Cameron 1948.
18 Ibid., pp. 58, 89, 91-92.
As on PFS 25*, unsak is followed by -na, the genitive enclitic. In the case of the seal from Susa, however, the inscripational formula, PN₁ DUMU PN₂-na, clearly indicates that unsak is a personal name (PN₂).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
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<td>PFS 25*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 25*</td>
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<td>PFS 25*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 25*</td>
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<td>PFS 70s</td>
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<td>PFS 25*</td>
<td>PFS 25*</td>
<td>PFS 70s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 25* appears on 31 Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols.\(^{20}\)

**Single-Seal:**
PF 379, PF 909, PF 910, PF 912, PF 1141, PF 1656, NN 503, NN 1211, NN 1381, NN 2105, and NN 3040.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.\(^ {21}\)

\(^{20}\) The left edge of NN 2308 is not preserved; thus, we cannot determine whether another seal occurs with PFS 25*.

\(^{21}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 379 and NN 2105; ration allocations for workers: PF 909, PF 910, PF 912, and NN 1211; ration allocations for animals: PF 1656 and NN 503.
Counter-Seal:
PF 456, PF 457, PF 570, PF 911, PF 913, PF 914, PF 1146, PF 1772, NN 164, NN 303, NN 777, NN 874, NN 1041, NN 1692, NN 2049, NN 2065, NN 2571, and NN 3089.

In all instances, PFS 25* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse and/or upper edge) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movements and ration allocations for workers and animals.\(^{22}\)

Parallel-Seal:
PF 455.

PFS 25* is impressed once on the left edge and once on the reverse; PFS 70s also appears on the left edge. No other surfaces of the tablet are sealed. The application of two seals to the left edge of a tablet is very rare.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movements.

PFS 25* presents a large and diverse dossier. The diversity of document types on which it occurs, its repeated use in the single-seal protocol, as well as its consistent use as a counter-seal on the reverse or other surfaces of tablets (i.e., representing the receiver), all point to the seal representing a high-order oversight authority, most likely a šaramanna and/or a damanna official.\(^{23}\) Seven of the documents on which PFS 25* occurs list the šaramanna official, Karkiš.\(^{24}\) Garrison suspects that this Karkiš is the same individual who serves as the regional director at Persepolis and who holds the title kurdabattiš;\(^{25}\) he concludes that PFS 25* “may then represent some type of geographical extension of the authority of Karkiš, but that authority is clearly secondary (or, minimally, requires counter-sealing) in relation to the authority represented by PFS 1*.”\(^{26}\)

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Crossed animal groups are a distinct and relatively popular thematic type in Persepolitan glyptic.\(^{27}\) Including PFS 25*, there are seven examples of crossed bulls and one of winged bulls.\(^{28}\) PFS 25* and PFUTS 334* are the only examples that show crossed taurine creatures among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

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\(^{22}\) Receipts of commodity movements: PF 456, PF 457, PF 570, NN 303, NN 777, NN 874, and NN 1041; ration allocations for workers: PF 911, PF 912, PF 913, PF 914, PF 1146, NN 164, NN 2049, NN 2065, NN 2571, and NN 3089; ration allocations for animals: PF 1692 and PF 1772.

\(^{23}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 57.

\(^{24}\) PF 911, PF 912, PF 913, PF 914, NN 164, NN 2308, and NN 3089.

\(^{25}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 58. The linkage is established not only via the names but also the shared visual characteristics of the two seals, PFS 1* and PFS 25*.

\(^{26}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 61.

\(^{27}\) See Chapter 5 for discussions of the thematic type.

\(^{28}\) PFATS 514s, PFATS 959, PFS 25*, PFS 962, PFS 1173, PFS 1694, and PFUTS 1158s; winged bulls: PFUTS 334*.
Crossed animal groups that include an inscription appear to represent a particularly important category of inscribed seals. On all of these seals, the cuneiform inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines. The thematic type, moreover, has obvious links to those designs showing a single animal, generally marchant, with an inscription (typically paneled with case lines, horizontally oriented, in the terminal field).

Modeled Style. The style of carving is exceptionally sharp and crisp. Animal forms are nicely modeled; the hindquarters of the animals, in particular, show some musculature. Note also the bulging along the front of the thighs and the V-shaped inner thigh of the animal facing to right.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**PFS 36* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 5)**

Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE  
Typology and Style: 01.A.02. Hero controls winged bull-creatures; Fortification Style  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 4.2 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm  
Number of Impressions: 69  
Quality of Impressions: Good  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

30 See Chapter 6 for an extended discussion of this layout; see Chapter 8 for the connections to the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style.  
31 See Chapter 5 for these inscribed seals.  
32 Garrison 2017a, p. 61; PFS 1* is another example of this carving style.  
33 PF 397, PF 398, PF 1041, PF 1076, PF 1612, NN 247, NN 459, NN 638, NN 640, NN 713, NN 832, NN 1200, NN 1201, NN 1205, and NN 2574.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls rampant winged bull-creatures while standing atop pedestal creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Four-winged hero (lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands atop two pedestal creatures (bodies not preserved). Extends both arms, slightly bent, outward at shoulder height to hold paw of rampant winged bull-creature to either side. Two wings extend upward from shoulders; two wings extend downward from shoulders. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing. Wears Assyrian garment with long hem that crosses over left thigh. Detailing (fringe?) is indicated across front of chest. Small divot at back of head may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in small mass at back of neck. Small ear sits above hair. Face is comprised of thin pointed nose, large rounded eye, and two small lips. Short, pointed beard hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero are rampant winged bull-creatures (lower hindlegs of both creatures, tip of horn on creature at left, lower part of foreleg on creature at right not preserved) facing in toward hero at center of scene. Stand on hindlegs with one foreleg reaching diagonally upward in front of body; hero grasps hoof. Other foreleg is bent and hangs down in front of torso. Wing extends diagonally upward from shoulder; single row of feathers is indicated. Long, wavy tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in rounded tuft. Horn extends forward from top of head (long and wavy on animal at right). Large round eye is indicated. Pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Below hero are two winged horned creatures (not preserved below neck) facing outward, likely assuming couchant position as pedestals on which hero stands. Creature at left has wing that extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Horn emerges from top of head (bends at 90-degree angle on creature at left, curves slightly before coming to point on creature at right). Creature at right has small eye indicated by drill hole. Ear emerges from back of head of creature at left.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1. Dšizi-iš-šá-
2. bar-na šá [...] 
3. [...] ňa’
   “Ziššabarna of …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ šá PN₂/title?

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved.

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34 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 71) with minor variation.
Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. The signs that are present appear elongated, with the vertical wedges especially tall.

Line 1: four signs: DIŠ, -zí, -iš, and -šá.

Line 2: three signs preserved: -bar, -na, and -šá. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 3: one sign preserved: likely -na, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many signs preceded.

The reading of the inscription is somewhat obscure. It begins with the personal name, Ziššabarna, which is clear, but what follows is broken and uncertain. Ziššabarna is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian name *Čiçafarnā ("with shining splendor" or "glorious because of his origin"). It is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. Following the name is šá. One wonders whether šá here is the relative pronoun meaning "of," used to indicate a relationship between PN₁ and a possible PN₂ in line three (similarly to DUMU ("son (of)") in PN₁ DUMU PN₂). On PFS 36*, it could have a partitive sense preceding a patronym that would occupy the last line (i.e., PN₁ “of” PN₂). Another possibility is that šá precedes a title or office in the last line with which Ziššabarna is affiliated (e.g., Ziššabarna "of the treasury"). The genitive enclitic at the end would emphasize the possessive meaning in either scenario.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

35 Tavernier 2007, p. 154 (no. 4.2.399).
36 I am aware of a few instances in which šá appears before PN₂ on a seal: an Old Babylonian seal in Gelb’s (1977) typology (section XXXI, p. 125 (no. 3)) includes šá between PN₁ and PN₂ and between PN₂ and PN₃; a Late Babylonian votive seal in Gelb’s (1977) typology (section XX, p. 121) includes šá as part of a longer patronymic formula: …PN₁ A-šu šá PN₂…
37 šá is used like the genitive enclitic, -na, to indicate possession on Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian seals; see Gelb’s (1977) typology, section XXVI (e.g., šá PN (p. 124)).
PFS 36* appears on 29 Elamite documents and one uninscribed document, always in the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{38}

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations.\textsuperscript{39}

PFS 36* has a large and diverse dossier of transactions. Its application in the single-seal protocol on all of the documents to which it is applied, as well as its multiple applications per tablet, likely indicates the user/owner of the seal carries considerable authority. In a number of texts, both the royal woman Irdabama and a šaramanna official who works for

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PF 1612 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
PF 1613 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 237 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 247 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 292 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
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NN 713 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 715 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 832 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 1068 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & destroyed \\
NN 1146 & PFS 36* & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 1200 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 1201 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 1205 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 1562 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & (x2) & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 2506 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & (x3) & PFS 36* & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
NN 2574 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed & PFS 36* & not sealed \\
PFUT 915-206 & PFS 36* & not sealed & not sealed & partially destroyed & PFS 36* & partially destroyed \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{38} On PFUT 915-206, PFS 36* is applied to the obverse and left edge; the upper and right edges are destroyed. As a result, we cannot be certain what sealing protocol PFS 36* follows in this case. However, given the otherwise consistent use of the seal in accordance with the single-seal protocol, we can suggest that it is likely the sole seal occurring on this tablet.

\textsuperscript{39} Receipts of commodity movement: PF 397, PF 398, PF 399, NN 237, NN 638, NN 640, NN 1205, NN 1994, and NN 2506; ration allocations: PF 821, PF 849, PF 1028, PF 1041, PF 1076, PF 1223, PF 1612, PF 1613, NN 247, NN 292, NN 350, NN 459, NN 713, NN 715, NN 832, NN 1068, NN 1146, NN 1200, NN 1201, NN 1562, and NN 2574.

331
her, Rašda, are noted.\textsuperscript{40} It appears that PFS 36* is linked to providing rations for workers affiliated with Irdabama, either through direction mention ("\textit{abbakkanaš Irdabamana}") or through her steward, Rašda.\textsuperscript{41} It has become increasingly clear that the bureau of Irdabama has an extensive footprint in the archive.\textsuperscript{42} PFS 36* would appear to be one of several seals that represents that bureau.\textsuperscript{43} Whether it is linked only with Rašda, or an office he oversees, is uncertain.\textsuperscript{44} When a place name is given, it is, with one exception, Tirazziš.\textsuperscript{45} Perhaps the seal represents an office that has a restricted geographical range.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The particular compositional formula on PFS 36* appears on one other inscribed seal from the Fortification archive, PFS 7*, a royal name seal of Darius that carries a trilingual inscription. The inscription on PFS 7* is presented somewhat differently from PFS 36*, as it is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. Like PFS 36*, the inscription on PFS 7* also appears within a panel and with case lines. PFS 7* is carved in the Court Style.

Fortification Style. Figures are elongated with minimal modeling and little indication of musculature. As noted by Garrison and Root, the seal is also related to Court Style seals from Persepolis, both for iconographic and stylistic elements: the “treatment of the animal forms [“very delicate and light quality in the animal forms”], the very formal and symmetrical composition, the inclusion of pedestal creatures, and the large paneled inscription.”\textsuperscript{46}

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 43* (\textit{OIP} 117 Cat.No. 207)

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\textsuperscript{40} PF 849, PF 1028, PF 1041, NN 350, NN 713, NN 832, NN 1068, NN 1146, NN 1200, and NN 2574. When a \textit{saramanna} official is named in texts sealed with PFS 36*, it is always Rašda. Rašda is frequently named in the archive, occurring on some 74 memoranda.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{abbakkanaš Irdabamana:} PF 397, PF 398, PF 399, NN 237, NN 638, NN 640, NN 1205. The exceptions include PF 821, PF 1076, PF 1613, NN 247, NN 292, NN 459, NN 715, NN 1201, and NN 1994.

\textsuperscript{42} For more on Irdabama and her royal/administrative activities, see Henkelman (Forthcoming, 2003a, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b) and Henkelman and Stolper (2009).

\textsuperscript{43} PFS 77* being the most noteworthy (see the catalogue entry).

\textsuperscript{44} Note also the comments of Koch (1990, pp. 62-63); Brosius’ (1996, pp. 132, 139-41) suggestion that the seal is also used by Uštanna seems unlikely due to his role in allocating commodities, rather than receiving them; for another seal associated with Rašda, see PFS 77*.

\textsuperscript{45} The exception is Nupištaš in NN 2506; on the place, see Henkelman (2008, p. 435 (n. 1002)).

\textsuperscript{46} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 72; for the significance of pedestal creatures as an elite motif in early Achaemenid glyptic, see Dusinberre (1997).
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE

Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Diverse Styles
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 29
Quality of Impressions: Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some detail along lower section of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant lion with dagger; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, right placed firmly behind body and left, bent at knee, raised at hip-height with foot placed on hindleg of rampant lion. Right arm reaches diagonally downward in front of body to threaten lion with dagger. Left arm reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp top of lion’s head. Both hands are rendered as long and thin, with no indication of fingers. Wears belted knee-length skirt that leaves front leg entirely exposed and back leg exposed below knee. Thin border runs along bottom hem of garment. Sheath at hip extends behind body. Wears domed headdress. Hair is gathered into column of ovals along back of head. Face is comprised of geometric features: circular eye, triangular nose, and ovular mouth. Thin, pointed beard hangs to upper arm.

To right of hero is rampant lion moving to right. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, right in front of left. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Both arms, sharply bent, are held at shoulder height. Paw at right is splayed to reveal six nails. Other paw grasps upper arm of hero; at least four digits are indicated. Long, thin tail extends horizontally from hindquarters before curving sharply at end. Small drill hole marks tip

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47 Many of the documents on which PFS 43* is impressed are dated to year 19 of Darius’ reign (e.g., PF 388, PF 507, and PF 580).
of nose. Another drill hole indicates eye. Mouth is open revealing pointed tooth along top jaw and shorter, pointed tooth along bottom. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal, thick wavy border, is preserved at top and bottom. Top of inscription panel opens directly onto border. Several shapes, likely flaws or chips in stone, hang from border (rectangular masses in first line of inscription and above/in front of hero’s head).

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1\textsuperscript{DIŠ}hu-ban-
2. ki-tin DUMU
3. na-ap-
4. ˹x-na?˷
“Huban-Kitin son of Nap…”\textsuperscript{48}

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the lower sections of the left and right vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. Various features of the inscription are irregular. For example, the signs start out small and get larger toward the end of the inscription; this appears to correspond with the growing heights of the cases from top to bottom. There is also some variation in the thickness of the signs; note, for example, the thin vertical wedge comprising DIŠ at the beginning of the inscription, compared to the wedges making up -ap at the end of the third line. Some signs (e.g., those in line three) are placed spaciously in the case, while others (e.g., those in line two) are placed close together. The rectangular flaw/chip in the middle of the first case does not appear to obscure any of the signs.

Line 1: apparently three signs: DIŠ, -hu, and -ban.

Line 2: three signs: -ki, -tin, and DUMU.

Line 3: apparently two signs: -na and -ap.

Line 4: two broken signs: an unidentifiable sign and perhaps -na, the genitive enclitic.

The reading of the beginning of the inscription seems clear, a personal name followed by DUMU. The name Huban-Kitin is Elamite and is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{48} This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 302).

\textsuperscript{49} See Zadok (1984, pp. 12, 21, and 50) for the name.
The patronym, apparently beginning Nap-, is too broken for identification.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

**Sealing Protocol: single-seal**

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PFS 43* appears on 15 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.\(^{50}\)

The name Uštanna recurs in the documents carrying impressions of PFS 43*.\(^{51}\) In these texts, Uštanna oversees transactions involving grain distribution. Koch argues that PFS 43* belongs to a colleague of Uštanna, despite personal correspondence with Hallock in which he attributes the seal to Uštanna himself.\(^{52}\) Other commentators have also suggested that Uštanna uses the seal.\(^{53}\) Given Uštanna’s supervisory role in the transactions in which he is named, it is plausible that he would use the single-seal protocol and thus he should be considered a possible user of the seal.

Two potential problems with attributing the seal to Uštanna are, of course, that 1) another seal, PFS 45*, is clearly linked with him, both by usage and seal inscription (see below);

\(^{50}\) Commodity movement: PF 388, PF 507, PF 580, PF 653, and NN 1607; ration allocations for workers: PF 996, PF 1266, PF 1267, NN 1218, and NN 2314; ration allocations for animals: PF 1668, PF 1713, PF 1750, NN 463, and NN 1054.

\(^{51}\) PF 507, PF 580, PF 996, PF 1668, and NN 1054.

\(^{52}\) Koch 1986, p. 146; Koch 1990, pp. 157, 297-98, and 307; her argument relied on an earlier, incomplete reading of the inscription (ibid., p. 157).

\(^{53}\) Aperghis 1999, pp. 165, 179-80, and Aperghis 2000, p. 130.
and 2) the name in the seal inscription is Huban-Kitin (see the comments below). One possibility is that PFS 43* is linked with the bureau of Uštanna, serving as an extension of his office. PFS 43* and PFS 45* in general overlap in the types of texts on which they occur, and the šaramanna official, when named, is with two exceptions, always Uštanna.\textsuperscript{54} PFS 45* follows, however, more commonly the counter-seal protocol.

In the end, it is clear that both seals, PFS 43* and PFS 45*, are linked with the šaramanna official Uštanna (see also the comments below).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Garrison and Root suggest that PFS 43* may be a product of Elam, predating the Fortification archive by about a generation; thus, it would be an heirloom when used during the time of the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{55} They note a “Hupan-Kitin, son of the king Šutur-Nahunte,” who was king of Susa in the early sixth century BCE.\textsuperscript{56} It is possible that the Huban-Kitin in the inscription on PFS 43* could reference this royal individual, but Huban-Kitin is a common name in Elamite.\textsuperscript{57} In addition to the name in the inscription, the carving style does not seem local. Specifically, the elongated figures and heavy use of the unmasked drill are unusual among the glyptic imagery from Persepolis.\textsuperscript{58} However, it is important to note that the thematic type, and its pairing with a paneled inscription, is very well-attested among the seals from the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{59}

Diverse Styles. Figures are elongated with geometric forms (e.g., hair and face of hero, head and face of lion) with little modeling. Both the hands of the hero and the hindfeet of the lion become thin toward the ends and have little to no detailing. Due to this manner of rendering hands, the hero’s arms appear especially elongated, similarly to heroes depicted on Akkadian seals. Some modeling is indicated along the right shoulder of the hero and the left leg, which is carved with a rounded edge where it attaches at the hip, making it appear distinct from the body. Musculature along the shoulders and hindquarters of the lion is subtle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 45*

\textsuperscript{54} NN 711, Išpankauma; Fort 2341-105, Šiyatiš.
\textsuperscript{55} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 303.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Zadok 1984, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{58} Garrison 1984, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{59} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 303.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 18
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-headed bird-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-headed bird-creature (rear right foot not preserved) moves to right. Stands with feet apart and turns head back behind body to face to left. Forelegs terminate in paws with tufts of hair around ankles; two digits are indicated on front right paw. Left hindleg terminates in bird’s claw with sharp nail at front. Large wing extends diagonally upward from shoulder and curves upward behind head; single row of feathers is indicated. Thin ribbing runs along upper edge of wing. Wavy tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in three feathers. Snout has pointed tip and round nostril. Ovular eye is indicated. Mouth is open revealing pointed teeth, one on top jaw and one along bottom. Mane is comprised of row of drill marks that runs along head and neck. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head, one longer than other.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. Dilšú-‘iš-
2. tan-na

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60 PF 523.
61 This style of tail recalls the “broom-type tail” found among composite creatures throughout Mesopotamia since the Akkadian period (Álvarez-Mon 2011, pp. 314 and 345).
3. DUMU am-
4. ma-mar-da
“Uštanna, son (of) Ammamarda”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top corners of the panel are not preserved. The rearmost foot of the creature in fact acts as the lower right corner of the panel. The signs are placed somewhat chaotically within the lines. Some of the horizontal wedges, for example, do not run parallel to the case lines; some signs seem to disregard the case lines and outer panel by being carved over them. The signs in the last line appear to have been squeezed into the space, resulting in crowding toward the end of the line and the final sign appearing on top of the right vertical side of the panel.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -ú, and broken -iš.

Line 2: apparently two signs: -tan and -na.

Line 3: two signs: DUMU and -am.

Line 4: three signs: -ma, -mar, and -da.

The reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. Both personal names are attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. Uštanna is the Elamite rendering of an Old Iranian name *(H)ustâna “having a good place”). To date, the name occurs in a total of 207 documents from the Fortification archive. Whether all 207 attestations refer to one and the same individual is unclear. We may certainly identify, however, an important šaramanna official by that name; he is named thus in at least 53 texts.

Among the 15 tablets sealed by PFS 45*, seven name the šaramanna Uštanna; we thus may with some certainty attribute PFS 45* to him. As noted above, PFS 43* also appears linked to his bureau.

The patronym, Ammamarda, is the Elamite rendering of an Iranian name (*Amavrta “the strong hero”); the name occurs in many documents from the Fortification archive, with some variation in spelling. The name, as spelled on PFS 45*, appears in 45 documents from the Fortification archive.

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62 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 71).
63 See Chapter 6 for other examples of figural imagery replacing part of the inscription panel.
64 Tavernier 2007, p. 211 (no. 4.2.831).
65 Among the documents from the Fortification archive, the name is spelled as on PFS 45*, but also as Hu-\(iš\)-da-na, Hu-\(iš\)-tams-na, and \(U\)-iš-da-na (ibid.).
66 PF 476, PF 967, PF 994, NN 41, NN 1090, NN 1494, and NN 1934.
67 Am-ma-ur-da, An-ma-mar-da, Ha-ma-mar-da, and Ha-am-ma-mar-ud-da (Tavernier 2007, pp. 104-05 (no. 4.2.43)).
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 45*

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PFS 45* appears on 16 Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 24 and Fort. 2341-105.

These transactions include receipt of commodity movement and ration allocations.\(^{68}\)

Counter-seal:
PF 476, PF 523, PF 572, PF 629, PF 633, PF 967, PF 994, NN 41, NN 223, NN 711, NN 1090, NN 1494, NN 1934, and NN 2417.

In all instances, PFS 45* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.\(^{69}\)

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\(^{68}\) Receipt of commodity movement: PF 24; ration allocations: Fort. 2341-105.
\(^{69}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 476, PF 523, PF 572, PF 629, PF 633, and NN 41; ration allocations for workers: PF 967, PF 994, NN 223, NN 1090, NN 1934, and NN 1494; ration allocations for animals: NN 711 and NN 2417. The bottom, left, and right edges of NN 1494 are destroyed, thus the
The first personal name in the inscription on PFS 45*, Uštanna, appears in multiple documents on which PFS 45* is impressed. In these transactions, Uštanna is named as šaramanna official and oversees the disbursement of various commodities for workers. The use of the single-seal protocol, as well as his supervisory role, likely highlight his elevated authority. PFS 45* would seem to be his personal seal, due to his name appearing in the inscription. Another seal, PFS 43*, discussed above, has also been linked to Uštanna; it is, perhaps, a seal associated with his bureau.

COMMENTARY ON ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The theme of a single animal/creature, particularly one marchant, paired with a paneled inscription is well-represented in Persepolitan glyptic. Garrison links PFS 45* and this thematic type to the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic style. Other examples include PFS 27*, PFS 45*, PFS 73*, PFS 188a*, and PFS 543*.

Modeled Style. A heavy modeled style of carving is employed. Note, in particular, the hindquarters and legs. The creature is highly detailed along its mane, face, wings, and legs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 73*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 16
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower sections of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged human-faced horned lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged creature (tip of horn, front feet, rear left foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Rear right foot is small and angled behind body. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long, thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters before curving back toward body to terminate in rounded tuft. Horn emerges from top of head. Human face consists of ovular eye, small triangular nose, and thin lips. Long, rectangular beard with horizontal striations rests over chest. Mane – thin band – runs along back of neck. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. 깎az-־za-
     2. ak-ra
     3. DUMU ba-[…]
     4. ־ah?-־[…]־na’
     “Azzakra son of Ba…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. While the panel is nearly complete (except for the bottom corners), some signs are not preserved. The surviving signs are placed spaciously toward the sides of each case. Among the signs that are present, there is some variation in the style of carving. Note, for example, the form of the wedges of the first sign in line two, -ak: the three horizontals at left have a short, straight line for the “wedge,” whereas the larger wedge at right tapers from the V-shaped end down to the straight element. A similar juxtaposition is evident among the horizontal elements of DUMU, the first sign in line three.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, broken -az, and -za.

74 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 86).
Line 2: two signs: *-ak* and *-ra*.

Line 3: two signs preserved: DUMU and *-ba*. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 4: two signs preserved, both broken: *-ah* and *-na*, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

The reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Azzakra, is well-attested in the Fortification archive.\(^75\) In addition to the inscription on PFS 73*, it appears in the inscriptions on PFS 188a* and PFS 188b*. Among the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive, Azzakra, a flour/grain *kurman* official, appears in 21 texts; none carry impressions of PFS 73*.

The partial preservation of the end of the inscription makes an identification of the patronym impossible at present.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

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<td>PFS 73*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{75}\) This name is not listed in Tavernier (2007).
PFS 73* appears on 12 Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols.\(^77\)

**Single-Seal:**
PF 781, PF 1124, PF 1257, NN 216, NN 1234, NN 1972, and NN 3036.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

**Counter-Seal:**

In all instances, PFS 73* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers or deposits.\(^78\)

**Parallel-Seal:**
PF 283.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

With one exception (PF 283), all of the documents that carry impressions of PFS 73* name Tiriya, *mušin huttira* (“account maker”), who receives a commodity.\(^79\) The majority of the documents follow the single-seal protocol. On one document that follows the counter-seal protocol (PF 782), PFS 73* occurs as the counter-seal and lists Tiriya as the receiver. Based on these sealing patterns, we can identify Tiriya as the user of PFS 73*.

The name Tiriya occurs commonly in the archive; the one qualified as *mušin huttira áš-na* is always associated with PFS 73*. One suspects that we have to do with separate individual(s) named Tiriya in these other texts.\(^80\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
Scenes of a single animal, often marchant, paired with a paneled inscription, are popular among Persepolitan glyptic. Garrison notes that such scenes are often carved in the

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\(^76\) This surface is sealed by a yet to be identified seal (not PFS 73*), thus we can still assume the counter-seal protocol.

\(^77\) The left edge of NN 66 is destroyed; PFS 73* is impressed once on the reverse and no other surfaces are sealed. We cannot know whether another seal appeared on the left edge, making it difficult to determine the sealing protocol in this case. The document is a K2 text, a text type on which PFS 73* appears in accordance with both the single-seal and counter-seal protocols.


\(^79\) Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 25, 168, and 327) suggests that such “accountants” may have been responsible in drafting intermediary accounts.

\(^80\) See also the discussion below of PFS 706*.
Persepolitan Modeled style, indicating that there is a particular workshop tradition at work.\(^{81}\) One feature that sets PFS 73* apart is its size differential between the inscription and the creature: the space allotted for the former is greater than that for the latter. Indeed, the inscription seems to dwarf an otherwise muscular and imposing-looking creature.\(^{82}\)

Modeled Style. PFS 73* employs a virtuosic modeled style of carving. Musculature is emphasized via small, compacted forms; note, in particular, the chest, hindquarters, and legs, which are full and almost bulbous in appearance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE\(^{83}\)
Typology and Style: 10.B.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Banquet Scenes: With one seated figure; Anzanite (heirloom)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.3 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.5 cm
Number of Impressions: 32
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along lower edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE
Figure sits with two attendants standing behind/approaching; paneled inscription in terminal field.

\(^{81}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 94.
\(^{82}\) The opposite text-to-image ratio, where the creature occupies more space than the inscription, appears on PFS 188a*, PFS 188b*, PFS 2698*, and PFS 2710*.
\(^{83}\) NN 2489.
Seated female figure (bottom of garment/feet not preserved) faces to right. Sits with legs together. Right arm is held down and rests in lap. Right hand, rendered as small rounded fist, holds long object that falls down front of legs, perhaps part of long garment. Left arm, bent at elbow, is held down at waist; hand is cupped holding crescent-shaped bowl. Small circle is attached at wrist. Wears long garment that obscures legs; striations run along front of skirt. Top and back of head is rounded and textured, perhaps indicating headdress; line runs across forehead, perhaps also part of headdress. Face is detailed with oval eye and surrounding folds, triangular nose, small lips, and small, rounded chin. Owing to softened features, we believe figure is female. Beneath seated figure is elaborate chair (feet not preserved). Short back flares out at top behind figure’s hips. Beneath seat of chair is crossed pattern with three X-shaped elements; above and below are horizontal rungs. Vertical posts support front and back of chair.

To right of seated figure is standing female figure (bottom of garment/feet not preserved) facing to left. Right arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of body; cupped hand holds crescent-shaped bowl. Large circle is attached to underside of hand. Left arm, bent, is held horizontally at waist; hand is cupped downward with two fingers indicated. Wears long, belted garment; no other details of clothing are indicated. Top and back of head is rounded with detailing running along outer edge; straight line across forehead may indicate headdress. Face consists of large round eye, triangular nose, and large, rounded chin.

To left of seated figure is standing female figure (bottom of garment not preserved) facing to right. Right arm, bent, is held slightly downward at hip-height; hand hangs with two fingers indicated. Left arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of body; hand is spread apart revealing two digits. Holds flywhisk (top not preserved) close to seated figure. Wears long, double-belted garment; no other details of clothing are indicated. Detailing along top and back of head, perhaps headdress, rests over shoulders; horizontal line runs across forehead. Face consists of large round eye, triangular nose, small mouth, and small, rounded chin.

Between seated figure and figure at right is stand (bottom not preserved). Consists of trunk with two horizontal oval elements. Perched on top is rounded ovoid object. Device could possibly be altar or incense burner.\(^4\)

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  
1. \(^{4}\)\text{SALše-}\  
2. ráš DUMU  
3. hu-ban  
4. a-ah-  
5. pi-na

\(^4\) Garrison 2011a, p. 385.
“Šeraš, daughter of Huban-ahpi”85

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU (“daughter (of)”) PN₂

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The panel and signs are fully preserved and clear. The signs in lines one, three, and four are placed spaciously in the case.

Line 1: apparently two signs: SAL and -še.

Line 2: two signs: -rāš and DUMU.

Line 3: two signs: -hu and -ban.

Line 4: apparently two signs: -a and -ah.

Line 5: apparently two signs: -pi and -na, the genitive enclitic.

The reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The formula PN₁ DUMU PN₂ is very common among Elamite seal inscriptions from Persepolis.86 However, the presence of SAL, the female determinative (as opposed to DIŠ/HAL, the male determinative), preceding the first personal name is unique.

Neither personal name is attested in the documents from the Fortification archive. Henkelman identifies Šeraš and her father as possibly part of an important family, perhaps a dynasty, at Šullaggi.87 The patronym, Huban-ahpi, appears as the first personal name in the inscription on PFS 4*.88

Henkelman has demonstrated that personal names with “Humban” (the most popular Elamite deity in the Neo-Elamite period) increased in the Neo-Elamite period.89 Garrison has argued, based on style and composition, that the seal probably dates to the late 7th – early 6th centuries BCE (see below).90

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 77*

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85 This reading follows Henkelman (2008, pp. 97 and 358). Garrison (2011a, p. 386) also discusses the inscription.
86 See Chapter 4 for discussion of this inscriptional formula.
87 Henkelman (2008, p. 359 (n. 835)) points out that a Huban-ahpi is labeled as “Šulluggian” in the Acropole archive and that Irdabama, who also used an “Anzanite” seal, PFS 51, owned an estate at Šullaggi.
88 See the catalogue entry for PFS 4* below.
90 Garrison 2011a, pp. 386-87.
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<td>PFS 77*</td>
<td>PFS 77*</td>
<td>PFS 77*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</table>

PFS 77* appears on 11 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.\(^{91}\)

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

In seven of the 10 documents carrying impressions of PFS 77*, an individual named Rašda is named šaramanna official and is responsible for workers receiving rations.\(^{92}\)

This Rašda appears to be none other than the šaramanna official and steward of the royal woman Irdabama. It is common for seals that follow the single-seal protocol to belong to users of elevated rank and Rašda would certainly fit this profile. Thus, PFS 77* appears to be one of the seals used by Rašda, particularly in a management capacity for Irdabama’s workforce.\(^{93}\)

**COMMENTARY ON ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Garrison has linked PFS 77* with a cluster of high prestige heirloom seals used in the Fortification archive: PFS 93*, PFS 1308*, and PFS 51.\(^{94}\)

He has suggested that these seals represent a distinctive re-working of Assyrian visual traditions in the highlands during the late 7\(^{th}\) and early 6\(^{th}\) centuries BCE (as distinct from what has traditionally been called “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic). He has offered the label “Anzanite” to describe this phenomenon; the term has met with some debate.\(^{95}\) It is interesting to note that like

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\(^{91}\) While the bottom edge of Fort. 1179-101 is destroyed and we cannot know with certainty if a seal was applied here, the otherwise consistent application of PFS 77* in accordance with the single-seal protocol likely indicates that it is the sole seal applied to Fort. 1179-101.

\(^{92}\) PF 800, PF 801, PF 1029, PF 1030, NN 1294, NN 2489, and NN 2567.

\(^{93}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 359 (n. 835); Koch 1990, p. 44; Hinz 1971, p. 281; PFS 36* is another seal that has links to Rašda.

\(^{94}\) Garrison 2011a, p. 383.

\(^{95}\) “By this term what I hope to convey is the critical role of this eastern, highland ‘Elam.’ ‘Anzanite’ may also better conceptualize the complex process that represents the highland experience, an experience that was for hundreds of years multi-cultural and multi-lingual, consisting of acculturated Iranians and Elamites living cheek-by-jowl, intermarrying, etc.” (Garrison 2011a, p. 400).
Rašda, Irdabama, for whom Rašda worked, also used an “Anzanite” heirloom seal, PFS 51.  

Henkelman has suggested, as noted above, that the Huban-ahpi in the inscription on PFS 77* refers to and is the same as the “Huban-ahpi of Šulluggi” noted in the Acropole archive; it is also possible that in addition to being the father of Šeraš, Huban-ahpi is also an ancestor of Irdabama, hence her estate at Šullagi. The similar glyptic tradition among many of these individuals may reflect this connection.

It is likely that we are to understand the scene on PFS 77* as a banquet or audience scene with an enthroned figure waited on/approached by attendants. The size differential among the figures (the seated figure is much larger than the two standing figures) may reflect differentiated status, with the seated figure having an elevated rank. Like Darius on the original central panel of the Apadana at Persepolis, if she were to stand, she would tower over the other figures around her. In fact, the entire scene – seated figure, approaching attendant, fly-whisking attendant – is reminiscent of the scene featuring Darius at Persepolis.

All the individuals in the scene are female. One cannot help but conclude, given the name in the inscription, that the seal is a very personal statement concerning the status of Šeraš. PFS 77* is thus a rare artifact. It is interesting that the seal is connected to the bureau of Irdabama, a woman who yields exceptional influence in the Persepolitan economy.

PFS 535* and PFS 1308* are closely related in their visual dynamics. PFS 535*, in an elaborate scene with a seated figure and an attendant; PFS 1308*, another heirloom, shows a seated female deity and worshippers.

Anzanite. A deep and smooth carving style is employed. Note, for example, the softness in the faces with rounded chins, as well as the rounded shoulders, particularly of the seated figure. There is much surface detail in the design, particularly in the faces, the garment of the seated figure, and the chair.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Brosius 2006, p. 41; Garrison 2011a, pp. 383-87, and 400, figs. 20-22; Garrison 2017b, p. 214 (n. 103); Henkelman 2003, p. 190; Henkelman 2008, pp. 55, 97, 166, 358-59 (n. 835), 515, fig. 2.10; Henkelman 2010a, pp. 693-94; Henkelman 2018a, p. 811; Hinz 1971, p. 281; Koch 1990, pp. 44-45; Root 1999, p. 165 (n. 13); Root 2003a, p. 20; Root 2008, pp. 96 (n. 22) and 107 (n. 43).

PFS 81*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE

Typology and Style: 23.D. Crossed Animal Groups: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite

Preserved Height of Image: 2.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.4 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 16
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two caprids intertwine at neck; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two caprids (hindfeet of both animals, tip of horn of animal facing to right not preserved) stand with hindquarters angled toward each other and feet apart. Intertwine at necks to face outward. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend horizontally in front of torso and terminate in hooves. Short tail hangs straight down from hindquarters. Long wavy horn emerges from top of head (on animal facing to left, segmented with stacked ovals at base of head before coming to point). Animal facing to right has short, rounded snout; animal facing to left has long, squared snout. Small eye is indicated (rounded on animal facing to right, ovular on animal facing to left). Pointed ear emerges from back of head. Animal at right is ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. hal?-ʾmiʔ?
      2. ANšá-ti-ʾki-
      3. tin DUMU ḤAL-zi-

101 PF 799, NN 135, NN 1053, and NN 1541.
The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top horizontal of the panel is not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. Some sections of the case lines are not preserved. There are multiple styles of wedges within the inscription, and sometimes even within the same sign. Note, for example, the geometric style of the vertical wedge in DINGIR, the first sign in line two, compared to the V-shaped horizontal wedges of the same sign. Further, the final sign, -na, includes three different styles of wedge: the V-shape of the left-most horizontal, the triangular-shape of the two center horizontals, and the elongated vertical line with short V-shaped top of the vertical wedge. The signs in lines one and four are placed spaciously in the case; the signs in lines two and three are placed close together.

Line 1: apparently two signs: perhaps -hal and -mi.\(^{103}\)

Line 2: four signs: AN, broken -šá, broken -ti, and -ki.\(^{104}\)

Line 3: four signs: -tin, DUMU, HAL, and -zí.

Line 4: three signs: perhaps -ma, -kā₄, and -na, the genitive enclitic.\(^{105}\)

While some of the sign forms are unexpected, perhaps due to crowding among the cases, the reading seems clear. The first personal name, Šati-kitin, is Elamite; it occurs in 13 documents from the Fortification archive.\(^{106}\) Two of the documents that name Šati-kitin also carry impressions of PFS 81* (see below).

The patronym, Zimaka, is an Elamite rendering of the Old Persian name *Jīvaka (“living, alive”).\(^{107}\) The name Zimaka/Zimakka occurs in 25 documents from the Fortification archive; none of them carry impressions of PFS 81*.

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\(^{102}\) This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 81) with minor variation.

\(^{103}\) This particular form of -hal, with three horizontal wedges, is not otherwise attested among the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. -mi is also uncommon in its form here, as we expect a vertical wedge or Winkelhacken to precede two rows of horizontals. However, the combination of -hal and -mi (together halmi, “seal”) supports this identification. See Chapter 4 for details on this inscriptive formula.

\(^{104}\) -šá lacks a vertical wedge. -ti appears compressed horizontally. The variation in these forms may be the result of crowding in the case.

\(^{105}\) This particular form of -ma, where two of the horizontal wedges in the middle are condensed so that they are connected in one horizontal line (rather than appearing side-by-side), is otherwise unattested among the seals from the Fortification archive.

\(^{106}\) Zadok 1984, pp. 21 and 39; PF 88, PF 99, PF 100, PF 799, PF 845, PF 997, PF 2028, NN 610, NN 1053, NN 1725, NN 2625, NN 2541, and NN 3062.

\(^{107}\) For Zimaka, see Tavernier (2007, pp. 221-22 (no. 4.2.902)); the name is spelled in some texts (e.g., PF 783 and NN 2562) as on PFS 81*, but also as Zi-ma-ak-ka₄(e.g., Fort. 9042, PF 2, PF 198, PF 983, PF
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 81*

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PFS 81* appears on 14 Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{108}

In all instances, PFS 81* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement, ration allocations for workers and animals, and travel rations.\textsuperscript{109}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 1853, PF 1995, NN 617, NN 619, NN 755, NN 810, NN 813, NN 831, and NN 1520) and \textit{Zi-ma-ik-ka₄} (PF 1210).
\item 108 The left edge of NN 1882, an S1 text, is destroyed; no other surfaces are sealed. PFS 81* is impressed once on the bottom edge and twice on the reverse. One assumes, given the consistent sealing pattern of PFS 81* elsewhere (particularly on other S1 texts), that the missing left edge carried a supplier seal. However, the double application of PFS 81* on the reverse is not otherwise attested among the tablets that it seals. It is not uncommon for seals following the single-seal protocol to seal multiple surfaces and to be applied multiple times to the same surface. Thus, it is possible that PFS 81* was applied to the left edge or that the surface was left blank; the latter would indicate the single-seal protocol. Fort. 1172-101 also has one destroyed surface (left edge); with PFS 81* on the reverse, as is common among the tablets on which it follows the counter-seal protocol, it is likely that a supplier seal was applied to the left edge.
\item 109 Commodity movement: PF 278, PF 518, PF 632, and NN 135; ration allocations for workers: PF 799, NN 1921, and NN 2046; ration allocations for animals: PF 1692, NN 342, NN 1053, and NN 1541; travel rations: NN 163. A translation of Fort. 1172-101 was not available at the time of writing.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
PFS 81* occurs on a wide range of transactions, all involving flour/grain, with various recipients, and always in the counter-seal protocol. Such a pattern normally indicates a šaramanna official; but no transactions name such. The travel ration, NN 163, alas, does not name the specific receiver, only an anonymous group of 50 men coming to Persepolis. One would expect an oversight official to have been responsible (and perhaps even traveling) with such a large group.

The name Šati-kitin, the first personal name in the inscription on PFS 81*, appears in two of the documents that carry impressions of the seal: PF 799 and NN 1053. Such a coincidence would suggest that PFS 81* belongs to the Šati-kitin involved in these transactions. In PF 799, Šati-kitin is named as the kurman official, but PFS 81* occurs on the reverse. It is not uncommon, however, for a šaramanna or a damanna official to be named as allocating commodities. Nor is it uncommon for a šaramanna or a damanna official to go unnamed in transactions in which he is functioning in oversight. The named receivers in these instances would apparently be linked to his bureau.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The combination of crossed/intertwined animals and a paneled inscription is well-attested among seals from the Fortification archive.110 The greater height of the inscription compared to the figural pair on PFS 81*, however, is unusual. More often, the top of the animal pair will align more-or-less with the top of the inscription panel. On PFS 81*, the inscription appears much larger than the figural scene; even with the long horns, the animals only stand midway through the first case.111 The elongated inscription, as well as the intertwined animals with long, wavy horns, draw the eye upward.

Mixed Styles I. PFS 81* employs a restrained modeled style of carving with very little surface detailing. There is some swelling in the chest of the animals, and a softness in the faces, due to the rounded snouts and tops of the head, but the fore- and hindlegs of the animals are thin. As often in this type of scene, the outlines of animal forms are very sinuous.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 93*

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110 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
111 Cf. PFS 25*.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 512 BCE

Typology and Style: 08.A. Warfare Scenes: On Horseback; Neo-Elamite/Early Persian
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.3 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 53
Quality of Impressions: Good (many preserve excellent detail).
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Horseman with spear moves toward speared and fleeing figure; two figures lie in
foreground; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Figure straddles horse moving to right. Holds long spear with both hands. Right arm,
bent, is held up behind head to grab back end of spear; left arm, sharply bent, is in front
of torso and holds reins. Tip of spear is visible in front of horse’s neck; small circular
detail is attached at back end of spear. Wears knee-length garment that leaves right leg
bare below knee. Wears military-style headdress/helmet that covers top of head and has
visor at back of neck. Face consists of almond-shaped eye, rounded nose, small mouth,
and small, rounded chin. Below rider is horse in rearing position with hindlegs on ground
and forelegs held together in front of torso. Detailing is indicated along right hindleg.
Long tail hangs down from hindquarters. Ovular eye is indicated. Small round mark
indicates nostril. Mouth is open. Reins are visible around snout, eye, and neck. Shaggy
mane hangs from back of head and neck. Two small ears emerge from top of head.

To right of horseman is figure (feet not preserved) moving to right. Stands with feet apart
and turns head back behind body to face to left toward horseman. Both arms, bent, are
elevated at shoulder height. Right arm terminates in fist grasping two quivers and broken
bow; left arm terminates in cupped hand with two segments. Wears short, double-belted
garment that falls to knees. Bottom of garment has hem with three thin bands. Long spear
(presumably thrown by horseman prior to exact moment being depicted) pierces figure’s

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112 NN 71.
torso at belt. Hair lies close to head and is gathered in small mass at back of neck; striations are indicated throughout. Small ear sits at hairline on side of head. Face consists of ovular eye with surrounding fold and eyebrow, triangular nose, small mouth, and small, pointed chin.

In field below horseman and to left of standing figure are two figures (left arm and face of lower figure not preserved), disposed one above the other, lying on ground with heads at right. Upper figure lies on back with legs together and arms spread out at shoulder height to either side; hands are comprised of two cupped segments facing upward. Lower figure appears to lie on side with legs stacked, right on top of left. Right arm is held down close to body; hand is rendered as small oval. Left arm appears to reach diagonally upward in front of body. No details of clothing are indicated on either figure. Hair on both figures is close against head and gathered into small rounded mass above shoulders; striations cover top and back of head. Upper figure has small eye with surrounding fold, triangular nose, small mouth, and small, pointed chin; lower figure’s face consists of small eye and outline of ear. Splayed posture on ground, lack of clothing, smaller size, and positioning underneath horseman and behind fleeing and wounded figure likely indicate figures are meant to be understood as dead.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [DIŠ]kur-rāš
2. Ašan-za-
3. an-ir-
4. ra DUMU
5. še-iš-be-
6. iš-na,
“Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešpeš” (Teispes)\textsuperscript{113}

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN\textsubscript{1} GN DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}

The six-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top horizontal, upper sections of the vertical sides, and bottom left corner of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. A six-line inscription is considered long among Persepolitan glyptic standards.\textsuperscript{114} Among the signs that are present, there is some variation in their sizes (e.g., the elongated wedges in line three and the shorter ones in line two). Some signs (e.g., in lines two and six) are placed spaciously in the case.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we restore DIŠ. Two signs, \(-kur\) and \(-raš\), follow.

\textsuperscript{113} This reading follows Henkelman (2008, pp. 55-56 (n. 135)).
\textsuperscript{114} The only other examples are PFS 931*, PFS 2437*, and PFS 2707*.
Line 2: three signs: AŠ, -an, and -za.

Line 3: apparently two signs: -an and -ir.\(^{115}\)

Line 4: two signs: -ra and DUMU.

Line 5: three signs: -še, -iš, and -be.

Line 6: two signs: -iš and -na, the genitive enclitic.

The reading is clear, a personal name with a geographic designation followed by DUMU and a second personal name. This particular variation of the patronymic formula is otherwise unattested among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\(^{116}\)

No other seal, or seal inscription, in the Fortification archive is more often discussed than PFS 93*. The exact significance of the inscription, potentially royal, tied into the question of what exactly is meant by Anzan/Anzanite, is much debated.\(^{117}\) The title, “king of Anšan,” referring to the city of Anšan in the Elamite highlands, and used by Cyrus and the other Teispid kings, features prominently in such discussions.\(^{118}\) The title occurs famously in the Babylonian Cyrus Cylinder and is suggested (without the explicit royal designation) on PFS 93*.\(^{119}\) Scholars question how the Cyrus mentioned in the inscription of PFS 93* relates to Cyrus the Great, as well as Cyrus, “king of Parsumaš,” from the time of Aššurbanipal.\(^{120}\)

Given the heirloom status of the seal, it is unsurprising that the first personal name, Kuraš, is unattested among the documents from the Fortification archive. The second personal name, Šešpeš, occurs in two documents from the Fortification archive (as Zišpiš (Teispes)), but surely references a later individual with the same name.\(^{121}\)

### COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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\(^{115}\) There is some discussion of the reading of -ir; see Henkelman (2008, p. 55 (n. 135)) and Waters (2011, p. 290).

\(^{116}\) For more on this inscripational formula, see Chapter 4.


\(^{118}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 55. See Garrison (2011a) for the meaning of the term Anzan/Anzanite, as well as bibliography for the meaning of the inscription.

\(^{119}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 55; Waters 2011, p. 287.

\(^{120}\) See Waters (2011, pp. 291-92) and Garrison (2011a, p. 378) (note the bibliography).

\(^{121}\) PF 388 and PF 524.
PFS 93* appears on 19 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

PFS 93* appears exclusively on ration allocations, specifically J texts (“royal provisions”), that detail the provisioning of livestock to be consumed at the royal court, EŠŠANA tibba makka (“before” the king or “on behalf of” the king). Henkelman suggests that the seal was used by “the royal butcher” and traveled with the royal court, as the seal is used in a variety of locations where foodstuffs were consumed “before the king.” The types of animals sometimes vary, as do the individuals who allocate them. On a few occasions, the batera (“driver/herdsman”) is noted.

In addition to PFS 93*, PFS 7* also appears on J texts and carries a royal-name inscription (of Darius).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFS 93* is a spectacular glyptic artifact. Garrison argues for a Late Assyrian date for the carving of PFS 93*, around the time of Aššurbanipal, and suggests that it was created in southwestern Iran, specifically the Anšan/Fārs region under the Teispids. The stacking of the figures in the glyptic space on PFS 93* is reminiscent of the way figures are arranged in wall reliefs of Assyrian kings, particularly those of Aššurbanipal from the

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123 Henkelman 2010a, pp. 691-92, and 740.
124 Iškumipanna (PF 692, PF 693), Rasda (NN 506), and Naprama (NN 1525).
125 Garrison 2011a, pp. 399-400.

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Southwest Palace and North Palace at Nineveh. The theme of warfare further connects these artistic traditions. The nudity of the deceased figures is rare in Achaemenid glyptic.

Modeled Style. As Garrison states, “In almost every way, PFS 93* is exceptionally well conceived and executed, a virtuosic example of glyptic carving from the first half of the first millennium B.C.” Note how the modeling of human and animal forms results in a soft musculature, particularly in the arms and legs of each figure, which appear almost sinewy. The pinched waist of each figure, and triangular torsos of the wounded and dead figures, help to elongate their bodies, as their upward arms serve to continue the triangular shape. Detail has been added to the faces and hair (or mane) of each figure. As Garrison notes, PFS 51 is so close stylistically and compositionally to PFS 93* that it would appear to originate from the same workshop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 124*

126 Garrison 2011a, p. 390.
127 Ibid., p. 391.
128 Ibid., p. 383.
129 Ibid., pp. 382-83.
130 Ibid., p. 382.
131 Ibid., p. 383.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE\(^{132}\)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.6 cm
Number of Impressions: 15
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for section along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (top of head, right forepaw, left hindfoot not preserved) moves to left. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right; right leg terminates in bird’s foot with four nails. Twists torso toward front leg and turns head back behind body to face to right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head. Left arm, straight, is held diagonally downward behind body; paw is splayed to reveal five digits. Two wings extend diagonally upward from shoulders (upper right wing is almost completely obscured by right arm in front of it), and two diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Short triangular tail extends diagonally downward from hindquarters. Mouth is open. Texture is indicated along abdomen.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. \(^{[D]i}i\)-hi-
2. mi-iz-‘za’
3. DUMU ap-mi-
4. ur-‘x-‘na
   “Hiumizza, son of Apm…”

\(^{132}\) PF 1833 and PF 1834.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the first line of the inscription does not survive in any impressions of the seal; the bottom left corner of the panel is also not preserved. The full inscription likely includes four lines of text; we have reconstructed line one (see below). The signs that are present appear elongated, especially the vertical wedges, and are in close proximity to each other. Some signs (e.g., in the second-preserved line) are placed close together.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ, -hi, and -hu.¹³³

Line 2: three signs: -mi, -iz, and broken -za.

Line 3: three signs: DUMU, -ap, and -mi.¹³⁵

Line 4: apparently three signs: -ur, a broken and unrecognizable sign, and -na, the genitive enclitic.

While the inscription is incomplete at present, a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. We restore the first personal name, Hiumizza, based upon the fact that two of the texts sealed by PFS 124* (PF 1833 and PF 1834) are letter-orders addressed by Hiumizza. Sealing protocols on letter-orders and letters are clear: the seal of the addressor is applied to the tablet. The name Hiumizza is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian name *Yuviča-.¹³⁶ The name occurs in 20 documents from the Fortification archive, with some variation in spelling.¹³⁷ Three of these documents carry impressions of PFS 124* (see below).

The patronym remains obscure. At present, no known name can be identified as beginning with -ap-mi-ur.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

¹³³ The Winkelhacken in -mi in line three appears to react to the crowding in the case, as it is carved almost vertical, as opposed to triangular with a smaller angle.
¹³⁴ See the discussion below. This restoration is based on the spelling of the name in PF 1833; an alternative spelling is found in PF 1834: ⁰ḫu-ú.
¹³⁵ Ordinarily we expect DUMU to have three or four horizontal wedges to left of the vertical wedge; crowding in the case may have led the seal carver to include fewer elements.
¹³⁶ Tavernier 2007, p. 367 (no. 4.2.2031).
¹³⁷ In addition to the spelling on PFS 124* (and the text PF 1833), the name is spelled hi-ù-mi-iz-za (PF 1687-1688, NN 8, NN 1482, NN 2328, NN 2411), hi-ù-mi-za (PF 1691), ia-mi-iz-za (PF 1689, PF 1690), i-hu-mi-iz-za (NN 1352), i-ù-mi-za (PF 2064).
### Attestations of PFS 124*

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PFS 124* appears on three Aramaic documents, six Elamite documents, and one uninscribed document and follows two sealing protocols.\(^{138}\)

**Single-Seal:**
PFAT 275, PFAT 292, PFAT 566, PF 1774, PF 1833, PF 1834, PF-Teh. 13, Fort. 1626-103, and PFUT 1523-204.\(^{139}\)

These transactions include ration allocations for animals and letters.\(^{140}\)

**Counter-Seal:**
NN 1327.

PFS 124* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 256, applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a ration allocation for animals.

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\(^{138}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

\(^{139}\) Four of the six surfaces on PFUT 1523-204 are destroyed; PFS 124* is impressed once on the obverse; the left edge is not sealed. In three other instances, PFS 124* is applied to the obverse of a tablet that also has the left edge blank. Thus, it is possible that PFS 124* also follows this pattern on PFUT 1523-204.

\(^{140}\) Ration allocations for animals: PF 1774; letters: PF 1833, PF 1834, and Fort. 1626-103. Translations of the Aramaic texts, PFAT 275, PFAT 292, and PFAT 566, and PF-Teh. 13, were not available at the time of writing.
Three of the documents that carry impressions of PFS 124* involve Hiumizza, the first personal name in the seal inscription.\textsuperscript{141} Two letters that carry PFS 124* are addressed by Hiumizza and detail rations for horses\textsuperscript{142}. NN 1327, which carries PFS 124* as the counter-seal, identifies Hiumizza as the receiver of rations for donkeys. We may thus with confidence attribute PFS 124* to him.

The name Hiumizza occurs in other documents from the Fortification archive that do not carry impressions of PFS 124*. A Hiumizza acts as a šaramanna official overseeing rations for horses;\textsuperscript{143} he also issues a halmi (“sealed document,” i.e., authorization), making him one of an elite few in the Fortification archive to do so.\textsuperscript{144} Based on the similarities among these documents (i.e., procuring rations for animals), it seems likely that we are dealing with one and the same individual who uses PFS 124* on some occasions and is simply named in other instances.\textsuperscript{145} In instances where PFS 124* is applied to a document that does not list Hiumizza in the text (e.g., PF 1774), one may assume that his office is involved.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The composition of a single animal/creature paired with a paneled inscription is popular among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Most often, the figure is marchant. Indeed, PFS 124* is the only example in the Fortification archive of a rampant animal/creature paired with a paneled inscription.\textsuperscript{146}

Mixed Styles I. PFS 124* employs a restrained modeled style of carving. The animal form is thin and elongated, echoing the elongated forms of the Elamite signs. There is some indication of musculature along the upper thighs, as well as some swelling along the belly and hindquarters. Detail has been indicated with the texture along the abdomen and the feathers on the wings.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Azzoni and Dusinberre 2014, p. 2 (n. 9); Garrison 2017a, pp. 31-32, and 96.

PFS 160*

\textsuperscript{141} PF 1833, PF 1834, and NN 1327.
\textsuperscript{142} PF 1833 and PF 1834.
\textsuperscript{143} PF 1688, PF 1689, PF 1690, PF 1691, PF 2064, NN 8, NN 930, NN 1765, and NN 2328.
\textsuperscript{144} NN 544 and NN 1482; Garrison 2017a, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{145} In a letter from Parnakka to Šuddayauda (NN 1352), Hiumizza is again linked to horses; reference is made to rations for horses that are to be issued to him.
\textsuperscript{146} See Chapter 5 for discussion of the thematic type and PFS 124*.  

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Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE\textsuperscript{147}
Typology and Style: 23.C. Crossed Animal Groups: Lions; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.6 cm
Number of Impressions: 13
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for bottom of scene and lower line of inscription.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two lions intertwine at neck; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two lions (hindfeet not preserved) stand on hindlegs with feet apart and hindquarters angled toward each other. Necks intertwine to face outward. Forelegs, straight, extend diagonally upward in front of torso; paws are rendered as two ovals. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rectangular tuft (animal facing to left) or droplet-shaped tuft (animal facing to right). Mouth is open; jaw of lion facing to left is lined and sharp tooth hangs from top jaw. Nose of animal facing to left is comprised of two rounded segments with divot; nose of animal facing to right is angular with thin bottom jaw. Ear emerges from top of head (wide and pointed on animal facing to left, short and rounded on animal facing to right).

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below right side of figural scene.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. DIŠ-\textsuperscript{ha-}mi-
      2. tur-ra
      3. DUMU a- [...] 

\textsuperscript{147} PF 1034, PF 1035, and NN 450.
The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top corners, lower sections of the vertical sides, and the bottom horizontal of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. Some of the signs are fragmentary or not preserved at all. The last line includes signs that are carved on top of the right vertical side of the panel, as well as among the figural scene. There are various shapes throughout the inscription that do not appear to be cuneiform signs. These may be chips or flaws in the stone, or possibly remnants of an earlier inscription, perhaps indication of reuse of the stone.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, broken -ha, and -mi.

Line 2: two signs: -tur and -ra.

Line 3: two signs preserved: DUMU and -a. It is unclear whether there were additional signs.

Line 4: fragments of perhaps three signs preserved: all are unrecognizable except for perhaps the last sign, likely -na, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

While the preservation of the inscription is incomplete, a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Hamitutura, is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian name *Āmiqra- (“treaty”). The name appears in five documents from the Fortification archive. None of these carry impressions of PFS 160*.

An identification of the patronym is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1034</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 160*</td>
<td>PFS 160*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

148 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 82) with minor variation.
149 Tavernier 2007, p. 105 (no. 4.2.46).
150 Spelled as on PFS 160* in Fort. 1709, NN 573, and NN 3025; in NN 1751 the name is spelled ha-mi-tar-ra; in NN 91 it is spelled ha-mi-ut-ra.
PFS 160* appears on six Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

The single-seal protocol applied consistently across a number of tablets normally indicates an oversight official. In each document that carries impressions of PFS 160*, an official named Rasamada is named receiving rations (as an oversight official) that he distributes to workers. This consistency leads us to suggest that Rasamada is the individual using PFS 160*.

A Rasamada is named in another nine texts that do not carry PFS 160*. 151 In six of them, this Rasamada allocates rations sealed under the authority of the regional director of the Fahliyân represented by PFS 4*. 152 This Rasamada is probably the same individual using PFS 160*, since four of the transactions sealed with PFS 160* occur in Zakzaku, which is located in the Fahliyân. 153

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Crossed animal groups are a popular theme in Persepolitan glyptic. Pairing them with an inscription is well-represented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. 154 The particular scene on PFS 160*, a pair of crossed lions with an inscription, is unique.

Mixed Styles I. PFS 160* employs a restrained modeled style of carving. The hindquarters and upper legs of each animal are rounded and shapely, their bellies swell and backs arch, which makes them appear longer as they intertwine. The manner of rendering the forelegs of each animal with rounded edges where they attach at the torso results in a more defined look, as the legs appear is if separate from the rest of the body. There is little surface detailing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 188a*

151 PF 403, PF 404, PF 1022, PF 1120, PF 1212, NN 384, NN 464, NN 1582, and NN 2627.
152 PF 403, PF 404, PF 1022, NN 384, NN 464, and NN 1582.
153 PF 1034, PF 1035, PF 1066, and NN 450. This appears also to be the case with Kurrimišda (NN 2555), which was a satellite of Zakzaku (Henkelman 2018b, p. 225 (n. 8)).
154 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE\textsuperscript{155}
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 8
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged horned lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged horned lion-creature (tip of wing, ears, horn, front paw not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. Small circle attaches at back of one foreleg; other foreleg has bulge to either side of ankle. Rear paws are rendered as one (right) or two (left) ovals. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of ovular feathers are indicated. Thin ribbing runs along upper edge of wing. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters, getting wider before terminating in tuft with two divots at end. Horn attaches at front of head and curves backward. Mouth is open with long, thin tongue sticking out; jaw is lined. Snout terminates in oval. Mane is comprised of distinct locks of hair that run along back of neck. Two long, thin ears attach to back of head and are angled forward. Ithyphallic. Between front legs is egg-shaped mass (bottom not preserved), likely chip or flaw in stone.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

\textsuperscript{155} The earliest date among the documents that carry impressions of PFS 188a* is year 20 of Darius’ reign. There appears to be some uncertainty about whether the seal on this tablet, NN 599, is PFS 188a* or PFS 188b*. If the latter, the earliest date for PFS 188a* is actually 501 BCE (year 21 of Darius’ reign) (NN 753).
INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIYaz-za-
   2. ak-ra
   3. DUMU ak-
   4. [...] 'x' [...]  "Azzakra, son (of) Ak…"

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom left corner of the panel is not preserved. Some design elements of the panel itself are rare: the top horizontal meets the vertical sides so that there is an intersecting line (typically, the paneling is a continuous rectangle around the full inscription without any intersecting lines); the right vertical of the panel extends below the bottom horizontal, rather than aligning at right angles without any overlap.

While the panel is nearly complete, some signs are not preserved. Among the signs that are present, there is some variation in the style of wedges. For example, the top of the vertical wedge comprising DIY, the first sign of the inscription, is half-moon shaped, whereas the tops of the horizontal wedges in -ak, the first sign at the beginning of line two, are V-shaped. In some instances, this variation in wedge shape seems to be the result of issues of space. For example, the tops of the vertical wedges of -ra, the second sign in line two, are flat across the top and sit just below the first case line. It seems that the seal carver did not have the vertical space to create a longer wedge with more of a V-shape, resulting in these wedges appearing truncated.

Line 1: three signs: DIY, -az, and -za.

Line 2: two signs: -ak and -ra.

Line 3: two signs: DUMU and -ak.

Line 4: fragment of perhaps one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear whether there were additional signs.

While the inscription is not fully preserved, a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Azzakra, is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. The name is included as the first personal name in the inscription on PFS 73*, as well as on PFS 188b*, the replica seal to PFS 188a*. The name occurs also in 21 Elamite documents; none of these tablets carry impressions of PFS 188a*. For details on the name, see the catalogue entry for PFS 73*.

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156 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 87).
157 While not preserved, the left corner may mirror the right in this way.
The patronym cannot be identified at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

### Attestations of PFS 188a*

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<td>PFS 188a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 26</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 181</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188a*</td>
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<td>PFS 2797</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 208</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2259</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 263</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3194</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 599</td>
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<td>PFS 17</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PFS 188a*</td>
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<td>NN 819</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2259</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 188a* appears on seven Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 188a* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for animals.\(^{158}\)

In the counter-seal protocol, the non-left-edge seal would normally indicate a receiver or oversight authority. In each text sealed with PFS 188a*, the named receiver is different, suggesting that we have to do with an oversight office. Three of the documents that carry impressions of PFS 188a* mention an official who receives a commodity (grain or wine) in accordance with a *halmi* issued by Karkiš;\(^{159}\) perhaps this oversight office is associated with Karkiš.

As far as we can determine, PFS 188a* and PFS 188b* function in similar manners. The majority of texts with both seals are ration allocations. When places are mentioned, they are in the Fahliyān region. Because the seals are visually so similar, name the same individual in their inscriptions, and function administratively similarly, we assume that

\(^{158}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 451, NN 208, and NN 819; ration allocations for animals: NN 181, NN 263, NN 599, and NN 753.

\(^{159}\) PF 451, NN 599, and NN 753; Garrison 2017a, p. 96.
we have to do with replica seals (i.e., two or more seals that, for all intents and purposes, are meant to pass as one seal).

How, if at all, the Azzakra named in the inscription on PFS 73* relates to the Azzakra named in the inscription on PFS 188a* and PFS 188b* is unknown. There is also a flour/grain *kurman* official by the name of Azzakra who is active in the Fahliyān region. How this individual relates to the ones named in the seal inscriptions is unclear.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The compositional formula – a winged creature marchant – is well documented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Modeled Style. PFS 188a* is nearly identical to PFS 188b*. Both seals employ a modeled carving style, but the carving on PFS 188a* is much deeper and more expressive than on PFS 188b*. Many forms are emphatically highlighted by the extensive use of the running drill. For example, the hindquarters and legs show a compartmentalization of forms. Individual feathers are indicated by deep oval masses. Note, also, the segmentation of the passage at the chest, a common trope in this carving style. Additional modeling is indicated by the lines running along the outer edge of the left hindleg, as well as the line running along the stomach.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**PFS 188b***

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite

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160 PF 248, PF 443, PF 1010, PF 1066, PF 1086, PF 1087, PF 1237, PF 1702, NN 79, NN 611, NN 867, NN 1185, NN 1842, NN 2070, and NN 2573.
161 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
162 PF 1764.
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (top of head, tip of wing, lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Wing extends diagonally upward behind head; two rows of feathers are indicated. Small notch on upper side of wing may indicate part of ribbing. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters, growing wider before terminating in tuft with four sections. Mouth is open and thin tongue is visible. Bottom jaw is thin with detailing around cheek, perhaps locks of hair. Three tufts of hair comprise mane at back of head; band runs parallel to back of neck and perpendicular to tufts of hair. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠ-az-za-
2. ak-ra
3. `DUMU ak-
   “Azzakra, son (of) Ak…”163

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, only the first three lines of the inscription are preserved. We assume, based upon the similarity with the inscription on PFS 188a*, that there was a fourth line. The left section of the top horizontal, all of the bottom horizontal, and the lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. Several signs are fragmentary.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, broken -az, and -za.

Line 2: two signs: -ak and broken -ra.

Line 3: two broken signs preserved: DUMU and -ak.

---
163 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 87).
Much of the preserved inscription is poorly preserved. The reading, two personal names separated by DUMU, is based on the inscription on PFS 188a* (see above).

The first personal name, Azzakra, occurs on two other seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 73* and PFS 188a*. It also appears in Elamite documents from Persepolis. None of these texts carry impressions of PFS 188b*. For details on Azzakra, see the catalogue entries for PFS 73* and PFS 188a*.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188b*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 188b*</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 1764</td>
<td>PFS 188b*</td>
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<td>PFS 188b*</td>
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<td>PFS 188b*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3323</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</table>

PFS 188b* appears on four Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-seal:
PF 86.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Counter-Seal:

In all instances, PFS 188b* occurs as the counter-seal with a supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for animals.

As noted, PFS 188b* appears to function in the same manner as PFS 188a*. The only difference is the single-seal protocol employed on PF 86, sealed by PFS 188b*. Given the limited number of texts, it is difficult to infer much from this one example of the single-seal protocol. Clearly, both seals are more often engaged with rationing of animals. In PF 1764, Karkiš issues a *halmi*, as he does twice (NN 599 and NN 753, both animal rations) in transactions sealed with PFS 188a*.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
PFS 188b* is a replica seal with PFS 188a*. The seals are nearly identical in size, carry the same inscription, are used in similar administrative contexts, and show the same thematic type. There are slight differences between them, however, particularly the style of carving. Note, for example, the more reserved musculature on PFS 188b* with less compartmentalization of forms. Both seals render the front foreleg distinct from the rest of the body and exhibit segmentation on the body and at the chest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 199* (*OIP 117 Cat.No. 305)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 03.D.20. Fragmentary Images Suggesting Various Control and Combat Encounters: Animals or Creatures of Unverifiable Type; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero faces to left; rampant winged lion-creature faces to right; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, right forearm, lower legs not preserved) stands facing to left. Extends both arms, straight, in front of torso; right arm is at shoulder height, left arm reaches across body. Left arm terminates in downward-facing cupped palm that rests on horizontal element, perhaps foreleg of rampant creature. Wears long, double-belted

__164 PF 499 and PF 557.__
Assyrian garment with short hem over right leg; double-banded border runs along hem. Left arm may be underneath part of garment, as swooping above and below arm may indicate drapery hanging over it. Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass atop shoulders. Face consists of long thin nose and large ovular eye with squared outline; small slit may indicate mouth. Long beard rests over chest; horizontal striations line sides of beard.

To right of hero and inscription (in preserved design) is rampant winged lion-creature (face, forelegs, hindlegs not preserved) facing to right. Appears to stand on hindlegs with at least one foreleg extended diagonally downward in front of body. Element extending outward from neck is apparently hero’s arm. Wing extends diagonally downward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Short bird’s tail extends from hindquarters and terminates in three-feathered tuft. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Thin ear emerges from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? ‘x’ [...]  
2.? ra-ba-ud  
3.? ‘x x’ i?165

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, neither the top nor the bottom of the panel are preserved; it is unclear whether there were more lines. The vertical sides of the panel and the two preserved case lines are wavy and inconsistently carved, with some sections thicker than others. Some of the signs appear slanted, especially those in the third-preserved line. There is also a diagonal line that extends downward from the middle of the second-preserved case line and bisects the third-preserved case. Several signs are fragmentary or not preserved. Among the signs that are present, the wedges seem to have been carved in two strokes – a vertical line with a short diagonal line jutting off to create the wedge.

Line 1: fragment of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs followed.

Line 2: three signs: -ra, -ba, and -ud.

Line 3: apparently three signs: two fragmentary and unidentifiable signs and perhaps -i.166

165 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 432).
166 The slant of the wedges makes identification uncertain.
The reading is obscure. However, one possibility for part of a reading is the Elamite name Mitrabada (Old Persian *Miθrapāta- “protected by Mithra”), or something similar.\textsuperscript{167} This name is attested in Elamite documents from the Fortification archive, but these tablets do not carry impressions of PFS 199*, making a definitive identification uncertain.\textsuperscript{168}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

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<tr>
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<td>PFS 199*</td>
<td>PFS 728</td>
<td>PFS 106</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 557</td>
<td>PFS 199*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 775</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 106</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</table>

PFS 199* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the multiple-seal protocol.

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

Attributing seals to officials/offices in the multiple-seal protocol often is difficult. Receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F and G texts like PF 499 and PF 557) also pose challenges for seal attribution.\textsuperscript{169} It is not uncommon to see recurring clusters of seals on documents following the multiple-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{170} In the case of PFS 199*, the seal on the left edge of both documents is PFS 106. PFS 106 is clearly a kurman seal and is linked with Nabbaba, as in both texts sealed with PFS 199*.\textsuperscript{171} The two documents sealed with PFS 199* are the only occurrences of PFS 728 and PFS 775.

The only other individual named in the texts sealed with PFS 199* is Bakabaduš.\textsuperscript{172} The name is attested commonly in the Fortification archive, appearing in 73 Elamite documents to date. PF 501, sealed with PFS 106 and PFS 730, names him as receiver, Nabbaba as kurman. The Nabbaba must be the same individual named in the texts sealed with PFS 199*. In the end, one is hard-pressed, however, to link PFS 199* with the Bakabaduš named in PF 499.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 199* is partially preserved; we assume that it is a heroic control encounter. The horizontal element underneath the creature’s jaw could be the outstretched right arm of the hero; the horizontal element underneath the hero’s left arm could be a foreleg of the creature. Thus, we might imagine that when the seal is rolled out, the hero and creature

\textsuperscript{167} Tavernier 2007, p. 251 (no. 4.2.1116).
\textsuperscript{168} PF 333, PF 1294, PF 1295, PF 1961, NN 928, NN 1178, and NN 1564.
\textsuperscript{169} F and G texts typically follow the counter-seal protocol, with a few single-seal examples, but there are also several unsealed examples; the multiple-seal protocol here thus poses a challenge for seal attribution (Garrison 2017a, pp. 64-65).
\textsuperscript{170} Garrison 2017a, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{171} PF 501 and NN 1445.
\textsuperscript{172} PF 499.
face toward one another and that the hero grasps the creature at the neck and forearm. There is, however, the possibility that there were multiple pairs of heroes and creatures. Indeed, some of the angles of the preserved limbs do not seem to align perfectly (e.g., the upward angle of the hero’s right arm and the nearly perfectly horizontal limb underneath the winged lion’s jaw). It is possible that the hero’s arm is held with the elbow up, but this seems unlikely. Garrison and Root have proposed a second heroic encounter in the scene, noting that this is a relatively large seal. In this case, the hero preserved at present would control a different, unpreserved animal/creature, while the preserved rampant winged lion at right would wrestle with a different, unpreserved hero.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 261*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.A.01. Human Archer Emergent from Pedestal Creature: Shooting at animal creature moving toward entity; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.2 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 21
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle part of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

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174 PF 1225.
Archer emergent from winged, horned, bird- and scorpion-tailed pedestal creature aims at rampant lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Archer faces to right. Emerges from winged, horned, bird- and scorpion-tailed pedestal creature below. One arm, sharply bent, pulls back on bow in front of chest; other arm extends straight ahead at shoulder-height and aims bow and arrow at rampant lion. Wears double-belted Persian court robe; possibly tie for belt or top of small weapon is attached to or tucked into belt. Sleeves of garment are pulled up to shoulders revealing bare arms; long sections of drapery hang by waist with some detailing indicated. Wears headdress that is flat at front and back and rounded along top. Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass above shoulder; horizontal striations are indicated throughout. Face consists of small round eye and triangular nose. Short rounded beard is indicated; striations line side of face and jaw, perhaps texture of beard. On back is quiver with extra arrows and long rope/tassel or extra bow that hangs to waist.

Below archer is winged, horned, bird- and scorpion-tailed pedestal creature (bottom of chest not preserved) facing to right. One wing extends diagonally upward from torso; two rows of feathers are indicated. Second wing extends diagonally upward in front of archer’s legs; row of feathers and central ribbing are indicated. Short, feathered tail extends horizontally from rear. Bulbous scorpion tail extends diagonally upward from rear and curves sharply back toward body; circles comprising tail grow smaller toward tip. Horn curves forward from top of head and makes slight S-shape. Head is angled downward with snout resting along chest. Small ovular eye is indicated. Mane runs along back of neck. Small pointed ear emerges from top of head.

To right of archer is rampant lion (hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with hindlegs apart, left in front of right. Both arms, straight, extend outward from shoulders, one diagonally upward and behind body, other horizontally in front of body. Rear paw has at least three digits; small drill hole is attached to base of arm at torso. Forward paw is rounded with small divot along top. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in small tuft. Snout is rounded with divot at end, perhaps indicating nostrils. Mouth is open and jaw is lined along inside and bottom; small tooth points upward from bottom jaw. Serrated mane runs along top of head and back of neck.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [hal-]’mi-x’
2. HAL.ANšá-ti-
3. du-du DUMU
4. tar-du-man-nu
5. ’iš?-na’
“Seal (of)(?) Šati-dudu, son of Tardumannuš”176

175 Handedness of archers is often difficult to determine, as they sometimes twist their upper body and/or are partially preserved. As a result, we use “one arm, other arm” rather than “right arm, left arm.”

176 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2000, p. 140).
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: “Seal of” (?) PN$_{1}$ DUMU PN$_{2}$

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom left corner of the panel and the left side of the fourth case line are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. While the panel is mostly complete, some signs are broken or not preserved.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct -hal. Next is broken -mi, followed by a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign.\textsuperscript{177}

Line 2: four signs: HAL, AN, -šá, and -ti.

Line 3: three signs: -du, -du, and DUMU.

Line 4: four signs: -tar, -du, -man, and -nu.

Line 5: two fragmentary signs preserved: perhaps -iš and -na, the genitive enclitic.

While some of the signs are fragmentary or not preserved, it is possible to provide a reading. However, there is an oddity. It is unclear what function the last sign in line one might have, as it appears to be carved between the word halmi (“seal”) in line one and the first personal name in line two. The only sign that might make sense here would be a personal determinative, but the preserved combination of wedges does not match the options (i.e., DIŠ/HAL). The first personal name, Šati-dudu, is Elamite and occurs in 15 documents from the Fortification archive;\textsuperscript{178} none of these texts carry impressions of PFS 261*.\textsuperscript{179}

There is some uncertainty surrounding the reading of the patronym, given the fragmentary nature of the bottom line of the inscription. If it can be reconstructed as Tardumannuš, the name occurs two other times in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{180} Tardumannuš is the Elamite rendering of the Old Persian name *Drdavanuš (“lovingly wholeheartedly”).\textsuperscript{181}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal, multiple seal

\textsuperscript{177} It is well-attested for seal inscriptions to begin halmi, thus the reconstruction here. See Chapter 4 for details.

\textsuperscript{178} PF 106, PF 440, PF 519, PF 556, PF 820, PF 1395, PF 1811, PF 1849, PF 1850, NN 705, NN 821, NN 1210, NN 1399, NN 1987, and NN 2040.

\textsuperscript{179} For more on the name, see Zadok (1984, p. 38).

\textsuperscript{180} In one text (NN 2192) it is spelled as on PFS 261*; in the other (PF 1291) it is tur-du-man-nu-iš. NN 2192 is an una-sealed Elamite document; PF 1291 does not carry an impression of PFS 261*.

\textsuperscript{181} Tavernier 2007, p. 175 (no. 4.2.547).
Attestations of PFS 261*

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<td>PFUTS 272s</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

PFS 261* appears on eight Elamite and five uninscribed documents and follows three sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:  

These transactions include ration allocations for workers.182

Parallel-Seal:  
PFUT 892-202 and PFUT 2147-103.

In all instances, PFS 261* occurs on the obverse with the other seal, PFS 1699s, on the reverse.183

Multiple-Seal:  
PF 1226 and NN 358.

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182 PF 1207, PF 1208, PF 1225, NN 651, NN 1139, and Fort. 1313-101.
183 The upper edge of PFUT 2147-103 is destroyed. Given the sealing pattern of PFS 261* and PFS 1699s on PFUT 892-202, it is likely that this surface was not sealed.
In both instances, PFS 261* is one of three seals and appears with PFS 1155 (left edge) and PFS 1699s. These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

With the exception of one document (NN 1139, perhaps also Fort. 1313-101), all of the Elamite texts that carry impressions of PFS 261* deal with rations for nursing women (N texts). For all we know, the unnamed kurtaš (“workers”) in NN 1139 also concern nursing women. In six of these texts (all of the Elamite documents that occur in the single-seal protocol), Irdumartiya receives the rations and distributes them to the workers.

Two of the Elamite documents carry three seals: PFS 261*; PFS 1155 (left edge); PFS 1699s. The texts are very similar: rations for two women, Lanunu and Parrukuzziš, distributed by Manzaturruš and companions. PFS 1155 occurs on three other N texts, once (NN 865) paired with PFS 1699s with Manzaturruš and a companion acting as distributors.

We thus have a cluster of seals that occur in various combinations within the context of N texts. This is not an uncommon phenomenon with the ration lists. Given the repeated naming of Irdumartiya in the Elamite texts sealed only with PFS 261*, our inclination is to attribute the seal to him and/or his bureau. This Irdumartiya may be none other than the chief administrator of the agency represented in the Fortification archive prior to Parnakka. Mikołajczak proposes that Irdumartiya, the chief administrator, uses PFS 261* in his role as receiver and redistributor of rations for nursing mothers. If he is one and the same official, Mikołajczak suggests that he used multiple seals for his different administrative roles (he is attested elsewhere in the archive using PFS 71* for other types of transactions).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The density of court-centric iconography on PFS 261* is striking. The particular compositional formula, a human archer emergent from a pedestal creature, is unique among the whole of the Fortification archive. The bottom of the figural scene, as preserved at present, extends down to the fourth case line of the inscription, making one suspect that there may have been more figural imagery at the bottom of the design.

The tails of the pedestal creature on PFS 261* breaks into the paneled inscription. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in Persepolitan glyptic.

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184 Six sets of triplet seals are used in approximately half of the N texts (Garrison 2017a, p. 66).
185 Garrison 2017a, p. 42. The name Irdumartiya appears in approximately 50 documents from the Fortification archive (Mikołajczak 2018, p. 395).
187 Alternatively, there could be multiple people with the same name, Irdumartiya, who are documented in the Fortification archive and that the one using PFS 261* is distinct from the one who uses PFS 71* (Mikołajczak 2018, p. 395). The two seals attributed to Irdumartiya, PFS 71* and PFS 261*, in fact share much in common stylistically and iconographically; this seems not coincidental.
188 For details on court-centric iconography, see Chapter 5.
189 For details on this phenomenon, see Chapter 6.
Court Style. The carving style on PFS 261* is overwhelmed by the iconographic detail. The seal is carefully executed; the outline is tight and controlled. There is some modelling, but it is subdued. The rampant lion is thick but with little indication of musculature. The detailed treatment of the archer’s garment, weapons, and face are virtuosic. Such careful engraving is a hallmark of the Court Style masterpieces PFS 7* and PFS 11*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 1998, p. 121 (n. 15); Garrison 2000, pp. 136, 139-40 (fig. 17), pl. XXI: 17; Garrison 2002/2006, p. 71; Garrison 2010a, pp. 344 (fig. 32.5d), 345 (fig. 32.6d), 347-50, 355-56; Garrison 2011b, p. 50 (figs. 25-26); Garrison 2013, pp. 583-84; Garrison 2017a, pp. 31 and 66; Garrison 2017b, pp. 207-09, 211-13, 240 (fig. 15); Henkelman 2008, pp. 151 and 484; Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 175, 178, 395, 409-410; Root 2008, p. 131 (fig. 10).

PFS 272* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 272)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.C.04. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Lions; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero grasps rampant lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

190 See Chapter 5 for details.
Hero (head, torso, left arm, left foot not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Right leg, bent, has foot (not indicated) resting on lion’s hindquarters. Left leg, apparently straight, is underneath hero. Right arm, curved downward, grasps upper arm of rampant lion. Left arm (not preserved) likely holds small weapon up behind head. Wears short belted garment that leaves legs bare below knees. Skirt of garment crosses in front of body with thin border along diagonal hem; hem over right leg has banded border with row of fringe. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from waist.

To left of hero is rampant lion (right paw, hindfeet not preserved). Body is angled to left with head turned back to face to right toward hero. Hindfeet are apart, left in front of right. Right arm extends diagonally upward in front of body. Left arm, straight, extends diagonally downward behind body; paw is splayed open and visible between hero’s legs with four digits/nails and small palm indicated. Long tail extends downward from hindquarters before curving upward. Mouth is open; pointed tongue sticks out. Small, pointed teeth extend from top and bottom jaw. Serrated mane is indicated along of back of neck; smaller serrated tufts line belly. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field. Curved form appears at intersection of vertical side and third preserved case line. Ovular mass appears in middle of second preserved line. Forms are likely chips/flaws in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [HALANšá]
  2.? ’ti-‘hu-‘ban’
  3.? DUMU kán-du-
  4.? ’x-x-na’
“[Šati-]Huban, son of Kandu…”\[191\]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, both horizontal sides, the upper and lower sections of the vertical sides, and the left side of the first-preserved case line are not preserved. The signs in the first line are not preserved. Chips/flaws in the stone appear in the third case and along the right vertical of the panel. They do not obscure the signs in a way that makes them difficult to read.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct HAL, AN, and -šá.

Line 2: three signs: broken -ti, -hu, and broken -ban.\[192\]

\[191\] This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 384).
\[192\] The right horizontal wedges in -ban are carved on top of and extend beyond the right vertical of the panel.

Line 4: fragments of perhaps three signs: two unidentifiable signs and likely -na, the genitive enclitic.

The inscription is partially preserved, but a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. Garrison and Root suggest restoring the first personal name as Šati-Huban, a name attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive: the inscriptions on PFS 4*, PFS 103*, and PFS 2346*; it does not occur in documents from Persepolis.

An identification of the patronym is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 272*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 272* appears on four Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 272* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 63, applied to the reverse and/or upper edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for animals.

All of the documents record disbursement of grain. In three instances, Pukdamira is the kurman official; the one exception, PF 1695, lists Šarizziš as kurman. The receivers include Pukdamira (PF 1691 and PF 2064), Bakaparna (NN 930), or Pirmayauda (PF 1695). The instances where Pukdamira is both the kurman official and the recipient are somewhat unusual, but the practice is not unprecedented. In these three texts, the grain is given to horses for whom Hiumizza is the šaramanna official. The consistent application of PFS 272* on the left edge in the counter-seal protocol, with different kurman officials named, would seem to indicate that the seal represents a kurman office (in this case concerned with grain).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

193 Garrison and Root 2001, p. 384; for more on the name, see Zadok (1984, pp. 13 and 39).
194 E.g., PF 276, involving Karkiš.
The heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic; this particular compositional formula, a hero pursuing a rampant animal/creature, is common.195

Modeled Style. PFS 272* employs a modeled style of carving. The style is characterized by extensive use of the running drill to create small, tight masses of musculature. Note, in particular, the calf muscles of the hero and the left shoulder and hindquarters of the lion. Detail has been added throughout the garment of the hero and along the mane and belly of the lion. This “miniaturist” modeled style is very common in Persepolitan glyptic. The style often is employed in scenes, such as that on PFS 272*, that show active poses in dynamic compositions.196 Similar compositions rendered in the same style but without inscriptions are well documented in Persepolitan glyptic.197

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 1988, pp. 228-29, 236-40; Garrison and Dion 1999, pp. 9 (n. 20), 10 (n. 28); Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 384-85.

PFS 523* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 209)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.A.05. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Winged lion creatures; Fortification Style198
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

196 See, e.g., PFS 769*, PFS 1566*, and PFS 1637*.
197 See, e.g., PFS 30, PFS 263, and PFS 265.
198 This is a change from Garrison and Root (2001) in which PFS 523* was labeled Mixed Styles II.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs rampant winged lion-creature while standing atop lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (one arm, shoulders, head not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left, with back foot atop head of lion below. Extends one arm (left?) diagonally downward in front of body to stab rampant winged lion-creature in torso; hand has four fingers indicated and holds short dagger. Appears to wear long Assyrian garment that leaves right leg bare; double-banded border is indicated along bottom hem.

To left of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (top of head, left foreleg, left hindfoot not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, right in front of left, with front foot atop hindquarters of lion below; two round toes are indicated. Forelegs, straight, reach diagonally upward in front of body; one terminates in two-pronged paw. Two short wings extend diagonally upward behind body; each has single row of feathers. Short tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small tuft. Horn emerges from top of head. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Short pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Beneath hero and rampant winged lion-creature is lion (forelegs, hindlegs, belly, tip of tail not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left. Forelegs extend in front of torso. Thin tail hangs from hindquarters. Snout is comprised of three small drill holes; another drill hole marks eye. Mouth is open and bottom jaw is lined. Short mane runs along back of head and neck.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. hal-˹mi?˺ HAL
2. ia-ap
3. [..] ˹na˺
   “Seal of Yap…”199

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “Seal of” PN

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom horizontal and the lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. It is unclear whether there were additional lines; the terminal -na would suggest that there were only three.

199 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 307).
Line 1: three signs: *-hal*, perhaps broken *-mi*, and HAL.\textsuperscript{200}

Line 2: two signs: *-ia* and *-ap*.

Line 3: one sign preserved: broken *-na*, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many signs preceded.

The inscription is incomplete at present, but a reading of the beginning is possible, “Seal (of)” and a personal name. Owing to the potential for additional signs in the third-preserved line, it is unclear how much of the personal name is not preserved. The name Yap occurs one other time in the Fortification archive, in an Elamite text (NN 208); PFS 523* does not appear on this document.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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PFS 523* appears on one Elamite document and follows the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 524.

This transaction is an accounting balance.

Sealing protocols on accounting balances (i.e., C texts like PF 256) are poorly understood.\textsuperscript{201} This fact, coupled with the single occurrence of PFS 524*, hinder any attempts at seal attribution.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic. In the case of PFS 523*, a hero confronting a creature and stabbing it in the chest, is less common than other compositional formulae. The diminutive stature of the hero on PFS 523*, as well as his placement on top of a pedestal creature are, however, noteworthy. Pedestal creatures may serve various ideological functions in Persepolitan glyptic and monumental arts.\textsuperscript{202}

\textsuperscript{200} Typically *-mi* is comprised of a Winkelhacken followed by two rows of two or three stacked horizontal wedges.

\textsuperscript{201} See Garrison (2017a, pp. 61-62).

\textsuperscript{202} See Garrison (2011b) and Dusinberre (1997). Other examples of pedestal creatures on inscribed seals are PFS 36*, PFS 82*, PFS 164*, PFS 261*, PFS 389*, PFS 390*, PFS 931*, PFS 1567*, PFS 2789*, PFS 3035*, PFUTS 18*, PFUTS 264*, PFUTS 824*, PFUTS 1422*, and PFUTS 1555*. 

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In addition to the use of a pedestal creature, the design is artfully conceived. If there were only three lines to the inscription, it would not have filled the terminal field; note also how the legs of the pedestal creature appear to have extended under the inscription, as if to support it (in addition to the heroic encounter). A similar convention occurs in PFS 1568* where the forelegs of the fleeing animal extend below the paneled inscription.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dusinberre 1997, pp. 106-7, 112, 124 (n. 57 and 59), and 126 (n. 105); Garrison 1988, pp. 374-78; Garrison and Dion 1999, p. 120 (n. 12); Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 306-07; Root 2008, p. 123 (fig. 5b).

PFS 543*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE\textsuperscript{203}
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.6 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature marchant (tips of ears, tip of wing, forefeet, left hindfoot not preserved) faces to right. Right hindfoot is rendered as two ovals. Tuft of hair is indicated along back of one foreleg and right hindleg. Long wing extends diagonally upward.

\textsuperscript{203} PF 300 and NN 668.
behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters before curving back toward head to terminate in wide tuft. Large, rounded tuft of hair sits at front of head. Two small nostrils are indicated on snout. Mouth is open revealing long wavy tongue. Tufts of hair comprise mane along back of neck. Two ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠ AN hu-
2. ban? tin?
3. [...] bad
“Huban…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top corners of the panel, the lower sections of the vertical sides, as well as the bottom horizontal are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, broken AN, and -hu.204

Line 2: two signs: perhaps -ban and perhaps -tin.205

Line 3: one sign preserved: -bad. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs preceded.

The reading is obscure. There is likely a personal name, Huban, at the beginning, but what follows is unclear.206 Without DUMU, the inscription may consist of a single personal name.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

Attestations of PFS 543*

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</table>

204 AN has only one horizontal indicated; it is not clear whether this is intentional.
205 -ban appears to have an additional horizontal wedge at bottom left; the form of -tin is similar to the way it appears in documents from the Treasury archive. See Steve (1992, p. 129 (nos. 465 and 270)) for comparanda.
206 Names that begin with Huban are popular among the seal inscriptions from Persepolis. See, for example, PFS 4*, PFS 43*, PFS 1574*, PFS 2089*, PFS 2437*, and PFUTS 332*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PF 300</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>PFS 543*</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>PFS 543*</th>
<th>PFS 544s</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 668</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 543*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 543*</td>
<td>PFS 544s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 543* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 544s.

These transactions include general receipts of commodities and ration allocations for workers.\(^\text{207}\)

The parallel-seal protocol is poorly understood.\(^\text{208}\) In addition to the repeated use of the same two seals on these transactions (these are the only attestations of both seals), both texts concern wine transactions, are dated to year 17, and name Bakabada as the *kurman* official. Two different recipients are named: Kadudda (PF 300) and Ammamarda (NN 668). The names Bakabada and Ammamarda are attested very commonly in the Fortification archive. Seal attribution at present is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The thematic type on PFS 543* – a single winged creature – and the carving style – modeled – is popular among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. As noted, the theme is often connected with the Late Neo-Elamite glyptic tradition.\(^\text{209}\)

Modeled Style. PFS 543* employs a heavily modeled style of carving. The extensive use of small, deeply carved forms creates a nervous musculature often seen in certain strains of the Persepolitan Modeled Style. Note in PFS 543*, especially, the hindquarters of the creature, which are rendered as rounded segments distinct from the rest of the body. The face, wing, and legs of the creature show much careful detail.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 584* (*OIP 117* Cat.No. 203)

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207 General receipts of commodities: PF 300; ration allocations for workers: NN 668.

208 Garrison 2017a, pp. 61-62.

209 Garrison 2002/2006, p. 79; see Chapter 8 for more on this.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant lion with weapon; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, left hand and foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Right arm is held diagonally downward in front of body to threaten lion in torso with dagger (weapon is rendered as triangle). Hand is rendered as circle at end of sleeve of garment. Left arm reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp top of lion’s head. Wears belted Persian court robe. Right sleeve covers right arm; sleeve along left arm is pulled up to elbow revealing bare forearm. Striations indicating folds of drapery appear on both sleeves, torso, and skirt of garment. Central, vertical pleat of garment is indicated on legs. Hair is gathered in round mass at back of neck. Face consists of large triangular nose and curved mark for eye. Short beard is indicated.

To right of hero is rampant lion (hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Extends one arm, straight, in front of torso with paw, two small ovals, approaching hero; other arm reaches diagonally upward behind body with paw splayed to reveal five long digits. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in small rounded tuft. Nose is comprised of two long segments. Eye is round with ovular outline. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.
INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...]  
    2. ku-  
    3. ma-  
    4. na-  
    5. ˹ba-˺áš210

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

Five lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the horizontal sides, upper section of the left vertical side, as well as the left side of the first case line are not preserved. The right vertical side of the panel extends well above the first-preserved case line, indicating what we have called line one; no text is preserved. While it is possible that there were more lines, it seems unlikely owing to the height of the figural scene. As noted by Garrison and Root, the short lines (featuring just one or two signs each) are unusual.211

Line 1: no signs preserved and reconstruction is not possible at present.

Line 2: one sign: -ku.

Line 3: one sign: -ma.

Line 4: one sign: -na.

Line 5: two signs: broken -ba and -áš.

The reading is obscure. It is not clear whether the signs are meant to be understood syllabically or logographically; it is difficult to understand the inscription either way. Without clear markers of common inscriptive formulae (e.g., DUMU, HAL/hal-mi), it is difficult to identify an inscriptive formula. It may be that the signs comprise a personal name.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>PF 333</td>
<td>PFS 584*</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1596</td>
<td>PFS 584*</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2645</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

210 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 297).
PFS 584* appears on two Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 333.

This transaction is a general receipt of commodities.

Counter-Seal:
NN 1596.

PFS 584* occurs on the obverse with PFS 2645 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a general receipt of commodities.

Sealing protocols on general receipts of commodities (i.e., D texts like PF 333 and NN 1596) are poorly understood. Details such as the commodity, supplier, and receiver vary in these texts. As can be seen with PFS 584*, the same seal occurs on two similar documents but in different sealing protocols. Sealing attribution for the moment is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic. As noted above with PFS 523*, the hero who stabs a lion in the chest is less common that other compositional formulae. Garrison and Root note that the imagery on PFS 584* has close connections to doorjamb reliefs from Persepolis that show the king stabbing a rampant animal or creature. The Persian court robe is, of course, a common feature in court-centric iconography.

Court Style. Following Garrison and Root, we have classified PFS 584* as Court Style. The carving is, however, rather more stiff and linear than one normally sees in the Court Style; note, for example, the awkward rendering of the sleeve on the hero’s right arm, the egg-shaped hand, and the linear fold on the garment; the animal form is broad, but there is little indication of musculature. Its forelegs are also thin and undefined. Perhaps the seal is better classified as Mixed Styles II, indicating influence of the Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison and Dion 1999, p. 10 (n. 28); Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 297-98.

PFS 588*

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212 Garrison 2017a, pp. 65-66.
213 Garrison and Root 2001, p. 298. See, especially, the examples from the Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953, pls. 144-46).
214 For more on this, see Chapter 5.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE\textsuperscript{216}
Typology and Style: 23.D. Crossed Animal Groups: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.7 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two caprids intertwine at neck; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two caprids (hindfeet, tips of horns not preserved) stand on hindlegs with feet apart and hindquarters angled toward one another. Intertwine at neck to face away from each other. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend outward from shoulder and terminate in hooves. Short tail curves slightly upward from hindquarters. Wavy horn emerges from top of head. Eye is indicated (round on animal facing to left, ovular on animal facing to right). Pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ‘x x x’ […] ‘x’
2.? \textsuperscript{Di}s‘ri? x’ […]
3.? ma ba? DUMU?
4.? [...]\textsuperscript{216}

\textsuperscript{216} PF 338, PF 772, and NN 114.
“..., son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)” PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Both of the horizontal sides, as well as the upper and lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. While it is unlikely that there was a fifth line, the poor preservation leaves open that possibility. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions.

Line 1: fragments of perhaps four unidentifiable signs preserved (three at right of animal pair – preserved as three vertical wedges – and one at left – preserved as two overlapping vertical wedges). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: three signs preserved: DIŠ, perhaps broken -ri, and a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many signs, if any, follow.

Line 3: three signs preserved: -ma, perhaps -ba, and perhaps DUMU. It is unclear how many signs, if any, follow.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

The reading is uncertain. The DIŠ at the beginning of line two would seem to indicate the first personal name in the inscription. If this is correct, then line one would likely read halmi, the only word that precedes the first name in an Elamite seal inscription at Persepolis. The signs which follow should then be the first personal name. If this is correct, then the last sign in line three is likely DUMU (the logographic value of the sign) rather than -tur (the sign’s syllabic value). Line four would then be the second personal name, a patronym. Be that as it may, a coherent reading of the names is not possible with the signs as preserved.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 338</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>PFS 588*</td>
<td>PFS 588*</td>
<td>PFS 589</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 772</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 588*</td>
<td>PFS 588*</td>
<td>PFS 899</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

217 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 2002/2006, p. 83) with minor variation.
218 Typically the horizontal wedges are stacked vertically for -ba. An alternate value for DUMU is -tur.
219 DIŠ never occurs before the second name in an Elamite seal inscription at Persepolis.
220 See Chapter 4 for details.
PFS 588* appears on three Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 588* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse and upper edge) with the supplier seal, PFS 589 (in two cases) or PFS 899, applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations.

Sealing protocols on some ration allocations for workers (i.e., K texts like PF 338, PF 772, and NN 114) are sometimes opaque. PFS 589 seems to be linked to the kurman official Šarukba, as he is named as supplier in two of the three documents. Each transaction names, however, a different recipient. They all concern the receipt of commodities for similar religious functions. For this reason, Henkelman identifies PFS 588* as the seal belonging to a šaramanna official who organized “commodities from suppliers to officiants. Under his responsibility wine was allocated by different suppliers to different officiants, to be used for Auramazda and for lan [sacrifice] respectively.”

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type of a pair of animals/creatures (crossed or intertwined) is popular among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

Fortification Style. The plain and shallow carving on PFS 588* suggests the Fortification Style. As is often the case with intertwined animals, the animal bodies have a beautiful sinuous and elongated line.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 706*

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221 PF 338 and NN 114.
222 Henkelman identifies a distinction between the commodities and transactions for Auramazda and those that are used for the lan sacrifice (e.g., no overlap in personnel; different amounts of a commodity); two of the documents that carry impressions of PFS 588*, PF 338 and NN 114, detail rations set aside for Auramazda, while PF 772 is for the lan; despite these differences, PFS 588* appears on both types of texts, representing the only apparent overlap between the two groups of transactions (i.e., those for Auramazda v. those for lan) (Henkelman 2008, p. 227).
223 Ibid., p. 228.
224 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.E.01. Cult Imagery: Worshipper before Animal/Creature: Facing Animal/Creature Marchant; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces winged bird-headed quadruped; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Worshipper (head, lower part of garment/feet not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with arms, bent, held in front of torso with cupped palms facing up. Wears long ankle-length garment; short horizontal line runs parallel to bottom of skirt of garment to indicate hem or fold. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from lower back (and crosses into space occupied by inscription).

To left of worshipper is composite creature marchant (tip of upper wing, hands, feet not preserved) facing to right. Consists of winged leonine body, scorpion tail, winged human torso and arms, and bird’s neck and head. Lower human arm, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of human torso and grasps elaborate vessel. Vessel (bottom not preserved) consists of ring handle that attaches to egg-shaped mass below which is an ovular or circular element. Upper human arm, sharply bent, is held at shoulder-height; single digit of hand preserved. Three wings are indicated: two extend back behind human shoulder, one diagonally upward and one slightly downward, with single row of feathers on upper wing and two rows on lower wing; third wing, much larger, extends diagonally upward from leonine body with single row of feathers indicated. Long scorpion tail

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225 PF 480, PF 1186, and NN 2484.
comprised of egg-shaped segments attached to thin band curves upward from hindquarters. Bird’s head has small beak and small round eye. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? [...]  
2.? pi DUMU  
3.? tin ’x’  
4.? [...] ’na’  
“…pi, son of Tin…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; no text is preserved in what we are calling line one. It is unclear whether there were more than four lines. There is no vertical border on the right side; in its place are the hindquarters and scorpion tail of the creature. Whether this feature is intentional or represents recutting is unclear.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: two signs: -pi and DUMU.

Line 3: apparently two signs: -tin and a fragmentary, unidentifiable sign.

Line 4: fragments of one sign preserved: likely -na, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs preceded.

While the inscription is only partially preserved, a reading of the inscriptive formula seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. Neither personal name can be identified at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 480</td>
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<td>PFS 706*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 707</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 1186</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 706*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 33</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2484</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 706*</td>
<td>PFS 706*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PFS 706* appears on three Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
NN 2484.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Counter-Seal:
PF 480 and PF 1186.

In both instances, PFS 706* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 707 or PFS 33, applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers.226

Given the irregular nature of sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like PF 480) and some ration allocations for workers (i.e., L3 texts and M texts like PF 1186 and NN 2484), and given the small number of texts sealed with PFS 706*, seal attribution is difficult. PFS 33 represents a well-attested kurman office located in the Fahliyān region.227 PFS 706* on PF 1186 may thus be linked to Tiriya, who distributes the rations to the kurtaš Iškudrap. Tiriya is likewise named as the recipient in NN 2484, another ration distribution to kurtaš Iškudrap. This Tiriya is not the same individual who is qualified as mušin huttira āš-na and uses PFS 73*. Whether other attestations of the name (occurring under different seals), and there are many of them, are the same individual is unclear.228

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 706* is clearly an exceptional design. The carving is very accomplished, the composite creature unique. The thematic type, a worshipper before an animal/creature, is well-attested in Persepolitan glyptic.229 The relationship of the figural imagery to the inscription is complex; are we seeing an artfully conceived design where figural imagery and text are carefully intertwined, or simply re-cutting?230 If the latter, what has been re-cut/inserted, the figural imagery or the inscription?

Modeled Style. Forms are small and deeply carved. Note, in particular, the heart-shaped torso of the winged creature, human arms and legs, the segmented human and animal body of the creature, and the deeply-set profile shoulder of the worshipper.

226 Receipts of commodity movement: PF 480; ration allocations for workers: PF 1186.
227 PF 1765 and NN 2426.
228 See Henkelman (2008, pp. 249 (n. 545) and 349 (n. 818)) for a Tiriya who is qualified as hatarmakša, a much contested term.
229 See, for example, PFS 12a, PFS 12b, PFS 1572*, and PFS 2096*.
230 Note Garrison (2000, p. 146) on the possibility that the seal is recut: “The inclination to suggest that the seal is re-cut, owing to the intrusion of both figures into the Elamite inscription, must be resisted, since, as we have seen...this flexible compositional relationship between figural design and inscription is very common in the Persepolitan Modeled Style...” See, also, Chapter 6.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE\textsuperscript{231}
Typology and Style: 02.C.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: All preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved for most of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens winged horned lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (right hand and foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. Right leg, straight, is behind body; left leg, bent, has foot resting on hindquarters of creature to right. Right arm, bent, is raised behind body, presumably to hold weapon (not preserved) behind head. Left arm, slightly bent, reaches in front of body to grasp horn of winged creature. Wears short double-belted garment that falls to knee of right leg and leaves all of left leg bare; vertical line runs down middle of skirt and thick fringe is indicated along diagonal hem. Slightly curved sheath extends back behind body from hip. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Face consists of thin nose and drill hole for eye.

\textsuperscript{231} NN 377.
To right of hero is large winged, horned lion-creature (paws not preserved). Sits on hindlegs with body angled to right and turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Right foreleg is straight under chest; left foreleg extends diagonally upward in front of torso. Large wing extends back behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body, getting wider to terminate in two-pronged tuft. Wavy horn emerges from top of head. Drill hole at end of snout indicates nostril; small oval above. Another drill hole constitutes eye. Mouth is open and small tongue is visible. Mane is indicated by row of striations along top of head and back of neck. Large ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] An'te?
      2. DUMU i [...] 'x' na
      3. si [...] 'x' ik
      4. [...] "... son (of) I...” 232

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top corners, the bottom right corner, and the upper and lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. We suspect that there were only four lines; we appear to have the bottom of the panel, and there would not appear to be room enough for another line above the existing first line (based on the height of the figural scene). At present, the four impressions of the seal do not allow us to collate fully the inscription. Thus, the two preserved sections, to either side of the figural scene, remain separate in the composite drawing.

Line 1: two signs preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene): AN and perhaps broken -te.

Line 2: four signs preserved: DUMU and -i (to right of the figural scene), a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign, and -na (to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: three signs preserved: -si (to right of the figural scene), a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign, and -ik (to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

232 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 393) with minor variation.
While the inscription is partially preserved, a reading of the inscriptional formula seems to indicate, at least, two personal names separated by DUMU. Neither name is identifiable at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 548</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 769*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 769*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 377</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 769*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 769*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 769* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.²³³

These transactions are receipts for commodity movement.

Sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like PF 548 and NN 377) are poorly understood. Given that we have to do with only two texts, neither of which name a kurman official, recipient, or oversight officials, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The heroic combat encounter is a common thematic type among Persepolitan glyptic.²³⁴
The seated pose and large size of the creature are noteworthy.

Modeled style. The heart-shaped torso and segmented forms of the arms are particularly exaggerated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1308*

²³³ The upper edge of NN 377 is destroyed; thus, we cannot know for sure whether another seal was applied to the tablet. Given the evidence of PF 548, we suspect that we have to do here as well with the single-seal protocol.
²³⁴ See Chapter 5.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.F.01. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before anthropomorphic deity/cult image: In non-processional scene; Highlands Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper stands before seated figure enclosed in frame; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Figure (feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with arms held diagonally upward in front of body with cupped palms facing up in worshiping gesture. Wears long double-belted garment. Wears large rounded headdress from which long ribbon (or hair) hangs down along curvature of back. Face is comprised of triangular nose, small mouth, and rounded chin. Worshipper, we suggest, is female.

To left of worshiper is figure (feet not preserved) facing to right. Sits with right arm, bent, held next to waist; arm terminates in rounded fist. Left arm, straight, lifts diagonally upward in front of body; hand is rounded and holds long object with circular form at top. Appears to wear long garment that covers legs; short sleeves leave arms bare. Wears large angular headdress with serrated top, small upward-curved horn at front, and detailing at back. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of neck. Face is comprised of small, triangular nose, round eye, small mouth, and small pointed chin. As standing figure, we suggest seated figure is female.

Around seated figure is decorative frame (partially preserved) detailed with series of small ovals and straight lines.
Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  
1. ṢAL/DIŠ ˹
2. [...] bi? [...]  
3. ṭi ˹[...]  
4. bad [...]  
5. [...]  
“[..."

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN?

Five lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. We appear to have the beginning of the inscription; nothing survives of the text in the fifth case. There is room for a sixth line, but such a length would be rare; one exception is the heirloom seal, PFS 93*. Given that PFS 1308* is also an heirloom, we perhaps should leave open the possibility. At present, neither the top nor bottom of the panel is preserved; the upper and lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are also not preserved.

Line 1: perhaps one or two signs: if one, it may be SAL; if two, first a broken DIŠ, followed by -i.

Line 2: one sign preserved: perhaps -bi. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: one sign preserved: broken -ri. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 4: one sign preserved: -bad. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 5: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible at present. It is likely that the inscription begins with a personal name. The first line could begin with SAL, the female determinative, which is rare among Persepolitan glyptic. Significantly, PFS 77*, one of the few seals to begin with SAL and to include female figures in its design, is related to PFS 1308* visually (see below). Thus, we should leave open the possibility that the inscription on PFS 1308* also begins with SAL.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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235 The three others are PFS 931*, PFS 2437*, and PFS 2707*.
236 As carved, the sign appears to have extra horizontal wedges.
237 Typically the sign consists of two pairs of stacked horizontal wedges, rather than Winkelhackens.
238 The one other example is PFS 77*.
PFS 1308* appears on one Elamite document and follows the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 24.

This transaction is a travel ration.

Sealing protocols for travel rations (i.e., Q texts like PF 1385) are normally very regular. The application of the parallel seal protocol on a travel ration is very rare, as also the two seals on the left edge.\(^{239}\) PFS 24 is a well-attested kurman seal, attested almost exclusively with Mirayauda, who is listed as the supplier in PF 1385.\(^{240}\) One possibility to account for the presence of PFS 1308* on the left edge is that the recipient normally expected to seal in the single-seal protocol.

If normal travel ration sealing protocols are being followed, PFS 1308* should be linked with Bakabadada, the receiver in PF 1385. The name is attested in only two other texts, PF 206 and NN 1085; whether we have to do with the same individual is unknown.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene on PFS 1308* is unparalleled in Persepolitan glyptic. The seated individual, based upon the horned headdress, is a deity. We suggest also that both the deity and the worshipper are female. A seated female deity approached by a worshipper is common in Neo-Assyrian glyptic.\(^{241}\) Framing devices are sometimes employed in these Assyrian scenes.\(^{242}\)

Garrison has suggested that PFS 1308* in fact dates to the late 7\(^{th}\) – early 6\(^{th}\) centuries BCE.\(^{243}\) PFS 1308* is, however, not an Assyrian product. Garrison places the origin of the seal in the highlands, relating it to other heirloom seals in the Fortification archive: PFS 51, PFS 93*, and PFS 77*.\(^{244}\) PFS 77* and PFS 1308* are closely related compositionally; both seals also depict only female participants.

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\(^{239}\) There is a substantial number of travel rations that are unsealed or carry only one seal (see Garrison and Henkelman 2020a). From a sample of 758 travel rations, one Q text follows the parallel-seal protocol (PF 1480) and four Q texts follow the multiple-seal protocol (three seals on NN 1571, NN 1649, NN 2525, and PF 1316); one Q text (NN 1326) has two seals on the left edge.

\(^{240}\) Garrison 2011b, p. 55; Henkelman 2018a, p. 811; Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 238.

\(^{241}\) See, for example, seals with Gula seated (Collon 2001, nos. 232-34).

\(^{242}\) See, for example, Niederreiter 2015, no. 5, Watanabe 1999, nos. 1.2.1 and 2.2.3, and Watanabe 1993a, no. 7.9.

\(^{243}\) Garrison 2011b, p. 55; note, also, Henkelman (2018a, p. 811).

\(^{244}\) Garrison 2011a, pp. 387-89.
Highlands Modeled Style. The style is marked by puffy chests and distinct facial profiles.245

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2011a, pp. 387-88 (figs. 23-25), 390, and 400; Garrison 2017b, p. 201 (n. 54); Garrison and Root 1996, p. 16 (figs. 5a-b); Henkelman 2008, p. 55; Root 1997, p. 231; Root 1990a, p. 38.

245 Garrison 2011a, p. 389.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.03. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged human-faced/human-headed bull creature; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero threatens rampant winged, human-headed bull-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged hero (right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. Right leg, straight, is behind body; left leg, bent, is raised with foot placed on hindleg of rampant creature to right. Right arm, slightly bent, is extended diagonally downward behind body to hold long curved weapon. Left arm, with slight downward-facing bend in elbow, reaches in front of body to grasp wing of rampant creature to right. Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Single row of feathers is indicated on upper wing; two rows are indicated on lower. Wears long belted Assyrian garment that covers right leg; short hem falls to knee of left leg, exposing leg below. Fringe is indicated along hem over right leg. Wears headdress with pointed projection at front. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of round eye, small nose, and mouth. Long beard rests over chest. Striations are indicated on side of face, perhaps details of beard or hair.

To right of hero is rampant human-headed winged bull-creature (fore- and hindfeet not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right, and turns head back

\[246\] PF 1852.
to face toward hero to left. Forelegs, slightly bent, reach horizontally in front of body. Long wing extends back behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long wavy tail curves downward from hindquarters before terminating in diamond-shaped tuft; two striations are indicated. Tall horn emerges from top of head and curves to point; triangular cap sits below horn. Human head consists of triangular nose and eye. Pointed beard hangs to wing. Ear emerges from back of head. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above hero and right side of inscription.

**INSCRIPTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>DIŠ, -ab-ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><code>DUMU</code> ir?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[...]<code>na</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Abbateya, son of Ir…”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. We clearly have the beginning of the inscription. The bottom of the panel is not preserved, but space and the preserved inscription suggest that we have to do only with four lines.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -ab, and -ba.

Line 2: two signs: -te and -ya.

Line 3: two signs: broken DUMU, and perhaps -ir.

Line 4: one sign preserved: broken -na, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs preceded.

While the inscription is partially preserved, a reading is possible: two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Abbateya, is the Elamite rendering of an Old Iranian name, *Āpātaya- (“the dweller”). The name is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive, in some 30 Elamite texts. One of these documents (PF 1852) carries

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247 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 318).
248 The identification of DUMU is based on the location – following a complete personal name and about midway through the inscription. Typically the lower horizontal wedge of -ir will intersect the vertical wedges, as opposed to appearing entirely on top of it, as here.
249 Tavernier 2007, p. 107 (no. 4.2.63).
impressions of PFS 1566*. In almost all of the documents that name Abbateya, he is noted as a šaramanna official.\textsuperscript{250}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1852</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1566*</td>
<td>PFS 1566*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 1235-102</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 1566*</td>
<td>PFS 1566*</td>
<td>PFS 1566*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1566* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are letters.

In accordance with the sealing protocols for letters (i.e., T texts like PF 1852 and Fort. 1235-102), only the seal of the addressor is applied to the tablet.\textsuperscript{251} Thus, PFS 1566* should be linked with Abbateya, the sender of PF 1852 and Fort. 1235-102, as is confirmed by the seal inscription. Letters are only sent by high-rank officials or members of the royal family, indicating that Abbateya was an individual of exceptionally high status/rank.\textsuperscript{252} Indeed, in PF 1852, Abbateya references his role as a šaramanna official by pointing out his responsibility for workers. In other documents that name Abbateya but do not carry impressions of PFS 1566*, he carries a halmi from the king.\textsuperscript{253} All of these details – šaramanna official, sender of letter, carrier of royal halmi – point to a high-rank official. One final document that mentions the name Abbateya does so in a list of personal names within a grain account.\textsuperscript{254} Likely, all of these texts refer to one and the same individual.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Garrison and Root note that PFS 1566* “is an especially impressive and well-carved design.”\textsuperscript{255} As is often the case with this particular carving style, the imagery is heavily Assyrianizing.

Modeled style. The execution is very fine. The hallmarks of this style, heart-shaped torsos, segmented arms, rounded calf muscle, etc., are pronounced.

\textsuperscript{250} PF 1182, PF 1224, PF 1580, PF 1581, PF 1582, PF 1583, PF 1584, PF 1611, PF 1614, PF 1801, PF 1825, PF 1831, PF 1852, PF 1948, NN 191, NN 299, NN 745, NN 1441, NN 1590, NN 1712, NN 1786, NN 1799, NN 1880, NN 1999, NN 2057, NN 2142, NN 2410, and NN 2532; see below for more details.

\textsuperscript{251} Garrison 2017a, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{252} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 319.

\textsuperscript{253} NN 807.

\textsuperscript{254} NN 759.

\textsuperscript{255} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 319.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 1988, pp. 228-29, 240-43, 479-80, and 494; Garrison 1998, p. 121 (n. 15); Garrison 2000, pp. 131 (fig. 7), 132-34, 139, 146, and pl. 18:7; Garrison 2017a, p. 111; Garrison and Dion 1999, pp. 9 (n. 19), 10 (n. 28); Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 16-17, 317-19; Root 2003b, pp. 251-252 (n. 4).

PFS 1567*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 494 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.B.03. Cult Imagery: Worshippers before Crescent or Winged Symbol: Before Winged Symbol with Figure Emergent; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.4 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two worshippers stand atop goat-headed fish-creatures; figure emergent from winged disk at center; paneled inscription in terminal field.

At left, worshipper (top of head not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, stands on tail of creature below; left leg, bent, has foot on neck of creature. One arm raises diagonally upward in front of torso; hand is open revealing five fingers. Other arm extends horizontally in front of body from abdomen; hand holds three-pronged flower. Wears long double-belted garment that falls to ankle of right leg and to just below knee of left leg, leaving leg bare below. Short hem over left

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256 PF 1853, NN 1359, NN 2401, and Fort. 1392-103.
knee has multi-banded border with short vertical striations; longer hem hangs between legs and has banded border with row of ovals. Garment obscures upper arms. Long ribbon hangs down from top of shoulder and along back. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of triangular nose and eye. Long beard with three thin sections at bottom and wavy detail along front rests over chest.

At right, worshiper (top of head, left hand, feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left, atop goat-headed fish-creature below. Right leg, bent, apparently rests on upper back of creature; left leg is straight. Right arm extends forward from torso and terminates in rounded fist holding three-pronged flower. Left arm, bent, is held against side of torso with forearm raised in front of chest. Wears long belted garment that covers left leg. Shorter hem hits just below right knee, leaving leg bare below; hem has multi-banded border with short diagonal striations. Ribbon hangs down from shoulder and along back. Curved line, likely bottom of rounded mass of hair, sits above shoulder. Face consists of triangular nose and small lips. Long beard rests over chest.

Between worshippers is figure emergent from winged disk (one hand, top of head not preserved) facing to left. Depicted from waist up. One arm extends horizontally from abdomen. Other arm reaches diagonally upward in front of torso; hand is splayed with three fingers preserved. Wears belted garment. Short sheath extends diagonally upward from waist behind body. Long ribbon hangs down from bottom of hair and along back. Hair is gathered in rounded mass above shoulders. Face consists of triangular nose and outline of triangular eye. Long beard rests over chest. Winged disc from which figure emerges is comprised of disk at center with horizontal panels and intermittent vertical rods. Triangular tail extends below with diagonal panels and two horizontal rods. Short layer of fringe, or possibly tips of feathers, are indicated along bottom of tail. Wavy tendril extends from either side of tail.

Beneath each worshiper is goat-headed fish-creature (face, forelegs, tail of creature at left not preserved; nothing below neck of creature at right preserved) facing in toward each other. Creature at left has long neck and body. Fin with three horizontal segments emerges from small hump on back. Two smaller fins or legs extend from underside of torso. End of left side of body flares outward, likely indicating fishtail. Two long projections emerge from top of head in V-shape; behind are two pointed ears.

Creature at right is preserved along head and neck. Long goat’s snout and small ovular eye are indicated. Two long projections emerge from top of head in V-shape; behind are two small pointed ears.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  
1. "Diššāš-" 
2. "ba-za" 
3. "DUMU" pa- 
4. "ir-[...]"

408
“Ašbaza, son (of) Pa-ir…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Although the top of the panel is not preserved, we appear to have the beginning of the inscription. The bottom of the panel is also not preserved; there may in fact be a fifth line. At present, no impression of the seal allows us fully to collate the inscription. As a result, the inscription appears in two parts, to either side of the figural scene, in the composite drawing.

Line 1: two broken signs preserved (to right of figural scene): DIŠ and -áš.

Line 2: two broken signs preserved: -ba (to right of figural scene) and -za (to left of figural scene).

Line 3: two signs: broken DUMU (to right of figural scene) and -pa (to left of figural scene).

Line 4: one sign preserved: -ir (to right of figural scene). It is unclear whether additional signs follow (to left of figural scene).

While the inscription is incomplete, a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Ašbaza, is likely a variant of Ašbazana (Old Iranian *Aspačanā, “delighting in horses”; Greek: Aspathines). An Ašbazana is named by Herodotus (III.70, 78) as one of the coconspirators with Darius. Ašbazana is likely the person named vaçabara (Aspačanā) and depicted at Naqš-e Rostam (DNd1). The name Ašbazana is also attested in 12 documents from the Fortification archive. In some of these documents, Ašbazana is a participant in a transaction (e.g., a recipient of a commodity); in others, someone else receives rations by his authorization (halmi or miyatukka). In PF 565, he is designated šaramanna. Three of the documents that name him also carry impressions of PFS 1567* (see below).

The patronym is not identifiable at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 1567*

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257 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 1998, p.119) with some variation.
258 Tavernier 2007, p. 14 (no. 1.2.7).
259 Garrison 2017a, p. 367.
260 PF 565, PF 806, PF 1444, PF 1853, NN 456, NN 1023, NN 1064, NN 1359, NN 1673, NN 2082, NN 2401, and NN 3116.
261 PF 1444, NN 456, NN 1763, and NN 2082.
PFS 1567* appears on four Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. These transactions include ration allocations and letters.\textsuperscript{262}

The inscription on the seal, coupled with the letter-order (PF 1853) addressed by Ašbazana, clearly link the seal with Ašbazana; so, too, the use of the single-seal protocol on the ration allocations, specifically H texts, which are “payments” to Ašbazana.

Ašbazana is well-known and often discussed; he is one of the highest status individuals in the archive\textsuperscript{263}. Indeed, his appearance in the H texts above is consistent with this, as Hallock identified many of the recipients in the H texts as being of high rank\textsuperscript{264}. Henkelman has suggested that he takes over from Parnakka by year 28\textsuperscript{265}.

As has been frequently noted, PFS 1567* is Ašbazana’s first seal. He subsequently in the Treasury archive uses PTS 14*; PTS 14* is nearly identical to PFS 1567* with its inscription and imagery (see below).\textsuperscript{266}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The compositional formula, a worshipper to either side of a winged symbol, is a common one in the Fortification archive. In PFS 1567*, the imagery is charged by the elaborately rendered winged symbol and the goat-fish pedestal creatures. The seal is quite large and exceptionally well carved.

Modeled Style. The imagery and style are remarkably Assyrianizing, even by Persepolitan standards\textsuperscript{267}.

PTS 14*, Ašbazana’s second seal, employs the same compositional formula, but aspects of the iconography are updated to court-centric norms. That such a heavily Assyrianizing

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1853</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1359</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2401</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 1392-103</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1567*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{262} Ration allocations: NN 1359, NN 2401, and Fort. 1392-103; letters: PF 1853.


\textsuperscript{265} Henkelman 2008, p. 127 (n. 283).

\textsuperscript{266} For the original publication of PTS 14*, see Schmidt (1957, p. 24, pl. 6); for more discussion, see Garrison (1998).

\textsuperscript{267} Note the comments by Garrison (2017a, p. 367).
compositional type was still being created in Persepolis in the early 5th century BC is quite remarkable.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

\[ PFS 1574^* \]

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 32
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Most of design is preserved along its complete length.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (front feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Hindlegs terminate in bird’s feet. Right hindleg has bulbous detail close to hip. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated and small notch along top of wing may indicate part of ribbing or third row of feathers. Long thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in large rounded tuft. Snout and bottom jaw are rendered as circular compartments. Mouth is open and

\[ ^268 \text{PF 1958.} \]
long thin tongue sticks out. Mane comprised of pointed tufts of hair runs along back of head and neck. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠhu-ban
  2. ri-pír DUMU
  3. hu-ban
  4. ˹x-x-x-na˺
      “Huban-ripir, son of Huban…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂
The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. While the top of the panel is not preserved, it is clear that we have the first line. The bottom of the panel, rather unusually, is complete. We thus can with confidence state that there were four lines in the inscription. Two signs extend beyond the panel.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -hu, and -ban (the right horizontals are carved outside of the panel).

Line 2: three signs: -ri, -pir, and DUMU (the sign utilizes the right vertical side of the panel as the vertical wedge of the sign; the right horizontals are carved outside of the panel).

Line 3: two signs: -hu and -ban.

Line 4: apparently four signs: two fragmentary and unidentifiable signs, and broken -na, the genitive enclitic.

While the inscription is not fully preserved, a reading is possible, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Huban-ripir, is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.

The patronym is not identifiable at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 1574*

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269 This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 271, 413-14).
270 Via Mikołajczak (2018, p. 414), Henkelman suggests that ripir could come from ripi (“lance”), thus the name could mean “lancer.”
PF 1892 | PFS 1574* | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
PF 1958 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574*
NN 2542 | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | not sealed | destroyed | PFS 1574*
Fort. 198-103 | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | not sealed | not sealed
Fort. 1397-101 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | not sealed | PFS 1574*
Fort. 1786-103 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574*
Fort. 1970-102 | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574*
Fort. 1973-101 | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | not sealed
Fort. 1987-001 | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574*
Fort. 2223-101 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574*
Fort. 2223-102 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | not sealed
Fort. 2266-105 | not sealed | not sealed | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | PFS 1574* | not sealed

PFS 1574* appears on twelve Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.271

These transactions include file tags, journals, and accounts.272

PFS 1574* represents an important accounting official/office at Persepolis.273 As is almost always the case with journals and accounts, the accountants are never named. Based on PF 1892 and PF 1958, PFS 1574* appears to be involved in grain receipt specifically.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

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271 The left edge of NN 2542 is destroyed, thus we cannot be certain that PFS 1574* was the only seal applied to the document. However, given the consistent use of PFS 1574* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, we can suggest that this tablet, too, carries impressions only of this seal. At present, the text has not been read.


PFS 1574* is yet another example of an isolated animal marchant with an inscription.\(^\text{274}\)

Modeled style. The style on PFS 1574* is distinguished by the heavy use of the running drill.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 1637* (*OIP 117* Cat.No. 273)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 508 BCE\(^\text{275}\)
Typology and Style: 02.C.04. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Lions; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 15
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Most of design is preserved along its complete length.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**
Hero threatens rampant lion with weapon up behind head; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Right leg is straight; left leg, bent, is held up at hip-height in front of body with foot resting on hindleg of rampant lion to right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head with small weapon in hand; left arm, straight, reaches in front of body to grasp lion at mouth. Wears belted kilt that falls to knee, below which both legs are bare. Sheath extends behind body from waist. Straight

\(^{274}\) See Chapter 5 for discussion of the thematic type. Owing to the Elamite name and carving style, Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 288 and 415) proposes that PFS 1574* predates the Fortification archive.

\(^{275}\) NN 1011.
line runs across forehead; top of head is rounded, likely indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of triangular nose and large rounded eye with surrounding fold. Squared beard hangs to chest.

To right of hero is rampant lion moving to right. With hindlegs on ground, forelegs extend diagonally upward in front of body. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Long tail extends diagonally downward from hindquarters and terminates in upward-turned tuft between hero’s legs. Rounded snout and triangular eye are indicated. Mouth is open (hero’s hand is inside). Short serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is complete at top and bottom of design; bulbous shapes along edges, as well as to right of lion, are likely chips or flaws in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠur-ad-
2. ak DUMU
3. hu-ˇut-ˇ
4. ra-du-na
“Uradak, son of Hutradu”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION:
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The inscription and its panel are fully preserved. The signs in lines three and four are placed spaciously in the case. The final sign is carved in the lower field of the figural scene.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -ur, and -ad (the right side of the panel is the vertical wedge).

Line 2: two signs: -ak and DUMU.

Line 3: apparently two signs: -hu and broken -ut.

Line 4: apparently three signs: -ra, -du, and -na, the genitive enclitic (underneath the lion).

The reading is clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. Neither personal name is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.

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276 This reading updates Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 386) and Mikołajcak (2018, pp. 432-33).
277 Presumably, the seal carver ran out of room for this final sign and improvised with the negative space at his/her disposal.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE:
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 2085</td>
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<td>PFS 12b PFS 1637*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PFS 1637* PFS 12b</td>
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<td>NN 444</td>
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<td>PFS 1637*</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 1011</td>
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<td>PFS 12b</td>
<td>PFS 1637*</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 2270</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 12b PFS 1637*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 2272</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PFS 12b</td>
<td>PFS 1637*</td>
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<td>Fort. 1268-101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort. 1942B-102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort. 2357-103</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 12b PFS 1637*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1637* appears on 13 Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols, always with PFS 12b.

Single-Seal:
NN 444 and NN 2272.

These transactions include receipts of commodity deposit and accounts.\textsuperscript{278}

Counter-Seal:
NN 1011, Fort. 634-102, and Fort. 1942B-102.

In one instance (NN 1011), PFS 1637\* occurs on the left edge. In all other instances, PFS 1637\* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces with PFS 12b applied to the left edge.

These transactions are accounts.

 Parallel-Seal:

With one exception (Fort. 2164-002), PFS 1637\* occurs on the reverse and with PFS 12b.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and accounts.\textsuperscript{279}

Mikołajczak characterizes PFS 1637\* as a “core accounting seal” due to its frequent use and appearance primarily on journals and accounts and for its use “by main sections of an accounting office.”\textsuperscript{280} Given its frequent occurrence with PFS 12b, he suggests that the two seals were housed in the same office.\textsuperscript{281} As is normal in accounts and journals, no accountants are actually named.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
As noted, the heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types in Persepolitan glyptic.\textsuperscript{282} As is common with this style of carving, the compositions are heavily Assyrianizing and especially dynamic.\textsuperscript{283}

miniaturist Modeled style. The seal is a wonderfully expressive example of the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textsuperscript{278} Receipts of commodity deposit: NN 444; accounts: NN 2272.
\textsuperscript{279} Receipts of commodity movement: NN 260; accounts: PF 2085, NN 2270, NN 2539, and Fort. 1268-101.
\textsuperscript{280} Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 28, 314, and 326.
\textsuperscript{281} Ibid., p. 271.
\textsuperscript{282} See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
\textsuperscript{283} See, for example, PFATS 35, PFS 236, PFS 795, PFS 1122. Based upon style and other issues, Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 301, 320, and 433) suggests that PFS 1637\* predates the Fortification archive.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504-503 BCE
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper stands before mušhuššu; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Worshipper (part of chest, bottom of garment not preserved) faces to left. Stands with arms raised diagonally upward from torso in front of body; hands are cupped with palms facing up. Apparently wears long garment that falls to floor. Long ribbon attaches at back and hangs down to ground. Hair is gathered in small triangular mass behind head; texture is indicated along front, top and back. Face consists of small eye, nose, and mouth. Rounded chin or short beard is indicated.

To left of hero is recumbent mušhuššu facing to right. Forelegs extend horizontally on ground in front of body. Right hindleg is bent underneath body. Nails are indicated. Long wavy tail extends upward from underside of hindquarters before curving back downward to terminate in pointed tuft. Face is comprised of thin bottom jaw and two round segments for snout. Thin mane runs along top of head and back of neck. Additional thin border runs along front of neck and chest. Two long thin ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.
Edge of seal is complete at top and bottom of design. Lower edge is wavy band, perhaps seal cap.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. ˹DIŠ˺[...]  
     2. tin DUMU  
     3. ANšá-ti  
     4. na-u-ru-  
     5. na  
     “[…]tin, son of Šati-nauru”²⁸⁴

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Although the top of the panel and the upper sections of the vertical sides are not preserved, the top of the seal is; thus we may be certain that the inscription has five lines. It appears that the panel is positioned so that the upper and lower edges of the seal serve as the top and the bottom of the panel.²⁸⁵ Among the signs that are present, there is some variety in size and spacing: the signs toward the beginning of the inscription are smaller than those toward the end, which appears to correspond to the differing height of the cases; one sign, in line four, is carved on top of and beyond the right vertical side of the panel. The signs in the last two lines are placed spaciously in each case.

Line 1: one sign preserved: broken DIŠ. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 2: two signs: -tin and DUMU.

Line 3: three signs: DINGIR, -šá, and -ti.

Line 4: apparently three signs: -na, -u, and -ru.

Line 5: apparently one sign: -na, the genitive enclitic.

With the first line of the inscription partially preserved, a full reading is not possible. However, it is clear that there are two personal names separated by DUMU. At present, the first personal name is not identifiable.

The patronym, Šati-nauru, is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.²⁸⁶

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

²⁸⁴ This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, p. 472).
²⁸⁵ The same is true of the inscription on PFS 2099*. The signs on PFS 2099* are also carved similarly to those on PFS 2096*, particularly -ti.
²⁸⁶ For Šati- names, see Zadok (1984, pp. 38-39); Šati-nauru is not included by Zadok (1984).
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

### Attestations of PFS 2096*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse Upper Edge</th>
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<tr>
<td>NN 148</td>
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<td>PFS 2096*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2096* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a journal.

Given that NN 148 is a journal, PFS 2096* must represent an accounting office.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene on PFS 2096* is quite striking. It is a rare variant of the worshipper before an animal/creature. PFS 1052 is similar, a worshipper facing towards a large recumbent *mušḫuššu*. The manner of rendering the *mušḫuššu* (recumbent pose, segmented forms, long wavy tail), as well as the worshiper (pose, clothing), is similar on both seals. On PFS 12a, PFS 12b, PFS 85a*, and PFS 85b*, which show worshippers before animal/creatures, the worshipper also has a ribbon/necklace/cape that hangs from the back of the worshipper.

Miniaturist Modeled Style. The drill work in the snout of the *mušḫuššu* relates the seal to other seals rendered in this style.  

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 2099*

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287 See, for example, PFS 769*, PFS 1637*, and PFS 2099*.
288 NN 762.
Typology and Style: 02.C.04. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Lions; miniaturist Modeled Style

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant lion with dagger; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (right hand, top of head not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is stretched behind body. Lunges forward on left leg, bent, with foot resting on hindquarters of rampant lion to right. Right arm, bent, is raised up behind head to hold dagger (partially preserved). Left arm, bent with elbow up, reaches forward to grasp top of lion’s head. Wears short belted skirt; hem hits above knees and leaves legs bare below. Row of fringe is indicated along front hem of garment; additional details – two thin vertical bands with perpendicular striations – are indicated along skirt. Thicker band runs along bottom of garment over right leg. Long sheath extends behind body from waist. Back of head is flat and forehead is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass above shoulder. Small ovular projection sits just above hair and is angled diagonally downward. Face consists of long thin nose, small eye, and small lips. Jaw is angular. Rounded chin or short beard hangs to shoulder.

To right of hero is rampant lion (right forepaw, hindfeet not preserved). Moves to right with hindlegs apart, right in front of left, and turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Right foreleg reaches diagonally downward in front of body; left foreleg extends diagonally upward from torso with paw splayed to reveal eight digits/nails. Long tail extends horizontally from hindquarters before curving sharply downward and back toward body to terminate in rounded tuft. Snout is rounded with triangular mound on top of head. Large eye with rectangular form at center is indicated. Mouth is open; short pointed teeth extend from top and bottom jaw. Long thin tongue sticks out of mouth and hangs downward, terminating in small circular mass. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Large ear emerges from top of head. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and left side of figural scene and at bottom, thick band (likely seal cap), along complete length.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. "^Diš^"[...]

421
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN?

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. While the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved, the edges/seal cap indicate that we have to do with a five-line inscription. Because the seal cap is used as the bottom horizontal boundary of the inscription, the bottom register is taller than the others.

Line 1: one sign preserved: broken DIŠ. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

Line 2: two signs: -la and -a.

Line 3: two signs: -a and -ti.

Line 4: two signs: -pi and -ra.

Line 5: fragments of perhaps two signs preserved: an identifiable sign and perhaps -na, possibly acting as the genitive enclitic.

The reading is somewhat obscure, perhaps a personal name, given the placement of DIŠ at the beginning. The current combination of syllables, -la-a-ti-pi-ra-na, is not attested elsewhere.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal, parallel-seal

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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>NN 578</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>PFS 2099*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

289 This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, p. 474).
290 This also occurs on PFS 2096*; an alternative phenomenon occurs on PFS 2249*, where the upper edge of the seal abuts the top horizontal side of the inscription panel, rather than the edge of the seal replacing the top horizontal side of the panel.
291 This may also be true at the top of the inscription, but the fragmentary preservation of the first line makes this speculative.
292 This may depend on the vertical side of the panel serving as the vertical wedge of the sign; two horizontals are not preserved.
PFS 2099* appears on five Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

**Multiple-Seal:**
NN 578, NN 762, NN 2371, and Fort. 1340-101.

With one exception (NN 762), PFS 2099* occurs with PFS 27* and PFS 2082. It is rare for multiple inscribed seals to be applied to one tablet.

These transactions are journals.

**Parallel-Seal:**
Fort. 2041-101.

This transaction is a journal.

In all but one instance (Fort. 2041-101), PFS 2099* appears with PFS 27*. Mikołajczak thus proposes that PFS 2099* likely belongs to an accounting official connected to the office that is represented by PFS 27*. 293

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
The design is another beautiful example of the heroic combat encounter. It is very similar to PFS 57*. Both seals show a heroic combat encounter (PFS 57* includes a winged creature) involving a hero in a similar pose and clothing and carved in a similar modeled style. 294

miniaturist Modeled Style. As is often the case with this style, there is much fine detailing.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Garrison 2017a, p. 112; Mikołajczak 2018, 28, 54, 60, 71-73, 262, 276, 288, 293-94 (fig. 43), 301, 303, 320, 332, 473-76, and pl. 50.

PFS 2249*

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293 Mikołajczak 2018 p. 475.
294 Mikołajczak (ibid., p. 475) suggests that PFS 2099* predates the Fortification archive and is reused later by a secondary user.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.A.05. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Winged lion creatures; Mixed Styles II
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of figural scene is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs winged, horned lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (bottom of beard not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right (left foot appears to rest on top of forward foot of creature). Right arm, straight, is held diagonally downward in front of body to threaten creature in chest with pointed weapon. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp horn of creature. Wears Persian court robe with drapery gathered along hips, three folds over right hip, one over left. Additional detailing, perhaps fringe, is indicated along front diagonal hem of garment over legs. Left leg is bare below knee. Upper part of garment consists of long drapery that falls past waist and appears to obscure right upper arm. Fluted crown sits atop head. Hair lies flat against back of head before being gathered in rounded mass above shoulder. Face consists of long thin nose and triangular eye. Beard rests over chest. Quiver on back.

To right of hero is rampant winged, horned lion-creature (right forepaw, tip of wing, lower right hindleg, tip of tail not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. Detailing is indicated along left thigh. Right arm extends upward behind body. Left arm reaches upward in front of body toward upper arm of hero; three digits are indicated on paw. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of wide feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters. Large horn emerges from top
of head and splits into two curved pointed segments. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along top of head and back of neck. Two thin pointed ears emerge from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above figural scene.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. DIŠhu? URU
2. ˹x˺ [...] DUMU
3. ˹x˺ [...] “…, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Only the top horizontal and upper sections of the vertical sides of the panel are preserved; there may have been room for one, perhaps two more lines.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, perhaps -hu, and URU.

Line 2: two signs preserved: a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign and DUMU. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: fragment of one sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

The inscription is too fragmentary to provide a reading beyond the possible identification of the patronymic inscriptive formula, as indicated by DUMU; any additional lines are uncertain. The presence of URU is confusing in this context, as it is otherwise unattested in Achaemenid Elamite, except for the inscription on PFS 1*, where it is also poorly understood.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 2249*

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<th>Tablet</th>
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</table>

This reading updates Mikołajczak (2018, p. 498).
The identification of -hu depends on whether the slanted element at right is in place of a Winkelhacken.

Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273; Mikołajczak 2018, p. 498; see the catalogue entry for PFS 1* for more on this.
PFS 2249* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a journal.

The occurrence of the seal on a journal indicates that it represents an accounting office at Persepolis.²⁹⁸

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

As noted, the compositional formula of the hero stabbing an animal/creature is less common than others within the heroic combat encounter thematic type. The seal exhibits exceptionally dense court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, quiver with tassel, bow, feather crown. Such an assemblage is rare in Persepolitan glyptic.²⁹⁹ The double horn of the lion-creature is also rare.

Mixed Styles II. While there is much fine court-centric detail, the flat carving and small figures points toward the local Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Azzoni and Stolper 2015, p. 25 (n. 19) and 27; Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 293, 301, 497-99.
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at lion under attack by small animal (hound?); paneled inscription in terminal field.

Archer (left hand, back of head, lower part of legs not preserved) faces to right. Apparently stands with feet apart (angle of thigh just below bottom of bow may indicate that left knee is bent, as if in running pose). Right arm, sharply bent, is raised to shoulder height to pull back on bow. Left arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right. Wears Persian court robe with curved detailing along right hip and horizontal bands over thigh, likely indicating folds of drapery. Top of garment hangs to either side of waist. Additional detailing is indicated along left side of torso. Top and back of head appears textured, perhaps indicating hair or possibly headdress. Small horn-like projection curves upward from forehead. Line is indicated on side of face and across chin, perhaps indication of helmet. Right angle, nose/nose guard, occurs along front of face; small eye is indicated above. Small lips appear below nose. Quiver on back.

To right of archer is small quadruped (hindlegs not preserved) attacking rampant lion to right. Lunes with hindlegs behind body and forelegs extended diagonally upward in front of body. Long snout appears to bite belly of lion. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters. Ovular mass at base of neck likely indicates musculature. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Thin ear emerges from back of head. Overall slender profile, long tail, as well as longer snout, may indicate some sort of hunting dog.

To right of small quadruped is rampant lion (nose, back of head, rear forepaw, hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindquarters with feet apart, left in front of right. Forelegs, straight, reach diagonally upward from each shoulder. Rear paw has at least two nails indicated; forward paw is rendered as half-circle. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and comes to point. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Serrated mane runs along top of head and back of neck. Long arrow sticks out of upper abdomen.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. \( \text{DIS}[..] \) ‘x’
2. ‘ia?’ DUMU
3. ‘mi-’ tur?
4. ‘x’ [..] ‘na’
“…, son of Mitur…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The top of the panel is preserved, thus we certainly have the beginning of the inscription; the bottom is not preserved. While it is possible that there may have been a fifth line, it seems more likely that we have to do with four lines.

Line 1: two signs preserved: DIŠ and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: two signs: perhaps broken -ia and DUMU.  

Line 3: two signs: broken -mi and perhaps -tur.  

Line 4: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Owing to the partial preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. It likely includes two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name is too fragmentary to be identified at present.

There are Iranian names attested in the Fortification archive that begin with mitur-, which may confirm the reading for the beginning of the patronym.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 2277*

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<td>PFS 2277*</td>
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<td>PFS 2277*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2277* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

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300 The various sizes of wedge, as well as the placement of the top vertical directly on top of the lower vertical are unusual for -ia among Persepolitan seal inscriptions.

301 An alternative value for -tur is DUMU. However, DUMU appears to be carved in line two. Interestingly, the two signs are rendered differently: in line two, the sign with DUMU as its value contains three horizontal wedges to left of the vertical, whereas the sign in line three has four horizontals to left of the vertical. Perhaps the seal carver is differentiating between the logographic and syllabic uses of the sign?

302 E.g., Miturna (Fort. 1638, NN 939, NN 940, NN 1135, NN 1150, NN 1151, NN 1483, NN 1545, and NN 826) (Tavernier 2007, p. 65 (no. 2.2.65)).
Sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., A texts like NN 1629) are poorly understood. Given the single occurrence of the seal, attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 2277* is a remarkable design. The archer and (apparently) a hound attacking a lion, is very rare at Persepolis; PFUTS 232*, another exceptionally rich design, is the closest parallel. The poses of all participants, human and animal, are dynamic. The archer appears to wear some type of headgear, perhaps a bashlyk. His garment is very decorative, as also the quiver in which there are three arrows. Like other archer scenes in the archive, there is an extended sense of time expressed through previously shot arrows.

Modeled Style. The carving is robust. The body of the lion is exceptionally dense with musculature. The passage recalls somewhat the nervous musculature on the hindquarters of the rampant lions on PFS 16*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2437*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.04. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Lions; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm

303 See also perhaps PFS 2986, but the preservation is very poor. PFS 195 shows a hunter with a spear and what appears to be a hound.
304 Garrison 2017a, p. 371. For examples of other scenes where an arrow or spear has already struck an animal/human or is midflight see PFATS 124, PFATS 378, PFS 21, PFS 47, PFS 51, PFS 71*, PFS 93*, PFS 395, and PFS 2091.
305 NN 1238 and NN 2497.
Number of Impressions: 2  
Quality of Impressions: Fair  
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details of figural scene, bottom line of inscription.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Hero threatens rampant horned lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (back of left foot not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Right leg, bent, is raised to hip-height with foot resting on back hindleg of rampant lion to left; left leg is straight. Right arm, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body to grasp horn of lion; left arm, straight, stretches back behind body to hold long weapon downward. Both hands are rounded with no indication of fingers. Wears long garment that falls to top of left foot. Hem of skirt of garment swoops between legs with thin banded border. Right leg is bare below upper thigh. Additional detailing, perhaps folds of drapery, runs diagonally along waist and chest. Line runs along side of face and behind small eye, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass above shoulder. Face consists of large triangular nose and small mouth. Long rounded beard rests over chest.

To left of hero is rampant lion (left foreleg, tip of tail not preserved) moving to left. Stands with feet part, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is under body; left leg, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body. Turns head back behind body to face to right toward hero. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; paw is splayed with five digits and rounded palm. Left arm reaches diagonally downward behind body. Tail curves upward from hindquarters. Short horn emerges from top of head. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Detailing along top of head perhaps indicates texture of mane.

Crescent is placed in upper field between lion and inscription.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above hero and lion.

INSCRIPTION

Line:  
1. $\text{DIS}^{\cdot}x\ x^{\cdot}$  
2. $\text{.}x\ x^{\cdot}$ DUMU?  
3. $\text{.}hu-^{\cdot}$ban  
4. $\text{.}ut-^{\cdot}$na  
5. $\text{.}x^{\cdot}$ te  
6. [...]  

“…, son (of) Huban-utna…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂ + title?
The six-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Despite its long length, the inscription appears small with short registers and diminutive signs. No text from the sixth case is preserved at present.

Line 1: apparently three signs: DIŠ and two broken and unidentifiable signs.

Line 2: perhaps three signs: fragments of two unidentifiable signs and perhaps DUMU.

Line 3: two signs: broken -hu and -ban.


Line 5: apparently two signs: a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign and -te.

Line 6: no signs preserved.

The reading of the inscription is somewhat obscure. It seems clear that there are two personal names separated by DUMU, but the placement of DUMU at the end of the second line (out of six) leads us to wonder what follows; it is possible that there is enough room for a patronym and then a title. However, there is only one other inscribed seal from Persepolis (PFS 981*) that includes a title after a second personal name, making this suggestion uncertain.

If the patronym reads simply, Huban-utna, it is not attested elsewhere.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

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<td>PFS 206</td>
<td>PFS 206 PFS 2436s</td>
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<td>NN 2497</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1125 PFS 2437* PFS 2438</td>
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<td>PFS 206 PFS 2436s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only other examples of a six-line cuneiform inscription from the Fortification archive are PFS 93*, PFS 931*, and PFS 2707*.

Ordinarily we expect there to be three or four horizontals to left of the vertical wedge for DUMU. This shortened sign may be the result of the lower registers; this possibly shortened form of DUMU also appears in the inscription on PFS 124*.

The inscription on PFS 981* is written in Aramaic and omits BR (the Aramaic equivalent to Elamite DUMU), which makes a comparison with PFS 2437* complicated.
PFS 2473* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the multiple-seal protocol.

In both instances, PFS 2473* occurs with PFS 206, PFS 2436s, and PFS 2438. On NN 2497, PFS 1125 also appears.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

The two documents that carry impressions of PFS 2437* are very similar: both involve beer allocated by Turrakdama, received by Bakaradduš, and distributed to women of Iritašduna; the same official, Ušaya, oversees the women. In addition to the details of the texts, the same seals occur on both documents, with the exception of PFS 1125, which appears only on NN 2497. Identifying a particular user of seals that follow the multiple-seal protocol is challenging. At present, we cannot suggest who, exactly, uses PFS 2437*, just that it was involved in transactions that secured beer rations for women who worked for Iritašduna.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

While the heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic, the particular compositional formula on PFS 2437* – a hero with a weapon held down and a lion – is unique among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

Fortification Style. Human and animal figures exhibit some modeling. The arms and legs of both figures are shapely. There is an overall softness and roundness to forms. The hero’s rounded head and hair, as well as the swooping of the skirt of the garment, contributes to this overall effect. This detail is mirrored by the rounded edges of the inscription panel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2632*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 507 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.C.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Winged lion creatures; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm  
Number of Impressions: 2  
Quality of Impressions: Good  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle and top sections of design is preserved along its complete length.  

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Hero threatens rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.  

Hero (feet not preserved) faces to right. Lunges with feet apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is behind body; left leg, bent, is raised at hip height with foot likely resting on hindquarters of creature to right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head to hold dagger; hand is rendered as diamond-shaped fist. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp top of creature’s head; hand is rendered as two ovular segments. Wears short double-belted garment. Hem falls to knees, leaving legs bare below. Thin band lines bottom hem above knees, as well as vertical hem along front of right leg. Between legs is border with horizontal striations. Thin ovular segments at end of each bicep may indicate part of sleeve of garment. Thin band at left wrist may be bracelet. Wears rounded cap. Hair is gathered in round mass at back of neck. Face consists of thin nose, round eye, small lips, and small, rounded chin.  

To right of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (hindlegs not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left, and turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Forelegs, straight, extend diagonally upward in front of body. Right foreleg terminates in hoof with thin band at end; additional thin band is placed near wrist. Left paw is splayed open to reveal round palm and five digits with sharp nails. Two wings extend back behind body, each with two rows of feathers. Small slit indicates eye. Mouth is open and bottom jaw is lined; small pointed tooth hangs down from top jaw. Short rounded beard hangs down with three segments at bottom. Mane, comprised of pointed tufts of hair, runs along back of head and neck; underneath, and running along back of head and neck, is thin space and band. Chest is lined with thin band; additional hair-like details are indicated underneath and along front of chest. Atop head are three longer locks of hair. Hero appears to grab something close to creature’s head, perhaps part of horn or mane. Two long thin ears emerge from front of head. Ithyphallic.  

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.  

Edge of seal, horizontal band, is preserved at top of design above figural scene. Parallel line runs through part of middle of band, perhaps decorative mark or possibly flaw.  

INSCRIPTION  

309 See PFS 43* for an example of this composition.
Line: 1. ‘DIŠ x’ [...]
2. ‘ri-x’ [...]
3. ur ‘x’ x
4. ‘x’ [...]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top, bottom, and upper and lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel are not preserved. Based on the vertical space allotted by the figural scene, there could be at least one additional line of text carved at the bottom of the inscription.

Line 1: fragments of two signs preserved: DIŠ and an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear whether additional signs follow.

Line 2: two signs preserved: broken -ri and a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: apparently three signs: -ur, a broken and unidentifiable sign, and an unidentifiable sign.³¹⁰

Line 4: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, a reading is not possible. The signs that are preserved and recognizable, namely -ri and -ur, are Elamite in form. Given that there are at least four lines in the inscription, one assumes that the formula follows PN₁ DUMU PN₂.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 2632 *

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<td>PFS 2632*</td>
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</tbody>
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PFS 2632* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a general receipt of commodities.

³¹⁰ The final sign appears unusual with three wedges hanging from the corner of the case.
Sealing protocols on general receipts of commodities (i.e., D texts like NN 290) are not well understood. Given the single occurrence of the seal, attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type – heroic combat encounter – and dynamic composition – kneeling hero and rampant creature – are common in this style.\textsuperscript{311}

miniaturist Modeled Style. The segmentation and small exaggerated musculature are particularly pronounced. The carving is also distinguished by many intricate details, especially in the winged lion-creature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2707*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.D.03.j. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer
Kneeling or Running: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving away from archer: Winged lion; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details among figural scene and inscription.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

\textsuperscript{311} See Chapter 5 for other examples.
Archer (face, upper legs not preserved) faces to right. Kneels with one leg forward; other leg, bent, is tucked underneath body with knee on ground and foot flexed. One arm, sharply bent, is held back behind body to pull back on bow (not indicated, presumably behind head). Other arm, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body to aim arrow (tip not preserved) toward rampant creature to right; hand is rendered as oval. No details of clothing are preserved. Small projection extends from back of head and curves slightly upward. Small notch, perhaps part of headdress, sits atop head. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of long wavy neck.

To right of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (tips of wings not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs with bird’s feet apart, right in front of left. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Tufts of hair hang from backs of hindlegs. Right arm reaches diagonally downward behind body toward archer; hand is splayed to reveal round palm and four digits/nails. Left arm extends diagonally upward in front of body; hand has five human-like digits. Four wings extend from shoulders, two diagonally upward and two diagonally downward, with one or two rows of feathers indicated on each. Thick tail curves slightly downward from hindquarters. Small horn extends from top of head and curves slightly forward. Snout is pointed. Mouth is open and tooth hangs from top jaw. Mane, small tufts of hair, runs along back of head. Two larger tufts of hair or ears emerge from top of head. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below creature and inscription. Hook-like shape sticking up from edge is likely chip or flaw in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. “DIŠ x x” […]
2. “su-ni?”
3. “DUMU?” HAL?
4. ban-na?
5. plr?-na?
6. “x na”
“…, son of Ban…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The six-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal.³¹² Even though neither the top nor the bottom of the panel is preserved, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. The cases have uneven heights, with the first, fifth, and sixth lines taller than the others. This may indicate that the top and bottom edges of the seal in fact serve as the top and bottom horizontal...

³¹² A six-line inscription is rare among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The only other examples are PFS 93*, PFS 931*, and PFS 2437*.
boundaries of the inscription (rather than horizontal sides). The signs seem to react to this uneven spacing, with the vertical wedges in the first and fifth lines appearing more elongated.

Line 1: three signs preserved: DIŠ and fragments of two vertical wedges, perhaps remnants of two distinct signs. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 2: two signs: broken -su and perhaps -ni.

Line 3: two signs: perhaps broken DUMU and perhaps HAL.

Line 4: two signs: -ban and perhaps -na.


Line 6: fragments of two signs preserved: one unidentifiable sign and likely -na, the genitive enclitic.

The reading is somewhat obscure. It seems that the inscription likely contains two personal names separated by DUMU; neither name is identifiable at present. Some of the sign forms appear unusual, making identification difficult. Some of these uncertainties could be the result of the narrow cases. For example, perhaps the seal carver reoriented HAL vertically to fit the shortened horizontal space. This could also help to explain the slant of the wedges of -pír and the utilization of the right vertical side of the panel as a vertical wedge for -na in three instances.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>PFS 2708s</td>
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</table>

PFS 2707* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2707* occurs on the reverse with PFS 2708s applied to the left edge.

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313 This phenomenon occurs also on PFS 2099*.
314 For -ni, it is more typical for the top horizontal wedge to appear above the vertical wedges.
315 Typically HAL is oriented horizontally with the wedges connected in a single line.
316 The identification of -na depends on the sign utilizing the right vertical side of the panel as the vertical element of the sign. See the catalogue entries for PFS 1637* and PFS 2437* for other examples of this.
317 The slant of the horizontal wedges for -pír is peculiar. The identification of -na depends on the sign utilizing the right vertical side of the panel as the vertical element of the sign.
318 Like -na in lines four and five, it appears that this sign uses the right vertical side of the panel as the vertical wedge.
This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Given the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like NN 1554), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While archer scenes are very common in Persepolitan glyptic, PFS 2707* is the only example where the archer shoots toward a rampant winged lion-creature.

miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE
Typology and Style: 22.I. Heraldic: Winged Lions; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.8 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 15
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two heraldic rampant winged lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two rampant winged lion-creatures (tip of tail and bottom of right hindfoot of creature at left, end of foreleg of creature at right not preserved) face inward toward each other. Lift

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319 NN 478.
one foreleg, straight, diagonally upward in front of body to touch foreleg of other creature; other foreleg, straight, hangs downward in front of torso with cupped paw. Thick tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters. Two wings extend back behind body; one row of feathers is indicated on each. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of head. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head. Creature at right has curved line indicating eye. Creature at right is ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below most of figural scene and left side of inscription.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. $\text{DIŠ} \, \text{-za-} \text{-} \text{x'} […]$
2. ri DUMU
3. hu-"ban"  
4. $\text{AN} \, \text{-x'}  […]$
5. [...] "x' [...]  
   “Za…ri, son (of) Huban…”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN$_1$ DUMU PN$_2$

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the upper right corner and most of the right vertical side of the panel are not preserved. The preserved bottom edge of the seal, which may replace the bottom side of the panel, indicates that there were no additional lines of text. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions.$^{320}$

Line 1: three signs preserved: DIŠ, -za, and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 2: two signs: -ri and DUMU (to right of the figural scene).

Line 3: two signs: -hu and broken -ban (to right of the figural scene).

Line 4: two signs preserved: AN and fragments of an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 5: fragments of an unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

$^{320}$ It is possible that the fragments to left of the figural scene are in fact the horizontal wedges of the signs preserved at the end of lines two and three to right of the figural scene. Issues of preservation make this uncertain.
While partially preserved, it seems likely that the inscription includes two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name appears to begin with Za- and end with -ri.321

The patronym begins “Huban-.”

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<td>PFUT 2096-007</td>
<td>PFS 2737*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2737*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2737* appears on two Elamite and three uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.322

Single-Seal: PFUT 2096-007.

Counter-Seal: NN 478, NN 1328, and PFUT 538-203.

In all instances, PFS 2737* occurs on the reverse and upper edge (and the obverse and bottom edge of PFUT 538-203) with either PFS 250 or PFS 1505 applied to the left edge.

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

321 A name with these features is not attested in Tavernier (2007).
322 The left edge of PFUT 697-204 is destroyed; thus, the presence of a seal here cannot be determined. Additionally, two things are noteworthy; firstly, the appearance of the same two seals that occur on the Elamite documents (PFS 2737* and PFS 1505), and secondly, the application of PFS 1505 to the bottom edge. Of course, since the left edge is destroyed, PFS 1505 may have occurred there as well, which would indicate the parallel-seal protocol, not otherwise attested for PFS 2737*. While not common, there are other instances of clusters of seals appearing on Elamite documents re-appearing on uninscribed ones but in slightly modified format.
Sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like NN 478 and NN 1328) are not well understood. Seal attribution is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Scenes of heraldic animals/creatures are very common in Persepolitan glyptic; among the inscribed seals, PFUTS 333* also shows winged lion-creatures. The thematic type of heraldic animals/creatures is closely linked with the many scenes of crossed animals/creatures.323

Mixed Styles I. There are hints of modeling in the hindquarters of the creatures, but overall the carving is flat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2748*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.C.19. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Winged creatures of uncertain type; Unknown Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero holds two inverted winged creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

323 For more on this, see Chapter 5.
Winged hero (top of head, face, left hand, feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Arms, slightly bent, reach outward from shoulder to hold hindleg of winged creature to either side; right hand is ovular. Three wings are preserved: one extends diagonally upward above right shoulder, one curves diagonally downward underneath right shoulder, and one sits in space just above left thigh. Wings do not make direct contact with rest of body. Single row of feathers is indicated on wings on right side of body; no details are indicated on wing on left side. Wears long garment that covers right leg and leaves left leg bare. Hair is gathered in small mass above right shoulder. Long beard hangs above left shoulder.

To left of hero is inverted winged creature of uncertain type (head, left hindfoot, forepaw not preserved). Held up by hero by right hindleg; left hindleg extends horizontally toward hero (between lower right wing and right arm). One foreleg extends horizontally from torso and curves downward; other foreleg extends horizontally from abdomen and terminates in rounded paw. Thin tail curves to left from hindquarters. Two wings extend horizontally from back; no details of feathers are indicated. Thin mass along back of neck may be part of mane or possibly lower jaw (assuming head turns back behind body).

To right of hero is inverted winged lion-creature (right hindleg, end of wing, forepaws, face not preserved). Held up by hero by right hindleg. Left hindleg extends outward toward hero (between lower left wing and left arm); terminates in small paw. Forelegs extend downward from chest. Two wings, rendered as single unit, hover behind neck; one extends horizontally to right and other extends straight up vertically. Head appears leonine with short mane along back of neck. Two small ears emerge from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’ [...]  
2.? ’gi x’  
3.? ‘DUMU’ [...] ‘x’  
4.? [...]  
“…, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Neither the top nor the bottom of the panel are preserved. It is unclear whether there are more lines.

Line 1: one fragmentary and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

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324 Fourth wing might be above left shoulder but is not preserved at present.
Line 2: fragments of two signs preserved: -gi and an unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: fragments of two signs preserved: DUMU and an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible. It seems likely that it contains two personal names separated by DUMU.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 781</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 2748*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2748* appears on one Elamite document and apparently follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2748* occurs on the reverse with PFS 610* applied to the left edge.325

This transaction is too poorly preserved to be categorized.

Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
The heroic control encounter is one of the most popular thematic types in Persepolitan glyptic. Inverted animals are less common, but they do occur in a few other inscribed seals.326

Unknown Style. The carving style does not appear to be local, although the one impression of the seal is poor. The oddly spaced wings seem especially unusual.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PFS 2781*

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325 The bottom edge is not preserved; it is possible that an additional seal, or either PFS 2748* or PFS 610*, was applied here.
326 PFS 1*, PFS 32*, PFS 64*, PFS 671*, PFS 677*, PFUTS 18*, and PFUTS 1555*.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.C.18. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Animals of uncertain type; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Some portions of middle and upper sections of design are preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant winged creature with weapon; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (face, top and back of head, right hand, waist, left leg, right foot not preserved) faces to right. Leans forward, presumably on bent left leg (with foot on hindquarters of creature), with right leg straight. Right arm, slightly bent, reaches diagonally upward behind head to hold short weapon. Left arm, straight, reaches in front of body to grasp top of rampant winged creature, perhaps horn or part of mane (not preserved). Apparently wears short garment with flared hem at right knee. Rounded shape above head may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in thin mass at back of head.

To right of hero is rampant winged creature (face, lower body not preserved) moving to right. Appears to turn head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Reaches one arm, straight, diagonally upward in front of body; paw (carved on top of left vertical side of inscription panel) is splayed to reveal four digits. Short wing extends horizontally behind body. Mouth appears to be open.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.
Edge of seal is complete at top of design. Rectangular mass, likely flaw or chip in stone, extends down from edge and into first case of inscription.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  1. ‘HAL?’ […]
2. ‘x’ DUMU
3. […]
4. […]

“Seal (of)…, son (of) …”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)” PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom left corner of the panel, as well as portions of the vertical sides and case lines are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. A large chip/flaw occurs in the first case; it is unclear whether the rectangular mass pre- or post-dates the carving of the inscription. One sign is carved outside of the panel and within the figural scene. No text is preserved in the bottom two cases.

Line 1: one broken sign preserved: perhaps HAL. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 2: apparently two signs: a broken and unidentifiable sign (within the case) and DUMU (outside of the panel).³²⁷

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. If the chip/flaw predates the carving of the inscription, one wonders whether the taller first case was deliberate – was the seal carver making up for the fact that the pre-existing shape obscures part of the space allotted for the first line of the inscription, thus leading to the need for room underneath it? If so, the small horizontal wedge could be part of HAL (“seal”). If the first line does begin with HAL, the inscription may follow a variation of the patronymic formula that begins “Seal (of)” and occurs on a few other seals with Elamite inscriptions from the Fortification archive.³²⁸

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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³²⁷ Other inscribed seals that have Elamite inscriptions where a sign occurs entirely outside of the panel are PFS 160* and PFS 1637*.

³²⁸ E.g., PFS 81*, PFS 261*, and PFS 320*; see Chapter 4 for more on this.
PFS 2781* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2781* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 1047, applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Some ration allocations (e.g., P texts like NN 1690) are closely related to travel rations (i.e., Q texts); frequently P texts follow the counter-seal protocol and clearly indicate a kurman official and recipient. PFS 1047 occurs on 10 other documents, always flour allocations, many of them travel rations, and always on the left edge. Thus, it is almost certain to be the case here that PFS 1047 represents the kurman office, PFS 2781* the receiving official/office. The receiver in NN 1690 is Wukka and four boys. The name Wukka is attested in 16 other texts. One is an individual associated with travel to India; various seals are involved. Another is a grain supplier at Kursamušt. The four boys mentioned in NN 1690 may indicate that we have to do here with the Wukka associated with travel to India; whether we may link PFS 2781* directly with him, someone in his entourage, or an unnamed oversight official, is uncertain.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFS 2781* is very closely linked to PFS 2632 in style and composition. Note, also, the trope of the extended foreleg with claws indicated on PFS 2437*.

The paw of the winged creature encroaches onto the left side of the panel, while the DUMU occurs in the figural field.

miniaturist Modeled Style. Although poorly preserved, the seal appears to have been exceptionally well executed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2789*

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329 PFS 1415, PFS 2515s, and PFS 2516. This phenomenon suggests that there are intermediate individuals involved in these transactions; indeed NN 1571 mentions two barrišdamap (“elite guides”), which may account for the application of PFS 2515s and PFS 2516 to the document.

330 NN 775, NN 1162, and NN 3057.

331 For other examples, see PFS 35*, PFS 45*, PFS 165*, PFS 261*, PFS 2698*, and PFS 2732*. 
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs rampant lion while standing atop pedestal lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (head, one arm not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left, perched atop head of lion below. One arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body to stab rampant lion in chest with short weapon. Wears long garment that covers left leg; right leg is bare. Detailing, perhaps folds of drapery or fringe, is indicated along front of chest.

To left of hero is rampant lion (top of head, hindfeet not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, right in front of left. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body and toward hero; paw appears to rest on top of hero’s arm. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters to terminate in triangular tuft. Mouth is open. Mane is indicated along back of neck.

Below hero is lion (not preserved below head) facing to left. Mouth is open; part of small tongue sticks out from back of mouth. Snout is angular with pointed mound behind nose (and behind front foot of hero). Mane, tufts of hair, runs along back of head. Ear emerges from back of head (under hero’s foot).

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...]  
2.? ’ra¬na DUMU  
3.? HAL¬mi-ban’  
4.? [...]  
“…rana, son (of) Miban…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, neither the top and the bottom of the panel, nor the upper and lower sections of the vertical sides are preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: three signs: broken -ra, -na, and DUMU.

Line 3: three signs: HAL, broken -mi, and broken -ban.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

While the inscription is fragmentary, it likely contains two personal names separated by DUMU. The beginning of the first personal name is not preserved, but the last two syllables, -ra-na, may reflect an Iranian name (e.g., Ir-da-ra-na (*Rtarana-) or something similar).³³²

The patronym appears to begin with Miban-.³³³

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<tr>
<td>NN 2509</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2789*</td>
<td>PFS 2789*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2789* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a ration allocation.

³³² NN 1008; Tavernier 2007, p. 300 (no. 4.3.1496).
³³³ Cf. the Iranian name, Mi-ban-da (*Vibanda-), attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive (PF 703, PF 715, PF 721, PF 727, PF 1999, NN 609, NN 757, NN 766, and NN 1383; Tavernier 2007, p. 345 (no. 4.2.1866)).
The single-seal protocol on some ration allocations (e.g., P texts like NN 2509) is not well understood. In some instances, it represents the kurman official (e.g., PFS 39s), in others an oversight official (e.g., PFS 2 and PFS 16*). The name Pururu (that of the receiver in NN 2509) is not common; one is certainly a scribe in Parnakka’s bureau. Based on the one occurrence of PFS 2781*, attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene, while not fully preserved, is certainly clear and very interesting. The design and carving are closely related to PFS 523*, which may provide a possible restoration of the lower part of the scene on PFS 2789*.

Mixed Styles I. The animal form is broad and heavy; the rendering of the human figure is conventional Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 3257*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite?
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.2 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant winged horned lion-creature with weapon held down; paneled inscription in terminal field.

334 NN 13, NN 1147, and NN 1740.
Hero (right side of garment, tip of left foot, right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Right arm, straight, stretches diagonally downward behind body; hand is elongated and triangular. Wavy element below hand could be part of weapon that is held in left hand (where they might connect is not preserved). Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp horn of creature to right; hand is rendered as ovular fist. Wears Persian court robe, which hangs to ankle; scalloped hem at bottom and central vertical pleat are indicated on skirt. Arms of garment are pushed up to shoulders, leaving right arm bare and causing drapery to hang around thin waist; detailing is indicated along inside folds of drapery next to waist. Dentate crown sits atop head. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind neck. Long ovular shape on front of face may be eye; small projection underneath may be nose or mouth. Face is thin and may include beard that rests over chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged horned lion-creature (tip of horn, hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right. Forelegs, straight, reach outward in front of body toward hero. Upper foreleg terminates in two-pronged paw; lower foreleg terminates in paw with three nails. Two wings extend back behind body; upper wing curves diagonally upward, lower wing is horizontal. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small squared tuft. Wavy horn sits at top of head and is grasped by hero. Snout is comprised of two drill holes, perhaps indicating nostrils. Mouth is open and jaw is lined; thin tongue sticks out from back of mouth. Short pointed teeth extend from top and bottom jaw. Serrated mane runs along back of head. Ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [hal-]‘mi` […]
      2. bar-‘ru` […] ‘x’ […]
      3. a-‘tuk’ […]
      “Seal (of)…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)” PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top, the bottom right corner, and the entirety of the right side of the panel are not preserved; thus, it is unclear how long each line is. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct -hal based upon what we take to be broken -mi next. It is unclear whether additional signs follow.
Line 2: three signs preserved: -bar, broken -ru, and fragments of an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: two signs preserved: -a and broken -tuk. It is unclear whether additional signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. However, the likely presence of -mi in the first line leads us to reconstruct the beginning of the inscription: halmi (“seal”). What follows, therefore, would be a personal name. Names beginning bar-ru are uncommon in the Fortification archive. The syllabic combination a-tuk, is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. It is likely that the preserved pairs of syllables (bar-ru and a-tuk) correspond to two different personal names. Thus, the inscriptional formula in use is likely a variation of the “Seal (of)” PN formula, possibly “Seal (of)” PN₁ DUMU PN₂.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
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<th>Left Edge</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 3080</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3257*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 5</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3257* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 3257* occurs on the reverse with PFS 5 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement (i.e., B texts like NN 3080) are not well understood (nor, indeed are the B texts themselves, which involve movement of commodities rather than supply). PFS 5 is, however, a well-attested kurman seal linked with Parru at Šurkutur, who is noted as supplying grain for delivery at Šurkutur in NN 3080. PFS 3257* thus belongs to some official or office other than Parru.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The design is a bold one, the seal relatively large by Persepolitan standards.

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335 For more on this formula, see Chapter 4.
336 E.g., the Old Persian name *Paruda-tha- (Elamite bar-ru-da-sa): PF 2011 and NN 2211 (Tavernier 2007, p. 265 (no. 4.2.1230)); another Iranian name that utilizes bar-ru is *Parufarnā (Elamite bar-ru-bar-na): NN 2490 (Tavernier 2007, p. 265 (no. 4.2.1231)).
337 E.g., *Daisa-ka- (Elamite da-a-tuk-ka): PF 831, PF 1585, and PF 1835 (Tavernier 2007, p. 165 (no. 4.2.480)).
338 Koch 1990, pp. 156 and 299; Garrison 2017a, pp. 68 and 190.
Modeled Style. The combination of court-centric iconography and modeled carving is not common. The rendering of the rampant creature and the segmented forms of the arms of the hero point toward a miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 332*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 10.A.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession toward a seated personage; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.5 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure faces seated personage; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated personage (lower part of garment not preserved) faces to right. Right arm, bent, is held next to torso with hand parallel to lap. Small round object is attached to underside of hand; another small round object is tucked into space between bicep and elbow. Left arm extends diagonally upward in front of face; hand has four fingers angled upward to hold small ovular object aloft, perhaps drinking bowl. Wears long garment that covers front of legs; two rolls of fabric, or perhaps front section of double belt, is indicated on stomach. Texture along back of head perhaps indicates hair or headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of small ovular eye with surrounding thin band, small lips, and rounded chin. Owing to absence of beard, softer and rounder chest, and smaller overall physique (compared to standing figure), we suggest figure is female. Hair and face have minor differences, as well. Chair or stool supporting seated personage is not preserved.
To right of seated figure is standing figure (lower part of garment, top of head not preserved) facing to left. One arm, bent, is held in front of torso; hand, triangular fist, holds object (partially preserved) in front of face. Wears long double-belted garment that falls to ankle. Detailing along top and back of head is perhaps texture of hair kept close to head or headdress. Hair is gathered in small rounded mass at back of neck. Face is comprised of large triangular nose and eye, small mouth, and short beard.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above right side of inscription and at bottom below standing figure and left side of inscription. Half circle attached to top edge is perhaps chip/flaw in stone or part of seal cap.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [...]-lu-\textsuperscript{n}i
2. -x\ x\ x\ DUMU-
3. \textsuperscript{AN}hu-ban
4. hu-\textsuperscript{pi}\ x\ [...]

“..., son (of) Huban-hupi...”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2}

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the corners of the panel are not preserved. With the top and bottom sides of the panel preserved, we can be certain that the inscription consists of four lines. The right vertical boundary of the inscription appears to be supplied by the back of the seated personage. Among the signs that are present, there is some variety in the style of wedges: thickness (e.g., wedges comprising -\textsuperscript{hu} in line four), top of wedge (e.g., wedges comprising -\textsuperscript{ban} in line three), and overall size (e.g., signs in line one compared to line three).

Line 1: two signs preserved: broken -\textsuperscript{lu} and -\textsuperscript{ni}. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: perhaps four broken signs: fragments of perhaps three unidentifiable signs and DUMU.

Line 3: three signs: DINGIR, -\textsuperscript{hu}, and -\textsuperscript{ban}.

Line 4: three signs preserved: -\textsuperscript{hu}, broken -\textsuperscript{pi}, and fragments of an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

Even though the inscription is partially preserved, it seems clear that there are two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name is too broken to be identified.
The patronym, Huban-hupi, is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive, but the name, Huban-hupiti, is a known name, perhaps a possibility for a full reading of the patronym.\(^{339}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 2124-102</td>
<td>PFUTS 332*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 333*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 332*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 332* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the parallel-seal protocol with PFUTS 333*.

The occurrence of two inscribed seals on the same document is quite rare. Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene on PFUTS 332* involves a standing figure and a seated personage, both holding various objects. While the complete scene cannot be reconstructed, the composition is clear. The thematic type has various compositional formulae among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\(^{340}\)

The lack of a right side to the panel may suggest that the seal is re-cut (although, given the poor preservation, one would be hard-pressed to suggest a sequence). Alternatively, PFUTS 332* may be another example of an interesting blending of figural imagery and inscription.\(^{341}\)

miniaturist Modeled Style. The rounded forms are particularly evident at the chests of the figures. There are elements of carving, as well as the composition, that relate PFUTS 332* to the rather spectacular PFS 77* dating c. late 7th-early 6th century BCE. Note especially the distinctive trope of the serrated rendering of the top and back edges of the hair. It is also of some interest that the patronym in both inscriptions are Huban-names. It is possible that PFUTS 332* comes from the same glyptic milieu as PFS 77*.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PFUTS 334*

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\(^{339}\) This name is included by Zadok (1984, p. 14).

\(^{340}\) See Chapter 5 for examples.

\(^{341}\) See Chapter 6 for discussion.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 23.B. Crossed Animal Groups: Winged bulls; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of winged bulls cross at torsos; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Pair of winged bulls cross each other at torsos; bull facing to right is in front of bull facing to left. Stand on hindlegs with feet apart. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend outward in front of body. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body. Wing on bull facing to left has two rows of feathers; wing on bull facing to right has one row of feathers of varying lengths. Long wavy tail hangs down from hindquarters and terminates in small tuft. Horn sits atop front of head. Line marking mouth is indicated on bull facing to right. Mane, tufts of hair, runs along back of neck. Long ear emerges from back of head of bull facing to right; two thin ears emerge from back of head of bull facing to left.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design and preserved at bottom below figural scene and right side of inscription. Small semi-circle hanging from top edge and small notch extending upward from bottom edge may be chips/flaws in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIšhu-
2. ’ban-šu-
3. pîr DUMU
4. ‘HAL?e
5. ’x’ na
“Huban-šupir, son of E…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The signs are placed spaciously in each case.

Line 1: two signs: broken DIŠ and -hu.
Line 2: two signs: broken -ban and -šu.
Line 3: two signs: -pir and DUMU.
Line 4: two signs: perhaps broken HAL and -e.
Line 5: apparently two signs: a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign and -na, the genitive enclitic.

While several signs are broken, the reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Huban-šupir, is Elamite; it is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive, but it is a known name.³⁴²

The patronym is too fragmentary to be identified at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>PFUT 592-201</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFUT 675-202</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 17</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 2126-104</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 334*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 334* appears on three uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.³⁴³

Single-Seal:

³⁴² It is included by Zadok (1984, p. 12).
³⁴³ With five surfaces of PFUT 592-201 destroyed, sealing protocol cannot be determined.
PFUT 2126-104.

Counter-Seal:  
PFUT 675-202.

PFUTS 334* occurs on the obverse with PFS 17 applied to the left edge.

Despite PFS 17 being a well-attested kurman office seal for wine supply, seal attribution of PFUTS 334* is not possible.  

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

Crossed animals is one of the most common thematic types among inscribed seals in the archive. PFUTS 334* is unique, however, in showing winged bulls.

Modeled Style. The musculature is exceptionally nervous, recalling the great masterpiece PFS 16*. While not as striking as PFS 16*, the carving on PFUTS 334* is very accomplished. The outline is very sharp and precise; one is reminded especially in this sense of PFS 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: ND  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite?  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

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344 Muška (PF 47, PF 303, NN 272, NN 379, and NN 383) and Ušaya (PF 48, PF 339, PF 683, PF 1114, PF 1154, PF 1155, PF 1156, PF 1557, PF 1558, PF 1559, PF 1562, PF 1563, PF 1564, PF 1565, PF 1577, PF 1764, PF 1780, NN 310, NN 599, NN 695, NN 753, NN 763, NN 764, NN 861, NN 1049, NN 1844, NN 2533) are the most frequently recurring named suppliers.  
345 See Chapter 5 for details.
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged human-faced/-headed lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged human-faced/-headed lion-creature (top of head, front hooves, rear right hoof not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters before curving back toward body and terminating in small tuft. Exact composition and form of head and face is not clear: long nose may extend outward from middle of face; small triangular detail toward top of head could be tuft of hair or some element of eye; round form underneath could be cheekbone. Thin beard appears to hang along front of chest. Thin band running along back of head may indicate mane. Another band runs along front of chest. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. […] `x`
     2. `x` [...] 
     3. `DUMU?` [...] `x` 
     4. `x hu x`
     5. [...] 
     “…, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; all case lines but the third-preserved are broken. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. The cases are not of equal heights, which the signs appear to reflect: note, for example, the considerably smaller signs in the first, second, and third lines compared to those in the fourth line. Many of the signs are fragmentary or not preserved at all.

Line 1: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs precede.

Line 2: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs follow.
Line 3: two signs preserved: perhaps broken DUMU and a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 4: apparently three broken signs: an unidentifiable sign, -hu, and an unidentifiable sign.

Line 5: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. The probable DUMU in the third line likely indicates that a personal name precedes and a patronym follows.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal

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<thead>
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<td>PFUTS 643*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 643*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 643*</td>
<td>PFUTS 643*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 643* appears on two uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PFUT 256-201.

Parallel-Seal:
PFUT 1512-204.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type of a single creature is well-represented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. 346

miniaturist Modeled Style. PFUTS 643* is another impressively modeled design. Note, especially, the thick musculature, rendered in small compacted forms, in the hindquarters and the segmented forms of the chest.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 787*

346 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.B.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged lion creatures; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 17
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens winged lion-creature with weapon; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (left foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Right arm, straight, hangs at side to hold curved weapon down by right leg; hand is rendered as thin oval. Left arm, straight, reaches out in front of body to grasp creature by neck. Wears Persian court robe that falls to ankle. Two parallel vertical pleats are indicated along front of skirt of garment; folds of drapery hang from either side. Double belt sits at waist. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders to reveal bare arms; drapery hangs at waist. Band runs along left side of garment along torso. Crown comprised of thin band from which spikey projections point upward sits atop head. Thin band runs along forehead, perhaps part of crown or large eyebrow. Hair is gathered in small mass with three sections at back of neck. Face is comprised of thin nose and ovoid eye. Long beard rests over chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (right hindfoot, horn(?) not preserved) facing to left. Stands on right hindleg with left hindleg, straight, elevated at hip height and foot, likely bird’s foot, resting on left leg of hero. Forelegs, straight, are outstretched in front of body, one diagonally upward with paw approaching hero’s left arm, other horizontally with paw on hero’s waist. Both paws are rendered as two ovals. Large wing extends back behind body; single row of feathers is indicated, with horizontal line (ribbing?) at middle. Bird’s tail curves upward from hindquarters with two-pronged termination. Snout has small divot at end, perhaps indicating nostrils. Mouth is open;
pointed tooth hangs from top jaw. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Long, thin ear emerges from back of head. Small ovular element sits at top of head in front of ear, perhaps base of horn, which would likely connect to curved element in space above creature’s head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. hal!-mi
      2. še-mi
      3. DUMU EŠŠANA-
      4. na-na
      “Seal of Šemi, son of the King”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: “Seal of” PN1 DUMU + title2

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Except for the bottom left corner, the panel is fully preserved. The signs are large and placed close together in each case.

Line 1: two signs: -hal and -mi.

Line 2: two signs: -še and -mi.

Line 3: two signs: DUMU and EŠŠANA.

Line 4: two signs: -na and -na.

While the inscription is complete, the reading is somewhat obscure. The beginning, at least, seems clear, “Seal (of)” followed by a personal name. Following is DUMU and a title. Presumably the title belongs to the patronym, which is not stated. In all other instances of DUMU in seal inscriptions from Persepolis, a patronym follows directly after DUMU; here, instead of the patronym, a title (EŠŠANA, “king”) stands in. The last line, -na-na, is also difficult to make sense of. One wonders whether both are the genitive enclitic, with one intended to be understood with halmi (“Seal of”), the other with DUMU (“son of”). At present, no parallels for this phenomenon are known. The personal name, Šemi, is not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive. Owing to these uncertainties, the reading is very speculative.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFUTS 787*

347 This reading was suggested to me by Matthew Stolper.
348 Typically -hal is comprised of two (not three) parallel wedges, either vertical or horizontal.
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<th>Tablet</th>
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<td>PFUTS 787*</td>
<td>PFUTS 787*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 787* appears on three uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

In all instances, apparently, PFUTS 787* occurs on all surfaces.\(^{349}\)

Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

While the heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types in Persepolitan glyptic (including among inscribed seals), there are certain features of PFUTS 787* that are noteworthy: the hero wears the Persian court robe, yet wields a curved scimitar (the combination is documented in no other seal from the Fortification archive); the curved scimitar is, of course, very popular among heroic encounters where the hero wears the Assyrian garment (e.g., PFS 9*).

Mixed Styles I. We suggest this carving style, but there are several anomalies in the carving. The animal form is well modeled; note especially the musculature in the hindquarters. The human forms appear rather flat, and the arms are without musculature. The details of the Persian court robe, crown, and face seem rather carelessly rendered. The long pointed beard and hairstyle are also very unusual. The hero’s back foot would appear to point in the wrong direction.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PFUTS 1422*

Seal Type: Cylinder

\(^{349}\) The right edge of PFUT 1314-201 is destroyed.
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 05.C.02.i. Archers: Standing Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer, One Leg Raised: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving toward archer: Lions; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle and lower part of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at rampant lion while standing atop pedestal lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Archer (face, back of head not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart: right, bent, is forward atop head of lion below; left, straight, is atop back of lion below. One arm, straight, extends in front of body and aims arrow to left; hand is fist. Other arm, sharply bent, is raised at shoulder height to pull back on bow (not preserved/indicated) behind head; hand is thin oval. Wears long Assyrian garment that falls to knee of right leg and ankle of left leg; detailing, perhaps fringe or folds of drapery, is indicated along abdomen.

To left of archer is rampant lion (hindfeet not preserved) facing to right. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Right foreleg, straight, extends in front of body; paw has two nails indicated. Left foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward behind body; paw has two nails indicated. Long tail extends downward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in large tuft. Mouth is open. Mane is indicated along back of neck.

Below archer is lion couchant (left hindleg not preserved) facing to left. Left foreleg extends horizontally forward from chest; paw has ovular element at end. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in large tuft. Mouth is open. Mane runs along back of neck. Pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. ˹Dišhu-˹[ban]˺turʔ?
      2. ˹DUMU hu- x˺
      3. ˹x su-˺na
      “Huban-tur, son of Hu…”
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The top of the panel is not preserved. Even though the panel is partially preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. The signs that are present appear large with many of the vertical elements elongated.

Line 1: apparently four signs: broken DIŠ, broken -hu, and perhaps broken -tur. We restore -ban in the middle of the line.

Line 2: apparently three broken signs: DUMU, -hu, and an unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: apparently three signs: a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign, broken -su, and -na, the genitive enclitic.

At present, the signs are too fragmentary to allow for a full reading, but it seems clear that we have to do here with the formula PN₁ DUMU PN₂. The presence of -hu at the beginning of both personal names may indicate that both father and son have Huban-names.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 48</td>
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<td>PFAT 659</td>
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<td>PFUTS 1422*</td>
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</tr>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 1422*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 1422* appears on two Aramaic documents and one uninscribed document and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal:
PFAT 400.

350 The name hu-ban-tur is not attested among the documents from the Fortification archive, thus identification is uncertain.
351 Huban is a commonly occurring Elamite name among seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. For other examples, see PFS 4*, PFS 43*, PFS 77*, PFS 103*, PFS 543*, PFS 1574*, PFS 2089*, and PFUTS 332*.
PFUTS 1422* occurs on the obverse with PFS 48 applied to the left edge.

Parallel-Seal:
PFAT 659 and PFUT 697-207.

At present, both Aramaic texts are obscure. We know, however, from other contexts that PFS 48 represents an important supply office for flour and grain, probably located at Pirdatkaš, towards the eastern edge of the Fahliyān region. The seal commonly occurs on all three document types from the Fortification archive (Elamite, Aramaic, uninscribed); in the Elamite documents it often is supplying commodities in travel rations. Given the almost universal occurrence of PFS 48 in the counter-seal protocol, we may assume that PFUTS 1422* represents the (unnamed) receiver or oversight official. The link with PFS 48 also locates at least this one transaction in the eastern edge of the Fahliyān region.

PFS 2150 occurs on seven other documents, two Elamite and five Aramaic. The two Elamite texts (NN 293 and 2167) are both L1 texts (“regular monthly rations with gal makin”). PFS 2150 occurs on the reverse of both tablets. NN 2167 names a damanna official, Šadakuš; seal attribution is, however, uncertain.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the format of an archer in a kneeling or running pose is common in Persepolitan glyptic, the archer paired with a pedestal creature is quite rare. A close compositional parallel, and also inscribed, is PFS 390*: the archer places only his forward foot on the pedestal creature, a winged caprid couchant; the scene is balanced by a second winged caprid couchant that faces in the opposite direction. The poses of the rampant lions on both seals, however, are nearly identical. In addition, the paws of both animals have three digits and both lack detailing on the mane. The archer on PFS 390* appears to wear the Persian court robe, while the archer on PFUTS 1422* may wear pants or the Assyrian garment. The Elamite inscription on PFS 390* follows the same formula as that on PFUTS 1422*, but the inscription is apparently free-floating in the terminal field.

Fortification Style. A nice example of the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

Elamite Group 2:

353 Garrison 2017a, pp. 32 and 49; four supply officials are named in the Elamite documents sealed by PFS 48 and are considered potential users of the seal: Bakamira most often, Katukka and Šumira a few times each, Miramana once; see Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, pp. 227-28) for the different textual conventions that refer to these potential suppliers.
354 The intersecting vertical line on PFS 390* could possibly be evidence of an inscription panel, but this seems unlikely. See the catalogue entry on PFS 390* for more.
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 4*
2. PFS 98*
3. PFS 181*
4. PFS 425*

A second method of presenting monolingual Elamite inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, but with case lines. There are four seals with inscriptions that are so disposed, accounting for approximately six percent of all monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

PFS 4* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 292)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE

Typology and Style: 02.I.16. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens marchant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Various composite creatures; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
Number of Impressions: 271
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens winged human-headed scorpion-creature with weapon held up behind head; second winged human-headed scorpion-creature stands behind hero; inscription in terminal field.

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355 NN 1582.
Hero faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Feet are apparently on top of forward foot of each creature. Right arm, bent, is held up behind body to hold round object (projectile?) behind head; hand is thin oval. Left arm, slightly bent, extends diagonally downward in front of body with closed fist reaching for creature to right. Wears short-skirted double-belted garment that leaves legs bare below knees. Detailing on skirt is indicated with striations along front of legs and two vertical intersecting lines. Banded border runs along bottom hem and left side of skirt along left leg. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from waist. Flat-topped headdress with small circular detail at back sits atop head. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Face consists of triangular nose, ovular eye, and small divot for mouth. Long beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest. Small triangular mark between hero’s left arm and thigh is likely flaw or chip in stone.

To right of hero is winged human-headed scorpion-creature facing to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Rear foot is rendered as two vertical ovals; another oval intersects right ankle. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body. Two rows of feathers are indicated (top row is rendered as series of distinct ovals); ribbing runs along center of wing. Long scorpion tail, series of small ovals and circles, curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in angular stinger above wing. Wears domed headdress with small circular detail at top. Thick band runs along forehead; two thin projections extend upward from front of headdress. Hair is gathered at back of head in triangular mass with ovular element at top and bottom. Face consists of triangular nose, ovular eye, thin eyebrow, and lips. Jawline is rounded and pronounced. Small triangular notch between eye and hair may indicate ear. Long beard, column of connected ovals, rests over chest. Thin band runs along front of chest.

To left of hero is winged human-headed scorpion-creature (bottom of right foot not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right foot has two nail-like projections on top; thin oval intersects ankle. Left foot curves upward at end (under hero’s right foot); ovular mass intersects leg. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Tail extends upward from hindquarters in two parts: thin rope-like section on top and row of circular segments below; angular stinger at end of tail is visible above tip of wing. Wears domed headdress with flared rim along front and back; small circular detail sits at top. Two pointed projections extend upward from front of headdress. Hair is gathered at back of head in wavy mass. Face consists of triangular nose, triangular eye and upper crease, and lips. Long beard with horizontal striations rests over chest. Thin band runs along front of chest.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. [DIS] AN hu-ban-‘a-’
2. ah-
3. pi
4. DUMU AN

467
5. šá-˺ti-˺hu-ban
“Huban-ahpi, son (of) Šati-Huban”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The five-line inscription is separated by case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Without the formal structure provided by a panel, each line of the inscription reacts to the boundaries created by the figural scene (i.e., the back end of each creature). The top line fills the space above the creatures; the second, third, and fourth lines are shortened horizontally by the shorter spaces between the creatures’ wings and tails; the fifth line lengthens horizontally by fitting into the space underneath the bodies of the creatures. The case lines vary in length and shape. Each one is rendered as a free-floating band; the middle case lines are ovular in shape. The lowest case line appears to have a chip or flaw along the right side. The height of each line, as well as the heights of the corresponding signs, also varies, with the first and second appearing taller than those toward the bottom. There is some variety in wedge style throughout the inscription. In some instances, particularly among the lower lines, the wedge-element resembles the ovular accents of the creatures in the figural scene (e.g., around the ankles). Also, the signs that have a clear V-shaped wedge (e.g., signs in line one) taper toward the bottom, whereas those with an ovular wedge (e.g., DINGIR in line four, -šá in line five) tend to have perpendicular elements. This could be a result of the lines becoming shorter toward the bottom of the inscription, thus the wedges react by being truncated at the top (as opposed to V-shaped at top).

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ. Following are four signs: broken AN, -hu, -ban, and broken -a.

Line 2: one sign: -ah.

Line 3: one sign: -pi.

Line 4: two signs: DUMU and DINGIR.

Line 5: four signs: -šá, broken -ti, -hu, and -ban.

The reading is clear: two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Huban-ahpi, is an Elamite name that is also the patronym in the inscription on PFS 77*. The name does not occur in the texts of the Fortification archive.

Šati-Huban is an Elamite name that is the first personal name in the inscriptions on PFS 272* and PFS 2346*, and also as the patronym on PFS 103*. The name does not occur in the texts from the Fortification archive.

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356 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 412).
358 Ibid., p. 39.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 4*

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</table>
PFS 4* appears on 94 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.\(^{359}\)

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers.\(^{360}\)

As Hallock recognized, PFS 4* is the Fahliyān regional office seal and is most often used on documents that record payment of regular monthly rations for groups of workers and animals.\(^{361}\) PFS 4* is one of the most commonly occurring seals in the Fortification archive.\(^{362}\) The individual who appears most often in the texts sealed by PFS 4* is Iršena, a high-ranking official, who carries the important titles of regional director, šaramanna, damanna, kurdabattiš, and ganzabara.\(^{363}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic. The particular compositional formula on PFS 4* – a heroic combat encounter – records the allocation of rations to workers and their families.\(^{471}\)

\(^{359}\) Some documents carrying PFS 4* have surfaces that are destroyed; thus we cannot be certain that these surfaces carried a seal (PFS 4* or otherwise). However, the consistent use of PFS 4* in accordance with the single-seal protocol on all of the preserved surfaces almost certainly indicates that the poorly preserved tablets also carried PFS 4* alone.

\(^{360}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 403, PF 404, PF 405, PF 406, NN 1277, NN 1680, NN 2059, Fort. 314-103; ration allocations for workers: PF 804, PF 847, PF 873, PF 874, PF 875, PF 876, PF 915, PF 916, PF 917, PF 918, PF 920, PF 921, PF 922, PF 923, PF 924, PF 925, PF 926, PF 927, PF 928, PF 929, PF 930, PF 931, PF 932, PF 933, PF 934, PF 935, PF 936, PF 1022, PF 2041, PF 2045, NN 22, NN 26, NN 46, NN 48, NN 199, NN 268, NN 371, NN 384, NN 397, NN 421, NN 429, NN 464, NN 465, NN 483, NN 496, NN 514, NN 646, NN 649, NN 712, NN 738, NN 783, NN 841, NN 1070, NN 1095, NN 1130, NN 1250, NN 1303, NN 1309, NN 1404, NN 1473, NN 1504, NN 1568, NN 1582, NN 1586, NN 1587, NN 1595, NN 1641, NN 1653, NN 1675, NN 1709, NN 1754, NN 1873, NN 1887, NN 1966, NN 2033, NN 2134, NN 2307, NN 2524, NN 2528, NN 3006, NN 3024, NN 3087, and Fort. 1548-101.


\(^{362}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 67.

\(^{363}\) Garrison and Root 2001, p. 412; see Chapter 4 for details on these titles.
with scorpion-men – is unique among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Garrison and Root discuss the unusual features of iconography and composition.\textsuperscript{364} Since that publication, a few other examples of scenes that include scorpion-men have been identified.\textsuperscript{365} Nonetheless, PFS 4* remains unique.

miniaturist Modeled Style. PFS 4* is a particularly striking example of the style.

Owing to the Elamite inscription and personal names, Hinz dated PFS 4* (and PFS 77*) to c. 700 BCE.\textsuperscript{366} While personally we would unlink PFS 4* and PFS 77* stylistically, the unusual features of the iconography of PFS 4* suggest that it may date slightly earlier than c. 520 BCE.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**PFS 98* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 217)**

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.B.03. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged human-faced/human-headed bull creature; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite

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\textsuperscript{365} PFATS 87, PFS 903, PFS 1573, PFS 1586, PFS 2198, PFUTS 533, PFUTS 577, and PFUTS 798; only PFS 29, in addition to PFS 4*, include scorpion-men in a heroic combat encounter.
\textsuperscript{366} Hinz 1971, p. 281.
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 40
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve good detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero threatens rampant winged human-faced bull-creature with weapon held down; inscription in terminal field.

Winged hero (front of head, left foot not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Right leg, bent, is raised at hip-height with foot approaching hindleg of rampant creature to left; left leg, straight, is behind body. Right arm, bent with elbow up, reaches forward to grasp wing of creature. Left arm, straight, stretches diagonally downward behind body with mace in hand. Hands are rendered as thin forms. Two wings extend from shoulders, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; each has two rows of feathers. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that covers left leg and falls to knee of right leg. Right thigh is covered by garment, underside of which has fringe. Vertical line along front of right shin is either greave or additional ornamentation hanging from garment. Another hem hangs between legs with double-banded border and long fringe. Hem running along front of left leg has thin band and row of fringe; two additional thin bands run perpendicularly across left leg. Garment has short sleeves that leave arms bare below biceps. Horizontal folds of drapery are indicated along sides of torso; three concentric triangles appear on chest. Top of head is rounded; line runs across forehead, likely indicating headdress. Hair is not carved as distinct from headdress but is likely comprised of long mass behind head. Long beard with two vertical striations hangs to chest. Face is comprised of triangular nose, small drill hole for eye, and short horizontal line for mouth.

To left of hero is rampant winged human-faced bull-creature (tips of horn and ears, hindfeet not preserved) moving to left. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right. Turns head back behind body to face to right toward hero. Right foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body and terminates in hoof. Left foreleg, bent, is tucked underneath torso; paw/hoof is comprised of two ovals. Long wing extends horizontally behind body. Two rows of feathers are indicated; thin band runs along top of wing. Short tail hangs down from hindquarters. Horn extends from top of head. Face consists of triangular nose, small round eye, and long horizontal arc across forehead, perhaps eyebrow. Triangular shape cuts into face, perhaps jawline or ear. Beard is comprised of connected ovals between chin and top of wing. Mane, thin band, runs along top of head and back of neck; two tufts of hair project from base of neck, likely remnants of additional detailing of mane. Two thin ears emerge from back of head.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.
INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ’x’ [...] 
2.? ti DUMU 
3.? ANšá- 
4.? ti [...] 
5.? tuk- [...] 
“…ti, son (of) Šati…”

COMMENTARY ON SEAL INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN1 DUMU PN2

Five lines are preserved, separated by case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The case lines vary in length, but all have rounded ends. We probably have the last line of the text (based upon the location of DUMU in the inscription and the spacing of the figural scene), but there may have been an additional line preceding what we are calling line one.

Line 1: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 2: two signs: -ti and DUMU.

Line 3: two signs: DINGIR and -šá.

Line 4: one sign, -ti. It is unclear whether an additional sign follows.

Line 5: one sign preserved: -tuk. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

The inscription is only partially preserved, but it seems clear that there are two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name is too fragmentary to be restored at present; it appears to end with -ti.

The patronym begins Šati-, a common element of Elamite names attested in seals and texts from the Fortification archive.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

<table>
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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>PFS 98*</td>
<td>PFS 98*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PFS 98*</td>
<td>PFS 98*</td>
<td>PFS 98*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

367 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 316) with minor variation.
368 For examples, see the catalogue entries for PFS 4*, PFS 81*, PFS 103*, PFS 261*, PFS 2096*, and PFS 2346*.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>Fort. 0307-101</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

PFS 98* appears on 20 Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 430, PF 1582, PF 1583, PF 1584, PF 1611, NN 128, NN 374, NN 953, NN 1066, NN 1786, NN 1892, NN 2057, NN 2058, NN 2155, and NN 2410.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement, ration allocations for workers and animals, and letters.\(^{369}\)

Counter-Seal:
NN 432, NN 616, and NN 687.

In two instances (NN 432 and NN 616), PFS 98* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse and upper edge) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge. On NN 687, PFS 98* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 3160, applied to the reverse.

\(^{369}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 430 and NN 953; ration allocations for workers: PF 1582, PF 1583, PF 1584, PF 1611, NN 2155, and NN 2410; ration allocations for animals: NN 128, NN 1066, NN 1892, and NN 2058; letters: NN 374, NN 1786, NN 2057, and Fort. 307-101.
These transactions are ration allocations for animals.

Parallel-Seal:
NN 466.

This transaction is a ration allocation for animals.

The dossier for PFS 98* is diverse, encompassing a variety of text types, officials, and sealing protocols. In approximately half of the 20 documents that carry impressions of PFS 98*, the official, Abbateya, is named. Garrison and Root identify him as a user of PFS 98*. Four of the documents that carry impressions of PFS 98* are letters or letter-orders. Curiously, each letter names a different addressee, breaking all conventions normally associated with these types of documents. The two letter-orders (NN 1786 and NN 2057) name Abbateya as the šaramanna official for the workers. In the case of NN 2057, Henkelman has suggested that even though Abbateya is not listed as the addressee, it is still possible that he is involved: an anonymous aide could have sent the document in recognition of a previous letter-order that was issued by the stated addressee (Parnakka, in the case of NN 2057), and which mentioned Abbateya, hence the application of PFS 98*. Abbateya is documented as an issuer of letter-orders elsewhere (PF 1852), but he applies a different seal (PFS 1566*, which names him in its inscription) to the tablet.

Given that these letters and letter-orders are outliers, the remaining evidence would suggest that we have to do with a seal representing a wide-ranging šaramanna official. Since Abbateya is named as the šaramanna official in several of the transactions on which PFS 98* is applied, we may provisionally conclude that the seal is linked to his bureau (if not Abbateya personally).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

It is perhaps not surprising that compositionally, iconographically, and stylistically, PFS 98* is closely linked to PFS 1566* (carrying an inscription that names Abbateya): the heroes wear elaborate Assyrian garments, assume the same distinctive pose (elbow up), and grasp by the wing rampant human-faced winged bull-creatures fleeing away from the hero but turning their heads back toward him; both seals also have an Elamite inscription oriented horizontally in the terminal field with case lines (PFS 1566* appears within a panel). Note, lastly, that human-faced bull-creatures are quite rare in Persepolitan glyptic.

miniaturist Modeled Style. A beautiful example of the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

370 PF 1582, PF 1583, PF 1584, PF 1611, NN 1786, NN 2057, and NN 2410.
373 Note the comments of Garrison (2017a, p. 111 (n. 290)).
374 Henkelman, personal communication via Garrison (2017a, p. 111 (n. 290)).
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.B.04.a. Archers: Standing human or winged/tailed human archer: Aiming at Heraldic Group: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprids); Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.3 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 10
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at intertwined caprids; inscription in terminal field.

Archer (top of head, face, forward hand, feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with one arm, sharply bent, raised at shoulder-height to pull back on bow (not indicated/preserved) behind head; other arm, straight, extends horizontally in front of body to aim arrow to right. Wears long belted garment that appears to leave ankle(s) bare. Fabric appears to come in toward ankle at bottom, perhaps indicating loose-fitting pants. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Long, squared beard hangs to shoulder.

375 PF 496.
To right of archer is pair of rampant caprids (hindfeet of both animals, forepaws of animal facing to left, snout of animal facing to right not preserved) intertwined at neck. Stand on hindlegs with feet apart and hindquarters angled inward toward each other. Cross at neck twice to face away from each other. Forelegs are held out in front of body. Animal facing to left has small, ovular tail, rounded snout, and long ear that extends from top of head. Animal facing to right has rounded cheek and two ears that emerge from top of head.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.

Various shapes are interspersed throughout inscription, perhaps chips or flaws in stone.

**INSCRIPTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>[...] ‘DUMU’ mi-za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>[...] ‘x x’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“..., son (of) Miza…”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Two lines are preserved, separated by case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. As preserved, we are uncertain as to the length of the lines and their number. The signs appear to react to the various non-textual forms, perhaps chips/flaws in the stone: -mi in line one appears squished into the space to left of the interfering mass; -za at the end of line one is relatively short compared to the other signs (perhaps it was truncated to accommodate the form above it). This is perhaps an indication that the seal carver was forced to work with a chipped/flawed stone and that he had to use the space accordingly.

Line 1: three signs preserved: broken DUMU, -mi, and -za. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved (to either side of the rounded mass). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible at present. It seems clear, at least, that DUMU separates two personal names. Nothing of the first personal name is preserved.

One possibility for the patronym is the Old Persian name *Visara (Elamite mi-za-ráš).*

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 181*

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376 NN 416; Tavernier 2007, p. 401 (no. 4.3.253).
PFS 181* appears on seven Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

**Single-Seal:**
PF 375.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

**Counter-Seal:**
PF 106, PF 496, PF 1680, NN 648, NN 748, and NN 1750.

In all instances, PFS 181* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse and/or upper edge) with the supplier seal (most often PFS 20) applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.\(^{377}\)

In four of the counter-seal documents that carry impressions of PFS 181*, an individual named Zinini is noted as the receiver of a commodity.\(^{378}\) Thus, we may suggest that Zinini uses PFS 181*. Indeed, Henkelman has previously linked Zinini with the seal.\(^{379}\)

The name Zinini occurs in some 75 texts in the archive. Mikołajczak suggests that the Zinini named in many accounts sealed by PFS 12a may be the same official as the one linked with PFS 181*.\(^{380}\) The most common occurrence of the name is, however, as a *kurman* official for grains; many of these transactions are travel rations. Curiously, several different seals are involved.\(^{381}\) It would seem that we have to do with at least two different officials.\(^{382}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

\(^{377}\) Receipts of commodity movement: PF 106 and PF 496; ration allocations for workers: NN 648, NN 748, and NN 1750; ration allocations for animals: PF 1680.

\(^{378}\) Henkelman 2008, p. 133 (n. 296); Henkelman (ibid.) suggests also that PFS 603, applied in the single-seal protocol on PF 354, another K1 transaction naming Zinini, is linked with him.

\(^{379}\) Mikołajczak 2017, p. 127.

\(^{380}\) On the travel rations, principally PFS 87s.

\(^{381}\) Mikołajczak (2018, p. 127) appears to suggest that the *kurman* official and the Zinini linked with PFS 98* are one and the same.
While archer scenes are well-represented among Persepolitan glyptic, the inclusion of crossed or heraldic animals/creatures is fairly rare.\textsuperscript{383} PFS 425* is one of these scenes, and, interestingly, it is almost an exact duplicate. Moreover, the Elamite inscription on PFS 425* occurs in the terminal field, only with case lines, and the archer’s back elbow intrudes into the inscription.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textbf{PFS 425*}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{pfs425.png}
\end{center}

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE\textsuperscript{384}
Typology and Style: 05.B.04.a. Archers: Standing human or winged/tailed human archer: Aiming at Heraldic Group: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprids); Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite?
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

\textbf{DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:}
Archer aims at pair of intertwined winged caprids; inscription in terminal field.

\textsuperscript{383} Of the approximately 340 designs that include an archer, approximately five percent have an archer aiming at a pair of crossed/heraldic animals/creatures; a far more common composition involving an archer with multiple animals/creatures consists of the animals/creatures in combat (e.g., PFS 60, PFS 182, PFS 210, PFS 239, and PFS 2277*). 
\textsuperscript{384} PF 119, PF 588, and NN 2221.
Archer (lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with one arm, sharply bent, raised at shoulder-height to pull back on bow (not indicated) behind head. Other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right; hand is fist. Wears long garment that covers right leg. Top of head is rounded; horizontal line runs across forehead, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face is long with large nose; small eye is indicated. Bottom of face comes to point above shoulder, perhaps indicating beard.

To right of archer is pair of intertwined winged caprids (lower hindlegs, tips of horns, tip of wing on creature facing to right not preserved). Stand with hindquarters angled toward each other and cross twice at neck to face away from each other. Forelegs extend horizontally from chest; small hooves are indicated for animal facing to left. Short wing appears to curve upward from hindquarters of creature facing to left; single row of feathers is indicated. Wing extends diagonally upward from lower back of creature facing to right; single row of feathers is indicated. Short pointed tail extends from hindquarters. Long, wavy horn extends upward from top of head; pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line:  1.? [...] ‘x’ [...]  
       2.? [...] DUMU ‘x’  
       3.? [...] ‘x’  
       4.? ‘x’  
         “…, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, in one instance (between the third and fourth preserved lines of text) separated by a case line, and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The case line is relatively short and has rounded ends. It is unclear whether there are other case lines that separate the other lines of text but do not survive via any known impressions of the seal. It is possible that there were additional lines of text.

Line 1: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: two signs preserved: DUMU and fragments of unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 4: apparently one broken and unidentifiable sign.
The inscription is very fragmentary, but it seems likely that we have two personal names separated by DUMU.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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PFS 425* appears on seven Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol. In all instances, PFS 425* occurs on the reverse with a different seal (most often PFS 117) applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement, an accounting balance, and ration allocations for animals.

The sealing protocols on these specific types of transactions (i.e., B, C5, E, F, S1 texts) are not well understood. If we are seeing receivers and suppliers, a variety of receivers are named. In these conditions, seal attribution is not possible. We may in fact have to do with an office seal.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
As noted above, the compositional formula and presentation of the inscription on PFS 425* replicate PFS 181*.

Fortification Style.

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385 Several surfaces on Fort. 2149-112 and Fort. 2295-101 are destroyed. However, with the left edges of these tablets intact (carrying either PFS 117 or PFS 20) and PFS 425* occurring elsewhere (on the reverse), as is consistent with the other documents to which PFS 425* is applied, it is unlikely that these destroyed surfaces were sealed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2010a, p. 346 (fig. 32.7a), 347 (fig. 32.8a), and 353; Henkelman 2005, pp. 154 and 160; Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 281 (n. 29).
Elamite Group 3:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 27*
2. PFS 57*
3. PFS 103*
4. PFS 299*
5. PFS 390*
6. PFS 2089*

A third method of presenting monolingual Elamite inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel or case lines; essentially, the inscription “free floats” in the field. There are six seals with inscriptions that are so disposed, accounting for approximately nine percent of all monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

PFS 27*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 508 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.3 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 242
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; inscription in terminal field with two ornamental posts.

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387 Fort. 1868-103.
Winged lion-creature (left forepaw, hindpaws not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. Right foreleg terminates in two semi-circles; other three legs have ovular element at knee or ankle. Small projection extends behind left hindleg; additional projection hangs between hindlegs. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated with central ribbing. Two thin projections stick up from top of wing; additional feathers or tufts of hair are at base of wing where forelegs meet torso. Wavy tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and gets wider toward end; thin band runs along upper edge. Snout has small divot at front and two pointed projections on top. Mouth is open and long three-pronged tongue sticks out; lower jaw is bulbous. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Four long tufts of hair stick up from top of head. Additional rounded tuft curves forward from front of head. Ithyphallic.

In terminal field are two vertical posts. One at left terminates at top in triangle; two ovular elements appear throughout vertical post. Base is two ovular elements. Post at right terminates at top in fishtail-shaped capital; two round elements appear in center of post. Base is two ovular elements. Posts are perhaps spade (left) and stylus (right). Inscription occupies terminal field around decorative posts.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [DIŠ]na-˹ab-˺
2. ˹ba-˺
3. ba DUMU kaš?-
4. ku-˹uk?-˺na
“Nabbaba, son of Kaškuk”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The elaborate spade and stylus provide even spacing among signs; they do nothing, however, to organize the signs in a way that aids in the reading of the inscription (the signs read horizontally, the figural elements are vertical). Even though some signs are fragmentary or not preserved at all, a full reconstruction is possible.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ (likely carved above the head of the creature). Following is -na and broken -ab.

Line 2: apparently one sign: broken -ba.

Line 3: three signs: -ba, DUMU, and perhaps -kaš.  

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388 This reading follows Vallat (2008, p. 199) via Mikołajczak (2018, p. 348). Mikołajczak reads the inscription as three lines (i.e., he places -ba in line one, rather than on its own in line two). The height discrepancy between the signs that clearly occupy the first line and -ba leads us to place -ba in its own line.

389 This particular form of -kaš is not attested elsewhere among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.
Line 4: three signs: -ku, perhaps -uk, and -na, the genitive enclitic.\textsuperscript{390}

While the inscription is partially preserved, the reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The personal name Nabbaba is the Elamite rendering of an Old Iranian name (Napapa, “little god”) that is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{391} The name appears in nine Elamite documents, with some minor variation in spelling; none of these tablets carry impressions of PFS 27*.\textsuperscript{392}

The patronym, Kaškuk, is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{393}

\textbf{COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE}
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

\begin{table}[h]
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NN 258 & not sealed & destroyed & PFS 27* & PFS 27* & PFS 1591 & not sealed \\
NN 530 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 301 & PFS 27* & PFS 2098 & not sealed \\
NN 548 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 27* & PFS 27* & PFS 27* \\
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\textsuperscript{390} For -\textit{uk}, the uppermost horizontal wedges, which appear partially preserved, are somewhat unusual with the right angle.
\textsuperscript{391} Tavernier 2007, p. 531 (no. 5.5.1.43).
\textsuperscript{392} PF 53 (\textit{na-ba-ba}), PF 499 (\textit{na-ab-ba-ba}), PF 501 (\textit{na-ab-ba-ba}), PF 502 (\textit{na-ab-ba-ba}), PF 557 (\textit{na-ab-ba-ba}), PF 1256 (\textit{na-ib-ba-ba}), PF 1921 (\textit{na-˹ba˺-ba}), NN 1445 (\textit{na-ab-ba-ba}), and NN 2384 (\textit{na-˹ab-ba-ba}).
\textsuperscript{393} The name is included by Zadok (1984, p. 19).
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PFS 27* appears on 130 Elamite documents and follows four sealing protocols.\(^{394}\)

**Single-Seal:**

\(^{394}\) The left edges of NN 40 and NN 754 are destroyed; thus we cannot say with certainty whether a seal was applied to these surfaces. Given the importance of the left edge in sealing patterns, as well as the variety in sealing protocols involving PFS 27*, the particular sealing protocol in these cases cannot be determined. The reverse of NN 799 is destroyed; because this surface is often sealed on tablets that carry PFS 27*, we cannot determine the exact sealing protocol used in this case.

These transactions include file tags, journals, and accounts.

Counter-Seal:

In most instances, PFS 27* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces with a different seal applied to the left edge.

395 The bottom edge of NN 2347 is destroyed; thus we cannot know with certainty whether a seal was applied here. Given that PFS 27* is applied to four other surfaces of the tablet, it is likely that the single-seal protocol is utilized here, either with PFS 27* on the bottom edge (as on NN 2346) or left blank. The right edge of Fort. 2076-101 is also destroyed; given that this surface is often blank on tablets that carry PFS 27*, as well as the fact that the left edge is not sealed, likely indicates that this tablet follows the single-seal protocol (either with PFS 27* applied to the right edge or the surface was not sealed).


397 The bottom edge of NN 258 is destroyed; thus we cannot know with certainty whether a seal was applied here. Given that this surface is often blank on tablets that carry PFS 27* (or this surface is sealed by PFS 27*), this tablet likely follows the counter-seal protocol with PFS 27* and PFS 1591.


The bottom edge of NN 2347 is destroyed; thus we cannot know with certainty whether a seal was applied here. Given that this surface is often blank on tablets that carry PFS 27* (or this surface is sealed by PFS 27*), this tablet likely follows the counter-seal protocol with PFS 27* and PFS 1591.

The exceptions where PFS 27* is applied to the left edge are NN 2040, NN 2211, NN 2344, Fort. 121-102, Fort. 1858A-101, Fort. 1866-104, Fort. 1916B-101, and Fort. 1942B-101.
These transactions include accounts of commodity deposit, journals, and accounts.\footnote{399}

Parallel-Seal:

These transactions include an accounting balance, file tags, journals, and accounts.\footnote{400}

Multiple-Seal:

These transactions include journals and accounts.\footnote{401}

PFS 27* stands out for its application in all four sealing protocols, appearing with another inscribed seal on tablets (PFS 108*, PFS 2099*, and PFS 2106*), and for its overall high occurrence. PFS 27* is an important accounting seal, the second most commonly-occurring seal linked with accounts in the Fortification archive.\footnote{402} Mikołajczak notes that PFS 27* appears primarily on journals (and is the most commonly-occurring seal on journals), as well as on some accounts, most of which deal with grain, wine, fruit, sheep/goats, and cattle.\footnote{403} PFS 27* is not limited just to the Persepolis region, but also appears on journals that mention locations \textit{en route} to Media.\footnote{404} More than 100 place names are included across all of the documents to which PFS 27* is applied.\footnote{405}

As accountants responsible for the compilation of journals and accounts are rarely named, we are unable to suggest a specific user.\footnote{406} Given the enormous jurisdiction of the seal, one must conclude, with Mikołajczak, that it represents in any case an office seal.\footnote{407}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[402] Garrison 2017a, p. 67; see Mikolajczak (2018, pp. 46-51, 60-61) for network analysis of this seal. As Mikolajczak (ibid., p. 49) states, PFS 27* (along with PFS 12a) was “the most important within the larger accounting office and served as the backbone of the accounting system in the Persepolis administration… the networks of PFS 12a and PFS 27* essentially interlaced with the whole Persepolis administration.”
\item[403] Mikolajczak 2018, pp. 55 and 61.
\item[404] Ibid., pp. 32-33.
\item[405] Ibid., p. 59.
\item[407] Mikolajczak 2018, p. 58.
\end{footnotes}
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

On PFS 27*, text and image are combined for a unique scene. The ornamental spade and stylus in the terminal field are both part of and separate from the text. They do not serve as case lines or a panel, but they do seem to spread out the signs evenly in the field. The overall composition of a single animal/creature marchant alongside an inscription is popular among the inscribed seals from Persepolis, but the manner in which the spade and stylus are interlinked with the text make PFS 27* unique.  

Miniaturist Modeled Style. PFS 27* is a particularly baroque version of the style. The creature is highly detailed, with multiple rows of feathers, a mane, and projections along the top of the head and along the back of the legs; PFS 57*, another virtuosic masterpiece carved in the same style, has a creature with similar projections at the top of its snout.

Mikołajczak, based on the style and the fact that the name in the inscription does not match any of the names in the texts to which the seal is applied, identifies the seal as “Elamo-Persian” and argues for a date prior to the Fortification archive. According to him, the seal is “reused” during the time of the Fortification archive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


PFS 57* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 239)

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408 A seal preserved via impression on the Acropole tablets from Susa (c. 600-550 BCE) (Miroshedji 1982, fig. 3, p. 56; pp. 59-60) appears to show a winged lion-creature marchant before a spade and stylus in the terminal field; no inscription is indicated.

409 Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 302 and 320.

410 Ibid. For an alternative perspective, see Chapter 8.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE

Typology and Style: 02.B.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite

Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm

Number of Impressions: 42
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant winged lion-creature with weapon held down; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, face not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is behind body; left leg, bent, is raised in front of body with foot resting on hindleg of creature to right. Line along right side of torso may indicate twist in chest so that right shoulder crosses over body toward left leg. One arm, slightly bent with elbow up, reaches in front of body to grasp wing of creature to right. Other arm, slightly bent, is held down behind body. Hand grasps curved weapon, perhaps sling; loop-like element at wide end may be where one places projectile (egg-shaped object near wrist?). Wide bracelet wraps around back wrist. Wears triple-belted skirt with fringed lappet that leaves right leg bare below mid-thigh and left leg bare below knee. Fringe is indicated along front hem that hangs over left thigh. Additional detailing is indicated along back of upper right thigh. Wears tight-fitting short sleeved shirt. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Squared beard hangs to chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (hindfeet not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right. Forelegs, straight, reach diagonally upward in front of body. Large wing extends horizontally behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated.

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411 NN 2043 and NN 2190.
412 Garrison and Root 2001, p. 345; see Bonnet (1926, pp. 114-117, fig. 53) for a variety of sling options.
wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and gets wider toward end; terminates in rounded tuft with divot on two sides. Mouth is open and bottom jaw is lined; thin tongue sticks out from back of mouth. Two projections, perhaps tufts of hair, extend from top of nose. Small drill hole marks eye. Mane consists of thin band that runs along back of head and neck and front of chest, as well as serrated tufts of hair along back of neck. Ithyphallic.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? zir-
2.? ra-
3.? BAD-AH
"Zirra..."413

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text.

Line 1: one sign: -zir.

Line 2: one sign: -ra.

Line 3: two signs: BAD and AH.

The reading is obscure. The beginning of the inscription appears to constitute part of a personal name, but one wonders what to make of the last two signs, BAD and AH. There are various names attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive that begin with -zir-ra.414 However, none of them are simply Zirra.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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</table>

413 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 346).
414 E.g., zir-ra-mi-iz-za (Fort. 8960) (Tavernier 2007, p. 376 (no. 4.3.38)), zir-ra-kaš (NN 690) (Tavernier 2007, p. 78 (no. 2.3.54)), zir-ra-an-kaš (NN 620 and NN 690) (Tavernier 2007, p. 78 (no. 2.3.55)), and zir-ra-tuk-kaš (PF 541) (Tavernier 2007, p. 157 (no. 4.2.417)).
PFS 57* appears on 21 Elamite documents and follows four sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:

These transactions include receipts of commodity deposit, accounting balances, letters, accounts, and journals.\[415\]

Counter-Seal:
NN 831, NN 1114, NN 1206, NN 3020, and NN 3033.

In all instances, PFS 57* occurs on the left edge with a different seal applied to the reverse and/or upper edge.

\[415\] Receipts of commodity deposit: PF 231 and PF 331); accounting balances: PF 237, PF 242, NN 998, NN 1117, NN 1871, Fort. 64-101, and Fort. 607-101; letters: PF 1858; accounts: PF 2003, NN 2043, and NN 2190; journals: NN 2198.
These transactions include accounting balances and general receipt of commodities.416

Multiple-Seal:
PF 239.

This transaction is an accounting balance.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 234.

This transaction is an accounting balance.

PFS 57* occurs thus in every possible sealing protocol known in the Fortification archive. The texts are principally associated with accounting. The exception is the letter, PF 1858. Based on the convention of sealing on letters and letter-orders, PF 1858 should indicate that PFS 57* is linked with the addressor, Mirinzana; Hallock and Koch both suggested such.417 Mikołajczak, however, points out that Mirinzana appears only in two of the 22 documents carrying impressions of PFS 57*.418 He also notes that “attestations of Mirinzana on documents not sealed with PFS 57* and activities associated with PFS 57* are not meaningfully connected in terms of regions of operation or individuals involved. Activities of Mirinzana cover a longer period of time than the use of PFS 57*.”419 Mikołajczak suggests that the seal is “an accounting seal of general purpose;”420 in other words, an office seal, specifically one that handled interim accounting, supervised by Mirinzana. Given the complexity of sealing protocol, it seems very likely that we may have to do with an office seal. That Mirinzana uses the seal on a letter, however, is a very strong argument that he is the principal official in this particular accounting office.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 57* is an exceptionally detailed design, especially in the hero’s elaborate garment, belt, and weapon and the wings and head of the creature. The inscription and figural imagery are artfully interlocked: note how the forelegs of the creature appear to create a void between the first and second lines.421

Modeled Style. PFS 57* is a beautifully executed example of this style. As noted, it appears closely related stylistically to PFS 27*. As with PFS 27*, Mikołajczak suggests that the seal is “reused” in the Fortification archive.422

416 Accounting balances: NN 831, NN 1114, NN 1206, and NN 3033; general receipt of commodities: NN 3020.
418 PF 1858 and NN 3020; Mikołajczak 2018, p. 217.
420 Ibid., pp. 232, 260, and 271.
421 See Chapter 6 for discussion of the layout of text and figural imagery.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 103* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 84)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE\textsuperscript{423}
Typology and Style: 01.A.07. Hero controls winged bird headed lion creatures; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 39
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero controls rampant winged bird-headed lion-creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Winged hero (front of headdress, tips of wings, feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with both arms, slightly bent, extended to either side to grasp foreleg of rampant creature; no details of hands are indicated. Four wings extend outward: two diagonally upward from shoulder and two diagonally downward from torso. Single row of feathers is indicated on three of four wings; straight line on wing above right shoulder may be ribbing. Wears long belted garment that covers legs; vertical striations are indicated along lower part of skirt. Upper part of garment has short sleeves. Appears to wear rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of head. Outline of small nose is indicated. Wide, squared beard rests over chest.

\textsuperscript{423} NN 473.
To left of hero is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature (back of neck, left hindleg, right hindfoot not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart. One foreleg, straight, reaches upward in front of body and meets right forearm of hero; other foreleg, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body. No details of paws are indicated. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft. Mouth, bird’s beak, is open. Round eye and surrounding upper crease are indicated. Thin projection, perhaps part of mane or feather, sticks up from back of head. Pointed ear emerges from top of head.

To right of hero is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature (left forepaw, hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, right in front of left. One foreleg, straight, reaches straight upward in front of chest (appears to be carved as continuation of left forearm of hero); other foreleg extends diagonally downward in front of body. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in rounded tuft. Mouth, bird’s beak, is open. Small eye and upper lid are indicated. Serrated mane runs along top of head and back of neck.

Inscription occupies terminal field; three signs appear within lower field among figural scene.

INSRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠ an-šá-
2. na-
3. ir DUMU ANšá-
4. ti-ANhu-ban-na
   “Anšanar, son of Šati-Huban”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The lengths of the lines appear to be determined by the placement of the figures (e.g., line two is placed between the wings of the creatures, while line three is placed under the wings). Three signs are placed among the central scene.

Line 1: three signs: DIŠ, -an, and -šá.

Line 2: one sign: -na.

Line 3: four signs: -ir, DUMU, AN, and -šá.

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424 This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, p. 360).
The reading is clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Anšanar, is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{425}

The patronym, Šati-Huban, is an Elamite name that appears in other seal inscriptions from Persepolis: the patronym on PFS 4*; possibly the first personal name on PFS 272*; the first personal name on PFS 2346*.\textsuperscript{426} The name does not occur in the documents from the Fortification archive.

\textbf{COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE}

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Tablet} & \textbf{Obverse} & \textbf{Bottom Edge} & \textbf{Reverse} & \textbf{Upper Edge} & \textbf{Left Edge} & \textbf{Right Edge} \\
\hline
PF 240 & not sealed & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
PF 248 & not sealed & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
PF 255 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
PF 258 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
NN 355 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & not sealed & PFS 103* & destroyed \\
NN 473 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
NN 834 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
NN 1462 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & not sealed & destroyed & not sealed \\
NN 1496 & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & PFS 103* & destroyed & not sealed \\
NN 1583 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed \\
NN 2072 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
NN 2301 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* (x2) & PFS 103* & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
Fort. 589-101 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed & not sealed \\
Fort. 1850-101 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 103* & not sealed \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{425} It is also not included by Zadok (1984) or Tavernier (2007).

\textsuperscript{426} Zadok 1984, pp. 13 and 39.
PFS 103* appears on 17 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.  

These transactions include accounting balances, a receipt of commodity deposit, journals, and accounts.

In considering the dossier for PFS 103*, Mikołajczak suggests that PFS 103* is used by an official or office near Hunar or Liduma, the place names that recur in many of the documents carrying impressions of the seal. Further, he notes that “an official using PFS 103* was involved in preparation of interim accounting balances in this region, delivery of this information to Persepolis, and preparation of final journals.”

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

As with other seals employing the free-floating layout for inscriptions, the text and figural imagery are closely interlinked. The presence of the three signs in the lower field of the central scene (-ti, DINGIR, -na) is less common. In reading the inscription, the viewer begins with lines one through three in the terminal field; after reading the third line of text in the terminal field, one must scan left across the winged figure at right (to read -ti and DINGIR), then back to the terminal field (to read -hu and -ban), and finally to continue reading left to right and across the other figure (to read the final sign, -na). Thus, one cannot read the inscription without interacting with the figural scene. One wonders whether this was a deliberate compositional choice that the seal carver made, as there appears to be enough space in the lower portion of the terminal field for an additional line to have been carved. Indeed, the creatures’ legs are not preserved, indicating that the full design (and therefore the seal) was taller than what is preserved at present. In any case, the close proximity of many of the signs likely indicates that the figural elements were carved first and that the signs of the inscription were then slotted in around/among them.

Mixed Styles I. PFS 103* for the most part would appear to fall into the Fortification Style. The carving is restrained and flat. The triangular space of the hero’s torso and the

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427 At least one surface on NN 1462 and NN 1496 is destroyed; given the consistent use of PFS 103* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, we can suggest that these tablets are likely to have carried PFS 103* as the sole seal.


430 Ibid.

431 See Chapter 6 for additional examples.
detailed rendering of the wings and mouths of the creatures draw, however, the carving toward a miniaturist Modeled Style.

Mikołajczak, focusing primarily on the fact that the name in the inscription seems not to match a personal name contemporary with the Fortification archive, suggests that the seal is “reused.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 299*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.D.03.p. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer Kneeling or Running: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving away from archer: Horned animal: deer, gazelle, wild goat, wild sheep (caprid); miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE
Archer aims at rampant caprid; inscription in terminal field.

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433 PF 1542 and NN 1375.
Archer (left foot, forward hand, lower back not preserved) faces to right. Kneels on right knee with foot flexed behind body; left leg, bent, is forward. Torso is twisted toward front leg. One arm, straight, reaches in front of body to aim arrow (not preserved) to right; other arm, sharply bent, is raised at shoulder-height to pull back on bow (not preserved) with closed fist behind head. Curved line running along rear bicep may indicate short-sleeved garment. Rectangular element with diagonal hatchings hangs down from underneath forward shoulder, perhaps drapery from garment. Small rounded mass hangs from bottom of ovular headdress, perhaps hair or ornament of headdress. Face consists of rounded nose, small eye and surrounding crease, two small lips, and short pointed beard or chin.

To right of archer is caprid (tips of horn/ear not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward archer. Hindlegs are not indicated. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend in front of body; one terminates in triangular hoof. Pointed snout is indicated. Large eye with outer ring occupies much of face. Two projections emerge from top of head, perhaps horn and ear.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Two curved lines run throughout figural scene: one moves diagonally from upper side of caprid’s hindquarters and from lower side of caprid’s belly through inscription to terminate at archer’s back; other curves downward from underside of archer’s bow. Lines are perhaps damage to seal.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? […]\x x x’ […]
2.? šu DUMU
3.? ’ak?’
4.? […] ’na’
“…šu, son of Ak…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The forelegs of the caprid invade the space of the inscription, appearing between the second and third lines, almost as if a case line. It is unclear whether we have the full extent of the inscription.

Line 1: fragments of three unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: two signs: -šu and DUMU.

Line 3: apparently one sign: -ak.\(^{434}\)

\(^{434}\) The Winkelhacken at the top of the sign is unexpected.
Line 4: fragments of one sign preserved: likely -na, the genitive enclitic. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible at present. It seems clear that it contains at least two personal names separated by DUMU; neither name can be restored at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1542</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 1602</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 740</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2873</td>
<td>PFS 299*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1375</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 299* (x2)</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 299* appears on four Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.\(^{435}\)

Single-Seal:
PF 1542, PF 1602, and NN 1375.

These transactions are travel rations.

Counter-Seal:
NN 740.

PFS 299* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 2873, applied to the upper edge.

This transaction is a travel ration.

Although the normal convention in travel rations is the counter-seal protocol, with the kurman (supplier) sealing the left edge and the receiver anywhere else on the tablet, there are at least 51 travel rations that follow the single-seal protocol. In all instances, it appears that the seal represents the receiver. This may suggest that sometimes the rank/status of the receiver may have dictated a change in conventions. Since all four transactions sealed with PFS 299* name Kurdama as the receiver, it is clear that the seal is linked to him or his office. One other text, NN 3126, now in Tehran and not available

\(^{435}\) The left edge of NN 1375, a travel ration, is destroyed; PFS 299* is impressed twice on the reverse. On the three other tablets that carry PFS 299* on the reverse, the left edge also carries PFS 299*; the seal follows the single-seal protocol in these instances. In one instance (PF 1542), this pattern appears on a travel ration, the same document type as NN 1375. Thus, we can suggest that on NN 1375, PFS 299* may also have appeared on the left edge, thus the single-seal protocol.
for study, qualifies Kurdama as a Zapišbana.\textsuperscript{436} This is clearly the same individual in the texts sealed with PFS 299\textsuperscript{*}. He appears to be traveling with a group of taššup ("soldiers, people"). In NN 1375 and PF 1542, the group is quite large (2700 and 1500, respectively). PF 1602 may identify Kurdama as an elite guide.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene is a fairly conventional one involving an archer, but it is the only example of such among inscribed seals. Like the other seals employing the free-floating technique for inscriptions, the figural imagery and text are interlinked. Note, as with PFS 57\textsuperscript{*}, how the forelegs of the caprid seem to serve almost as a case line.

miniaturist Modeled Style. PFS 299\textsuperscript{*} is a very restrained version of the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textbf{PFS 390\textsuperscript{*}}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{seal_image}\end{center}

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE\textsuperscript{437}
Typology and Style: 05.C.02.i. Archers: Standing Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer, One Leg Raised: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving toward archer: Lions; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite?
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at rampant lion while placing one leg atop pedestal creature; second creature couchant behind archer; inscription in terminal field.

\textsuperscript{436} This text, and the four sealed with PFS 299\textsuperscript{*}, are the only attestations of the name in the archive.
\textsuperscript{437} PF 88.
Archer faces to left. Stands with feet apart. Forward leg, bent, is raised at hip-height with foot (not indicated) resting on back of winged pedestal creature to left. Back leg, straight, is under body; small, rounded toe is indicated. One arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow (not indicated) to left toward rampant lion; hand is fist. Other arm, sharply bent, is raised at shoulder-height behind body to pull back on bow (not indicated) behind head; hand is thin oval. Wears Persian court robe; long folds of drapery hang to either side of thin waist. Lower part of garment hangs across straight leg; calf of other leg appears bare. Wears crown. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of triangular nose, small round eye and surrounding creases, and eyebrow. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

To left of hero (and at left of figural scene) is rampant lion (top of head, face, right forepaw, right hindpaw, tip of tail not preserved) faces to right. Stands on hindlegs with hindfeet apart, right in front of left. Right arm, straight, reaches in front of body. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward behind body; paw has three digits/nails. Long thin tail curves upward from hindquarters. Snout has small divot likely indicating nostrils.

To left and below archer is winged goat-creature couchant facing to left. Left foreleg and hindleg are bent and tucked underneath body and terminate in hooves. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Large horn sits atop front of head and curves back behind neck. Snout is rounded. Small rounded eye is indicated. Large pointed ear emerges from back of head. Thin beard hangs under chin.

To right of hero is winged goat-creature couchant (right hindfoot not preserved) facing to right. Right foreleg and hindleg are bent and tucked underneath body; triangular hoof is indicated on foreleg. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; no feathers are indicated. Large horn extends from top of head and curves backward. Snout is elongated and rounded. Large pointed ear emerges from back of head. Thin beard hangs under chin.

Inscription occupies terminal field; vertical line (perhaps remnant of earlier design) runs perpendicular to signs at right.

Edge of seal is complete at bottom of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DINS-te’ [...] 2. DUMU ‘x’ 3. [...] 4. ‘x’
“Te…, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂
Four lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. A vertical line runs perpendicular to the last sign in line two. It is unclear what function this line serves. It is unlikely to be part of a panel for the present inscription, as it would intersect at least two signs (i.e., the last sign in line two and the bottommost sign of the inscription, were it to continue downward). It may be evidence that the stone was reused.

Line 1: two signs preserved: DIŠ and broken -te. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 2: two signs: DUMU and a fragmentary and unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: one broken and unidentifiable sign.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible at present. It seems clear that it follows the formula of two personal names separated by DUMU.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 88</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 389*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 389*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 90</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 389*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 389*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 390* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 389*.

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., B texts like PF 88 and PF 90) are poorly understood. The most that we may say is that both transactions concern flour delivery at Susa, which in fact is quite a rare phenomenon in the archive.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 390* and PFUTS 1422* are the only examples of archers employing pedestal creatures in the corpus of inscribed seal from the Fortification archive. The curious layout of the inscription and the vertical line near the tail of the rampant lion suggest strongly that some re-cutting has occurred.
Fortification Style. The carving is standard for this style. The intensity of court-centric iconography (Persian court robe, bow and arrow, dentate crown, pedestal creature, inscription) is, however, quite unusual for the Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2010a, p. 346 (fig. 32.7d), 347 (fig. 32.8d), and 353; Garrison 2013, p. 583.

PFS 2089*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.D.05. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Tree/Plant; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.6 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.6 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 18
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged genius stands to either side of stylized tree; inscription in terminal field.

At left, winged genius faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, bent, is raised in front of chest with cupped hand facing outward before face. Left arm, straight, hangs in front of body; hand holds small bucket with round element at top. Two wings extend behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Upper wing appears to have at least three rows of feathers; lower wing has three rows of feathers and thin band that runs along top edge. Wears long belted Assyrian garment that falls to ankle and covers right leg. Left leg is bare. Fringe is indicated along front hem of garment covering right leg; additional hem, with two thin bands and vertical striations between them, lines lower hem between legs. Band runs across abdomen, parallel to belt.

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438 Fort. 1455-004.
Line running across right bicep may indicate short sleeve of garment. Wears headdress with detailing along top and vertical bands toward back. Short projection points upward from front of headdress and diamond-shaped element is attached at top. Hair is comprised of series of connected ovals at back of head. Face consists of triangular nose, crescent-shaped eye, and small lips. Long beard, connected ovals, rests over chest.

At right, winged genius (right foot, tip of wing not preserved) faces to left. Stands with right foot in front of left. Right arm, sharply bent, is raised in front of chest with cupped hand facing outward before face; thick bracelet wraps around wrist. Left arm, straight, is held down in front of body with small bucket in hand; two fingers are indicated. Two wings extend behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Upper wing appears to have three sections: lower section with single row of feathers; middle, ovular section; upper, wavy section pointing upward. Lower wing has three rows of feathers. Wears long belted Assyrian garment that falls to ankle and covers left leg. Right leg is bare. Border, perhaps thick fringe, runs along front hem of garment over left leg. Upper part of garment consists of short-sleeved top with thin band running along right side of torso; two additional thin bands run across stomach. Wears domed headdress; pointed projection curves upward from front and rounded mass attaches at top. Hair is gathered in elongated mass at back of head with two sections at bottom. Face consists of triangular nose, crescent-shaped eye, and thin lips. Long thin beard rests over chest; upper section is comprised of connected ovals.

At center is stylized tree. Base is thin band and semi-circle. Trunk consists of two horizontal ovular elements from which spring two vertical elements, stacked one above the other. A third ovular element tops the trunk from which tendrils emerge terminating in cone-shaped elements. Additional tendrils and cone terminations emerge from ovular elements of trunk.

Inscription occupies terminal field; additional signs appear in space between genius at right and tree.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design along most of its length and is complete at bottom. Small irregular forms appear on top edge and larger triangular mass appears on bottom edge. Forms are likely flaws or chips in stone or remnants of seal cap.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. DIŠ.AN
       2. hu-
       3. ban-
       4. ṭu?-’
       5. ú-nu?-’
       6. ’iš?’
       7. DUMU hu-
       8. na-pír-na
       “Huban-dunuš, son of Hunapir”

439 This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, p. 461) with some variation.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscripti on: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The eight-line inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal.⁴⁴⁰ The inscription appears to change direction throughout (e.g., the first two signs are read left to right and the third and fourth signs are read right to left). The lines are also uneven. To reflect this, a sign is assigned to a new line when the direction changes and the signs are above or below others in the current line.⁴⁴¹

Line 1: two signs: DIŠ and DINGIR.

Line 2: apparently one sign: -hu (between the genius at right and the tree).

Line 3: apparently one sign: -ban (in the terminal field).

Line 4: apparently one sign: perhaps broken -du (under the bucket of the genius at right).⁴⁴²

Line 5: apparently two signs: -ū and perhaps -nu (in the terminal field).⁴⁴³

Line 6: apparently one sign: perhaps broken -iš (in front of the shin of the genius at right).

Line 7: apparently two signs: DUMU and -hu (in the terminal field).

Line 8: apparently three signs: -na, -pir (in the terminal field), and -na, the genitive enclitic (to right of the base of the tree).

The reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. Neither personal name is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. The first personal name, Hubandunuš, is Elamite.⁴⁴⁴

The patronym, Hunapir, may also be Elamite.⁴⁴⁵ As pointed out by Mikołajczak, Hunapir is not listed in Zadok’s (1984) Elamite Onomasticon, but the Neo-Elamite name hu-um-ba-na-pir is; thus, Hunapir could perhaps be a misspelling or a hypocoristic.⁴⁴⁶

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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⁴⁴⁰ This is the only example of an eight-line inscription in the Fortification archive.
⁴⁴¹ This is a change from Mikołajczak (2018, p. 461), who reads the inscription in six lines.
⁴⁴² The sign lacks the vertical element.
⁴⁴³ In other glyptic examples of -nu, the Winkelhacken is not carved overlapping the horizontal wedge, but distinct from it.
⁴⁴⁵ Zadok (ibid., p. 12) includes a similar Elamite name in his Elamite onomasticon: AN hu-um-ba-na-pir/pir, hu-ban-na-[pir(?)].
PFS 2089* appears on seven Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include journals and accounts.\(^{447}\)

In these texts, details of named individuals, places, and commodities vary. Some overlap, however, occurs: three documents note the place Tirazziš,\(^ {448}\) two documents name the official Uratenda.\(^ {449}\) Mikołajczak suggests that “with seven occurrences, the seal could have been used by a single person, possibly an accountant.”\(^ {450}\) He rules out the possibility that someone named Huban-dunuš, the first personal name in the seal inscription, and working at Persepolis, uses the seal, as this name is not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive; he suggests that the seal was antique in this period and that it was reused by an unnamed accountant.\(^ {451}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The design is striking, indeed a virtuosic glyptic artifact. The particular compositional formula is unique among the corpus of inscribed seals. Among the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive, the scene on PFS 2089* is very similar in composition, iconography and style to PFS 2311. PFS 166 is a rather more mechanical version of the scene. The compositional formula is, of course, an Assyrian one, evoking wall reliefs at Nimrud and glyptic.\(^ {452}\)

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\(^{448}\) NN 2669, Fort. 343-103, and Fort. 1736-101.

\(^{449}\) Fort. 1455-004 and Fort. 1736-101.

\(^{450}\) Mikołajczak 2018, p. 464.

\(^{451}\) Ibid.

\(^{452}\) See Chapter 5 for examples and Chapter 8 for discussion of the 1st millennium BCE influence.
The iconographic details may suggest that we have to do with a seal that perhaps predates the time of Darius slightly; the Elamite inscription situates us in southwestern Iran in the 6th century. One thinks immediately of a seal from the Acropole archive at Susa, also inscribed, where genii holding buckets flank an elaborate stylized tree.\footnote{Amiet 1973, no. 5.}

A full third of the inscription is carved in the narrow space between the genius at right and the stylized tree. It seems that a seal carver added the inscription after the figural scene was carved and had to slot the signs in where space was available. Indeed, some of the signs appear to react to the space they have been given. Note, for example, how the signs below the genius’ bucket are much smaller than some of the signs in the terminal field. Whether carving of the inscription occurred at the same time as the carving of the figural imagery is unknown.\footnote{Mikołajczak (2018, p. 463) suggests that the seal could be “an actual Neo-Assyrian seal brought to Fārs, where an Elamite inscription was added.”}

The way one must scan across figural elements in order to continue reading the inscription recalls PFS 103\*.

miniaturist Modeled Style. The extensive use of the drill is a defining feature of the carving. The elaborate detailing in the beards and the horned headdresses would seem to point to a period pre-dating Darius, but we must leave open the possibility that this is an extravagantly Assyrianizing product from the time of Darius (as, e.g., PFS 16\*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Azzoni and Stolper 2015, pp. 25, 27, and 69; Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 271-72 (fig. 30), 276, 278, 281, 295, 300-03, 320-21, 331, 350, 390, 460-65, and pl. 45.

Elamite Group 4:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Lower
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 1334*

A fourth method of presenting a monolingual Elamite inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the lower field, within a panel, and with case lines. Only one seal from the Fortification archive, PFS 1334*, has an inscription so disposed.

PFS 1334*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 506 BCE

Typology and Style: 03.e.07. Two Heroic Encounters, Two Heroes, both combat encounters: Winged human-faced/human-headed lions; Court Style

Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two heroes threaten winged human-headed lion-creatures sejant; paneled inscription in lower field.

At left, hero (head, left hand, feet not preserved) presumably faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Right arm, straight, hangs down behind body with dagger in hand. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp top of head(?) of creature to right (creature at left of heraldic pair). Wears belted Persian court robe. Skirt of garment falls midway down legs. Central vertical pleat is indicated along front of skirt; folds of drapery hang over right leg. Long folds of drapery hang to either side of waist.

At right, hero (head, hands, feet not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with feet apart. Right arm, straight, reaches out in front of body to grasp head of creature to left (creature at right of heraldic pair). Left arm, bent, is raised at shoulder-height behind body, presumably to hold weapon behind head. Wears double-belted Persian court robe. Skirt of garment hangs to lower legs. Central vertical pleat is indicated along front of skirt; folds of drapery hang across right leg. Long folds of drapery hang to either side of waist.

At center is pair of winged human-headed lion-creatures (tops of heads not preserved) facing outward. Sit on hindlegs with forelegs, straight, underneath shoulders. Forepaw of

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455 NN 3049.
creature at left is rounded; forepaw of creature at right is segmented, perhaps indicating nails. Hindpaw is rendered as two vertical ovals. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Feathers on wing of creature to left are wide; those at right are thin. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in pointed tuft. Creature at left has striations running horizontally across abdomen and back. Creature at left has human head with hair gathered in rectangular mass at back; face consists of outline of triangular nose and pointed beard that rests over chest. Creature at right has human head with hair gathered in rectangular mass at back; face consists of outline of squared nose and beard.

Inscription within panel with case line occupies lower field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. hal-mi DIŠ mar-ri
2. [...] ‘x’ [...] “Seal (of) Marri...”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)” PN...

Two lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom of the panel is not preserved. It is unclear whether an additional line of text is carved below the two that are preserved at present.

Line 1: five signs: likely -hal, -mi, DIŠ, -mar, and -ri.456

Line 2: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

While the second line of the inscription is largely unpreserved, the beginning seems clear, “Seal (of)” followed by a personal name. There are various Iranian names attested in the documents of the Fortification archive that begin -mar-ri.457

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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456 For -hal, issues of preservation, or a wider style of wedge, may have made the two wedges that normally comprise the sign appear as one.

457 E.g., mar-ri-rāš (PF 773) (Tavernier 2007, p. 98 (no. 4.1.3)), mar-ri-ia (PF 737, PF 738, PF 1898, and NN 467) (Tavernier 2007, pp. 241-42 (no. 4.2.1056)), mar-ri-ia-ak-ka (PF 1804 and NN 2184) (Tavernier 2007, p. 242 (no. 4.2.1057)).
PFS 1334* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include a travel ration and a receipt of commodity movement.\textsuperscript{458}

The travel ration is noteworthy for carrying only one seal. Given that the travel ration carries only one seal, sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like NN 3049) are poorly understood, and we have only two documents, seal attribution is uncertain. Both of these documents involve grain allocated by Zazzap. While we could consider the possibility that PFS 1334* is linked with him, in travel rations that carry only one seal, normally it is the receiver’s seal.\textsuperscript{459}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The design, an ambitious one, is unique within Persepolitan glyptic. The inscription is unusual both for its placement in the lower field (it is the only seal with a monolingual Elamite inscription to be so disposed), as well as its function as a platform for part of the figural scene. Indeed, the particular configuration of the panel, with its top horizontal side extending beyond the left vertical side to form a sort of lip, gives the panel an almost furniture-like appearance. The composite creatures sitting atop the panel evoke the visual dynamics of ritual scenes even in the face of the heroic postures of the two human figures.\textsuperscript{460} The relatively small scale of the seated creatures in turn skews the dynamics of the traditional exposition of the heroic combat encounter.\textsuperscript{461}

Court Style, with some hesitation. There is little to distinguish the rendering of human and animal from the Fortification Style. One feature of Court Style engraving is the very deep vertical line marking the lower part of the Persian court robe. The intensity of court-centric iconography and the rigid vertical accents in the design are hallmarks of the Court Style and thus our attribution.\textsuperscript{462}

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

<table>
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<th>PFS 1334*</th>
<th>PFS 1334*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 3049</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1334*</td>
<td>PFS 1334*</td>
<td>PFS 1334*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{458} Travel ration: PF 1442; receipt of commodity movement: NN 3049.

\textsuperscript{459} Note the comments above for PFS 299*.

\textsuperscript{460} The elevated figures or symbols in scenes of cult worship tend to appear on platforms that appear stool-like; e.g., PFS 813*, PFS 1216*s, and PFS 1240*.

\textsuperscript{461} Cf. PFATS 22*, PFS 9*, and PFS 43*.

\textsuperscript{462} Garrison 2017b, pp. 195-96.
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 85a*
2. PFS 85b*
3. PFS 320*
4. PFS 389*

A fifth method of presenting a monolingual Elamite inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, at the center of the glyptic scene, within a panel, and with case lines. There are four seals with inscriptions that are so disposed, accounting for approximately six percent of all monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.5 cm
Number of Impressions: 8
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Paneled inscription occupies center of design; worshipper faces inscription; rampant lion leans on inscription.

Paneled inscription (partially preserved) occupies central space.\textsuperscript{464}

\textsuperscript{463} PF 1581.
\textsuperscript{464} See below for details of inscription.
To right of inscription is worshiper facing to left. Stands with feet apart. Arms, straight, reach diagonally upward from abdomen; hands are cupped with palms facing up before face. Wears long garment that falls to ankles. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from waist. Long thin attachment hangs down from upper back. Top of head is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of large nose, small lips, and short pointed beard or chin.

To left of inscription is rampant lion (hindfeet not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs and turns head back behind body to face to left. Forelegs extend diagonally upward in front of body. Right foreleg, bent, terminates in two-pronged paw just before inscription panel. Left foreleg, straight, terminates in paw with thin oval at end resting against left vertical side of inscription panel. Long tail curves diagonally upward from hindquarters and arcs back down toward hindquarters to terminate in small rounded tuft. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Short pointed ear emerges from back of head. Ithyphallic.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. "\[DI\text{Š}x\]..."
2. DUMU te-
3. du?-ra?
4. [...] "...; son (of) Tedura..."

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the upper left corner and the bottom side of the panel are not preserved. The right side of the panel appears to extend above the top horizontal of the panel; owing to the height of the figural scene, this likely does not indicate an additional line of text, but instead an ornamental element. The signs that are present appear to be placed spaciously in each case.

Line 1: fragments of two signs preserved: DIŠ and an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 2: apparently two signs: DUMU and -te.

Line 3: apparently two signs: perhaps -du and perhaps -ra.466

465 Another example of this appears on PFS 188a* where the right vertical side of the panel extends below the bottom horizontal side and comes to a rounded edge.
466 Other glyptic examples of -du include a horizontal wedge in place of the Winkelhacken. -ra is more common with three horizontal wedges to right of the first horizontal at left, rather than two.
Although the inscription is only partially preserved, it seems clear that there are two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name cannot be restored at present.

The patronym appears to begin Tedura-; no name so begins elsewhere in the Fortification archive.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 547</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>PFS 268</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 1157</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 1581</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
<td>PFS 85a*</td>
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PFS 85a* appears on three Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 1157 and PF 1581.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 547.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols among these types of transactions are poorly understood. Kinnadadda is involved in all three of the transactions, and in two cases he is named as the šaramanna official. The name occurs in three other texts: in PF 489 and 1746 a Kinnadadda issues a halmi; potentially this is the same individual as the šaramanna official (the latter document is sealed by PFS 85b*, see below). With some hesitation, we suggest attributing both PFS 85a* and PFS 85b* to this Kinnadadda.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 85a* and PFS 85b* are replica seals, i.e., seals whose imagery and administrative contexts are so similar that they would appear to have functioned as one and the same seal. In the case of PFS 85a* and PFS 85b*, however, the inscriptions are different.

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467 PF 547 and PF 1157.
468 In a third text, PF 315, a Kinnadadda receives grain.
469 For other examples of replica seals, see the catalogue entries for PFS 188a* and PFS 188b*, as well as PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*. 

519
The composition is an unusual one. While worshipers (i.e., an individual with arms raised and hands cupped upward) who stand before animals or cult equipment are quite common, on PFS 85a* and PFS 85b*, the inscription rests between the pair. Indeed, the focus of the worshipper and the rampant lion appears to be the inscription; the lion even places its paws on the left side of the panel.

Mixed Styles I. The animal form is classic Fortification Style. The deep profile shoulder of the worshipper adds a modeled element to the carving. The rendering of the worshipper is similar to many worship scenes in Late Babylonian glyptic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite?
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Paneled inscription occupies right side of scene; rampant lion leans on inscription; worshiper faces to left.

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470 For worship scenes, see, e.g., PFS 161*s, PFS 289*s, PFS 706*, PFS 813*, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, PFS 1308*, and PFS 2096*.
471 See, for example, Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 27-28, 51-52, and 105.
472 PF 489.
Paneled inscription (partially preserved) occupies central space.\textsuperscript{473}

To right of inscription is worshiper (lower legs not preserved) facing to left. Arms, straight, reach diagonally upward from abdomen; hands are cupped with palms facing upward in front of face. Wears long garment. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from waist. Long thin attachment hangs down from upper back. Top of head is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of outline of triangular nose, small lips, and short pointed beard or chin.

To left of inscription is rampant lion (hindfeet not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs and turns head back behind body to face to left. Forelegs extend diagonally upward in front of body. Right foreleg, bent, terminates in two-pronged paw just before inscription panel. Left foreleg, straight, terminates in paw with thin oval at end resting against left vertical side of inscription panel. Long tail curves diagonally upward from hindquarters and arcs back down toward hindquarters to terminate in small rounded tuft. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Short pointed ear emerges from back of head. Ithyphallic.

\textbf{INSCRIPTION}

Line:  
1. […]  
2. hu?-'x’  
3. […] ni?’  
4. […]

\textbf{COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION}

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. Given the evidence of PFS 85a*, we suspect that there were originally only four lines.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: two signs preserved: perhaps \textit{-hu} and a broken and unidentifiable sign.\textsuperscript{474} It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: one broken sign preserved: perhaps \textit{-ni}.\textsuperscript{475} It is unclear how many additional signs precede.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

\textsuperscript{473} We reconstruct scene based on PFS 85a*, replica seal to PFS 85b*. See below for details of inscription.\textsuperscript{474} Other glyptic examples of \textit{-hu} have a horizontal wedge at left rather than a Winkelhacken.\textsuperscript{475} Typically the top horizontal wedge is on top of the verticals, not intersecting them.
Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible.

The imagery on PFS 85b* is nearly identical to that on PFS 85a* and, for that reason, PFS 85b* has been included in the Elamite section of the catalogue despite conclusive evidence for its language. One suspects that the inscription even follows the patronymic formula, as on PFS 85a* (see above).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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<tr>
<td>PF 1746</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 85b*</td>
<td>PFS 268</td>
<td>PFS 85b*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</table>

PFS 85b* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol.

These transactions include a receipt of commodity movement and ration allocations for animals.\(^476\)

Both documents refer to Kinnadadda, who seems clearly to be the same individual associated with PFS 85a* (see above). For that reason, we attribute the seal to him.

Given the limited evidence, it is difficult to determine whether there are administrative differences in PFS 85a* and PFS 85b*. The dates overlap, the kurman official Marduka appears with both seals, and PFS 268 is used in the parallel-seal protocol with both seals.\(^477\) That the two seals occur on different types of transactions may simply be fortuitous. Only PFS 85a* has place names associated with the transactions.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The figural imagery on PFS 85b* is basically identical to that on PFS 85a*.

Mixed Styles I. The carving style is identical with that on PFS 85a*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 320*

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\(^476\) Receipt of commodity movement: PF 489; ration allocations for animals: PF 1746.

\(^477\) Marduka supplies a commodity, possibly grain, in PFS 1581 (PFS 85a*); Marduka is a supplier of grain in PF 489 (PFS 85b*).
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE\textsuperscript{478}
Typology and Style: 22.D. Heraldic: Human-faced/Human-headed Winged Bulls; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Paneled inscription at center of heraldic pair of winged human-faced bull-creatures.

Paneled inscription (partially preserved) occupies central space of overall design.\textsuperscript{479}

To left and to right of inscription is pair of rampant winged human-faced bull-creatures (tip of upper wing, lower hindlegs, tip of tail of creature at left not preserved; lower right foreleg, face, tip of right wing, hindlegs, tip of tail of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward inscription. Stand on hindlegs with feet apart. One foreleg, bent, hangs in front of abdomen and terminates in hoof. Other foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body; foreleg of creature at left terminates in two-pronged paw resting against left vertical side of inscription panel. Two wings extend back behind body: one diagonally upward, one horizontally. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing; upper wing has thin band that runs along top edge. Thin tail curves downward from hindquarters. Human face of creature at left consists of triangular nose, small round eye and upper crease, and small lips; jaw is pronounced. Creature at right has small lips preserved. Rounded beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest. Thin band, perhaps mane, runs along top of head and back of neck. Ithyphallic.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. HAL [...]
2. gi-˹x˺
3. DUMU ḤAL
4. ˹x˺ [\ldots]
   “Seal (of)\ldots, son (of)\ldots”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)” PN₁ DUMU PN₂

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text.

Line 1: one sign preserved: HAL. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.⁴⁸⁰

Line 2: two signs: -gi and a broken and unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: two signs: DUMU and HAL.

Line 4: one fragmentary sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

While the inscription is partially preserved, it seems clear that it begins with HAL (ḥalmi, “Seal (of)”), followed by two personal names separated by DUMU. Neither personal name can be restored at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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</table>

PFS 320* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include a receipt of commodity movement and ration allocations for animals.⁴⁸¹

Although the evidence is limited, the occurrence of Bakaduṣda in both texts may suggest that PFS 320* is linked to him.⁴⁸² A grain/flour kurman official by the name of Bakaduṣda appears, however, in some 28 other transactions. Five are travel rations, but

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⁴⁸⁰ An alternative reading for the first line is -hal-mi, which would be translated the same way as HAL: “seal (of).”
⁴⁸¹ Receipt of commodity movement: PF 8; ration allocations for animals: NN 1284.
⁴⁸² In PF 8, a Bakaduṣda receives grain; in NN 1284, a Bakaduṣda supplies grain.
four different seals appear on the left edge: PFS 2899*, PFS 104 (twice), PFS 1611, and PFS 1667. In the travel rations, we would thus appear to have to do with office seals; that may indeed also be the case with PFS 320*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Heraldic animals/creatures is a popular thematic type in Persepolitan glyptic. A variety of objects may act as the focal element of such scenes, the most common being some type of plant (realistic and stylized; cf. PFS 108*). PFS 320* and PFS 389* are the only examples of heraldic creatures wherein the focal element is an inscription. Human-faced bull-creatures are rare in Persepolitan glyptic; they almost always occur with court-centric iconography.

Court Style. The broad and flat animal forms and the extensive detailing in the human faces are classic features of the Court Style. For human-headed bull-creatures carved in a similar style, see the royal-name seal PFS 113*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2013, p. 586; Garrison 2017a, pp. 85 and 89; Garrison and Ritner 2010, p. 21 (n. 15).

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.B.02. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Crescent or Winged Symbol: Before Winged Symbol; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair

483 At the time of writing, there are 220 examples.
484 Garrison 2013, pp. 586 and 588.
485 PF 90.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Paneled inscription and winged ring are focal element of heraldic pair of winged fishmen; human worshiper faces toward inscription while standing atop tails of winged creatures.

Paneled inscription (partially preserved, see below for details) over which floats a winged ring occupy central space of overall design. Large winged ring is comprised of two concentric circles at center from which two wings extend horizontally; short tail hangs below. Wings and tail have single row of feathers. Thin tendril curves along top of disc.

To left and to right of inscription is pair of winged fish-man-creatures (forelegs of creature at left not preserved; bird’s body, tip of wing of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward inscription. Consist of human torso and head emergent from bird’s body. Human arms, sharply bent, are held at chest (one arm of creature at right is behind back). One hand of creature at left terminates in downward-turned fist, other is cupped facing upward; forward hand of creature at right is ovular. Creature at left has animal forelegs extending from front of bird’s body, one apparently diagonally upward, one downward. Bird’s tail extends behind body; tail on creature at left terminates in two two-pronged sections (one crossing over other), tail on creature at right has three feathers. Wing extends diagonally upward from bird’s body and behind human torso; single row of feathers is indicated. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Creature at left wears crown; top of head of creature at right is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Face consists of small eye and outline of rounded (creature at left) or triangular (creature at right) nose. Creature at left has rounded chin; creature at right has pointed chin, or possibly beard.

To right of inscription, and at right of scene, is figure (back of head, forehead, hands not preserved) facing to left. Stands with feet apart and atop tails of creatures below. One arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body. Other arm, straight, extends horizontally in front of body; hand (not preserved) appears to hold small flower. Wears long garment, likely Persian court robe; scalloped hem falls between legs. Atop head is crown. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass at back of neck. Triangular nose is indicated. Long rounded beard rests over chest.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. mi-hal-ma
2. ‘x’ [...] ‘x’
3. [...] “Mihalma…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?
The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom of the panel is not preserved; no text survives from the bottom case. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe the inscription extends beyond three lines.

Line 1: three signs: -mi, -hal, and -ma.

Line 2: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

The reading of the inscription is unclear. The beginning, Mihalma-, is perhaps the start of a personal name, however it is not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive. One expects an Elamite seal inscription from Persepolis to begin with a determinative (usually DIŠ or HAL) or perhaps HAL, the logogram for “seal.” Interestingly, if one were first to read the second sign of the inscription, -hal, and then the first sign, -mi, it would read halmi (“seal”). Given the lack of a determinative at the beginning, as well as the unfamiliar personal name, this may be a distant possibility for the beginning of the inscription.486

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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PFS 389* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 390*.

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols in receipts of commodity movement (i.e., B texts like PF 88 and PF 90) are poorly understood. As we noted in the commentary for PFS 390*, the transaction appears to take place at Susa, which is very unusual for texts from the Fortification archive. Both documents carrying PFS 389* include Susa. The occurrence of two inscribed seals on the same documents is also noteworthy. As with PFS 390*, seal attribution is uncertain.

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486 One could perhaps read the first sign as SAL, the female determinative, but the sign, as depicted on PFS 389*, would appear to have an extra horizontal wedge. Female personal names are extremely rare among inscribed seals from Persepolis. The only example is PFS 77*.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
As the other seals wherein the inscription is the focal element, the design on PFS 389* is highly innovative.\textsuperscript{487} The dynamics of the scene are closely linked with PFS 1601*, PFS 1334*, PFS 3035*, and PFS 3094*.

Cult imagery is well-represented among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The particular compositional formula on PFS 389*, however, is unique. PFS 3035* seems closely related, as it also features fish-men pedestal creatures holding worshipers aloft before a winged symbol; the seal also carries a paneled inscription (in the terminal field).\textsuperscript{488}

Mixed Styles I. There are hints of a miniaturist Modeled Style in the drill work in the torsos of the fish-men creatures and the deep profile shoulder of the worshipper. The detailing of the winged disk is quite spectacular, suggesting, in fact, influence of the Court Style. The seal seems highly experimental in both composition and style.\textsuperscript{489}

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Elamite Group 6:
- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 1* 2. PFUTS 182* 3. PFUTS 293*

A sixth method of presenting monolingual Elamite inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, with a panel, and with case lines. There are three seals with inscriptions that are so disposed, accounting for approximately three percent of all monolingual Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

PFS 1* (\textit{OIP 117} Cat.No. 182)

\textsuperscript{487} See Chapter 6 for other examples and discussion of this phenomenon.
\textsuperscript{488} The inscription on PFS 3035* is odd. While the script is clearly cuneiform, its language and orientation are uncertain.
\textsuperscript{489} Garrison 2011b, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{490} PFUTS 293* has a one-line inscription. While it does not require case lines to separate multiple rows of text, it includes the other features of the seals in this group (i.e., vertical orientation, placement in terminal field, panel), thus we include it here.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 507 BCE

Typology and Style: 01.C.07. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Winged bird-headed lion creatures; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 234
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged bull-headed hero-creature holds inverted winged bird-headed lion-creature in each hand; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged bull-headed hero-creature (hindfeet, tip of tail not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Torso is twisted toward front leg. Arms, slightly bent, extend outward from shoulders; hands grasp hindlegs of inverted creatures to left and to right. Left hand has three digits indicated. Two wings extend downward from shoulders, one to either side of body. Right wing has two rows of feathers; left wing has three rows. Ribbing runs between feathers and along sides of wings. Long wavy tail hangs down from hindquarters. Long horn emerges from top of head and curves slightly before coming to point. Face consists of large round eye and outer crease, and wavy line that connects eye to tip of snout. Thin mane runs along back of head and neck. Short pointed ear emerges from back of head; small detail at center is indicated.

To left and to right of hero-creature is pair of inverted winged bird-headed lion-creatures (forefeet of creature at left not preserved). Held up by one hindleg; other hindleg is not indicated. Forelegs extend downward from chest. Turn head back behind body to look upward. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body with two rows of feathers and central ribbing. Short three-feathered tail curves upward from hindquarters. Bird’s beak

491 NN 413, NN 542, and NN 1846.
on creature at left is open. Large round eye is indicated with small circular detail at center. Thin mane runs along top of head and back of neck. Creature at right is generally larger (e.g., longer torso, longer wing and tail, thicker neck, bigger head, thicker mane) than creature at left.

Crescent occupies upper field above creature at right.

Inscription within panel with case line occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION:
Line: 1. DIŠ URU?-ki-su-na
2. DIŠ un-sa-ak?-te 492

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN + title?

The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top of the panel is not preserved.

Line 1: five signs: broken DIŠ, perhaps URU, -ki, -su, and -na.

Line 2: five signs: DIŠ, -un, -sa, perhaps -ak, and -te. 493

While the inscription is mostly complete, its meaning remains obscure. It is unclear what we are to make of the possible presence of URU in line one. Whether it is to be understood as part of a personal name is uncertain. With DIŠ, the male determinative, immediately preceding it, it is possible that URU does constitute the beginning of a personal name. URU is only attested in seal inscriptions from Persepolis: on PFS 1* and PFS 2249*; in both cases, its presence is inexplicable.

It is also unclear what we are to make of the second line. The presence of DIŠ at the beginning would seem to indicate that a personal name follows, perhaps Unsakte, which is not otherwise attested. If so, one wonders what relationship it has to the first personal name, in line one. Are we meant to understand an implicit DUMU? This is otherwise unattested in Elamite seal inscriptions from Persepolis. 494 Another option is that the second line is a title, but exactly which one is unclear; 495 indeed, following what appears to be a personal name, and in the absence of DUMU, a title would make sense. 496

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492 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273).
493 The middle wedges of -ak appear compressed.
494 There is one possible example of this elision among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. PFS 981* includes an Aramaic inscription where BR appears to be implicit; Mikołajczak (2018, p. 270) suggests possibly emending the inscription: "DIŠ URU'-ki-su-na <DUMU> DIŠ un-sa-ak'-na" ("URU-kisuna, <son> of Unsak").
495 See Chapter 4 for discussion of unsak as a possible title.
unsak is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive, both via seal inscription and administrative documents.\textsuperscript{497} On PFS 25*, the word appears to be a personal name, based on its inclusion in the inscriptive formula, PN-na (unsak-na “Of (belonging to) Unsak”).

Mikołajczak suggests that both PFS 1* and PFS 25* carry personal names of the seals’ original owners.\textsuperscript{498} As neither name is attested in the Fortification archive, he states that both seals predate the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{499}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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\textsuperscript{497} See the catalogue entry for PFS 25* above for more on unsak and how it has been translated; see, also, Chapter 4.
\textsuperscript{498} Mikołajczak 2018, p. 270.
\textsuperscript{499} Ibid.
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>500</sup> There are no photographs of any surface other than the left edge of this tablet.

<sup>501</sup> There are no photographs of any surface other than the left edge of this tablet.
PFS 1* appears on 162 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers.506

As Hallock long ago recognized, PFS 1* is the Persepolitan regional office seal.507 It is also the most commonly occurring seal in the Fortification archive. The office represented by PFS 1* at Persepolis is concerned almost exclusively with workers’ rations. Its first attested period of use dates to the years 15-19 when it is used by Karkiš, a regional director; subsequently, it is used by regional director Šuddayauda in years 20-26.508

502 There is no photograph of this surface.
503 There is no photograph of this surface.
504 There is no photograph of this surface.
505 There is no photograph of this surface.
506 Receipts of commodity movement: PF 409, PF 410, PF 411, PF 412, NN 747, NN 1464, and NN 1779; ration allocations for workers: PF 808, PF 809, PF 863, PF 871, PF 872, PF 877, PF 878, PF 880, PF 881, PF 882, PF 883, PF 884, PF 885, PF 886, PF 887, PF 888, PF 889, PF 890, PF 891, PF 892, PF 893, PF 894, PF 895, PF 896, PF 897, PF 898, PF 900, PF 901, PF 902, PF 903, PF 904, PF 905, PF 906, PF 907, PF 908, PF 939, PF 940, PF 941, PF 942, PF 943, PF 944, PF 946, PF 947, PF 948, PF 949, PF 950, PF 951, PF 952, PF 953, PF 954, PF 955, PF 956, PF 957, PF 958, PF 959, PF 960, PF 961, PF 983, PF 987, PF 988, PF 1026, PF 1133, PF 1134, PF 1135, PF 1136, PF 1137, PF 1150, PF 1151, PF 1152, NN 50, NN 76, NN 107, NN 204, NN 229, NN 275, NN 278, NN 280, NN 328, NN 390, NN 413, NN 448, NN 449, NN 542, NN 562, NN 607, NN 708, NN 723, NN 853, NN 915, NN 1067, NN 1080, NN 1082, NN 1083, NN 1086, NN 1087, NN 1089, NN 1091, NN 1099, NN 1104, NN 1132, NN 1142, NN 1220, NN 1260, NN 1299, NN 1312, NN 1427, NN 1458, NN 1478, NN 1499, NN 1501, NN 1506, NN 1514, NN 1524, NN 1530, NN 1547, NN 1558, NN 1584, NN 1588, NN 1666, NN 1671, NN 1676, NN 1719, NN 1828, NN 1841, NN 1846, NN 1903, NN 1920, NN 1932, NN 1951, NN 2002, NN 2012, NN 2075, NN 2090, NN 2130, NN 2138, NN 2143, NN 2176, NN 2248, NN 2309, NN 2310, NN 2311, NN 2456, NN 2518, NN 2526, NN 2550, NN 3027, NN 3067, NN 3076, NN 3113, and Fort. 2293-101.
508 Hallock 1977, p. 130; Hallock (ibid.) notes that Šuddayauda uses PFS 1* as an office seal at the same time that he uses his personal seal, PFS 32*.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the heroic control encounter is very popular in Persepolitan glyptic, particularities of PFS 1*, the human-bull composite creature and inverted winged bird-headed lion-creatures, are unique.

miniaturist Modeled Style: A particularly well-preserved example of the style. Modeling is bold with detail throughout (e.g., wings).  

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 182*

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Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 05.B.01.d. Archers: Standing human or winged/tailed human archer: Aiming at one animal/creature attacking another: lion and winged human-faced/human-headed horned animal: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.4 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 84
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along most of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at winged human-faced horned lion-/bull-creature being attacked by small lion; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Archer (feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Extends one arm, straight, in front of body to aim arrow to left; hand is fist with knuckles indicated. Other arm, sharply bent, is held behind body with hand pulling back on bow (not indicated) behind head. Wears belted garment that covers left leg and falls to knee of right leg. Long rope-like element crosses over waist and hangs down in front of legs with upward point at end, perhaps part of belt or possibly attachment on bow (issues of preservation may have made this appear connected to archer). Upper part of garment appears to have short sleeves. Wears rounded cap. Hair lies close against back of head before being gathered in ovular mass above shoulder. Ear is indicated below cap. Face is comprised of long thin nose, small rounded eye with surrounding crease, and small lips. Beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest.

To left of archer, and at left of figural scene, is winged human-faced horned lion-/bull-creature (hindfeet not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart. Forelegs terminate in hooves; pointed tufts of hair hang from backs of ankles. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Curved ribbing runs through middle of wing; thin band runs along top and front edges. Long S-shaped tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in pointed tuft. Horn sticks up from top of head and splits into two curved sections. Face is comprised of long thin nose, small round eye with surrounding crease, lips, and outline of right cheek. Long beard with alternating sections of horizontal and vertical striations is indicated. Mane, spikey tufts of hair, runs along back of neck. Pointed ear with ovular detail at center emerges from back of head. Two small tufts of hair lie between ear and horn. Ithyphallic.

To immediate left of archer is small rampant lion. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is on ground; left leg, straight, is elevated and stretched diagonally downward in front of body. Left foreleg, bent, is raised in front of body with paw, rendered as two connected ovals, approaching chest of winged creature to
left. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in pointed tuft. Mouth is open with small pointed tooth hanging from top jaw. Drill hole marks eye. Tufts of hair are interspersed along top and back of head to indicate mane.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above winged creature.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1.?: […] `x’ […]
2.? […] `x x’ […]
3.? ’DUMU’ mi `x’ […]
“…, son (of) Mi…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Two or three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The full inscription does not survive in any known impressions. We suggest reconstructing the inscription in two lines. It is likely that the single vertical wedge, preserved at present to left of the figural scene (and thus placed there in the composite drawing), is one of the vertical wedges among the broken signs in the rightmost line to right of the figural scene, perhaps line one. Alternatively, the inscription is carved in three lines and the single vertical wedge would thus represent the first line of the inscription. These three lines are as follows:

Line 1: fragment of one sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: fragments of perhaps two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: three signs: broken DUMU, -mi, and fragments of an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. It seems likely that it contains two personal names separated by DUMU; neither name is restorable at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFUTS 182*

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PFUTS 182* appears on seven Aramaic and 13 uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.\(510\)

Translations of the Aramaic texts were not available at the time of writing.

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\(510\) While some surfaces are destroyed, the otherwise consistent use of the single-seal protocol likely indicates that these tablets also carried PFUTS 182* as the sole seal.
Seal attribution is thus not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Archers are a popular thematic type among Persepolitan glyptic; the compositional formula wherein the archer shoots toward a predator attacking an animal is well-attested. Various features of PFUTS 182* make it, however, unique not only among this particular compositional formula, but also the archer corpus as a whole: the winged horned human-faced lion/-bull-creature appears in only one other archer scene (PFS 848*);\textsuperscript{511} the small scale of the attacking lion is very unusual.

PFUTS 232* is closely related in composition and style; indeed, we would appear to have the same workshop/hand. On PFUTS 232*, a hunter in the Persian court robe spears(?) a large rampant lion that is attacked also by a small hound.

Modeled Style. The carving is deep and broad, the outline very active.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

PFUTS 293*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.A.05. Hero controls winged lion creatures; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 31
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom of design.

\textsuperscript{511} On the human-faced bull-creature, see also the commentaries for PFS 98*, PFS 108*, PFS 320*, PFS 526*, PFS 1227*, and PFS 1566*.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls winged lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (back of head, some details of garment not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Arms, straight, extend to either side to grasp rampant winged lion-creature by neck. Wears Persian court robe; scalloped hem hits below knees. Two central vertical pleats are indicated over legs; folds of drapery hang on either side. Sleeves of robe are pushed up to shoulders to reveal bare arms; drapery hangs around waist with vertical detailing indicated. Line curves across forehead and top of head is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of head. Face consists of outline of small triangular nose and thin lip; short pointed beard or chin hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero are rampant winged lion-creatures (right hindfoot, right forepaw of creature at left not preserved; right hindfoot, left forepaw of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward hero at center. Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other, with upper body twisted toward front leg. Tuft of hair extends behind knee of forward hindleg. Left hindleg of creature at left terminates in small vertical oval. Forearms, straight, extend outward, one diagonally upward behind head, other diagonally downward in front of chest. Forepaws are splayed open with at least four digits. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in small tuft. Two wings extend outward from torso, one diagonally upward behind body, other diagonally downward in front of body. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing (feathers on wings of creature at left change direction at ends). Mouth is open and jaw is lined; small, pointed tooth sticks up from bottom jaw. Small round eye is indicated. Thin horizontal bands run across neck and chest, perhaps to indicate fur or mane. Small triangular protrusion emerges from top of head, perhaps ear. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] ’x’ na-tan [...]  “…natan…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top of the panel is not preserved. The sides of the panel are wavy with uneven widths. The signs that are present are large and carved with wedges that overlap (e.g., the horizontal wedges of -na, all of the wedges of -tan).
Line 1: three signs preserved: a broken and unidentifiable sign, -na, and -tan. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede or whether an additional sign follows. 512

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the beginning of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. At present, there are no names with -na-tan attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. It is possible that natan is an Elamite rendering of the Semitic name, Natan; it is not documented in the Fortification archive. Such a reading cannot, however, be reconciled with the preceding broken and unidentifiable sign, as well as any possible signs following.

Single-line inscriptions are uncommon for cuneiform seal inscriptions at Persepolis; they are better attested among the Aramaic corpus of inscribed seals. 513

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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PFUTS 293* appears on one Aramaic and four uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol. 514

A translation of the Aramaic text, PFAT 415, was not available at the time of writing.

Seal attribution thus is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The heroic control encounter is one of the most popular thematic types in Persepolitan glyptic. Pairing the theme with a single-line inscription, however, is not common. At

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512 We would expect DIŠ or HAL, at least, at the beginning; the genitive enclitic, -na, would also be likely if there were a sign at the end of the line.
513 If the broken name rendered in the inscription is indeed Semitic, perhaps it may account for the single-line inscription.
514 While some surfaces are destroyed, the otherwise consistent use of the single-seal protocol likely indicates that these tablets also carried PFUTS 293* as the sole seal.
present, there are five additional inscribed seals showing the heroic control encounter that also have a single line inscription;\textsuperscript{515} PFUTS 293* is the only one that definitely carries a single line monolingual Elamite inscription.

Fortification Style. PFUTS 293* is one of a substantial number of seals that clearly represent the same workshop/hand.\textsuperscript{516} The stylistic features are the segmented rendering of the neck and face of the lion-creatures, triple striations on the forelegs, spiky claws, V-shaped muscle on the hindlegs, large swag of drapery to either side on the Persian court robe, and long thin human neck. Court-centric iconography is common.\textsuperscript{517}

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

Elamite Group 7:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 32*
2. PFS 848*
3. PFS 2346*

A seventh method of presenting monolingual Elamite inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. There are three seals that are so disposed.

PFS 32* (\textit{OIP 117} Cat.No. 180)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE\textsuperscript{518}

\textsuperscript{515} PFS 123* (Aramaic), PFS 164* (Aramaic), PFS 284* (Lydian) PFS 677* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable), and PFS 3008* (cuneiform – language unrecognizable).
\textsuperscript{516} For discussion of this seal carver, see Garrison (1988, 1991, 1996a) and Garrison and Root (2001).
\textsuperscript{517} E.g., PFS 52, PFS 95, PFS 102, PFS 301, PFS 1633*, and PFS 3309.
\textsuperscript{518} NN 751.
Typology and Style: 01.C.06. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 91
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero holds inverted winged human-headed lion-creature to either side; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, slightly bent, are raised to either side to hold hindleg of inverted creature in each hand; right hand is rendered as thin oval. Wears long belted Assyrian garment that covers right leg; left leg is bare. Fringe is indicated along front of right leg and chest. Wears rounded cap. Hair is gathered in thin vertical mass at back of head. Face consists of thin nose, ovular eye with detail at center, and thin lip. Long rounded beard with horizontal striations rests over chest. Round mass appears to right of waist.

To left and to right of hero are inverted winged human-headed lion-creatures (right hindfoot, left forepaw of creature at left not preserved; face, top of head, forepaws of creature at right not preserved). Turn head back behind body to face upward. Held up by one hindleg by hero; other hindleg is slightly bent. One foreleg extends horizontally toward hero’s legs; other foreleg hangs down toward ground. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in pointed (creature at left) or rounded (creature at right) tuft. Creature at left wears rounded cap. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of head. Outline of small triangular nose on creature at left is indicated.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [DÍŠ]šu-ud-da-ʾia-[u-]
2. ʾda DUMU ha-[tur-]
3. ʾda-ʾda-[na]
“Šuddayauda, son of Haturdada”519

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN1 DUMU PN2

519 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 269); the reconstruction of the name Haturdada for PN2, as noted by Garrison and Root (ibid.), follows Hallock (1977, p. 130).
The three-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the beginnings and ends of each line are not preserved.

Line 1: The beginning is not preserved; we restore DIŠ. Following are -šu, -ud, -da, and broken -ia. At the end we restore -u.

Line 2: three signs preserved: broken -da, broken DUMU, and broken -ha. At the end we restore -tur.

Line 3: two signs preserved: broken -da and (complete) -da. At the end we restore -na, the genitive enclitic.

While the inscription is partially preserved, the reading seems clear, two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Šuddayauda, is the Elamite rendering of the Old Iranian name *Çutayauda- (“famous as a warrior”) and is attested in numerous documents from the Fortification archive, some of which also carry impressions of PFS 32*.

The patronym, Haturdada, is also an Elamite rendering of an Old Persian name (*Ātrdāta-) and is also attested in documents from the Fortification archive; none of them carry impressions of PFS 32*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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</table>

520 Tavernier 2007, p 162 (no. 4.2.462); PF 945, PF 984, PF 985, PF 986, PF 989, PF 2043, NN 565, NN 582, NN 956, NN 963, NN 1721, NN 1739, NN 1780, NN 1927, NN 1990, NN 2083, NN 2122, NN 2160, NN 2163, and NN 2395.

521 Tavernier 2007, p. 124 (no. 4.2.189); PF 83, PF 84, PF 795, PF 1081, PF 1307, PF 1308, PF 1309, PF 1315, PF 1320, PF 1324, PF 1328, PF 1466, PF 2018, NN 316, NN 344, NN 1389, NN 1397, NN 1421, NN 1519, NN 1616, NN 2152, NN 2396, and NN 2472.
Single-Seal:
PF 515, PF 962, PF 985, PF 989, PF 990, PF 1639, PF 2043, NN 387, NN 411, NN 437, NN 836, NN 963, NN 1739, NN 1780, NN 1810, NN 1813, NN 1869, NN 1990, NN 2091, NN 2122, NN 2153, NN 2160, and NN 2395.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.\textsuperscript{523}

\textsuperscript{522} The left edges of PF 945 and NN 1927 are destroyed; thus, we cannot be certain of the sealing protocol(s) in these instances. If the left edge were sealed by PFS 32*, these tablets exhibit the single-seal protocol; if another seal appeared on the left edges, the counter-seal protocol. These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

\textsuperscript{523} Receipts of commodity movement: PF 515 and NN 1869; ration allocations for workers: PF 962, PF 985, PF 989, PF 990, PF 2043, NN 387, NN 411, NN 437, NN 836, NN 963, NN 1739, NN 1780, NN 1810, NN 1813, NN 1869, NN 1990, NN 2091, NN 2122, NN 2153, NN 2160, and NN 2395.
Counter-Seal:
PF 984, PF 986, PF 991, PF 1734, PF 1759, NN 565, NN 582, NN 751, NN 956, NN 1033, NN 1355, NN 1721, NN 2083, NN 2163, and NN 2258.

In all instances, PFS 32* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse and/or upper edge) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include ration allocations for workers and animals.524

Hallock linked PFS 32* with Šuddayauda.525 In many of the documents detailed above, Šuddayauda is named as the šaramanna official for the workers who receive rations.526 As Hallock noted, Šuddayauda is a high-ranking official (damanna and šaramanna official) who is also a kurdabattiš (“chief of workers”) and serves for a time (years 20-26) as the Persepolis regional director. When acting as the regional director, he uses PFS 1*. Those transactions sealed with PFS 32*, presumably his personal seal, represent him as a damanna and šaramanna official for workers.527 Koch, on the other hand, identifies two separate individuals named Šuddayauda, both major officials – one a kurdabattiš, the other a kanzabara (“treasurer”).528 According to her, the former uses PFS 32* and the latter uses PFS 1*.529 Garrison and Root, in line with Hallock, identify one individual named Šuddayauda.530

As is generally the case with both regional directors and important šaramanna officials, one often sees the repeated appearance of specific kurman officials; for Šuddayauda using PFS 32*, that official is Bakabada.531

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The heroic control encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic. It is interesting to note that PFS 1* and PFS 32*, the two seals used by Šuddayauda, bear striking similarities: a hero figure (human or composite creature) holding two inverted winged creatures; a cuneiform inscription oriented along the vertical axis of the seal in the terminal field.532

1810, NN 1813, NN 1990, NN 2091, NN 2122, NN 2153, NN 2160, and NN 2395; ration allocations for animals: PF 1639.
524 Ration allocations for workers: PF 984, PF 986, PF 991, NN 565, NN 582, NN 956, NN 1721, NN 2083, NN 2163, and NN 2258; ration allocations for animals: PF 1734, PF 1759, NN 751, NN 1033, and NN 1355.
525 Hallock 1977, p. 130.
526 PF 945, PF 984, PF 985, PF 986, PF 989, PF 2043, NN 565, NN 582, NN 956, NN 963, NN 1721, NN 1739, NN 1780, NN 1927, NN 1990, NN 2083, NN 2122, NN 2160, NN 2163, and NN 2395.
528 Koch 1990, p. 244.
529 Ibid.
530 Garrison and Root 2001, p. 269; Garrison 2017a, p. 70.
531 PF 962, PF 984, PF 985, PF 990, PF 1734, NN 582, NN 1780, NN 1810, NN 1927, and NN 1990.
532 It is more common for Elamite seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive to be oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal; see Chapter 6 for details.
Modeled Style. Certain aspects of the carving draw the seal to a miniaturist Modeled Style, but the carving is less exaggerated than normally seen in that style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 848*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE\textsuperscript{533}
Typology and Style: 05.D.02.k. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer Kneeling or Running: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving toward archer: Winged human-faced/human headed lion creature; Mixed Styles II Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete) Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (incomplete) Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA Number of Impressions: 5 Quality of Impressions: Poor Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims arrow at winged human-faced bull-creature; inscription in space in front of creature and terminal field.

\textsuperscript{533} NN 589.
Archer (lower body not preserved) faces to right. One arm, sharply bent, is raised at shoulder-height to pull back on bow behind head. Other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow at creature to right; hand is fist. Vertical line along right side of torso likely indicates some detail of garment. Quiver is on back. Thin lip along forehead may be part of headdress. Hair is gathered in small oval mass at back of neck. Outline of large nose is indicated. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

To right of archer is winged human-faced bull-creature (tip of horn, feet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with feet apart. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers and thin band along upper edge of wing, perhaps ribbing, are indicated. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in rounded tuft. Wide horn emerges from top of head. Face is comprised of thin nose with bulbous tip, oval eye with triangular outline, and thin lip. Long beard, oval segments, rests over chest and grows thinner toward bottom.

Inscription occupies space in front of and behind creature. Horizontal band, perhaps part of inscription panel or case line, runs above inscription and perpendicular to lines of text.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ’x’ [...] 2.? ’x’ DUMU [...] 3.? ’x’ [...] “..., son (of) ...”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. A vertical line runs above the winged creature and the inscription in the terminal field. How, exactly, this element functions in the design or the inscription is unclear. The total number of lines is uncertain.

Line 1: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 2: two signs preserved: a broken and unidentifiable sign and DUMU. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved (in front of the creature’s face). It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. It seems clear, at least, that two personal names are separated by DUMU.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal
Attestations of PFS 848*

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<td>PFS 849</td>
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<tr>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 848*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2741</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2304</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 848*</td>
<td>PFS 848*</td>
<td>PFS 849</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 848* appears on three Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 848* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal (PFS 849 in two instances, PFS 2741 once) applied to the left edge.

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F and G texts like PF 648, NN 589, and NN 2304) are poorly understood. We appear to have to do in this dossier with a supplier and receiver. PFS 849, which seals the left edge of PF 648 and NN 2304, occurs on three other documents, always on the left edge. It appears to represent a kurman office for grains and fruit. Given the limited data, we are unable, however, to attribute PFS 848* to a specific individual or office.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

As noted, how, exactly, we are to understand the horizontal element above the creature and two lines of text is unclear. It may be a remnant of a panel or a case line of a previous inscription, thus evidence of recutting. It is also possible that this band is the border of the top edge of the seal (the seal may have slipped when being applied, which makes the band appear closer to the figural elements and the inscription).

Archers are a popular thematic type in Persepolitan glyptic. The particular compositional formula on PFS 848*, an archer shooting at an animal/creature that moves toward him, is also very common. The human-faced bull-/lion-creature is, however, very rare in archer scenes; only PFUTS 182* has a similar creature. As noted above, the human-faced bull-/lion-creature often occurs with court-centric iconography (here, the quiver and arrow, perhaps also the Persian court robe).

Mixed Styles II. The large and broad forms of the bull-/lion-creature are typical of the Court Style. The thin torso and narrow waist are Fortification Style. The court-centric iconography is rather understated in this design.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


PFS 2346*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE\textsuperscript{534}
Typology and Style: 28.C. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: winged creature of Uncertain Type; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Elamite
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design is preserved along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Rampant winged creature; inscription in terminal field.

Rampant winged creature (face, right hindfoot not preserved) moves to left. Stands on hindlegs with feet apart, left in front of right. Twists upper body toward front leg. Turns head back behind body to face to right. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand holds small curved object (weapon?). Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward behind body and terminates in fist. Four wings extend outward: two diagonally upward from shoulders and two diagonally downward. Upper right and lower left wings have single row of feathers; upper left wing has single row of feathers and separate section along top. Lower right wing has single row of feathers with thin band, perhaps ribbing, along top edge. V-shaped tail attaches at hindquarters. Snout, or perhaps nostril, is rounded. Two tufts of hair, perhaps beard, hang below chin. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Two pointed projections, perhaps ears or horns, emerge from top of head.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above winged creature and some sections of inscription; waviness is likely due to issues of preservation. Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below forward leg of creature and second line of inscription.

\textsuperscript{534} NN 1064.
INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [ĐTš]ANšá-ʾti-ʾ  
   2. hu-ban [...]  
   3. ʾDUMUʾ [...]  
   4.ʾxʾxʾ [...]  
   “Šati-Huban, son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN; DUMU PN?  

Four lines are preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Owing to issues of preservation, there appears to be a large void between the third- and fourth-preserved lines. We appear to have the beginning of the inscription. It is difficult to speculate how many, if any, additional lines occur after our line four.

Line 1: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ. Following are AN, -šá, and broken -ti.

Line 2: two signs preserved: -hu and -ban. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 3: one sign preserved: broken DUMU. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 4: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Owing to the partial preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. It seems clear, however, that it contains at least two personal names separated by DUMU. The first personal name, Šati-Huban, is Elamite and appears elsewhere among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive:535 the patronym on PFS 4* and PFS 103*, likely the first personal name on PFS 272*. The name does not occur in any of the documents from the Fortification archive.

The patronym is too fragmentary to be restored at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2346*</td>
<td>PFS 2346*</td>
<td>PFS 184</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

535 Zadok 1984, pp. 13 and 39. For a theory on the significance of the name Šati-Huban on other inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, and why it might suggest a pre-Persepolitan date, see Mikołajczak (2018, pp. 273-75).
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>PFS 2346*</th>
<th>PFS 184</th>
<th>PFS 2346*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

PFS 2346* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 2346* occurs as the counter-seal with the supplier seal, PFS 184, applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations.

The texts are very similar: a supplier, Ibaturra, allocates wine to Ašbezzana, who carries a *halmi* from the king. Sealing protocols on some ration allocations (e.g., K2 texts like NN 1064 and NN 1175) are poorly understood. The consistent counter-seal protocol in this dossier would suggest a supplier and receiver. PFS 184 is in fact a well-attested *kurman* office seal for wine and beer. The name Ašbezzana is attested also in NN 793, another K text, wherein Ašbezzana receives beer rations and is sealed on the left edge with PFS 184. One assumes that this is the same person, but the seal applied to the reverse of NN 793 is PFS 1449 (a nice example of the sometimes inscrutable nature of sealing protocols). In the end, we may suggest the possibility that PFS 2346* is linked with this Ašbezzana, but it remains an open question.  

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

A single animal/creature paired with an inscription is a popular design among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. Most often, the animal/creature is marchant and the inscription is paneled and horizontally oriented in the terminal field. Thus, the free-floating vertically oriented inscription on PFS 2346* is noteworthy.

miniaturist Modeled Style. The carving is a rather nervous variation on the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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536 Further complicating this calculus is the possibility that *Aš-be-iz-za* is a variant spelling of *Aš-ba-za-na*, who uses PFS 1567*.
537 PFS 124* is the only other example to include a rampant creature.
538 Only PFS 27*, in addition to PFS 2346*, does not utilize a panel or case lines. See Chapter 6 for additional discussion.
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Entries

As noted above, an inscription on a seal from the Persepolis Fortification archive dictates its inclusion in this catalogue. For many inscriptions, however, especially those written in cuneiform, the language is not identifiable. Often, issues of preservation and unusual sign forms make the exact identification of the language uncertain. As a result, we sometimes lack common elements found in Elamite or Babylonian seal inscriptions (e.g., AN, HAL, DUMU) that can be diagnostic of language and formula. At present, there are 45 seals carrying cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain language(s). Owing to the prevalence of Elamite at Persepolis, it is likely that most, if not all, of these seal inscriptions are actually Elamite.

The following entries are ordered by the same four visual characteristics as the Elamite entries above: 1) orientation of the inscription; 2) location of the inscription within the overall glyptic design; 3) existence of a panel; 4) existence of case lines separating the lines of text.

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 1:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 816*
2. PFS 859*
3. PFS 1084*
4. PFS 1127*
5. PFS 1227*
6. PFS 2036*
7. PFS 2076*
8. PFS 2088*
9. PFS 2138*
10. PFS 2207*
11. PFS 2228*
12. PFS 2698*
13. PFS 2710*
14. PFS 2732*
15. PFS 2734*
16. PFS 3035*
17. PFS 3096*
18. PFUTS 824*

The most common way for a cuneiform (language unrecognizable) inscription to be presented is with the text oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal, in the terminal field, enclosed in a panel, and separated by case lines. At present, 18 seals (approximately 40 percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 816*

539 The other language written in cuneiform in this corpus is Old Persian. It occurs only in trilingual seal inscriptions (as detailed above) and a single administratve text (see Stolper and Tavernier (2007)), thus it is unlikely that any of the seals with cuneiform inscriptions and unrecognizable languages would be Old Persian.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE


Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable

Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (complete)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm

Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large section of middle of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of heraldic rampant winged lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Pair of rampant winged lion-creatures (heads, tips of wings, hindfeet, forepaws not preserved) stand on hindlegs with feet apart. Face inward toward each other. One foreleg, straight, lifts diagonally upward in front of body to meet foreleg of other creature; other foreleg, straight, hangs down, terminating in two-pronged paw. Wing of creature at left extends horizontally behind body; single row of feathers in middle of wing is indicated. Creature at right apparently has two wings that extend horizontally behind body, one on top of other; one row of feathers is indicated on each. Short tail (thin on creature at left, wide on creature at right) curves upward from hindquarters. Head of creature at left is preserved along back; shallow curve may indicate human head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...]
2.? [...] ’x’ [...] 
3.? x ur [...] 
4.? [...] 

540 PF 609.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom of the panel and the upper portion of the left vertical side are not preserved. The uppermost preserved horizontal line may be the top of the panel. Nothing of the right side of the panel is indicated; it may be that the creature at left is meant to serve as the right boundary for the text.\(^{541}\) Much of the text is broken or missing.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 3: perhaps two signs: an unidentifiable sign and \(-ur\). It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<td>PFS 816*</td>
<td>PFS 816*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 816* appears on two Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-seal:
NN 3075.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Counter-seal:
PF 609.

PFS 816* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces with a different seal applied to the left edge.

\(^{541}\) Another example of a design that includes figural elements in place of some part of the inscription panel is PFS 706*; see Chapter 6 for details on this phenomenon.
This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 816* is very similar to another inscribed seal, PFS 2737*: heraldic winged lion-creatures (depicted with segmented forepaws, two stacked wings), cuneiform inscription in the terminal field within panel with case lines.

Mixed Styles I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 859* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 205)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs rampant lion in chest with dagger; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (left hand, legs not preserved) faces to right. Right arm, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body to stab lion in chest with dagger; hand is rounded fist. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grab forelock of animal (partially preserved). Wears Persian court robe with long sleeves pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; folds of drapery hang to waist. Wears quiver with three arrows on back; four tassels hang from back of quiver. Bow occupies space between back and
quiver. Wears rounded headdress that covers ear. Rounded mass at back of head is perhaps part of headdress or hair (no distinction is made between hair and headwear). Face is comprised of thin nose and half circle for eye. Short, pointed beard or chin is indicated.

To right of hero is rampant lion (lower body, left forearm, top of head not preserved) facing to left. Presumably stands on hindlegs. Right foreleg, straight, lifts diagonally upward in front of body; paw, small oval with circle on top, touches underside of hero’s left arm. Left foreleg hangs down in front of torso. Tail apparently curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small angular tuft. Mouth is open; short, pointed tongue sticks out. Large tooth points up from bottom jaw; small tooth hangs from top. Rounded eye and surrounding folds are indicated. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Forelock emerges from top of head and is grasped by hero; wider element behind may be additional forelock or ear.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...]'x'
2.? 'x' [...] 'DUMU?'
3.? [...] 'x'
"…, son (of) …”\textsuperscript{542}

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN\textsubscript{1} son of PN\textsubscript{2}?

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; it is unclear whether there are additional lines of text. Many signs are missing or broken; those that are present are large.

Line 1: fragments of one unidentifiable sign preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: two broken signs preserved: an unidentifiable sign (at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene) and perhaps DUMU (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: one broken, unidentifiable sign preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

\textsuperscript{542} This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 300) with some variation.
Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. The last sign in line two could be DUMU, which would indicate the patronymic formula, but the sign is too broken to be certain.  

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 691</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 859*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 859*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 859* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a ration allocation for royal provisions.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible. In this one instance, at least, it appears to be involved in securing cattle for royal consumption.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

PFS 859* is notable for the density of court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, quiver with arrows and tassels, bow, and dagger. Only PFS 266* and PFS 2249* among the inscribed seals show a hero so thoroughly armed.

The composition is very similar to PFS 584*, which also depicts a hero in profile wearing the Persian Court robe and stabbing a rampant lion with a dagger in the chest. PFS 584* also includes a cuneiform inscription in the terminal field within a panel with case lines.

Court Style. The carving is well modeled, recalling the Court Style masterpiece PFS 11*. PFS 859* appears to have been an exceptionally large seal by Persepolitan standards. Although poorly preserved, the seal must have been a remarkable one.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 1084*

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543 Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 300) previously did not suggest a reading for this sign.
544 In all other instances of animal rations on J texts (like PF 691), the tablet is sealed with PFS 93*.
Garrison (1991, pp. 14-15) suggests that PFS 859* may be the personal seal of the official staffing the office normally represented by PFS 93*.
545 See Chapter 5 for details on court-centric iconography.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE
Typology and Style: 23.D. Crossed Animal Groups: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Complete except for details along top and bottom edges of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two caprids intertwine at neck; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two caprids (lower hindlegs, tip of ear and end of foreleg on animal facing to left not preserved) stand on hindlegs with feet apart. Cross twice at neck to face outward. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend horizontally from chest; terminate in hooves. Ear emerges from back of head; animal facing to left may have additional ear or horn. Tail extends horizontally from hindquarters before turning sharply downward to terminate in rounded edge (animal facing to left) or point (animal facing to right)

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? bi
2.? bad
3.? ’ah’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

546 PF 1131.
Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is unclear whether there are additional lines; there appears to be enough space for at least one line preceding and one line following those that are preserved at present. The signs that are present are large relative to each case.

Line 1: one sign: -bi.

Line 2: one sign: -bad.

Line 3: one broken sign: -ah.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. The layout of the inscription, with one sign per line, is unusual. Perhaps the signs are intended to be read as logograms.

The horizontal space allotted for the inscription is relatively limited – it appears to occupy approximately one-third of the space of the figural scene. This ratio is rare among designs in which the inscription is formally arranged in a panel with case lines.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1131</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1083</td>
<td>PFS 1084*</td>
<td>PFS 1085</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 986-103</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 1084*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT4 610</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1084* (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 1084*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1084* appears on three Elamite documents and follows the multiple-seal protocol.\(^{547}\)

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.\(^{548}\)

Owing to the limited data, as well as the use of the multiple-seal protocol, seal attribution is not possible.

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\(^{547}\) All surfaces but the left edge on Fort. 986-103 are destroyed; thus, we cannot determine the sealing protocol in this instance. The transaction is a M text, as PF 1131 that carries PFS 1084* in the multiple-seal protocol, perhaps an indication that Fort. 986-103 also carried additional seals.

\(^{548}\) This refers to the Fortification texts; see below for the Treasury text.
PFS 1084* also occurs on an Elamite document (memorandum) from the Treasury archive at Persepolis (published there as PTS 42*);\(^{549}\) it is one of three seals that appear in both Persepolitan archives.\(^{550}\)

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The caprids appear especially elongated, owing both to their intertwined necks, as well as their extra long necks and torsos.

Mixed Styles I. Forelegs and tails are thin, but the hindquarters are well modeled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1127*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE\(^{551}\)
Typology and Style: 05.D.06. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer Kneeling or Running: Composition Uncertain; Modeled Style Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete) Preserved Length of Image: 2.5 cm (incomplete) Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA Number of Impressions: 2 Quality of Impressions: Poor Completeness of Image: Part of middle section of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Kneeling archer aims at animal/creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

\(^{549}\) Schmidt 1957, p. 33; Garrison 2017a, pp. 77 and 114 (n. 390). This text does not help with seal attribution (ibid., p. 77).

\(^{550}\) The others are PFS 113* (PTS 4*) and PFS 1084* (PTS 42*).

\(^{551}\) Both documents are dated to 501 BCE.
Archer (head, forward arm, feet, top of bow not preserved) faces to right. Right knee, bent, is on ground; left leg, bent, is forward with foot presumably on ground in front of body. One arm, sharply bent, is held behind head to pull back on bow (not indicated/preserved). Other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow (not preserved) presumably at animal/creature to right. Sheath extends behind body from waist. Curved line across hip may indicate part of garment (e.g., skirt, pant leg); left leg appears bare. Striations along lower abdomen perhaps indicate detailing.

To right of archer is head of what appears to be caprid.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’
2.? [...] ‘x x’
3.? [...]

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, only part of the right side of the inscription and panel are preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional lines.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: fragments of perhaps two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1183</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1127*</td>
<td>PFS 1125</td>
<td>PFS 1126</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1237</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1125</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1127*</td>
<td>PFS 1126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

563
PFS 1127* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the multiple-seal protocol with PFS 1125 and PFS 1126.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Owing to the limited data, as well as the use of the multiple-seal protocol, seal attribution is not possible.552

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the scene, the exact compositional formula is uncertain.

Modeled Style. Although only a small segment of this design survives, PFS 1127* was clearly an impressive seal. The archer is well modeled with beautifully flowing contours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1227* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 219)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.03. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged human-faced/human-headed bull creature; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large section of middle part of design survives along its complete length.

552 As an example of what would appear to be the sometimes capricious nature of the multiple-seal protocol, note that the seal on the left edge of each of these two tablets, which carry the same three seals and whose texts are virtually identical, is different. It is probably only a coincidence that the three seals are all archer scenes.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two heroes grasp horn of rampant winged human-faced bull-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

At left, hero (legs, right hand not preserved) faces to right. Stands in striding pose, left leg bent and held up in front of body, right leg straight. Right arm, straight, is held down behind body with weapon (partially preserved) in hand. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp tip of creature’s horn; no details of hand are indicated. Wears belted Persian court robe; drapery hangs across chest and arms. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is flat against head before being gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of small triangular eye and outline of nose. Chin or short beard is indicated.

At right, hero (back arm, left foot not preserved) faces to left. Stands with right leg, bent, raised in front of body; other leg is straight. One arm, slightly bent, extends diagonally upward in front of body to grasp front of creature’s horn; hand is fist. Other arm, straight, is held down behind body, likely with weapon in hand (as hero at left). Wears Assyrian garment that leaves front leg bare below knee. Banded border with row of fringe is indicated along hem between legs; fringe is also indicated along front of straight leg. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of neck. Face consists of ovular eye and large nose. Squared beard rests over chest.

At center of scene is winged human-faced bull-creature (lower body not preserved). Moves to left but turns head back behind body to face to right. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body; other foreleg, bent, is held underneath torso. Terminate in hooves. Wing extends back behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Long horn curves back from front of head; terminates in point (held by hero at left). Face is comprised of rounded eye, pointed nose, and pronounced cheek/jaw. Rounded beard with horizontal striations hangs to top of wing.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1.? […] ˹x˺
2.? […]
3.? […]
4.? […]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom, as well as the right vertical side of the panel are not preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional lines. Most of the text is not preserved.
Line 1: fragment of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

Like PFS 1084*, the horizontal space allotted for the inscription is relatively limited compared to that of the figural scene.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1282</td>
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<td>PFS 1227*</td>
<td>PFS 1227*</td>
<td>PFS 1227*</td>
<td>PFS 1227*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1227* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a ration allocation.

The limited data makes seal attribution uncertain. The single-seal protocol may suggest that PFS 1227* represents an unnamed oversight official.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the heroic combat encounter is one of the most popular thematic types among Persepolitan glyptic, scenes with two heroes and one animal/creature are less common. The varied clothing of the heroes – the Persian court robe (at left) and the Assyrian garment (at right) – is noteworthy.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2036*
Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE  
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.6 cm  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm  
Number of Impressions: 2  
Quality of Impressions: Poor  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (head, some sections of legs not preserved) moves to right. Stands with feet apart; left foreleg terminates in hoof. Wing extends back behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Wavy tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters; terminates in small rounded tuft.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1. ‘DIŠi-x’  
2. [...] ‘x x’  
3. ‘x’ [...] ‘x’  
4. [...] ‘x’ [...] ‘na’  
“I…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PNj…?

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top left corner and bottom of the panel are not
preserved. Even though the panel is partially preserved, it is unlikely that there are more than four lines. The ductus is unusual, with most of the wedges appearing V-shaped. Many of the signs are broken and/or not preserved.

Line 1: three broken signs: DIŠ, -i, and an unidentifiable sign.

Line 2: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Line 3: fragments of perhaps two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 4: two broken signs preserved: an unidentifiable sign and perhaps -na, likely the genitive enclitic. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. It appears that the text begins with DIŠ, thus we can assume that a personal name follows, perhaps one that begins with -i. The last sign of the inscription could be -na, the genitive enclitic, which may indicate that DUMU occurs somewhere in the middle of the inscription.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 70</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2036*</td>
<td>PFS 2037</td>
<td>PFS 2036*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2036* appears on one Elamite document and follows the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 2037.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the limited data, the uncertainty surrounding sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement (i.e., B texts like NN 70), and the use of the parallel-seal protocol, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is common among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\(^{553}\)

Modeled Style. The forms are deeply carved and geometric; note the rounded chest and hindlegs and triangular hoof.

\(^{553}\) See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 514/513 BCE
Typology and Style: 06.A.01. Hunts with Spears: On Horseback: Animal(s)/Creature(s) Moving Toward Horseman: winged lion; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Complete except for details along top and bottom edges of design and inscription.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Horseman confronts rampant winged bull-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Rider (left shoulder, lower arms/hands not preserved) faces to right. Straddles horse with right leg slightly bent. One arm, bent, is held down in front of body at horse’s neck; other arm is held up behind head, presumably holding weapon. Perhaps wears long garment or pants. Wavy element on back is perhaps weapon’s case. Right foot has shoe with pointed heel. Hair is gathered in thin pointed mass behind head. Face consists of large rounded eye, outline of triangular nose, and lips.

Horse (rear hooves not preserved) moves to right. In galloping pose, hindlegs extend back behind body, forelegs in front of chest. Crescent shaped tail attaches at hindquarters. Rectangular blanket/saddle with banded border hangs over back. Bridle hangs from mouth. Face consists of large eye and long snout. Thick mane runs along back of head and neck. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head.

To right of rider and horse is rampant winged bull-creature (hindfeet, tip of tail not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; other foreleg, straight, extends diagonally...
downward in front of body. Both forelegs terminate in paws with nails. Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward, other downward; one row of feathers and ribbing along top is indicated. Hatch mark detailing is indicated on torso below wing. Thin tail curves upward from hindquarters; triangular mass above bottom wing could be tuft of tail. Long wavy horn extends from top of head. Drill hole marks eye. Mouth is open. Tuft of hair hangs between neck and bottom jaw. Rings around neck may be part of mane. Two ears emerge from top of head, one to either side of horn.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above creature.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’ [...]  
2.? ‘x x’ [...]  
3.? ‘x x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top, bottom, and right side of the panel are not preserved. Only one case line is preserved, between the first and second preserved lines of text. The second and third lines of text are carved very close together, suggesting that perhaps there is not a case line between them. The total number of lines of text is unknown. The proximity of the signs, both horizontally and vertically, as well as the overall lack of preservation, makes sign identification difficult.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: perhaps two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

Line 3: perhaps two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1</td>
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<td>PFS 2076*</td>
<td>PFS 2076*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2076*</td>
<td>PFS 2076*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PFS 2076* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is an account.

Owing to the occurrence of the seal on an account, it clearly represents an accounting authority at Persepolis. As is generally the case with account seals, especially those that occur on only a few tablets, further details about its use are unknown.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene on PFS 2076* is quite unusual. Horsemen in general are rare in Persepolitan glyptic. Two other seals, the famous heirloom seal, PFS 51, and PFUTS 749, show hunts from horseback. In both of those designs, the animals are real, not a fantastical creature that we see on PFS 2076*. The dynamics of PFS 2076* recall those on both PFS 51 and its more illustrious companion PFS 93*. So, too, the manner of rendering the horse and rider on PFS 2076* is similar to that on PFS 93* and PFS 51.554 Like PFS 2076*, PFS 93* also has a cuneiform inscription oriented along the horizontal axis, enclosed in a panel with case lines, and located in the terminal field. PFS 2076* thus seems to perpetuate aspects of that particular older seal carving milieu, but the style of PFS 2076* is clearly contemporary with the archive.

Mixed Styles I. The rampant creature is highly detailed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 299, 301, 320-21, 444-46, and pl. 38.

PFS 2088*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 508-505 BCE
Typology and Style: 23.D. Crossed Animal Groups: Horned animals: deer, gazelles, wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)

Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.5 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of crossed animals (probably caprids or bulls); paneled inscription in terminal field.

Pair of animals (heads, hooves, tips of tails not preserved) stand on hindlegs with feet, small hooves, apart. Hindquarters are angled inward toward each other; cross once at torso to face away from each other (animal at left is in front of animal at right). Forelegs, slightly bent, reach outward in front of body. End of snout of animal facing to left appears to be angled downward toward chest. Thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? [...] ’x x x’
   2.? [...] ’x x’
   3.? [...] ’ah?’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, most of the bottom, left side, and upper right corner of the panel are not preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text. Most of the preserved signs are broken.

Line 1: fragments of perhaps three unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Line 2: fragments of perhaps two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Line 3: one broken sign preserved: -ah.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 2088*
PFS 2088* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is an account.

Owing to the occurrence of the seal on an account, it clearly represents an accounting authority at Persepolis. As is generally the case with account seals, especially those that occur on only a few tablets, further details about its user are unknown.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is common among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\(^{555}\)

Modeled Style. Limbs are thin, but the bodies exhibit much nervous musculature, as is often the case with these seals that show inscriptions paired with crossed/heraldic animal groups or animals/creatures marchant.

Based partially on stylistic criteria, as well as the inscription apparently not naming an individual working in the Fortification archive, Mikołajczak suggests that PFS 2088* (and other accounting seals) predates the Fortification archive and thus is a reused seal with its later application.\(^{556}\)

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 276, 288, 297, 301, 320, 331-32, 458-60, and pl. 44.

PFS 2138*

Seal Type: Cylinder

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\(^{555}\) See Chapter 5 for additional examples.

\(^{556}\) Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 276, 288, 320, 331-32. With the almost entirely illegible inscription on PFS 2088*, it is difficult to see how this criterion applies here.
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE

Typology and Style: 01.A.05. Hero controls winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls winged lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Arms, straight, extend outward to grasp throat of winged creature to either side; hands are thin and slightly cupped. Wears long double-belted Assyrian garment; left leg is bare. Wears tall headdress with knob at top. Hair is gathered in ovular segments at back of head. Face consists of crescent-shaped eye and outline of squared nose. Long beard, ovular segments, rests over chest; details of facial hair are indicated on side of face.

To left and to right of hero are winged lion-creatures (lower part of straight hindleg not preserved). Stand on one hindleg, straight; other hindleg, straight, extends in front of body with bird’s foot resting on leg of hero. One foreleg reaches diagonally upward in front of body; paw rests on arm of hero (foreleg of creature at left terminates in two thin ovals; foreleg on creature at right terminates in rounded paw with nails). Other foreleg, straight, extends in front of body with paw resting on hero’s waist (foreleg of creature at left terminates in elongated digits; foreleg of creature at right terminates in paw with nails). Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Upper wing has single row of feathers and central ribbing indicated. Lower wing of creature at left has three rows of feathers; lower wing of creature at right has one row. Short tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in tuft. Horn emerges from top of head and splits into two. Round eye is indicated. Mouth is open (jaw on animal to left is lined). Thick mane runs along back of head and neck. Ear emerges from behind horn (pointed on creature at left, rounded termination on creature at right).

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below hero, creature at right, and left side of inscription.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ’x’ [ ] ’x’
       2.? ’x’ [ ] ’x’
       3.? ’x’ [ ] ’x’

557 NN 1612.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Five lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top of the panel is not preserved. No impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. Only part of two case lines are preserved (between the first and second preserved lines and between the second and third preserved lines). The other lines of text appear close together, perhaps suggesting that there are no case lines. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text.

Line 1: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved (one at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene, and one at the end, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved (one at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene, and one at the end, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved (one at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene, and one at the end, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 4: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved (one at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene, and one at the end, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 5: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved (toward the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, multiple-seal

Attestations of PFS 2138*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 309</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 916s</td>
<td>PFS 2138*</td>
<td>PFATS 307s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

575
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NN 1612</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
<th>PFS 2138*</th>
<th>not sealed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

PFS 2138* appears on one Aramaic and one Elamite document and follows two sealing protocols.

**Single-Seal:**
NN 1612.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

**Multiple-Seal:**
PFAT 309.

A translation of this text was not available at the time of writing.

Owing to the limited data, as well as the use of the multiple-seal protocol on PFAT 309, seal attribution is not possible. It may be that Daušakama uses PFS 2138* on NN 1612, as he is noted as the šaramanna official and PFS 2138* is the sole seal on the tablet; note, however, NN 2409, which is an almost identical text involving the same work group (dated three months prior to NN 1612), but sealed by PFS 2154.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

PFS 2138* is a very impressive design and well executed. The knobbled headdress is unusual; the headdresses on PFS 82* seem very similar. The bifurcated horns (goat horns shown in front view?) are also noteworthy. Similar horns are found on some Court Style seals (e.g., PTS 2*).558

Modeled Style. There is much detailing in the face of the hero and the wings of the creatures.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

PFS 2207*

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558 Schmidt 1957, pl. 3.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.H. Cult Imagery: Possible Worship Scenes; Fortification Style(?)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Portion of middle section of design is preserved.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Standing figure; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Standing figure (face, arms, feet not preserved) appears to face to right. One arm, straight, extends in front of body; large, three-petaled shape just above arm could be flower or other object in hand. Appears to wear long garment. Ovular mass of hair(?) at back of head; rectangular projection emerges from top of head. Horizontal band and rectangular element attach to lower body.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1.? ’x’ […]
2.? […] ’x’
3.? […]
4.? […]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is unclear whether the uppermost preserved horizontal line is the top of the panel or a case line. The bottom of the panel is not preserved. It is
unclear whether there are additional lines of text. At present, parts of only two ill-defined signs are preserved; it is possible that these are instead chips/flaws in the stone.

Line 1: perhaps one sign preserved: perhaps DINGIR (or perhaps HAL). It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 2: perhaps one unidentifiable sign preserved.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

A reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>NN 2124</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 632</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2207*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2207* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2207* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 632, applied to the reverse.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

PFS 632, the seal on the reverse of NN 2124, occurs two other times in the Fortification archive. A receiver, Gilizza, is named only in PF 514. The *kurman* official in NN 2124, Parsara, is named also in NN 2121 and NN 2124; in each instance, a different seal is applied to the left edge. The *šaramanna* official noted in NN 2124, Saddakuš, is named in two other texts, NN 378 and NN 1288 (different seals on each tablet) and occurs in the inscription on PFUTS 336*. In the end, seal attribution for PFS 2207* is unclear.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The exact dynamics of the scene are unclear. We have, perhaps, a worshiper standing before some type of table or stand.

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559 Sign identification is speculative, as it is unclear whether the vertical line at right is meant as a wedge or if it is a chip/flaw in the stone.

560 The “sign” is carved on top of the case line below; it is unclear whether this is a cuneiform sign or a chip/flaw in the stone.

561 On the reverses of PF 376 and PF 514.
Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2228*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 23.E. Crossed Animal Groups: animals of uncertain type; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Small segment of the middle of the design is preserved.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of rampant crossed animals; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two animals (heads, forelegs, tails, hindlegs not preserved) stand on hindlegs and cross at torso; animal at left is in front of animal at right. Forelegs of animal at left extend diagonally upward in front of body. Tail on animal at right curves downward.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] 
2.? ’x’ [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top, bottom, and right side of the panel is not
preserved. It is possible that there are additional lines. At present, only part of one sign is preserved.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 140</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2228*</td>
<td>PFS 2228*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2228* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a travel ration.

Travel rations generally follow the counter-seal protocol. NN 140, however, has only one seal. When ration texts follow the single-seal protocol, the lone seal typically represents the receiver. With no supplier listed in NN 140, the single-seal may be used to reflect this. Tentatively, we may suggest that Aššaka, the receiver, uses PFS 2228*, but this attribution is purely speculative. An Aššaka is named also in NN 2161, a receipt of commodity deposit.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While only partially preserved, the scene likely features a pair of crossed animals, perhaps caprids, alongside the inscription in the terminal field, a common compositional format among inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.562

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2698*

562 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (forefeet, left hindfoot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart; right hindleg appears to terminate in talon. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Chest segment comes to point over wing; detailing along chest and in front of wing is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in large triangular tuft. Mouth is open; small, pointed tooth sticks up from bottom jaw. Mane lines back of head and neck. Ovular tuft and pointed ear emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ‘Di$x’
  2.? [...]
  3.? ‘x’ [...] ‘x’
  4.? [...]
  5.? [...]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN...?
Five lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. Based on the height of the figural scene, it is unlikely that there are additional lines of text. Most of the signs are not preserved; those that are present are broken. The height of the cases varies. The back foot of the creature appears to invade the space of the inscription.\textsuperscript{563}

Line 1: two broken signs preserved: DIŠ and an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Line 3: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Line 5: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. If the first sign is in fact DIŠ, a personal name would follow. Relative to the space afforded to the figural scene, the horizontal width of the inscription appears limited.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1210</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2698*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2699</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2698* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2698* occurs on the reverse with PFS 2699 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like NN 1210), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

\textsuperscript{563} See Chapter 6 for details on this phenomenon.
The thematic type is a common one among inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.564

Modeled Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PFS 2710*

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Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.C. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: winged creature of Uncertain Type; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Complete except for details along the top and bottom edges of design.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (top of head, lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Head appears to be angled downward with snout near chest. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in triangular tuft. Crescent-shaped segment runs in front of chest and across neck.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**
Line: 1.? […]

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564 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. It is possible that there are additional lines. Much of the inscription is not preserved; the signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1658</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2710* (x2)</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2711</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2710* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2710* occurs on the reverse with PFS 2711 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like NN 1658), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is a common one among inscribed seals in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{565}

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along most of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (face, forefeet, side of wing not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart; legs terminate in ovular sections, perhaps bird’s feet. Large wing with two compartments extends diagonally upward behind body; each compartment has one row of feathers. Tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in triangular tuft. Top jaw is indicated (bottom jaw is not preserved/indicated). Short mane runs along back of neck. Ovular segments line chest above forward leg. Thin crescent-shaped border runs along front of chest.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

\textsuperscript{565} See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above creature.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] ˹x x˺
     2. ˹x˺ [...] ˹x˺
     3. [...] ˹x x˺
     4. [...] ˹x˺

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. The bottom side and the lower half of the left vertical side of the panel are not preserved. The rear foot of the creature appears to be incorporated into the right side of the panel; the vertical side terminates at the bottom in a rounded edge where the lower leg of the creature is. Only one case line is preserved, between the second and third lines. The signs in lines one and two, as well as those in three and four, appear close together vertically, making the presence of additional case lines uncertain. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text. The signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: fragments of two unidentifiable signs preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: fragments of two sign preserved (one at the beginning of the line, to right of the figural scene, and one at the end, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 3: fragments of perhaps two unidentifiable signs preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 4: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 393</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2732*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2732*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attestations of PFS 2732*
PFS 2732* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like NN 393), the omission of named individuals/offices in the text, as well as the overall limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The composition is a common one among inscribed seals in the Fortification archive. Note also PFS 2698*, where the talon on the back hindleg of the creature intrudes into the inscription panel.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.D. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Animal of Uncertain Type; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Lion marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

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566 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Lion (paws not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. Long thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in rounded tuft. Mouth is open; small, pointed tooth sticks up from bottom jaw. Serrated mane runs along back of neck; additional tufts of hair line front of chest. Cross-hatching is indicated along neck and chest. Two small pointed ears emerge from back of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field. Large masses, likely chips/flaws in stone, occupy much of left side of inscription.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’
2.? ‘x’ a a
3.? [...] a
4.? [...] is

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional lines of text. It is uncertain whether the large masses along the left side of the inscription obscure any of the text; the first sign in line two appears to react to the mass below by slanting slightly right, perhaps indicating that the masses predate the carving of the inscription.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: apparently three signs: a broken and unidentifiable sign, -a, and -a.

Line 3: one sign preserved: -a. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Line 4: one sign preserved: -is. It is unclear how many, if any, signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 414</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2734* (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 2734*</td>
<td>PFS 736</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attestations of PFS 2734*
PFS 2734* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2734* occurs on the reverse and upper edge with PFS 736 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Parru, the supplier in NN 414, is a well-attested official in the Fortification archive, appearing in over 175 documents to date. On occasion, he is noted in documents that carry impressions of PFS 736. Bakabadda (sometimes spelled Bakabada), noted as delivering sesame in NN 414, also is frequently named, occurring in over 115 documents to date. Parru and Bakabadda appear elsewhere together, but NN 414 is the only instance of PFS 2734*. Owing to the uncertainty surrounding receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like NN 414), as well as the limited data for PFS 2734*, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is a common one among inscribed seals in the Fortification archive.

Modeled Style. The modeling is quite animated; small, compact, and segmented masses of musculature highlight the body of the lion. A similar nervous musculature is found on animal bodies of other inscribed seals in this corpus (e.g., PFS 27*, PFS 188a*, and PFS 543*) suggesting that they all may originate in the same workshop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 3035*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE

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567 Parru allocates grain in PF 509 and PF 1020, with PFS 736 applied to the left edge in both instances.
568 In the following texts, Parru is a supplier and Bakabadda is a receiver: PF 508, PF 509, PF 1020, NN 1245, and NN 2216. PFS 278 is a recurring seal on these documents; PFS 736 occurs on PF 509 and PF 1020.
569 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
570 PFS 3035* was previously published as PFUTS 1*.
Typology and Style: 09.B.03. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Crescent or Winged Symbol: Before Winged Symbol with Figure Emergent; Mixed Styles I Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 10
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two figures stand atop fish-men flanking figure emergent from winged symbol above stylized tree; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Two human figures (head/face, most of arms not preserved) face inward toward center. Stand with feet apart on fish-men below, one foot on fin, other on neck. One arm, bent, is held in front of chest; flower may be preserved in hand of figure at right. Wear Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee. Figure at right may wear serrated headdress; ovular mass of hair preserved at back of neck of figure at right.

Below standing figures are fish-men (hand of creature at right not preserved). Face inward toward center. Comprised of human torso and head and fish body (with upper and lower fin) and tail. Creature at left holds one arm, straight, diagonally upward in front of body; hand is two-pronged. Wears serrated headdress. Creature at right apparently has spikey hair at top of head and small rounded mass of hair at back of neck; small rounded mass of hair sits atop shoulders of creature at left. Long beard rests over chest.

At center of scene is winged symbol with figure (head, hand not preserved) emergent. Comprised of two horizontal wings, tail, and long thin tendril to either side of tail. Figure emerges from top and appears to face to right. One arm, straight, extends in front of body.

Below winged symbol is stylized tree (bottom not preserved). Trunk consists of two vertical elements from which emerge cross-hatchings delimited by arch. Cones emerge along outer edge of arch.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field (above tails of fish-men).

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. `x` ir? bad?
2. e? aš ru?
3. ni? ir? ir?

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and perhaps oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. In addition to what appear to be horizontal case lines, there are two vertical dividers; this results in each sign appearing in a separate square compartment. Such a configuration makes the inscription difficult to interpret. At present, a horizontal orientation seems most likely, but this is uncertain. Further, despite the signs appearing complete, many of them are not immediately recognizable. The identifications below are merely suggestions of signs that are similar in form. Several signs appear to repeat (e.g., the possible -ir in lines one and three, and all signs seem variations of the same pattern – a long horizontal wedge from which emerge three short vertical wedges above which there is a long horizontal wedge). All of these factors lead one to wonder whether the inscription could be fake (i.e., mock cuneiform).

Line 1: three signs: a broken and unidentifiable sign, perhaps -ir, and perhaps -bad.

Line 2: three signs: perhaps -e, -aš, and perhaps -ru.

Line 3: three signs: perhaps -ni, perhaps -ir, and perhaps -ir.

At present, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1800</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFS 26</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 0000-101</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 139-202</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 903-101</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
<td>PFUTS 2s</td>
<td>PFS 3035*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3035* appears on one Elamite and three uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PFUT 0000-101 and PFUT 139-202.571

Counter-Seal:

571 The upper and right edges of PFUT 139-202 are destroyed; thus we cannot be certain of the sealing protocol in this instance. Given the application of PFS 3035* to these surfaces on other tablets (as well as the application of PFS 3035* to the left edge), it is possible that PFS 3035* was the sole seal on the tablet.
In both instances, PFS 3035* occurs as the counter-seal with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

NN 1800 is a travel ration.

Based on the counter-seal protocol for travel ration NN 1800, we can suggest that Miramanna, the receiver, uses PFS 3035*. PFS 26, the seal on the left edge, is well attested and often linked with Barušiyatiš, the supplier in NN 1800.572

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFS 3035* is a particularly intriguing design. The careful placement of the inscription on the tails of the fish-men links the inscription with the figural design in an especially creative manner. PFS 1567* may employ the same concept, but here the pedestal creatures are goat-fish. PFS 389* uses the same trope, but reversed; i.e., the fish-men face the inscription and the worshipper stands upon their tails. Both composition and aspects of iconography (e.g., the garments, rendering of the stylized tree) on PFS 3035* have obvious linkages to Assyrian glyptic; but as so often at Persepolis, it is clear that the seal is Assyrianizing rather than truly Assyrian.573

Mixed Styles I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garrison 2011b, pp. 45, 59 (n. 158), 60-61, and 92 (figs. 21-22); Garrison 2014b, p. 71; Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 85-86, and 115; Garrison 2017b, pp. 215 and 243 (fig. 26).

PFS 3096*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE574

572 See, e.g., PF 451, PF 1290, PF 1291, PF 1292, PF 1293, and PF 1294; note Garrison and Root (2001, p. 423).
573 See Chapter 8 for details on the Assyrian influence on Persepolitan glyptic.
574 Both texts are dated to year 23.
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged lion-creature (front forepaw, lower hindlegs, tail, top of wing not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart. One foreleg terminates in paw with thin ovular segment at end. Large wing extends diagonally upward behind body in three sections: two lower parts with one row of feathers each, and thin top section without feathers. Tuft of tail is preserved. Mouth is open and jaw is lined; long thin tongue sticks out. Large round eye is indicated. Short mane runs along back of head. Small pointed ear emerges from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ‘ Điš x x’
  2.? ‘hu?’ x
  3.? ‘x’ […]
  4.? ‘x’ […]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN…?

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom, as well as the lower sections of the vertical sides of the panel, are not preserved. Based on the height of the figural scene, it is unlikely that there are additional lines. The signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: fragments of perhaps four signs: Điš and three unidentifiable signs.

Line 2: two broken signs: perhaps –hu and an unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.
Line 4: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. The likely DIŠ at the beginning would prompt a personal name to follow, but not much more can be discerned at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 3096*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 746</td>
<td>PFS 3096*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1098</td>
<td>PFS 3096*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3096* appears on two Elamite documents and follows the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are file tags.

File tags come in a variety of formats; in the case of NN 746 and NN 1098, the tablets are circular disks that have only an obverse and reverse. The texts are generally terse. With a few exceptions of seals well known in other contexts (e.g., the regional office seals PFS 3 and PFS 30), seal attribution on file tags is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is a common one among inscribed seals in the Fortification archive.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 824*

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575 See the discussion in Henkelman (2008, p. 108) and Garrison (2017a, p. 35); see, also, Chapter 3.
576 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.I.08. Cult Imagery: Divine Symbols in Isolation: Winged Figure (female) Ištar on Lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: A large segment of the design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged(?) figure stands on horned lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Figure (right elbow, left shoulder not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left (bent) in front of right (straight), on back and tail of lion-creature below. Right arm, straight, is held down behind body with three lightning bolts in hand. Left arm, bent, extends in front of body from abdomen; hand, ovular fist, holds small bow(?). Object hanging from wrist may be small club. Wears Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; thick fringe is indicated along front and bottom of skirt. Belt or tie hangs from waist. Diagonal line across chest may be part of top of garment or detail of musculature. Arrows (or extra lightning bolts or wings) (partially preserved) are attached to back. May wear flat-topped headdress. Hair is gathered in thin pointed mass at back of head. Outline of small nose is indicated. Chin is pointed.

Below standing figure is horned lion-creature (tip of horn, legs not preserved) couchant. Thin line running underneath chest could be part of foreleg. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in point. Thin horn curves forward from front of head. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Thick mane runs along back of head. Small pointed ear emerges from behind horn.
To right of standing figure is unidentifiable two-pronged object (partially preserved).

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above standing figure.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1.? [...]  
2.? [...]  
3.? [...]  
4.? [...]  
5.? [...] ’x’

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of inscription: cannot be determined

Five lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top, bottom, and left side of the panel are not preserved. While possible, it is unlikely that the inscription has additional lines, as most cuneiform inscriptions at Persepolis do not exceed five lines. Additionally, the slight rounding at the top and bottom of the right vertical side of the panel may indicate rounded corners of the panel. The cases appear short. Almost nothing of the text is preserved.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: no signs preserved.

Line 5: fragment of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Bottom Edge</th>
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<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 279-209</td>
<td>PFUTS 859</td>
<td>PFUTS 859</td>
<td>PFUTS 859</td>
<td>PFUTS 859</td>
<td>PFUTS 824*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PFUTS 824* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFUTS 824* occurs on the left edge with PFUTS 859 applied to non-left-edge surfaces.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFUTS 824* features the Mesopotamian goddess Ištar in her typical regalia and on top of a lion, an animal with which she is often depicted. PFUTS 824* is the only example of this goddess among the seals from the Fortification archive. Because the scene is partially preserved, the full composition is uncertain. The object at right could perhaps be part of a figure that faces toward Ištar.

Owing to the specificity of the rendering of the goddess’s attributes and the compositional formula, and the fact that this composition is otherwise unknown at Persepolis, PFUTS 824* may date to the late Assyrian period.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 2:

- Orientation: Horizontal
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 3204*
2. PFUTS 927*

A second method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, but without case lines. At present, two seals (approximately nine percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 3204*

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577 A seal now in the Louvre (A.836) is nearly identical to PFUTS 824*. See Chapter 5 for more details on this seal.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 10.G. Scenes with Seated Personages: Seated Figure Composition
Undetermined; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Some of the middle of the design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

At left of preserved scene, seated figure presumably faces to right (head, arms, lower body not preserved). Folds of drapery are indicated along underside of legs. Curved element with pointed termination under hips and U-shaped element behind back are perhaps part of chair.

At right of preserved scene is seated figure presumably facing to left (head, one arm, lower body not preserved). Arms, straight, extend outward in front of body from chest and abdomen. Curved element under hips is perhaps part of stool/chair.

At center of scene are two thin vertical elements (top and bottom not preserved), between which are two short horizontal elements.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ˹x˺

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
One line is preserved, enclosed in a panel and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; it is likely that there are additional lines (without case lines, the exact number is difficult to determine). It may simply be due to the poor preservation that no case lines are visible. Almost nothing of the text is preserved; what we are calling line one is almost certainly not the first line of the inscription.

Line 1: fragment of one unidentifiable sign preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1423</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3204*</td>
<td>PFS 3204*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3204* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a ration allocation for animals.

Typically, ration allocations for animals follow either the single-seal or the counter-seal protocol; many well-known supplier seals are attested. It is possible that PFS 3204* is linked with the receiver in NN 1423, Marnušba. This is the only attestation of the name in the archive.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The exact composition of PFS 3204* is unclear. The two seated figures appear to be angled inward toward each other, perhaps an indication that they are in a banqueting context. It is not clear what function the vertical poles at the center of the scene serve, but they could perhaps be elements of a stand.

Modeled Style. The figures are large. Given the poor state of preservation, it is difficult to make specific comments on the carving.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 927*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.C.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.4 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Good
Completeness of Image: Part of middle section of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with right leg straight; left leg, bent, is raised in front of body with foot resting on hindleg of rampant winged lion-creature at right. One arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp horn of creature. Other arm, bent, is held up behind head, presumably holding weapon (not preserved). Wears double-belted skirt/kilt that falls to knee of right leg and leaves left leg bare; fringe is indicated along front of back leg. Long rope-like element extends from waist behind body, perhaps end of belt/tie or dagger. Thin band at back of head, as well as band across forehead, may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of large rounded eye and outer border, thin nose, and small lips. Short pointed beard hangs down.

To right of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (lower hindlegs not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left, and turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Forelegs, straight, reach outward in front of body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Upper paw has round palm with three round digits; lower paw has five long digits/nails. Wing extends horizontally behind body; single row of feathers and thin ribbing along top are indicated. Long tail curves
downward from hindquarters before curving sharply back toward body to terminate in point. Long thin horn extends from top of snout; two nostrils are indicated. Mouth is open and long tongue sticks out. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Two ears emerge from back of head.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, enclosed in a panel and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the full extent of the individual lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. The top and bottom, as well as sections of the left and right vertical sides of the panel, are not preserved; there are certainly additional lines. While there is no indication of case lines, it would be highly unusual for a paneled cuneiform inscription not to have them; one suspects that poor preservation may account for their absence. Almost none of the text is preserved; what we are calling line one is certainly not the first line of the inscription.

Line 1: one fragmentary and unidentifiable sign preserved (at the end of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many signs precede.

A reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 419-203</td>
<td>PFUTS 292</td>
<td>PFUTS 15</td>
<td>PFUTS 15</td>
<td>PFUTS 15</td>
<td>PFUTS 927*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 1101-105</td>
<td>PFUTS 15</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 292</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 927*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 2134-204</td>
<td>PFUTS 292 (x2)</td>
<td>PFUTS 292 (x2)</td>
<td>PFUTS 15 (x2)</td>
<td>PFUTS 292</td>
<td>PFUTS 927*</td>
<td>PFUTS 292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 927* appears on three uninscribed documents, always in the multiple-seal protocol with PFUTS 15 and PFUTS 292.
Seal attribution is not possible. The recurring use of triplet sets of seals is commonly seen in C1 texts (‘deposits with ‘zikka-’ and ‘da-’”) in Elamite documents.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is common in inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.578

Modeled Style. The carving is a miniaturist version of the Modeled Style. As is often the case, there is much detailing in the garment, wings, and claws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 3:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 931*
2. PFS 1025*
3. PFS 1161*

A third method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, but with case lines. At present, three seals (approximately seven percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 931* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 270)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 03.e.04. Two Heroic Encounters, Two Heroes, both combat encounters: lions; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (complete)

578 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Preserved Length of Image: 3.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 22
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top edge and inscription.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of winged heroes grasp pair of crossed rampant bulls while standing atop winged horned lion-creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Hero at left (top of head, left hand not preserved) faces to right. Stands with right leg, straight, atop hindquarters of creature below; left leg, slightly bent, extends in front of body with foot against hindquarters of rampant bull to right. Right arm, bent, is held down in front of body to grasp foreleg of bull facing to left; left arm, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body to grasp horn of bull. Two wings extend behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Additional ribbon-like projections emerge from shoulder and from between wings. Wears long Assyrian garment that leaves left leg bare below knee. Fringe is indicated along front edge of garment over right leg; horizontal bands run across thigh of left leg. Double-banded border with row of fringe lines hem between legs. Back and top of head are rounded and horizontal line runs across forehead, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair lies flat against back of head before being gathered in small rounded mass above shoulder. Face consists of L-shaped nose and small drill hole for eye. Long ovular beard rests over chest.

Hero at right (top of head, face not preserved) faces to left. Stands with left leg, straight, atop hindquarters of creature below; right leg, slightly bent, extends in front of body with foot against hindquarters of rampant bull to left. Right arm, bent, is raised in front of body with hand grasping horn of bull; left arm, slightly bent, is held down in front of body to grasp foreleg of bull. Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Additional ribbon-like projections emerge from shoulder and from between wings. Wears long Assyrian garment that leaves right leg bare below knee. Thin band and row of fringe is indicated along front edge of garment over left leg; two thin bands and row of fringe is indicated along hem hanging from right leg. Additional fringe is indicated on front of left hip. Thin horizontal bands cover torso. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Ovular beard is indicated.

Between heroes is pair of rampant bulls. Cross at torso; bull facing to left is in front of bull facing to right. Stand on hindlegs with hooves apart; one hoof rests on head of creature below, other on square object between heads of creatures couchant. Forelegs, slightly bent, extend in front of body and terminate in small rounded (bull facing to left) or squared (bull facing to right) hooves. Head and snout are angled downward toward chest. Long thin tail hangs from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft. Bull facing to left has wavy horn; bull facing to right has curved horn. Mane runs along back
of neck. One (bull facing to left) or two (bull facing to right) ears emerge from back of head. Ithyphallic.

Below heroes and rampant bulls is pair of winged horned lion-creatures couchant (forepaw of creature at left not preserved) facing in toward center. One hindleg, bent, is tucked underneath abdomen; terminates in paw with ovular segments (creature at left). No paws are indicated on creature at right. One foreleg, straight, extends on ground in front of body. Wing extends upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Wing on creature at left also has ribbing along front edge. Long thin tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back down to terminate in small tuft. Creature at left has bulbous horn; creature at right has curved horn. Mouth is open and jaw is lined; creature at right has short pointed tongue. Small drill hole marks eye. Mane runs along back of head and neck of creature at right.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above rampant bulls and is complete at bottom.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] `x` [...]
  2. `x` `x`
  3. mar-si
  4. u-zí-iš
  5. `x`
  6. `mi`?

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The six-line inscription is separated by case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is unclear whether the diagonal line at the bottom of the inscription is meant to serve as a case line; it is understood as one here. If intentional, the diagonal case line would be unique within the corpus. The line may alternatively be evidence of re-cutting or perhaps is a remnant of a previous design. The heights of the lines vary, to which the signs appear to react (e.g., compare the height of the signs in line two to those in line four).

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: perhaps two broken and unidentifiable signs.

Line 3: two signs: -mar and -si.

Line 4: three signs: -u, -zí, and -iš.
Line 5: apparently one broken and unidentifiable sign.

Line 6: apparently one broken sign: -\textit{mi}.

Many of the signs are broken and/or unidentifiable. Without the beginning of the inscription or DUMU, the formula is obscure; given the absence of DUMU, a personal name, perhaps followed by a title, seems most likely. Neither can be reconstructed at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, perhaps counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 210</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 575</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 807</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 932</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 66-203</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 602-201</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
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<td>PFUT 1149-201</td>
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<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 1656-101</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>PFS 931*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 931* appears on two Aramaic, one Elamite, and four uninscribed documents and perhaps follows two sealing protocols.\textsuperscript{579}

On the one Elamite document, PF 807, the seal on the left edge is illegible (and hence it carries a distinct seal number, in this case PFS 932). Given the insistent single-seal protocol on all the other documents sealed by PFS 931*, our inclination is to assume that the illegible seal impression on the left edge of PF 807 is, in fact, PFS 931*.

Single-Seal:

PF 807 is a ration allocation.

\textsuperscript{579} Several tablets have at least one surface destroyed. Given the consistent use of PFS 931* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, we suspect that these surfaces either carried PFS 931* or were left blank, thus the single-seal protocol.
Translations of the Aramaic texts, PFAT 210 and PFAT 575, were not available at the time of writing.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The particular compositional formula on PFS 931*, a double heroic combat with crossed animals atop pedestal creatures alongside an inscription, is unique. The inclusion of the inscription without a panel results in the close interaction of text and figural imagery.

miniaturist Modeled Style. As noted above, this style is often employed on scenes where the hero lifts his leg; PFS 931* is an obviously expanded version of the basic concept. As is often the case with a miniaturist Modeled Style, there is much detailing in wings and garments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming; Dusinberre 1997, p. 124 (n. 61); Garrison 2017a, p. 31; Garrison and Dion 1999, pp. 9 (n. 9) and 10 (n. 28); Garrison and Ritner 2010, pp. 32-33; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 381-82.

PFS 1025* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 266)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 497 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.19. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged creatures of uncertain type; Mixed Styles I(?)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 0.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Small portion of middle section of design survives along part of its length.

580 The fragmentary PFATS 327 may show the same format. PFUTS 136* and PFATS 622 both show two heroes interacting with crossed animal/creatures, but without the pedestal creatures.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure stands before rampant winged creature; inscription in terminal field.

Figure (not preserved above or below torso) appears to face to right. Stands with one arm held diagonally downward in front of body.

To right of standing figure is rampant winged creature of uncertain type (head, lower legs, tip of wing and tail, forelegs not preserved). Stands with hindlegs apart: right hindleg is apparently straight; left hindleg, straight, extends in front of body, likely with hindfoot approaching or resting on hero’s waist/legs. Tail curves downward from hindquarters. Thin wing curves upward from back.

Inscription with case line occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x x’
2.? [...] ‘x’ -da

COMMENTARY ON SEAL INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, separated by a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, there is no evidence of a panel. It is likely that there are additional lines.

Line 1: perhaps two broken and unidentifiable signs.

Line 2: two signs: a broken and unidentifiable sign and -da.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attestations of PFS 1025*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tablet</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 1059</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1025* appears on one Elamite document and follows the multiple-seal protocol with PFS 1680 and PFS 1026.

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581 For an example of this composition, see PFS 981* and PFS 2138*.
This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the exact compositional formula on PFS 1025* is obscure, it is likely that it includes at least one hero who controls at least one rampant winged creature.

Mixed Styles I. 582

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1161*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.A. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: Winged lion; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 0.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Small portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged lion-creature marchant; inscription in terminal field.

582 The attribution to the Court Style in Garrison and Root (2001, p. 377) was very tentative. We would prefer to place the seal now in Mixed Styles I.
Winged lion-creature marchant (top of head, legs not preserved) faces to right. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Curved tail terminates in triangular tuft. Mouth is open and jaw is lined.

Inscription with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’ [...]  
2.? ‘x x’ [...]  

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, separated by case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is possible that there are additional lines of text. The curved right edge of the first-preserved case line and the termination of the second case line into the chest of the creature likely indicate that there is no panel.

Line 1: fragments of perhaps one sign preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 2: fragments of perhaps two signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Upper Edge</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1213</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1161*</td>
<td>PFS 41</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1161* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol with PFS 41.

PFS 1161* occurs as the counter-seal (on the upper edge) with the supplier seal, PFS 41, applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

PFS 41 is associated in many texts with the *kurman* official Ibaturra, the supplier in PF 1213. Marriyadadda, the name of the receiver in PF 1213, is a well-attested wine *kurman*
official who is linked with several seals. That we have to do with the same individual in PF 1213 seems likely. Whether PFS 1161* may be attributed to him is uncertain.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is common in inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.583

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 4:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFATS 195*
2. PFUTS 333*

A fourth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, two seals (approximately four percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFATS 195*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.A.01. Hero controls bulls; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (incomplete)

583 See Chapter 5 for additional examples.
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA  
Number of Impressions: 1  
Quality of Impression: Fair  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design is preserved along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Winged hero controls rampant bull(s); inscription in terminal field.

Winged hero (face, tips of upper wings, hands, feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Arms, slightly bent, are held up to either side, likely to hold forelegs (not preserved) of rampant bulls to right and to left. Four wings extend diagonally outward from shoulders, two upward and two downward; bottom wings have three rows of feathers, upper right wing has no feathers indicated, and upper left wing has two rows of feathers. Wears Assyrian garment that leaves right leg exposed below knee. Hair is rendered in ovular segments behind head; beard, also ovular segments, rests over chest.

To right of hero is rampant bull (tip of horn and ear, snout, right foreleg, hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with hindlegs apart, left in front of right. Left foreleg, bent, hangs in front of abdomen and terminates in hoof. Long thin tail extends horizontally from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in teardrop-shaped tuft. Horn and ear emerge from top of head in V-shape. Mane, small drill holes, runs from top of head down to tail; additional row of small drill holes lines belly.

To left of hero is lower part of foreleg with hoof, presumably of rampant bull similar to that at right.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION:
Line: 1.? ‘x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Only one sign is preserved, perhaps oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The sign(s) is placed in the space between the bull’s back and tail. The proximity of the cuneiform to the animal likely indicates that there is no panel.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 155</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFATS 195*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFATS 195* appears on one Aramaic document and follows the single-seal protocol.

A translation of this text was not available at the time of writing.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the scene is only partially preserved, it likely is a central hero who controls two rampant bulls. While the heroic control encounter is one of the most popular themes among Persepolitan glyptic, the inclusion of bulls in such a scene is rare. At present, only four seals in the Fortification archive carry such a scene.  

Modeled Style. PFATS 195* is a large seal and boldly carved. Detail is extensive; note, especially, the wings and hair/beard of the hero and the mane along the neck, back, and belly of the bull. The use of connected ovals for the hero’s hair and beard is paralleled by PFS 9*, PFS 49, PFS 123*, PFS 524, PFS 516, PFS 2138*, and PFUTS 219*; the style of the hero’s wings – bi- or tri-lined with ovular feathers – is similar to that on PFS 103*, PFS 113*, and PFS 513; the manner of depicting the bull’s hair with small circles is unique, but perhaps similar to the small dots that adorn the winged bull-like creature on PFS 1406.  

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFUTS 333*

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584 The other three seals are PFS 102, PFS 2728, and PFS 3236. Winged bulls are more common.
585 Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 22.I. Heraldic: Winged Lions; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of heraldic winged lion-creatures marchant; inscription in upper and terminal fields.

Pair of winged lion-creatures (face, top of wing, hindfeet of creature at left not preserved; face, part of tail, right forepaw of creature at right not preserved) faces in toward center. Stand with legs apart. Forelegs terminate in paws with two ovular segments (creature at left) or striations (creature at right). Hindlegs terminate in talons (creature at left) or hooves (creature at right). Tufts of hair hang from backs of legs. Wing reaches diagonally upward behind body; on creature at left, two segments with one row of feathers each are indicated. Wing on creature at right has one row of feathers and central ribbing. Tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in large triangular (creature at left) or segmented (creature at right) tuft. Mouth of creature at left appears open; creature at right, with human face, has small lips indicated. Mane, serrated (creature at left) or thin band (creature at right), runs along back of head; additional thin band, perhaps detailing of mane, runs diagonally behind ears and across neck and mane of creature at right. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head; small tuft of hair sits in front of ears on creature at left. Creature at right may have horn or tuft of hair in front of ears. Segmented beard rests over chest of creature at right. Creature at left is ithyphallic.

Inscription is preserved in space above creature at left and in terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below some sections of figural scene. Edge is wavy with chips/flaws in stone, perhaps from seal cap.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 
1.? [...] ’x’
2.? hu
3.? ‘hu?’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, one sign is preserved above the head of the creature at left and two signs are in the terminal
field. It is possible that there are additional lines. The full length and the exact placement of the inscription is unclear.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: one sign: -hu.

Line 3: one broken sign: perhaps -hu.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 2124</td>
<td>PFUTS 332*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 333*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 332*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 333* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the parallel-seal protocol with PFUTS 332*. It is rare for two inscribed seals to appear together on the same tablet.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The composition appears to be an expansion of the common thematic type of an animal/creature marchant with an inscription.586

Modeled Style. The carving is deep with large passages of mass clearly articulated from each other. The torso of each creature is rounded where it meets the wing and front legs, adding extra contours. There is much detailing in the face of the creature at right, as well as the mane, wing, and legs of both creatures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 5:
   Orientation: Horizontal
   Location in Field: Central Space
   With/Without Panel: With Panel
   With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

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586 See Chapter 5 for examples of the single animal/creature thematic type.
A fifth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the central space of the design, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, two seals (approximately four percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 296*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 31. Inscription on own
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 3.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 5.3 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Segment of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Paneled inscription with case lines.

Cuneiform signs, mostly within panel with case lines (see below for details). Additional text appears outside of panel to left. Additional elements (e.g., curved lines, dimple) are present.

INSCRIPTION:
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x’ [...] 
2. ? bīstab-da-‘a-’na-an ’DUMU?’ [...] 
3. ? ’x x x’ [...] 
4. ? [...] Ă ’x’ [...]
“..., son (of) (?) ...”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

Four lines are preserved, three of which (what we are calling lines one through three) are enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. One additional line (our line four) appears to left of the panel and is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. A thin curved element separates this line and the panel at right; this element could be decorative, or it could serve an organizational function similar to a case line or a panel. An additional curved line, oriented horizontally, overlaps the left side of the second preserved case line; it is unclear whether this element relates to the curved element at left. At present, the top, bottom, and right side of the panel are not preserved. It is possible that there are additional lines. The signs that are present vary greatly in size, as do the style of wedges.

Line 1: fragment of one unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: seven signs preserved: DIŠ, -tab, -da, broken -a, -na, -an, and perhaps broken DUMU. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 3: three broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 4: two signs preserved: -ú and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

The unusual organization of the inscription, with both horizontal and vertical orientations, and apparently two separate sections of text, make a reading difficult. The great variety in signs – both in size and shape – also presents challenges. While the signs in line two appear clear, their meaning is uncertain; they do not seem to comprise a known name.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 98</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 296*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 297</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 99</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 297</td>
<td>PFS 296*</td>
<td>PFS 297</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 296* appears on two Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols, but in both cases with PFS 297.
Counter-Seal:
PF 98.

PFS 296* occurs on the reverse with PFS 297 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 99.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., B texts like PF 98 and PF 99), seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Owing to the partial preservation, the overall composition is obscure. It is possible that the scene is comprised entirely of an inscription, with text that occurs both within and outside of a panel. The minor decorative elements, the dimple on the left vertical side of the panel and the thin arcing lines, may indicate additional features of the design. This could also be evidence of re-cutting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 739*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 13.B. Human(s) Interacting with Animal(s)/Creature(s): In processional scenes; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)

587 While there are multiple inscribed seals that display text both within and outside of a panel in a single design (e.g., PFS 1574* and PFS 1637*), it is uncommon for the orientation of the text to change.
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Human figure and composite animal-headed human-creature; paneled inscription in space around creature.

At left, composite human-creature (left hand not preserved) comprised of human torso, arms, and legs, talons, and lion’s head, faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, slightly bent, is held diagonally upward behind head; hand holds small object, perhaps projectile. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body. Wears short belted skirt/kilt with fringe along diagonal hem over right leg. Mouth is open and jaw is lined; pointed teeth extend from top and bottom jaw. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies space around composite human-creature.

To right of inscription is human figure (left foot not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, slightly bent, is held diagonally upward behind head; small object, perhaps projectile, is in cupped hand. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body; hand is cupped downward. Wears short double-belted skirt/kilt with fringe lining diagonal hem over right leg. Wears rounded headdress with small knob at top. Hair is gathered in long mass at back of head. Face is comprised of rounded eye, outline of squared nose, and short line for mouth. Long beard rests over chest.

Masses, likely chips/flaws in stone, appear above inscription, in second case of inscription, and to right of human figure.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḏiš-su-iš
  2. ni? [...]
  3. ’x’ [...] ah?

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN…?

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Even though the right side of the panel extends below the lowermost preserved horizontal line, perhaps indicating that there is an additional line of text, this is unlikely, as the bottom horizontal line corresponds to the bottom of the figural scene; instead, it is possible that the vertical side(s) extends downward for a decorative
effect.\textsuperscript{588} The signs appear chaotically in the cases, with numerous wedges slanted in various directions. It is unclear whether the chips/flaws in the stone, as well as the large composite creature, obscure any text. The sign in line two appears to react to the masses, perhaps indicating that the masses, at least, predate the carving of the text. Some of the sign forms are unusual; this may be a result of the composition, which includes both a full figure and chips/flaws within the panel.

Line 1: apparently three signs: DIŠ, -šu, and -iš.

Line 2: one sign preserved: perhaps -ni. It is unclear how many, if any, signs follow.

Line 3: two signs preserved: a broken and unidentifiable sign and perhaps -ah. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

The reading is obscure. With DIŠ at the beginning, we apparently have a personal name, at least.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tr>
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<td>PFS 5</td>
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<td>Fort. 1221-102</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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PFS 739* appears on three Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol with PFS 5.

In all instances, PFS 739* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 5, applied to the left edge.\textsuperscript{589}

These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.

Sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement are not well understood. Parru, the supplier in PF 512 and NN 2420, is well attested as a \textit{kurman} official using PFS 5.\textsuperscript{590} Irdadadda, who stores seed in PF 512 and NN 2402, is named in only one other text, NN 2414, another receipt of commodity movement, which is not sealed. We must have to do

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{588} For an example of this phenomenon, see PFS 188a*.
\textsuperscript{589} With the left edge of Fort. 1221-102 destroyed, we cannot say whether PFS 5 appeared here. Considering the sealing patterns of the other two tablets to which PFS 739* is applied, it is possible that it followed the same pattern here.
\textsuperscript{590} E.g., PF 9, PF 511, and PF 513; Garrison 2017a, p. 68.

619
with the same individual in all three texts. We may then link PFS 739* with Irdadadda, but this attribution is very tentative.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The design is highly unusual. The full figure within the inscription and both figures holding projectiles and apparently facing the same direction, perhaps in procession, are otherwise unattested. There appears to have been some attempt at incorporating the composite creature into the space of the inscription, as the feet of the creature stand in for part of the lowermost horizontal line, and the bottom hem of the creature’s skirt – a banded border – aligns with the second case line. Perhaps re-cutting may explain some of these features.

On multiple levels, PFS 739* is closely related to the regional office seal PFS 4*. The poses, garments, and headdresses of the human figures are identical. The way in which the text surrounds the figural scene is very similar. Lastly, the seals are so close stylistically that one could argue that they come from the same workshop, indeed, even the same hand.

Modeled Style. A miniaturist Modeled Style almost always exhibits heart-shaped human torsos and exaggerated musculature in the shoulders, calves, and biceps of human figures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 6:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Central Space
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 790* 2. PFS 1572*

A sixth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the central space of the overall design, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, two seals (approximately four percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 790*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.D.06.a. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Structure: Worshipper before Stepped Structure; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 8
Quality of Impressions: Poor
 Completeness of Image: Portion of middle section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure stands before stepped structure with fire; another figure faces to right; inscription in space around figures.

Figure at left (hands, lower legs not preserved) faces to left. One arm, bent, is held upward in front of body; other arm, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body. Appears to wear long garment. Front of head is rounded and back is flat, perhaps indicating headdress. Thin ribbon or ponytail hangs down from back of head. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Rounded chin or beard is indicated.

Figure at right (lower body not preserved) faces to right. One arm extends diagonally upward in front of body; hand is thin ovular segment. Appears to wear garment with long sleeve. Headdress is rounded on top with two segments at front and two straight projections extending diagonally downward from back. L-shaped mass of hair sits at back of neck. Face consists of thin nose and two thin bands around eye. Long pointed chin or beard is indicated.

Between backs of figures are two parallel curved elements.

591 PF 582.
At left of scene is stepped structure consisting of three stacked horizontal ovular segments; at bottom is additional rounded support. At top is fire with L-shaped outline at right and four thin projections at left.

Inscription occupies space around figures.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x mi? x’ [...] ‘x’
2.? [...] ‘x x x x x’
3.? [...] ‘x’ […]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Most of the signs appear as traces and are not readily identifiable. It is unclear whether there are additional lines. The signs that are present are carved around and even on top of the figural design.

Line 1: perhaps four broken signs preserved: an unidentifiable sign, perhaps -mi, and two unidentifiable signs. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 2: fragments of perhaps five unrecognizable signs preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 790*

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<td>PFS 790*</td>
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</table>

PFS 790* appears on one Elamite and one uninscribed document, always in the single-seal protocol.

PF 582 is a receipt of commodity movement.
Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like PF 582), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The fragmentary preservation, as well as placement of the inscription throughout the design, make the exact composition obscure. It is possible that when the seal is rolled out, the figure at right faces toward the stepped structure, mirroring the figure at left facing to left.592 The function of the curved bands between the backs of the figures is unclear. The placement of the text, around and even on top of the figural elements, may suggest that the seal was recut.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 130-31, 273, 323, and pl. 4.

PFS 1572*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure stands before winged lion-creature marchant; inscription in front of and behind standing figure.

592 For the significance of the structure with fire, see Garrison (2017a, pp. 31, 130-31, 273, and 323).
Standing figure (head, hands, lower legs not preserved) presumably faces to left. Arms are lifted diagonally upward in front of body, most likely in worshiping gesture. Appears to wear long belted garment with long tie that hangs from waist in front of body. Short dagger/sheath extends from waist behind body.

To left of worshiper is winged lion-creature (head, lower legs not preserved) facing to right. Stands with legs apart. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers and thin section along top are indicated. Tail reaches diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft.

Inscription occupies space between figures.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? ’x x’ bad

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. With perhaps only three signs preserved at present, we assume there is additional text; where it is placed is uncertain. It is unusual for the text to appear to either side of part of the figural scene; so construed, the figures appear to be placed in the middle of the line.

Line 1: three signs preserved: two broken and unidentifiable signs and -bad.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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</table>

PFS 1572* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a letter.

Sealing protocols are clear for letters: the addressor seals the letter. We can thus link PFS 1572* with Indapippi, the addressor in PF 1859. Indapippi (also spelled Indapipi) is mentioned in seven other documents from the Fortification archive; in four texts, he is
identified as a šaramanna official. In PF 1846, a letter, grain is ordered for him so that he can store it for the king. In PF 3020 and NN 175, he receives grain; in the latter, he gives it to workers.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The compositional formula is a common one at Persepolis: a worshipper before an animal or creature. The placement of the inscription, free-floating in the spaces between the figures, is unusual.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, pp. 85, 87, and 378; Garrison 2017b, p. 217.

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 7:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Upper
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFUTS 314*

A seventh method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the upper field, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, one seal (approximately two percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) is so disposed.

PFUTS 314*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND

593 PF 1055, PF 1056, NN 1883, and NN 3019.
594 See, for example, PFS 706* and PFS 2096*.
Typology and Style: 06.B.02. Hunts with Spears: Standing: Spearing animal/creature
Moving Toward Hunter: boar; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 5.4 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large segment of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure spears boar; paneled inscription in upper field.

Figure (parts of lower legs/feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, hold spear diagonally downward across body; spear terminates at boar to right. Wears Persian court robe with sleeves pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; drapery hangs around waist. Wears dentate crown. Hair is close against back of head before being gathered in rounded mass behind neck. Face consists of rounded eye with squared outer crease, outline of squared nose, and two small lips. Pointed beard rests over chest.

To right of standing figure is boar (legs, hindquarters not preserved) facing to left. Thick mane runs along back of head and torso. Small slit indicates mouth.

To left of standing figure are hindquarters of small animal, possibly belonging to boar at right.

Paneled inscription with case lines occupies upper field above boar.

Line border runs horizontally above and below standing figure.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above standing figure and inscription/boar.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...]  
  2. [...]  
  3. [...]  
  4. x ni? ni? ’x’ [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the right side of the panel is not preserved. The
upper portions of the left and right vertical sides are not preserved; it seems likely that they terminate at the top edge of the seal above. The height of the cases varies slightly.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

Line 4: four unrecognizable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, signs followed.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. The repetition of signs consisting of a horizontal wedge on top of at least one vertical recalls the Old Persian script, where many signs have this configuration (e.g., -da, -ca). Old Persian is extremely rare outside of royal inscriptions, making it unlikely that it is used here.595

The placement of the inscription in the upper field above a figural element, in this case the boar, is very unusual. The inscription on PFS 1568* is somewhat similar in apparently having part of the inscription placed over the legs of the fleeing caprid.596

An (Elamite) inscribed seal from the tablets found under the Palace of Darius at Susa bears some compositional similarities to PFUTS 314*.597 The Susa seal shows an individual in a long garment with some type of plant in his hand approaching an animal. The scene thus bears some compositional resemblance to a hunt with a spear. The critical issue here is the inscription on the Susa seal, which floats in the upper field above the animal in a panel with case lines, thus similar to what we see on PFUTS 314*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFUTS 314*

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</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 314* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the single-seal protocol.

Seal attribution is not possible.

595 See Stolper and Tavernier (2007) for the one example of a text from the Fortification archive that is written in Old Persian.
596 More often, an inscription in the upper field is free-floating and written in an alphabetic script (e.g., PFATS 22*, PFS 123*, PFS 284*, and PFS 1612*). PFS 83* has a paneled Aramaic inscription in the upper field. See Chapter 6 for details on the placement and presentation of inscriptions.
597 Amiet 1973, no. 19; ibid., p. 12, pl. 5.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The line borders above and below the crowned figure are very unusual; while the lower may function as a ground line, the role of the upper is unclear.

Modeled Style. The segmentation of the arms of the hunter is distinctive of a miniaturist Modeled Style. The seal is carefully carved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 8:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 35*
2. PFS 64*
3. PFS 526*
4. PFS 1095*
5. PFS 1601*
6. PFS 2117*
7. PFS 3008*
8. PFS 3113*

An eighth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, eight seals (approximately 18 percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 35*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE

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598 Two of the seals (PFS 2117* and PFS 3008*) carry single-line inscriptions that appear within a panel. Necessarily, these inscriptions omit case lines. However, for the sake of simplifying classification, as well as owing to the paneling of the text, which in most instances also features case lines, we include them here.
599 NN 28.
Typology and Style: 05.B.01.b. Archers: Standing human or winged/tailed human archer:
Aiming at one animal/creature attacking another: Lion and horned animal: deer, gazelles,
wild goats, wild sheep (caprid); Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
Number of Impressions: 41
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of the design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at wounded lion attacking caprid; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Archer (lower legs and bottom of bow not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs
apart, left in front of right. Right arm, sharply bent, is held up at shoulder height to pull
back on bowstring in front of chest; left arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim
arrow to right. Wears belted thigh-length coat over trousers; vertical line down center of
garment appears to mark closure. May wear rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in small
ovular mass at back of head. Face consists of ovular eye with triangular outline and
outline of triangular nose. Rounded beard hangs to chest.

To right of archer is rampant lion (left forepaw, hindfeet, tip of tail not preserved) facing
to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Right foreleg, straight, reaches
diagonally upward in front of body toward caprid; paw has four digits. Left foreleg,
straight, leans on belly of caprid below. Thin tail curves upward from hindquarters. Small
divot at end of snout indicates nostrils. Mouth is open. Pointed ear emerges from top of
head. Two arrows have struck lion, one at upper back and one at back of head.

To right of lion is caprid (hindquarters not preserved) facing to left. Lies on back.
Forelegs, bent, rest on abdomen. Long double horn emerges from top of head and curves
back behind head. Pointed tuft of hair hangs down from chin. Diamond-shaped eye is
indicated. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Two pointed ears emerge from back of
head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...] `raʔ? daʔ áš `x’ [...]  
2. [...] umʔ ma [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from bottom to top. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved, thus the full length of each line is uncertain. Several of the signs are not readily recognizable, owing both to poor preservation and apparently unusual sign forms.

Line 1: four signs preserved: perhaps broken -ra, perhaps -da, -áš, and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 2: two signs preserved: perhaps -um, and -ma. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

A reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PFS 35* appears on 28 Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
NN 2488 and NN 3068.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Counter-Seal:
PF 441, PF 458, PF 463, PF 464, PF 484, PF 973, PF 1008, PF 1009, PF 1143, PF 1733, PF 1736, NN 28, NN 54, NN 266, NN 438, NN 842, NN 1249, NN 1343, NN 1627, NN 1768, NN 1787, NN 2128, NN 2185, NN 2377, NN 2508, and NN 2531.

In all instances, PFS 35* occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers and animals.600

This dossier is typical of high authority šaramanna officials. In the ration lists associated with PFS 35*, three different šaramanna officials are named: Tiyama, Rašda, and Maraza, with Tiyama named the most often (five texts).601 Tiyama seems most certainly to use PFS 91, Rašda PFS 77*, but it may be noteworthy that the one tablet sealed only with PFS 35*, NN 2488, names Tiyama šaramanna (in single-sealed ration lists, it is very common for the seal to belong to the šaramanna official). Two ration allocations, NN 438 and NN 1627, which seem contiguous in year 24, state that HAL/kurtaš ȘAIRTABBAMA-NÁ ("workers of the woman Irdamba") for whom Rašda is šaramanna receive grain rations at the place Tirazziš. While the seal is probably not used by Rašda (see the commentary on PFS 77*), these texts provide a link to Irdamba’s work forces and may suggest a connection to her bureau. Certainly, the exceptional quality of the design and carving of PFS 35* suggest a user/office of exceptional rank. For the moment, perhaps we may conclude that PFS 35* is an office seal representing a very active šaramanna official/office.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 35* is one of the great masterpieces of glyptic in the Fortification archive. The design and execution have a powerful, monumental quality. In this sense the seal recalls...
PFS 115*. The composition is unique within Persepolitan glyptic. Do we read the caprid as in the act of falling backward, or leaning against the inscription panel?

Garrison has discussed the deep temporal sequencing introduced by the two previously shot arrows.\textsuperscript{602} PFS 71* provides an analogue in this regard; note also how both scenes include two animals, one on the ground.\textsuperscript{603}

Modeled Style. The heart-shaped torso of the archer evokes a miniaturist Modeled Style, but the forms here are large and broadly modeled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2000, pp. 135-37 (fig. 8), pl. XVIII: 8; Garrison 2008, p. 174 (n. 54); Garrison 2010a, pp. 344 (fig. 32.5e), 345 (fig. 32.6e), and 352; Garrison 2014b, pp. 84 (n. 104) and 86 (n. 118); Garrison 2017a, pp. 67 and 83; Henkelman 2008, pp. 248 and 488; Merrillees 2005, p. 28; Root 2002b, pp. 182 (fig. 5.3b) and 192; Potts 2008, p. 284 (n. 12).

PFS 64* \textit{(OIP 117 Cat.No. 173)}

\begin{itemize}
\item Seal Type: Cylinder
\item Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE\textsuperscript{604}
\item Typology and Style: 01.C.04. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Lions; Fortification Style
\item Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
\item Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
\item Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (incomplete)
\item Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
\item Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
\item Number of Impressions: 29
\item Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
\item Completeness of Image: Large segment of middle of design survives.
\end{itemize}

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

\begin{itemize}
\item Garrison 2010a, p. 352.
\item Ibid., pp. 352 and 354; Garrison 2017a, p. 371.
\item PF 200.
\end{itemize}
Winged hero holds inverted lions; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (tip of upper left wing, lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, extend to either side to hold hindleg (lion at left) or tail (lion at right) of inverted lion. Four wings extend outward from shoulders, two diagonally upward and two diagonally downward. Single row of feathers is indicated on each; all but upper right wing have thin ribbing along top edge. Wears long Assyrian garment that leaves left leg exposed below knee; hem over left knee has fringe. May wear rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in long rectangular mass behind head. Face consists of rounded eye and outline of squared nose. Squared beard with horizontal striations rests on shoulder.

To left and to right of hero are inverted lions (forelegs, back of head/neck not preserved). Turn head back behind body to face upward. One (lion at left) or two hindlegs (lion at right) extend toward legs of hero; ovular segments (lion at left) or striations (lion at right) indicate nails/digits. Right hindleg of animal at left is held by hero. Foreleg of animal at left rests on leg of hero; paw has two ovular segments. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft; tail of lion at right is held by hero. Mouth is open; small tooth extends from top (lion at left) or bottom jaw (lion at right). Small rounded eye and outer crease is indicated on lion at right. Lion at right has small rounded ear.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...] ’x x’ [...] ’x’ [...] 
2. [...] ’x’ [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, perhaps reading from top to bottom. At present, no impressions of the seal show the full inscription, nor do they allow for a collation of the total number of lines. As a result, the composite drawing keeps the segments of the inscription separate, as preserved in the extant impressions. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. The signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: perhaps three broken and unrecognizable signs preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 2: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, multiple-seal

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<td>PFS 478</td>
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<td>PFS 10</td>
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</table>

PFS 64* appears on 25 Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols.\(^{606}\)

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\(^{605}\) A sale of cuneiform tablets from the Erlenmeyer collection at Christie’s London in 1988 includes a few documents that carry impressions of inscribed seals also attested in the Fortification archive (PFS 64*, PFS 161*s, PFS 284*, and PFS 451*s). Indeed, these tablets, which have been given the designation “Erlenmeyer” here (following Jones and Stolper (2006)), certainly originated from the Fortification archive and the impressions of the seals attested in the archive confirm this (Jones and Stolper 2006, pp. 1-2).

\(^{606}\) The upper edge of NN 451, a ration allocation, is destroyed. If the surface was left unsealed, PFS 64* would follow the single-seal protocol (as, for example, on NN 132 and NN 151); if a different seal was applied here, it would follow the counter-seal protocol (as the supplier seal on the left edge).
Single-Seal:
PF 1229, PF 1597, NN 132, NN 151, NN 451, NN 1446, and NN 2186.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Counter-Seal:
PF 1100, PF 1128, PF 1220, PF 1237, NN 434, NN 629, NN 1094, NN 1267, NN 1337, NN 1442, NN 1502, NN 1549, NN 3022, and Erlenmeyer 7.  

With one exception (NN 1337), PFS 64* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal applied generally on the reverse and/or upper edge.  

On NN 1337, PFS 64* occurs as the counter-seal (on the upper edge) with the supplier seal, PFS 211, applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Multiple-Seal:
PF 200.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity deposit.

As with PFS 35*, this dossier is typical of an active šaramanna official, but the insistent application of the seal to the left edge of tablets suggests that we have to do with a kurman office. Numerous kurman officials are named, however, more than one expects for a kurman office seal; so, too, seven different locales are recorded. While all of them are in the Elam region, the number is again more than one would expect for a kurman office seal.

Koch argues that PFS 64* may belong to Tiridada, who was responsible, to some degree, for provisioning of workers in her Elam Region VI.  

As evidenced in the dossier of PFS 64*, Tiridada and, less often, Irtašduna (a man, not the royal woman), are the receivers of commodities that are passed on to workers; in both instances, they are named with “companions.” In the case of Tiridada, the only time that he occurs in the archive is in association with PFS 64*. The evidence thus seems to point toward linking Tiridada (and

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607 The right edges of NN 1094 and NN 1267 are destroyed, but it is very unlikely that these surfaces were sealed. No documents carrying impressions of PFS 64* have a seal applied to the right edge and, generally, the right edge is not a common surface to carry a seal.

608 It is possible that Fort. 1812-102 also carries PFS 64* as the counter-seal, rather than as the supplier seal, as is more common among this dossier. With several destroyed surfaces on the tablet, this is uncertain. The impression of the seal on the left edge of Erlenmeyer 7 is poorly preserved; with hesitation, we identify it as PFS 64*.

609 If Fort. 1011-105 has two seals in addition to PFS 64*, it also follows the multiple-seal protocol.

610 Koch 1990, p. 212 (n. 872).

611 Tiridada: PF 1100, PF 1220, PF 1229, PF 1237, PF 1597, NN 151, NN 451, NN 629, NN 1094, NN 1267, NN 1442, NN 1446, NN 1502, NN 2186, and NN 3022; Irtašduna: PF 1128, NN 132, NN 434, NN 1337, and NN 1549.
companions) with PFS 64*. It seems unusual that he is never named as a šaramanna or
damanna official. The seal may in fact represent a šaramanna or damanna office staffed
by Tiridada, Iritašduna, and “companions.”

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is one of the most popular among Persepolitan glyptic; the inverted
animals is a less common compositional formula.612

Fortification Style. The carving is full enough that one could classify it as Mixed Styles I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Aperghis 1998, pp. 49-51; Aperghis 1999, p. 189; Koch 1990, p. 212 (n. 872); Garrison
1998, p. 121 (n. 15); Garrison 2000, p. 128 (n. 39); Garrison 2008, p. 174 (n. 54);
501; Merrillees 2005, p. 35; Tuplin 2008, pp. 354 (n. 99), 355-57 (n. 103, 107, 109-110,
112), and 368.

PFS 526* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 216)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 506 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.B.03. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature,
weapon held down behind body: Winged human-faced/human-headed bull creature;
Mixed Styles II
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large section of middle of design survives along its complete
length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

612 See Chapter 5.
Hero threatens rampant winged human-headed bull-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (head, right hand, feet not preserved) presumably faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Right arm, straight, extends in front of body to grasp foreleg of creature to left. Left arm, straight, is held diagonally downward behind body; short weapon hangs from hand. Wears Assyrian garment that leaves right leg bare.

To left of hero is rampant winged human-headed bull-creature (right forepaw, hindfeet, top of headdress not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Forelegs, straight, reach diagonally upward in front of body; left foreleg terminates in small paw. Large wing in two segments curves upward from shoulders behind body; one row of feathers is indicated on top segment, two are indicated on bottom. Straight tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters. Wears flat-topped headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of large round eye and outline of squared nose. Pointed beard rests over chest. Ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel with case line occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...] ab [...]  
2. [...]  

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the full length of the individual lines is not known. Most of the text is not preserved.

Line 1: one sign preserved: -ab. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 526*</td>
<td>PFS 527</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 526* appears on one Elamite document and follows the parallel-seal protocol.
This transaction is a receipt of cattle as tax.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

There is a large amount of space between the hero and the creature. The significantly larger size of the creature, compared to the hero, is noteworthy.

Mixed Styles II. The rendering of the hero’s body is mainstream Fortification Style. The creature has, however, some indications of modelling; the three rows of feathers on the wing is classical Court Style. So, too, human-headed bulls are often seen in the Court Style (cf. the human-headed bulls on PFS 113*, which are very similar, although carrying more detail). Thus, we suggest a seal that blends Fortification Style with elements of the Court Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


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**PFS 1095***

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.H. Cult Imagery: Possible Worship Scenes; Cut-and-Drilled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 2.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.1 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 13
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good

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613 This stylistic classification differs from that given in Garrison and Root (2001, pp. 314-15).
614 PF 1152.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two standing figures, rampant animal, and fish(?) in uncertain composition; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Figure at far right of preserved design (head, legs, one arm not preserved) stands, presumably facing to right. One arm, straight, is held down behind body and holds weapon with rounded termination (mace?). Appears to wear long garment.

Figure at far left of preserved design (head, lower legs not preserved) stands facing to left. One arm is indicated/preserved, raised diagonally upward in front of body, perhaps in worshiping gesture. Ovular element appears in front of arm, perhaps object held in hand (not preserved). Appears to wear long garment.

To right of standing figure at left is large rampant animal, perhaps caprid. Body and neck are in shape of zig-zag. Hindlegs, straight, extend outward from underside of hindquarters. Forelegs, sharply bent, extend in front of body, one upward, other downward. Short pointed tail emerges from hindquarters. Neck is long and bent. Pointed mane (or feathers) lines back of neck. Long thin horn or ear emerges from top of head.

Above rampant animal is what appears to be fish (left side of body not preserved). Consists of elongated body in two segments with thin projection on underside. Another thin projection, not attached to body, appears to right.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [...] ˹x˺ [...] 
      2. [...] x x x ˹x˺ [...] 
      3. [...] x x x x [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the full length of the individual lines is not known.

Line 1: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: perhaps four unrecognizable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.
Line 3: perhaps four unrecognizable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

The ductus is very unusual, almost calligraphic; the forms may be archaic. At present, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Upper Edge</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1152</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 5</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 1252</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 89</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 1856</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 527</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 5</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 798</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1763</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>PFS 1095*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1095* appears on six Elamite documents and follows three sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 1856, NN 798, and NN 1763.

These transactions include letters and ration allocations for workers.

Counter-Seal:
PF 1252 and NN 527.

In both instances, PFS 1095* occurs as the counter-seal with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations.

Parallel-Seal:

---

615 The bottom edge of NN 798 is destroyed. While we cannot be certain that another seal is not applied here, in no other instance involving PFS 1095* is this surface sealed; thus we suspect the single-seal protocol.

616 Letters: PF 1856 and NN 798; ration allocations for workers: NN 1763.

640
PF 1152.

This transaction is a ration allocation.

Based on the single-seal protocol for the letters PF 1856 and NN 798, it appears that PFS 1095* is used by Karmuka and Da’ukka, the addressors of these documents. A Da’uka/Dayakka (perhaps the same as Da’ukka in NN 798) is noted as the receiver in PF 1252 and NN 527, both of which carry PFS 1095* as the counter-seal. This may indicate that Da’ukka uses the seal on these occasions, as well. PFS 1095* is one of the rare instances where a single seal is associated with different individuals who issue letters.617

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the scene is only partially preserved, it seems that we have at least one worshiper (figure at left); when the seal is rolled out, this figure faces the figure at right, probably with an additional figure/creature/object between them. It is noteworthy that the larger creature appears to face toward the inscription. The exact dynamics of the scene remain unclear.

Cut-and-Drilled Style. The schematic cut-and-drilled style, an inheritance of Assyro-Babylonian glyptic, is well documented at Persepolis, especially in the so-called Late Babylonian worship scene. Nevertheless, the oddness of the inscription likely suggests that this seal is not local nor contemporary with the archive.618

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2014b, p. 86 (n. 118).

PFS 1601*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 10.B.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Banquet Scenes: With one seated figure; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable

617 For other occurrences of this phenomenon, see PFS 98* (Garrison 2017a, p. 111 (n. 290)).
618 A Late Neo-Elamite style seal from Susa, currently in the Louvre (Miroschedji 1982, fig. 2), is carved in a cut style and includes an animal rendered very similarly to that on PFS 1095*.
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure and standing figure flank table; figure emerging from winged symbol hovers over paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure (head, one hand, feet not preserved) faces to right. Feet appear to be elevated, perhaps on footrest (not preserved). One arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand is perhaps cupped upward in front of face. Other arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of torso toward table at center; hand has three knuckles/fingers indicated. Wears long garment that falls to ankles. Hair is gathered in large mass at back of neck. Long squared beard rests over chest. Below seated figure is chair with one leg, seat, and back preserved.

To right of seated figure, and at right of figural scene, is standing figure (top of head, feet not preserved) facing to left. Right arm, sharply bent, is raised in front of chest; left arm, bent, is held in front of waist reaching toward table. Hands are cupped upward. Scalloped hem between legs indicates long garment or loose-fitting pants. Hair is gathered in flattened mass at back of neck. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Short pointed beard is indicated.

Between figures is short table. Comprised of triangular base, floral post, and ovular top. Hovering above is rhyton in shape of small animal with long neck, perhaps bird or caprid.

In upper section of terminal field is figure emergent from winged device. Only small part of torso of human figure is preserved. Below emergent figure are two horizontal ovular wings and short tail with serrated bottom edge.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies lower section of terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. […] 'te’
2. […] ’x’
3. […] ’x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from bottom to top, starting with the left line. Some sections of the panel are not indicated or preserved. It is possible that both the bottom of the tail of the winged symbol and the back of the chair stand in as boundaries for the text, thus replacing some of the panel. The bottom of the panel is not preserved; the full length of the individual lines is unclear. The signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: one broken sign preserved: -*te. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 2: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 2028</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1601*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1601*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1601* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a general receipt of commodities.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols for general receipts of commodities (i.e., D texts like PF 2028), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene is a wonderful example of the banquet, a popular theme in Persepolitan glyptic. The rhyton is a nice touch but very rarely seen at Persepolis.

Most interesting is the positioning of the winged symbol over the inscription.619

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Colburn 2015, p. 187; Garrison 2008, p. 174 (n. 54); Garrison 2011b, pp. 60-61, and 100 (figs. 38-39); Garrison 2014b, p. 86 (n. 118); Garrison 2017a, pp. 85 and 91.

619 See Chapter 6 for more on this.
Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: ND  
Typology and Style: 09.B.03. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Crescent or Winged  
Symbol: Before Winged Symbol with Figure Emergent; Archaizing/Assyro-Babylonian  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 4.1 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm  
Number of Impressions: 3  
Quality of Impressions: Fair  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.  

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Figures flank figure emerging from winged device above stylized tree; bird and cross supporting floral element in field; paneled inscription in terminal field.  

Figure at left (lower legs, top of head/headdress not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand is open, four fingers are indicated. Left arm hangs diagonally downward in front of body to hold pail; five fingers are indicated. Wears fish cloak that leaves forward leg exposed. Crosshatching is indicated over garment and row of fringe runs along front of abdomen. Fin extends diagonally downward behind body from upper back. Top of cloak is dome-shaped and runs across forehead. Face is comprised of long thin nose, small round eye, and two lips. Long beard, ovular segments, rests over chest.  

To right of figure at left, and at right of figural scene, is figure (hands, lower legs not preserved) facing to left. Arms, straight, extend diagonally upward in front of body; hands appear cupped upward. Wears long garment; horizontal bands and vertical striations are indicated throughout. Appears to wear domed headdress with thin band across forehead. Hair is gathered in wide L-shaped mass at back of head. Face is comprised of thin nose, small eye and outer fold, and two lips. Small rounded chin or short beard is indicated.
In upper field at center of scene is figure emergent from winged symbol (head and hands of figure, tip of left tendril and details of wings not preserved). Figure emergent presumably faces to right. One arm extends diagonally upward in front of body. Back is rounded. Winged symbol is comprised of pair of horizontal wings with single row of feathers indicated along outside edges; horizontal striations are indicated on part of left wing. Thin tendril curves down from underside of each wing. Wide tail below has single row of long feathers and thin curved ribbing.

Below winged symbol is stylized tree (bottom, some details not preserved). Comprised of bulbous trunk from which crosshatching extends. Thin arched band runs along outer edge of hatching; cones emerge from arched band.

To left of tree is bird (lower body not preserved), apparently cock, facing to right. Mouth is open. Comb indicated on top of head. Small round element is under beak.

To right of stylized tree is cross (bottom not preserved) supporting round floral device consisting of disk surrounded by ring of small petals.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**
Line: 1.: [...] `um?` an ad `x` [...] 

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the full length of the line is not known.

Line 1: four signs preserved: perhaps broken `-um, -an, -ad,` and a broken and unidentifiable sign.

A reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
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<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>NN 2544</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2117*</td>
<td>PFS 2117*</td>
<td>PFS 2117*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2117* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.
This transaction is a letter.

Sealing protocols for letters are well understood – the addressee applies his/her seal. Based on the application of PFS 2117* to NN 2544, we can attribute the seal to Mastezza, the addressee of the letter. A Mastezza appears in eight other documents from the Fortification archive: in six instances, he receives commodities that he gives to workers; in two instances, he allocates commodities. Whether we have to do with the same individual as the letter-addressor is unknown.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the compositional formula is well attested at Persepolis, the iconographic details and aspects of the carving style, indeed, the general decorum of the design, make it an outlier at Persepolis. The seal exhibits elements of Assyrian/Babylonian seals (e.g., fish-cloak, eunuch), thus we appear to have an archaizing design or perhaps an actual Assyrian/Babylonian seal.

Archaizing/Assyro-Babylonian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 3008*

Seal Type: Cylinder

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620 NN 157, NN 583, NN 745, NN 1286, NN 1563, and NN 1723.
621 NN 1241 and NN 2499.
622 Eunuchs are often depicted on 9th-8th century seals known as “ša rēši” (“eunuch”); see Niederreiter (2015) for these seals. Collon (2001, p. 90) notes that the long fish-cloak (as opposed to the shorter version) was adopted in the 8th century BCE; a 9th-8th century seal without an inscription (British Museum BM 105122, ibid., no. 154) is especially reminiscent of PFS 2117* – both include a central stylized tree and winged symbol, to left of which is a fish-cloaked figure holding a small basket diagonally downward with one hand while the other hand extends diagonally upward with palm open in front of the face; to right is a figure with arms raised in front of the body; see, also BM 130699 (ibid., no. 157), which appears to include a fish-cloaked figure to left of a stylized tree-winged symbol pair and a eunuch to right. The fish-cloak is not well documented among seals from the Fortification archive; at present, there are seven other examples (PFS 1085, PFS 2117*, PFS 2935, PFUTS 3, PFUTS 341, PFUTS 739, and PFUTS 807); PFS 2117* is the only inscribed example. The compositional formula of figures flanking a stylized tree with a winged symbol overhead is well documented among seals c. 9th-8th centuries BCE; see, for example, Watanabe 1993, nos. 7.2, 7.4, 8.22, and 9.2.
Earliest Dated Application: 506 BCE

Typology and Style: 01.A.06. Hero controls winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures; Modeled Style

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable

Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 8
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Hero controls rampant winged human-headed lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, feet, hands, details of face and garment not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Arms, bent, reach outward to either side to hold winged creature by throat/beard. Wears belted Assyrian garment that leaves right leg exposed below knee. Hair is gathered in mass at back of head. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Short pointed beard rests on shoulder.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged lion-creatures (head, hindfeet of creature at left not preserved; right hindfoot, tip of tail, top of head of creature at right not preserved). Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other. Left hindleg of creature at right terminates in long thin paw with drill hole at end. Forelegs, straight, reach outward from chest, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward. Upper paw rests on torso (creature at left) or forearm (creature at right) of hero; creature at left has paw with small drill mark, creature at right has rounded paw with sharp nail. Lower foreleg, straight, extends to hero’s leg (creature at left) or hangs downward (creature at right) and terminates in paw with rounded (creature at left) or ovular (creature at right) nail. Long wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Small round detail attaches to top of wing on creature at right. Creature at left has long tail that curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in pointed tuft; creature at right has long tail that hangs from hindquarters. Creature at right has large rounded mass of hair at back of head. Creature at right is apparently human-headed: outline of triangular nose and long rounded beard are indicated. Serrated mane is indicated at base of neck on creature at left. Creature at right is ithyphallic.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field; one sign appears outside of panel.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [...] mar ma ba [...] 2. [...] ‘x’ [...] 623 Both documents are dated to year 16.
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, one line of text is contained within the panel, with one additional sign carved to left among the figural scene. This additional sign appears to be oriented horizontally. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the full length of the line(s) is uncertain.

Line 1: three signs preserved: -mar, -ma, and -ba. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, as well as the uncertainty surrounding the sign outside of the panel, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>NN 1419</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>PFS 3009</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1879</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 698-103</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>PFS 3008*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3008* appears on two Elamite and one uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PFUT 698-103.624

Counter-Seal:
NN 1419 and NN 1879.

624 It is possible that PFS 3008* was also applied to the right edge, which is destroyed, as the seal occurs on the right edge elsewhere (NN 1419); this does not change the sealing protocol. The application of a different seal to this surface seems unlikely, as this would indicate the parallel-seal protocol, which PFS 3008* does not otherwise follow.
In one instance (NN 1419), PFS 3008* occurs as the counter-seal (on the upper and right edges) with the supplier seal, PFS 3009, applied to the left edge. In the other (NN 1879), PFS 3008* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 3019, applied to the reverse.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

As is often the case in these ration lists, sealing protocols are difficult to understand. The wine rations are apparently to different workgroups, although in the same year, and the kurman official is the same, Bakabada. Nonetheless, PFS 3008* occurs in one instance in the place of the receiver, in another in the place of the supplier. Given the limited (and contradictory) data, one is hard pressed to suggest an attribution.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The composition, iconography, and carving are conventional. The vertical orientation of the inscription, however, is less common.625

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

PFS 3113*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.F.01. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before anthropomorphic deity/cult image: In non-processional scene; Unknown (Archaizing/Archaic?)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Image: 3.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

625 See Chapter 6 for details.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure and attendant (exact dynamics of scene are unclear); paneled inscription in terminal field.

Figure at far left of preserved design (face, arms, lower legs, torso not preserved) sits. Head may be turned back to right. One arm appears to curve downward in front of chest. Appears to wear long garment with drapery hanging around waist. Two projections (of headdress? horns?) emerge from top of head. Behind seated figure at shoulder level is rectangular element that comes to point at top with short horizontal element projecting to right; two square-shaped details are indicated. Behind hips of seated figure is two-stepped structure with triangular-shaped element on top. How, if at all, this element relates to rectangular device is unclear.

Figure at far right of preserved design (top of head, hands, feet, back, waist not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, reach outward in front of body, perhaps in worshiping gesture. Wears long garment. Outline of triangular nose is indicated.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and seated figure. Curved chip/flaw in stone or part of seal cap is above right side of inscription.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIŠ'[...]
2. [...]
3. [...] ˹x˺ [...]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN…?

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; thus the full length of the individual lines is not known. The left side of the panel is not preserved; it is possible that there is an additional line. Very little of the text is preserved.

Line 1: one sign preserved: perhaps DIŠ. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 2: no signs preserved.
Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

If the first sign is in fact DIŠ, we can be fairly certain that a personal name, at least, follows.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
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<th>Upper Edge</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 2424</td>
<td>not seeded</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 3113*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 17</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 3113* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 3113* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 17, applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a travel ration.

Based on the counter-seal protocol for travel rations, it would seem that the unnamed messenger and his companion in NN 2424 use PFS 3113*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The impression of the seal is very poor and many of the details here indicated are quite provisional. One potential reading is a seated anthropomorphic deity/cult image approached by a worshipper; but this reading is highly speculative. One cannot even recognize a chair in the impression as preserved. The two-stepped structure with triangular-shaped element on its top behind the seated figure is quite thought-provoking; perhaps a ziggurat with horns? The poor preservation of the impression leaves us hesitant to draw such identifications.

Unknown. Given the poor preservation, one is hard-pressed to say much about the style. Elements of iconography such as the potential horns and structure may suggest a seal of 2nd millennium date.\textsuperscript{626}

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textsuperscript{626} See Chapter 2 for examples.
Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 9:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 677*  2. PFS 883*  3. PFUTS 245*

A ninth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, three seals (approximately seven percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 677* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 181)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE

Typology and Style: 01.C.06. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 8
Quality of Impressions: Some preserve good detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for upper and lower edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero holds inverted winged human-headed lion-creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, extend outward to either side to hold inverted winged human-headed lion-creature by hindleg.

627 PF 439.
Wears belted Assyrian garment that leaves left leg exposed below knee. Fringe is indicated along front hem of garment across chest and right leg; thin diagonal bands are indicated on chest. Wears feathered crown(?). Hair is close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass at bottom; horizontal striations are indicated. Face is comprised of long thin nose, round eye and surrounding crease, and two small lips. Beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest; additional facial hair is indicated on side of face.

To left and to right of hero is pair of inverted winged human-headed lion-creatures. Held by hero by one hindleg that terminates in paw with two ovular segments (horizontal on creature at left, vertical on creature at right). Other hindleg stretches toward hips of hero; creature at left has hoof, creature at right has paw. Forelegs extend to touch hips and legs of hero; creature at left has hooves, creature at right has paws. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; one row of feathers and central ribbing are indicated. Long wavy tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft (creature at left) or point (creature at right). Serrated contour of head may indicate hair; creature at right has small projection at front of head. Additional hair is gathered in mass behind head (textured, as on top of head, on creature at left, segmented on creature at right). Face consists of long thin nose and lip. Creature at right has small eye. Chin or short beard is indicated.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above figural scene.

INSCRIPTION
 Line:  1. x x x ‘x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, however, some of the signs (e.g., second sign) appear to make more sense if read horizontally. It appears that we have the beginning of the inscription. It is unlikely that additional signs follow, given the height of the figural scene. The signs are very large. Among them, individual wedge size and style vary greatly.

Line 1: perhaps four unidentifiable signs preserved (the last sign is broken).

Owing to the unusual sign forms and orientations, a reading is not possible. It is uncommon for a cuneiform inscription on seals to have so few signs; it is possible that they are meant to be read logographically. Another possibility is that the inscription is fake (i.e., mock cuneiform). This may help explain the variety of orientations, wedge styles, and overall large size.628

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 677*

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PFS 677* appears on five Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.629

In all instances, PFS 677* appears as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse and/or upper edge) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers.630

It is tempting to attribute PFS 677* to Pukša, as he is consistently named as the receiver in the documents above. The name occurs, however, in some ten other texts, both as a kurman official and receiving commodities. Many of these texts are probably the same person. No other seal patterns as frequently with the name as PFS 677*. We may then with some hesitation attribute PFS 677* to the Pukša named in the relevant texts.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The thematic type is very common among Persepolitan glyptic; the inverted creatures, as well as the vertical orientation of the inscription, are less so.631

Modeled Style. The seal is deeply carved with much careful detailing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 883* (OIP 117 Cat. No. 97)

629 The left edge of PF 1027 is destroyed, making the exact sealing protocol unclear; however, the otherwise consistent use of PFS 677* in accordance with the counter-seal protocol likely indicates that this was the case on this tablet as well.
631 See Chapter 5 for discussion of the compositional formula; see Chapter 6 for discussion of the orientation of the inscription.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.A.10. Hero controls winged human headed bull or lion creatures; Modeled Style
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 17
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along bottom edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero controls rampant winged human-headed bull-/lion-creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, extend outward to either side to grasp foreleg of rampant winged human-headed bull-/lion-creature. Wears long Assyrian garment that leaves left leg bare below knee. Folds of drapery hang across thighs; additional details are indicated along right hip. Diagonal line runs across right shoulder. Four wings extend outward from shoulders, two diagonally upward and two diagonally downward; each has single row of feathers. Upper wings and lower left wing have thin rib along top edge. Wears tall domed headdress with two bands and projection at front. Hair is gathered in bulbous mass at back of head. Face consists of triangular eye. Long beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged human-faced bull-/lion-creatures (right hindfoot of creature at left, left hindfoot and tip of tail of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward hero at center. Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other; forward hindleg terminates in hoof. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body toward lower wings of hero; terminates in one (creature at right) or two (creature at left) drill holes. Other foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body toward upper wings of hero; paws have two (creature at right) or three (creature at

632 NN 581.
left) drill holes at end. Wing extends horizontally behind body; two rows of feathers separated by central ribbing are indicated. Long bulbous tail hangs from hindquarters and curves upward at end before coming to point (creature at left). Wears headdress with curved (creature at left) or pointed (creature at right) projection at front. Deep serration along top of head extends down back of neck of creature at left, perhaps indicating mane. Creature at right has mass of segmented hair at back of head. Face consists of rounded nose, rounded (creature at left) or ovular eye (creature at right) and lip (small and pointed on creature at left, indented on creature at right). Creature at right has rounded beard or chin.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design and most of bottom of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? HAL x x
  2.? x x
  “Seal (of)…”633

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)”…?

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from bottom to top. The signs appear as if free-floating in the middle and upper sections of the terminal field, blurring distinct lines. This makes determining the exact number of lines difficult; at present, we suggest that there are two.

Line 1: three signs preserved: HAL and two unidentifiable signs.

Line 2: two unidentifiable signs preserved.

Owing to the peculiarities noted above, a reading is not possible. If we have the beginning of the inscription, it would appear to begin with HAL/-hal. This sign could be logographic (HAL) and denote halmi (“Seal (of)”); it could serve as the syllable -hal to form the first part of the word halmi (“seal”). Alternatively, it could be the logogram for the male determinative, after which a personal name would directly follow. Most often when HAL appears at the beginning of a seal inscription from Persepolis, it is used syllabically to form the first part of the word halmi. Owing to the uncertain arrangement of the wedges in the upper field, we cannot be certain of the exact use of HAL/-hal here.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

633 Jones (Garrison and Root 2001) did not offer a translation; the drawing here updates that published by Garrison and Root (ibid., p. 177); Garrison and Root (ibid.) suggest that the language is possibly Babylonian. The almost complete illegibility of the inscription leads us to classify it as cuneiform – language unrecognizable.
Attestations of PFS 883*  

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<td>PFUTS 1247</td>
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</table>

PFS 883* appears on two Aramaic, five Elamite, and nine uninscribed documents and follows three sealing protocols.634

Counter-Seal:

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634 With multiple surfaces destroyed on PFUT 304-201 and PFUT 496-201, sealing protocols cannot be determined in these instances.
PFAT 719, PF 760, NN 581, NN 1138, NN 1140, NN 1141, PFUT 103-201, PFUT 393-202, PFUT 676-202, and PFUT 1110-110.\textsuperscript{635}

In all instances, PFS 883\* appears as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with a counter-seal applied elsewhere.

NN 581, NN 1138, NN 1140, and NN 1141 are ration allocations.

Parallel-Seal:
PFAT 440.

A translation of this text was not available at the time of writing.

Multiple-Seal:
PFUT 296-204, PFUT 395-203, and PFUT 691-104.

In every attestation of PFS 883\*, it occurs on the left edge of tablets. In the Elamite texts, the locale is always Matezziš, the commodity always wine; two suppliers are named: Maraza (four times) and Zakamukka (once).\textsuperscript{636} The seal thus clearly represents a wine kurman office located at Matezziš (close to Persepolis).

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Garrison and Root suggest that PFS 883\* may be an antique seal of Assyro-Babylonian date, based upon “the horned headdress, somewhat hasty engraving, heavy incision on the body of the hero, the hair of the creature at right, and the language of the inscription…”\textsuperscript{637} While these comments are still valid, given the strong archaizing element in Persepolitan glyptic, we may perhaps leave open the possibility of a later date.

Modeled Style (perhaps Assyro-Babylonian in date).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFUTS 245*

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\textsuperscript{635} PFAT 719 is illegible.

\textsuperscript{636} Maraza: PF 760, NN 58, NN 1138, and NN 1140; Zakamukka: NN 1141.

\textsuperscript{637} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 177; compare, for example, Porada 1948, pls. 115 (nos. 761-62) and 116 (no. 767); Moortgat 1940, pl. 86 (no. 737); Buchanan 1966, pl. 43 (no. 661); von der Osten 1934, pl. 29 (no. 422); Lambert 1979, pls. 8 (no. 73) and 9 (no. 75).
Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: ND  
Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Fortification Style  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm  
Number of Impressions: 12  
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Hero stabs lion; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (feet, left hand not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body to stab lion in abdomen with dagger. Left arm, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body toward lion’s head (presumably to grasp forelock or horn). Wears Persian court robe; central vertical pleat is indicated on skirt. Sleeves are pushed up to shoulders and drapery hangs in two large swags at torso. May wear rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in squared mass above shoulders. Face consists of outline of squared nose. Pointed beard rests over shoulder.

To right of hero is rampant lion (left hindfoot not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward behind body; paw resembles fist. Other foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body; paw is in two sections with sharp nails. V-shaped tail attaches to hindquarters. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Two pointed tufts of hair stick up from top of head. Ear emerges from back of head.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION  
Line:  1.? [...] ‘x’ [...]
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. There is possibly enough room for an additional line before what we are calling line one. The beginning and end of each line are not preserved; thus the full length of each line is unclear.

Line 1: perhaps one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 2: perhaps three broken signs preserved: one unidentifiable sign, perhaps -ul, and an unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 3: three signs preserved: one broken and unidentifiable sign, -ad, and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
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</table>

PFUTS 245* appears on three uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols, always with PFS 1561s applied to the left edge.

Parallel-Seal:
PFUT 242-210 and PFUT 522-201.

Multiple-Seal:
PFUT 83-205.

Seal attribution is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The small size of the lion on PFUTS 245* is notable.638

Fortification Style. The rendering of the upper part of the Persian court robe as two swags of drapery is commonly seen in seals from a distinctive artistic hand; normally, a thin torso is indicated (cf. PFS 1633* and PFUTS 293*). The upright S-shaped body of the lion and outlined mouth are also similar to the lion on PFUTS 293*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 10:
  Orientation: Vertical
  Location in Field: Upper
  With/Without Panel: Without Panel
  With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 629*

A tenth method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the upper field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, one seal (approximately two percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) is so disposed.

PFS 629*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.G.02.i. Archers: Archer as Composite animal/human creature: Aiming at one animal(s)/creature(s) moving toward archer: Lion; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

638 Cf. PFS 43*, PFS 272*, PFS 584*, and PFS 859*. 
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Composite archer aims bow at lion marchant; inscription and crescent in upper field.

Composite archer marchant (head, one human arm, lower hindlegs, bow and arrow not preserved) moves to left. Turns head back behind body to face to right. Forelegs terminate in small rounded paws. Human arms are raised at shoulder height; one arm, sharply bent, is held up behind head with hand open, presumably to pull back on bowstring (not preserved); other arm (partially preserved), presumably straight, likely extends outward to aim arrow (not preserved) to right. Thin wavy wing extends diagonally upward from lower back of human torso. Thin tail extends diagonally downward from hindquarters before curving back toward body and terminating in tuft. Triangular mass of hair sits at back of head.

To right of archer is lion marchant (paws, tip of ear not preserved) facing to left. Long thin tail curves down from hindquarters and terminates in squared tuft. Mouth is open. Two ears (or horns?) emerge from top of head.

Above archer is crescent.

Inscription occupies space above lion.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? [...] ‘x x’ [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. It is unclear whether there are additional lines. Very little of the text is preserved; the full length of the preserved line is unknown.

Line 1: perhaps two broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 629*
PFS 629* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 629* occurs on the reverse with PFS 117 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While archer imagery is well-represented among Persepolitan glyptic, with composite archers constituting a distinct subgenre, PFS 629* is the only example of a composite archer among the inscribed seals. The compositional formula is also very unusual. Normally the archer (whether human or composite creature) shoots forward; here the composite archer moves in one direction but turns back to shoot at the animal behind it. The cuneiform inscription in the upper field, another rare element among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, further makes the overall design unique.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 11:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Central Scene
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 2684*
2. PFS 3094*

An eleventh method of presenting cuneiform inscriptions of uncertain languages among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the central scene of the overall design, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, two seals (approximately four percent of the 45 Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable seals) are so disposed.

PFS 2684*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.H. Cult Imagery: Possible Worship Scenes; Drilled Style(?)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Standing figures flank paneled inscription.

Paneled inscription (partially preserved) with case lines occupies central space of design (see below for details).

To left of inscription is figure (head, lower legs not preserved), perhaps standing facing to right. At present, preservation does not make possible exact identification of details. Pointed extensions along front of body could be some combination of arms, weapons, and/or garment.

To right of inscription is figure (top of head, tip of beard, lower legs not preserved) facing to left. Stands with left arm, bent, raised in front of chest; hand holds object with rounded termination at top (mace or staff). Wears ankle-length garment; sword(?) at waist. Additional weapon or detail of garment extends diagonally downward from middle of back. Hair is gathered in long wavy mass behind head. Face consists of long ovular nose and small round eye. Long beard rests over chest.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. DIS me [...] ʾxʾ qa [...] 2. ʾxʾ ba?ʾxʾ [...] 3. DIS.AN mar ʾxʾ [...] “Me…Mar…”
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN…?

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, most of the top and bottom sides of the panel are not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines of text. Many of the signs that are present are broken.

Line 1: four signs preserved: DIŠ, -me, a broken and unidentifiable sign, and -qa. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

Line 2: four signs preserved: two broken and unidentifiable signs, perhaps -ba, and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: four signs preserved: DIŠ, DINGIR, -mar, and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

The inscription is likely archaizing or actually antique. Both DINGIR and -ba, for example, appear Old Babylonian in form. With DIŠ appearing both in lines one and three, which would prompt personal names to follow, it is likely that DUMU is carved somewhere in between to separate the personal names that apparently begin Me- and Mar-. Where, exactly, DUMU is located is not clear. With multiple signs broken or missing, a full reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2684* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 2684* occurs on the reverse with PFS 2683s applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like NN 452), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The inscription appears to serve as the focus of the overall design, as the two figures face toward it. The upper right corner is rounded, giving it an almost decorative effect.

Drilled Style. While various iterations of drilled styles exist at Persepolis, in the case of PFS 2684*, the possible Babylonian inscription and unusual composition suggest that the seal may in fact be Assyrian/Babylonian in origin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 3094*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.A.02. Cult Imagery: Atlas Figure(s) Supporting Symbol: Supporting Winged Symbol; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable
Preserved Height of Image: 1.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Portion of upper section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Standing figure faces inscription; figure emergent from winged symbol and atlas figure (preserved only as arm) to left/above inscription; rampant winged creature at right.

Inscription within stepped panel with case lines (partially preserved) is at center of preserved design (see below for details).

To right of inscription is figure (top of head, lower body not preserved) facing to left. Stands with one arm, bent, in front of torso with lotus in hand; other arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of body with open upturned hand in front of face. Wears
belted garment with additional banded details or folds of drapery along hip. Line across forehead may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in small ovular mass at back of head. Outline of small triangular nose is indicated. Beard with four ovular segments rests over chest.

To right of standing figure is rampant winged creature (face, forelegs, lower hindleg(s) not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs. Wing extends diagonally downward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in triangular tuft.

To left/above inscription is figure emergent from winged symbol (head, hand, bottom of right wing not preserved), presumably facing to right. Figure emerges from top of two horizontal wings. One arm appears to be held down in front of body. Wings have single row of feathers. Tail hangs below; single row of feathers is indicated. Long tendril appears between left wing and tail and curves upward at end; tendril between right wing and tail is preserved only along top. Thin bands hanging below tail could also be tendrils.

Below left wing of winged symbol is cupped hand, presumably of atlas figure (not preserved).

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ‘HAL?’ [...]  
2. DIŠ [...] ‘x’ [...]  
3. ‘x’ [...]  
“Seal (of)…PN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “Seal (of)”…PN?

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, only the top of the panel is preserved, thus we appear to have the beginning of each line. The full length of each line is unknown. The arrangement of the lines is unusual: the second line is taller than the first and third lines, creating a stepped appearance. The layout of the inscription, with lines of varying lengths, allows for the figural elements to come into close proximity with the text. There is no indication of the right side of the panel; it may be that the body of the worshiper acts as a boundary instead.

Line 1: one broken sign preserved: perhaps HAL. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 2: two signs preserved: DIŠ and a broken and unidentifiable sign. It is unclear how many signs follow.

Line 3: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many signs follow.
Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible. It is possible that the horizontal wedge at the beginning of line one is part of HAL (“Seal”) or -hal (if -mi followed, for halmi). The DIŠ at the beginning of line two would likely prompt a personal name. However, without more information, this is speculative.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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PFS 3094* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a file tag.

Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
While the scene on PFS 3094* is only partially preserved, the design is clear: a worshipper stands before an inscription and a winged symbol supported by an atlas figure. Variations of this compositional formula are well attested within the inscribed seals corpus at Persepolis (e.g., PFS 11*, PFS 389*, PFS 1567*, and PFS 3035*). What is distinctive about PFS 3094* is the artful manner in which the inscription is integrated into the figural imagery. It is most closely related to the imagery on PFS 389*, another very innovative design.

The figure emergent from the winged symbol likely makes the same gesture as the standing figure, as it appears to face toward the inscription with at least one arm outstretched in that direction.\(^{639}\) When the seal is rolled out, it is possible that the rampant winged creature at right faces toward the inscription, as well.\(^{640}\)

Modeled Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 12:
- Orientation: Uncertain
- Location in Field: Uncertain
- With/Without Panel: Uncertain
- With/Without Case Lines: Uncertain

\(^{639}\) For examples of this gesture, see the figures on PFS 11* and PFS 1567*.

\(^{640}\) Such a composition is found on PFS 85a* and PFS 85b*. 
1. **PFS 2482*  

The cuneiform inscription on PFS 2482* is not easily classifiable. At present, the design appears to consist almost entirely of free-floating cuneiform text. Without more information, its specific composition is uncertain.

**Seal Type:** Cylinder  
**Earliest Dated Application:** 501 BCE  
**Typology and Style:** 31. Inscription on own  
**Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription:** Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable  
**Preserved Height of Image:** 2.7 cm (incomplete)  
**Preserved Length of Image:** 0.7 cm (incomplete)  
**Estimated Height of Original Seal:** NA  
**Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:** NA  
**Number of Impressions:** 1  
**Quality of Impressions:** Fair  
**Completeness of Image:** Indeterminate portion of design survives.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**  
Cuneiform signs in isolation.

Perhaps five cuneiform signs in vertical line. Small triangular detail to left of second sign may indicate some part of figural element, additional cuneiform sign, or chip/flaw in stone.

**INSCRIPTION**  
Line: 1.? ‘x’ [...] ‘x x x x’

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**  
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
Too little of the inscription survives to determine how one is to read the text. It is unclear whether the preserved signs constitute a line of text that is to be read from top to bottom or each sign is from a horizontally oriented line, the rest of which is not preserved.

Line 1: five broken and unidentifiable signs preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs there are.

A reading is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

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PFS 2482* appears on one Elamite document and follows the multiple-seal protocol.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Owing to the use of the multiple-seal protocol, as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The exact composition on PFS 2482* is unclear. It is possible that the full design is comprised solely of cuneiform text. The small triangular detail at left is difficult to interpret; it could be part of an animal/creature (e.g., tip of wing) or a decorative element (e.g., crescent, tree); however, it could also be a flaw or chip in the stone, or even an additional cuneiform sign. The placement of the impression, on the right edge of the tablet, makes identification especially challenging.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Aramaic Catalogue Entries

The second most common language for seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive is Aramaic. At present, there are 37 seals (approximately 21 percent) that carry an Aramaic inscription.

After taking into account the language of the inscription, the following entries are ordered by the same visual characteristics as the Elamite entries above: 1) orientation of the inscription; 2) location of the inscription within the overall glyptic design; 3) existence of a panel; 4) existence of case lines separating the lines of text.

Aramaic Group 1:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 16*
2. PFS 71*
3. PFS 981*
4. PFS 1568*
5. PFS 2106*
6. PFS 2361*
7. PFUTS 1555*

One of the most common ways to present an Aramaic inscription among the seals from the Fortification archive is to orient it along the horizontal axis of the seal, in the terminal field, enclosed in a panel, and separated by case lines. At present, seven of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately 19 percent) are so disposed.

PFS 16* (OIP 117 Cat. No. 22)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.A.04. Hero controls lions; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic

641 PF 2067 and PF 2068 announce the appearance of the seal (as a replacement for PFS 9*, Parnakka’s first seal); PF 1802, PF 2067, PF 2068, NN 37, NN 363, NN 1255, NN 1689, NN 1730, NN 1895, and NN 1999.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls rampant lions; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Arms, straight, reach outward to either side to grasp throat of rampant lion. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that hangs to ankle of left leg and knee of right leg, leaving leg bare below. Fringe is indicated along hem over each leg; additional detail is carved throughout garment in alternating rows of thin bands and fringe. Top of head is rounded; line runs across forehead, likely indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in round mass at back of neck. Face consists of oval eye, outline of rounded nose, and small lips. Curved line on side of face could be outline of cheek or ear. Long rounded beard rests over chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant lions (top of head of lion at right not preserved). Stand on hindlegs with feet apart; lion at left places right foot on top of right foot of hero. Hindlegs terminate in paws with three or four drill holes; right hindfoot of lion at right has two sharp nails. One foreleg, straight, reaches horizontally in front of body with paw approaching torso of hero; paws are rendered with three drill holes each. Additional drill hole(s) occurs along underside of foreleg. Other foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward behind head; paws are rendered with drill holes and nails are indicated (one on lion at left, four on lion at right). Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in rounded tuft. Nostrils are indicated at end of snout (small divot on lion at left, rounded segment on lion at right). Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Lion at left has small tongue and tooth. Rounded eye and outer crease are indicated. Serrated mane runs along top of head and back of neck. Additional detailing on neck is indicated with stipple pattern (also indicated on lower foreleg of lion at left); lion at right also has cross-hatching.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. ḤTM
       2. PRNK
       3. BR
       4. ṚŠM

“Seal (of) Parnakka, son of Aršama”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

642 This reading follows Jones (Garrison 1996a, pp. 44-50 (n. 70)).
Formula of Inscription: *HTM PN₁ BR PN₂*

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top of the panel is not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we clearly have the beginning of the inscription. The letters are large and broadly carved.

Line 1: three letters: *H, T, and M.*

Line 2: four letters: *P, R, N, and K.*

Line 3: two letters: *B and R.*

Line 4: four letters: *ʾ, R, Š, and M.*

The reading is clear. The first personal name, *PRNK,* is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian name *Farnaka-*⁶⁴³ The name, often rendered in accordance with the Babylonian spelling, Parnakka (Elamite: *bar-na-ak-ka*), occurs in 387 documents from the Fortification archive. Parnakka is the head official of the Fortification agency.⁶⁴⁴ His first seal, PFS 9*, carries the inscription, *PRNK.*⁶⁴⁵

ʾ*RŠM,* the patronym on PFS 16*, is the Aramaic rendering of the Iranian name Aršāma-*⁶⁴⁶ ʾ*RŠM* (Elamite: *Iršama*) occurs in six documents from the Fortification archive, as well as in the seal inscription on PFS 2899*.⁶⁴⁷

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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⁶⁴³ Tavernier 2007, p. 178 (no. 4.2.567).
⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.
⁶⁴⁵ See the catalogue entry for PFS 9* for more on this seal.
⁶⁴⁶ Garrison and Root 1996, p. 18 (n. 17); Tavernier 2007, p. 44 (no. 2.2.2).
⁶⁴⁷ PF 309, PF 733, PF 734, PF 2035, NN 958, and Fort. 965-201. See the catalogue entry for PFS 2899* for details.
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<td>PFS 16*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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648 There is no photograph of this surface.
649 There is no photograph of this surface.
PFS 16* appears on 60 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.650

These transactions include ration allocations for workers and letters.651

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650 Several tablets have one or more destroyed surfaces. Given the consistent use of PFS 16* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, it is unlikely that a different seal appeared on these surfaces.

651 Ration allocations for workers: PF 665, PF 667, PF 668, PF 669, NN 152, NN 233, NN 835, NN 847, NN 908, NN 961, NN 1000, NN 1393, NN 1689, NN 1895, NN 2595, NN 3009, Fort. 95-101, Fort. 689-105, Fort. 1595-101, Fort. 1595-002, Fort. 1610-104, Fort. 1660-001, Fort. 2140-111, Fort. 2303-103, Fort. 2308-102; letters: PF 1798, PF 1799, PF 1800, PF 1802, PF 1803, PF 1804, PF 1805, PF 1806, PF 1807, PF 1808, PF 1809, PF 1810, PF 2067, PF 2068, NN 37, NN 61, NN 203, NN 363, NN 426, NN 531, NN 974, NN 1040,
As recognized already by Hallock, PFS 16* is the personal seal of Parnakka. The letters, of which Parnakka is the addressee, as well as the seal inscription, confirm this. In some of the ration allocations above, Parnakka is the recipient of commodities; in others his workers receive rations.

The letters PF 2067 and PF 2068 are especially noteworthy. Both of these documents state that Parnakka lost his former seal (PFS 9*) and that the seal impressed on these documents, PFS 16*, is his new seal.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The inclusion of a paneled Aramaic inscription in the terminal field of a scene featuring a hero controlling lions is noteworthy. More often, horizontally oriented paneled inscriptions in the terminal field are especially favored for Elamite text.

Modeled Style. The seal is a virtuosic masterpiece of glyptic art. Figures are very modeled, particularly the lions. Musculature is indicated throughout, with numerous drill holes at joints and curved lines along arms, legs and torsos. Some muscles are rendered as entirely distinct, such as the hips and chests of the lions, which are fully outlined. Detail is intricate, especially on the garment of the hero and the texture of the lions’ manes. The broadness of the figures is mirrored by the wide letters of the inscription.

The style is one of the most aggressively Assyrianizing in Persepolitan glyptic. That it is a commissioned product of 500 BCE attests to the vitality of the Assyrianizing phenomenon at Persepolis in the late 6th century BCE.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aperghis 1999, pp. 164-65; Balcer 1993, p. 84; Boardman 1988, pp. 35-37, no. 35a; Cameron 1948, p. 53 (n. 52); Cook 1983, p. 89; Dusinberre 1997b, pp. 113 (figs. 14-15) and 117; Garrison 1988, pp. 201, 204, 217-23, 238, 249, 256, 361, 380-81, 400, 452, 478-79, 493, 521-22; Garrison 1991, pp. 9 (figs. 11-12), 10, 18, 26 (n. 60); Garrison 1996a, pp. 44-45 (n. 70), figs. 18-19; Garrison 1998, pp. 115 and 130; Garrison 2000, pp. 127 (n. 36), 153-54; Garrison 2007, pp. 8-9; Garrison 2008, pp. 178-79; Garrison 2010a, p. 358 (n. 50); Garrison 2010b, p. 167, fig. 10; Garrison 2014a, pp. 487 (n. 13), 496-97 (fig. 7), 500, 504-06, 508 (n. 61); Garrison 2014b, pp. 75-76 (n. 51), 87-88; Garrison 2017a, pp. 32, 37-38, 53, 57, 67, 80, 101, 109, 111, 334-35, 341, 366, 376, 378, and 385; Garrison 2018, pp. 652-53, and 655; Garrison and Dion 1999, pp. 6-7 (fig. 4), 9-10, 13, and 16; Garrison and Ritner 2010, p. 35; Garrison and Root 1996, pp. 2, 18 (n. 17); Garrison and Root 2001, p. 93.

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652 Hallock 1977, p. 128.
654 See Chapter 6 for details.
655 See Appendix 3 for discussion of the inheritance of Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic among Persepolitan seals.

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676
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 508 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.D.02.i. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer
Kneeling or Running: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving toward archer: Lion;
Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 42
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims arrow at rampant lion; second lion lies on ground; paneled inscription in
terminal field.

Archer (feet not preserved) faces to right. In running/kneeling pose with left leg, bent,
forward with foot flat on ground; right leg, bent, has knee on ground. Right arm, sharply
bent, is held behind body to pull back on bow in front of chest; left arm, straight, extends
in front of body to aim arrow at lion to right. Wears Persian court robe with wide belt at
waist. Small pointed object, likely dagger, sticks up from belt. Central vertical pleats are

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657 NN 415.
indicated on skirt of garment; diagonal folds of drapery are indicated to either side. Thin band runs along forward hem of skirt over legs. Sleeves are pushed up to shoulders; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Top of head is rounded; thin band runs across forehead, likely indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Quiver with extra arrows is on back. Face consists of large rounded eye, outline of triangular nose, and small mouth. Rounded beard hangs to shoulder.

To right of hero is rampant lion (rear forepaw, bottom of left hindfoot not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left; legs terminate in paws with two segments/nails on top. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; arm terminates in rounded paw with thin oval at wrist. Other foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward behind body. Thin tail extends horizontally from hindquarters before curving back toward body and terminating in rounded tuft. Small divot at end of snout indicates nostrils. Mouth is open. Small eye is indicated. Diagonal lines across neck may indicate some part of mane. Two arrows emerge from body, one in chest and one in abdomen.

Between archer and rampant lion is lion lying supine on ground, hindlegs elevated. Head appears to be turned back behind body. Crescent-shaped element above neck may be some part of foreleg. Thin tail extends straight from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft (between rampant lion’s legs). Two arrows stick out of body, one at neck and one in abdomen. Pose and arrows indicate that lion is dead.

In upper field above dead lion is crescent.

Behind archer is eight-pointed star with circular detail at center.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line:  1. ḤTMʾ
      2. ʾRTWR
      3. ZY BR

“The seal (of) Artavarziya, son of…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: $HTM \text{ PN}_1 BR \text{ PN}_2$

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. A fourth, and final, line of text is likely.


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658 Hinz 1971, pp. 304-05. Bowman (Schmidt 1957, p. 12) earlier read the seal inscription as “Artadara who (is) chief….”
The reading of the beginning of the inscription is clear, *HTM* and a personal name, followed by *BR*. The ' following *HTM* is emphatic ("the seal"). The name, *RTWRZY*, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Artavarziya*. In Elamite, the name is rendered as Irdumartiya. The name (written in Elamite) is known both in documents from the Fortification archive (37 Elamite texts mention him), as well as from the text at Behistun. In the latter, the individual with this name is identified as an army commander.

### COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

**Sealing Protocol: single-seal**

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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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659 Tavernier 2007, p. 44 (no. 2.2.3).
660 Ibid.
661 See seal usage below for examples from the Fortification archive; Tavernier 2007, p. 44 (no. 2.2.3); DB III.28-49; Schmitt 1991, pp. 64-65.
662 DB iii.41; Schmitt 1991, pp. 64-65. We cannot be certain that this individual is the same as the Irdumartiya in the Fortification archive (Garrison 2017a, pp. 369-70; Garrison 2014b, p. 88).
663 There is no photograph of this surface.
664 There is no photograph of this surface.
665 There is no photograph of this surface.
PFS 71* appears on 24 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.666

These transactions include accounting balances, receipts of commodity deposit, receipts of commodity movement, ration allocations, and letters.667

Based on the inscription on the seal and the texts with which it is associated, we can securely identify PFS 71* as the personal seal of Irdumartiya. If the Irdumartiya named in the inscription on PFS 71* and the documents from the Fortification archive is the same as the individual named at Behistun, he would thus be a very important figure within the administration, an army commander and someone close to Darius.668 Indeed, Henkelman has suggested that he could even have served as the director of the agency represented in the documents of the archive prior to Parnakka.669 The ration allocations associated with PFS 71* document Irdumartiya receiving very large payments in wine.670 In the letters, he is the addressee.

In addition to its use in the Fortification archive, PFS 71* is also documented in the Treasury archive at Persepolis (known there as PTS 33*), on five undated memoranda and a letter-order.671 It is one of three seals to appear in both Persepolitan archives.672

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
The scene on PFS 71* stands out for being full of action. The running pose of the archer, the tension on the bow, the dead animal with spent arrows, and the rampant lion with

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666 Even though some tablets have a destroyed surface, and thus it is unclear whether a seal was applied there, the consistency with which PFS 71* follows the single-seal protocol leads us to suggest that the seal occurs alone on all documents to which it is applied.

667 This refers to the Fortification texts; see below for the Treasury texts. Accounting balances: PF 254, NN 1615, and Fort. 833-106; receipts of commodity deposit: PF 280, NN 415, and NN 1727; receipts of commodity movement: NN 3011; ration allocations: PF 689, PF 690, NN 1127, and NN 1983; letters: PF 1830, PF 1831, NN 1507, NN 1517, NN 2367, Fort. 226-101, and Fort. 1794-102.

668 Garrison 2017a, p. 370.


670 Irdumartiya receives five marriš of wine per day, whereas Ziššawisš receives three marriš of wine per day (Garrison 2017a, p. 370).

671 Schmidt 1957, pp. 11-14, 16, 30-31, and pl. 10. As for dating, one tablet mentions “Darius the King,” which Schmidt (ibid., p. 16) identifies as Darius I. Garrison (2017a, p. 75) discusses the letter-order from the Treasury archive; for PFS 71* in the Treasury archive, see Cameron (1965, pp. 182-85), Cameron (1948, p. 92), and Hallock (1977, p. 129).

672 The others are PFS 113* (PTS 4*) and PFS 1084* (PTS 42*).
spent arrows, all imbue the scene with a sense of movement and narrative. This feature, as well as the stacking of figures, is unusual for Court Style seals.\footnote{Garrison 2017a, p. 371.} The Persian court robe and weaponry, as well as the paneled inscription, however, connect the seal with that glyptic tradition. PFS 71* is one of the earliest (508 BCE) seals to include court-centric iconography.\footnote{Ibid., p. 369.} The particular combination of court-centric iconography on PFS 71*, carved in a modeled style, and utilized in a movement-filled and narrative-driven scene, constitutes an experimental design that eventually leads to the full Court Style in Persepolitan glyptic.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 369 and 371.}

Modeled Style. Animal form is large, broad, and deeply carved.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Aperghis 1999, p. 164; Cameron 1948, p. 92; Garrison 1991, p. 23 (n. 13); Garrison 1998, p. 131 (n. 31); Garrison 2002/2006, p. 95; Garrison 2011b, p. 56; Garrison 2010a, pp. 348 (fig. 32.9b), 349 (fig. 32.10b), 354, and 359 (n. 57); Garrison 2013, p. 583; Garrison 2014a, pp. 500-02, 504 (fig. 15); Garrison 2014b, p. 74 (n. 43), 87-88; Garrison 2017a, pp. 53-54, 64, 71, 73-77, 83, 101, 108, 112, 114, 116, 369-72, and 384; Garrison 2017b, pp. 209 (n. 84), 217, 244 (fig. 29); Garrison and Root 1996, p. 18; Hallock 1977, p. 129; Henkelman 2008, pp. 127 (n. 283) and 147; Hinz 1971, p. 304; Koch 1990, pp. 65 and 231; Kuhrt 2007, p. 642; Merrillees 2005, pp. 28 and 34; Schmidt 1957, pp. 30-31, and pl. 10; Root 1991, p. 24 (fig. 2).

**PFS 981* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 87)**

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE\footnote{PF 1012.}
Typology and Style: 01.A.07. Hero controls winged bird headed lion creatures; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Hero controls rampant winged bird-headed lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (lower legs, top of head) faces to right. Stands with arms, bent, held to either side to grasp rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature by throat. Wears Assyrian garment with short hem above left knee leaving leg bare below; hem has border with small circular details. Additional ornamentation – diagonal bands with short striations – is indicated across chest and skirt of garment. Top of head is rounded and line runs across forehead, likely indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in large mass at back of head. Face consists of ovular eye, outline of small triangular nose, and small mouth. Rounded beard with horizontal striations hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged bird-headed lion-creatures (lower legs of both creatures, tip of wing of creature at right not preserved) facing inward toward center. Stand on one hindleg, straight. Other hindleg, straight, extends in front of body toward hero; bird’s foot rests on legs of hero. One foreleg reaches diagonally upward in front of body with bird’s foot near hero’s head; other foreleg extends diagonally downward in front of body with lion’s paw resting on hero’s waist. Two wings extend outward, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; three rows of feathers are indicated on each. Long tail extends diagonally downward from hindquarters and terminates in three upturned feathers. Bird’s head consists of large eye (creature at left also has surrounding ring) and beak (larger and more pronounced on creature at right). Serrated mane runs along top and back of head. Diagonal markings on neck of creature at left may be additional detailing of mane.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. ʾRŠY‘N’
2. KRKYŠ
3. GNZBR
4. […] YB
5. […] Y
  “Iršena, Karkiš, treasurer…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ PN₂ + title₁…

The five-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom of the panel is not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any
additional lines of text. A chip/flaw in the stone occurs in the middle of the second line; it does not appear to obscure any letters.

Line 1: five letters: ʾ, R, Š, Y, and broken N.

Line 2: five letters: K, R, K, Y, and Š.

Line 3: five letters: G, N, Z, B, and R.

Line 4: two letters preserved: Y and B. It is unclear how many letters precede.

Line 5: one letter preserved: Y. It is unclear how many letters precede.

While the first three lines are well preserved and easily read, how we are to understand those lines and what would have followed in lines four and five are unclear. A sequence of two personal names, one following directly after the other without an interceding patronymic indicator, is not otherwise attested among the seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. Perhaps we are meant to understand BR as implicit: “Iršena (son of) Karkiš.” If so, Aramaic conventions would dictate that the title in line three modify the first personal name, Iršena.678

Even with such a reading, it is unclear what we are to make of lines four and five; based on inscriptive conventions at Persepolis, no other information is needed. Perhaps there is another title, but this seems highly unlikely. Moreover, at five lines, this is the longest Aramaic inscription among the seals from the Fortification archive.

Both personal names are attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive. The first personal name, ʾRŠYN, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Ṛšēna- (Elamite: Iršena).679 The name, rendered in Aramaic, likely also appears in the inscription on PFUTS 1555*.680 An Iršena (rendered in Elamite) occurs in 309 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive; most of these attestations are the same individual, the Fahliyān regional director (years 17-24) (using PFS 4*), who is also a šarammana and damanna official and a kurdabattiš.681 Three of the documents sealed by PFS 981* in fact name Iršena the šaramanna official;682 we thus appear to have to do with the same person as the regional director.683

The patronym, KRKYŠ, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Persian Karkiš (Elamite: Karkiš).684 A Karkiš is named in 399 documents from the Fortification archive; one such

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677 This was suggested by Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication).
678 Aramaic grammar dictates that attributes/appositions not interrupt a genitive chain (i.e., PN₁ “son of” PN₂ (Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication)).
679 Tavernier 2007, p. 290 (no. 4.2.1436).
680 See the catalogue entry for PFUTS 1555*.
681 See the catalogue entry for PFUTS 1555* for more on Iršena and these titles.
682 PF 937, PF 1012, and NN 1789.
683 See seal usage below for details.
684 Tavernier 2007, p. 228 (no. 4.2.954).
individual, the most commonly occurring, is the director of the Persepolitan region (years 15-19) (using PFS 1*); he also issues halmi, and is a šaramanna and damanna official, a kurdabattiš, and a kapnuškira (“treasurer”). Whether the Karkiš named in PFS 981* is the same individual is unclear. The linkage with the treasury would seem to be more than fortuitous.

The title, GNZBR, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian word *Ganzabara- (“treasurer”). The title occurs in Elamite in transcription, kanzabara, and translation, kapnuškira. PFS 981* is the only occurrence of the title in Persepolitan glyptic. There are six individuals designated kapnuškira or kanzabara in Elamite texts from Persepolis:

Karkiš kapnuškira: NN 1724;
Šuddayauda kapnuškira: NN 1069, NN 1411, NN 2079;
Mitrabada (Miššabada?) kanzabara: NN 1564;
Mannuya kazabara: PF 1342;
Mirakka, kapnuškira: PF 2070;

The title also appears in the Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive. In one instance, the title is followed by LYD Iršena (“by the authority of Iršena”). What, exactly, this indicates and how it is related to the title is unclear.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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PFS 981* appears on four Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

In the end, we are inclined to attribute PFS 981* to Iršena, the regional director based upon: 1) the occurrence of the name as a šaramanna official in three texts sealed by PFS

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684 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49).
685 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49).
686 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49).
687 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49).
688 PFAT 64, PFAT 234, PFAT 431, and PFAT 504.
689 Tavernier 2007, p. 422 (no. 4.4.7.49).
981*, 2) the single-seal protocol; 3) the exceptional quality of the seal design. This attribution clearly, however, raises questions. For example, how does PFS 981* relate administratively to PFUTS 1555*, another impressive seal that probably carries the name Iršena? If PFS 981* and PFUTS 1555* belong to the individual who is the regional director, why do we have only a few attestations of them?

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The inclusion of winged bird-headed lion-creatures in scenes of the heroic control encounter is uncommon. These creatures and the elaborate detailing in the birds’ heads, wings, and the hero’s garment are similar to what we see in PFS 1*, a seal, of course, used for a period of time by Karkiš, the regional director.

As noted above, the five-line Aramaic inscription is otherwise unattested among the seals from the Fortification archive.

Mixed Styles I. The carving is fairly flat and angular in the human forms, as one normally sees in the Fortification Style. The animal bodies are more well modeled. The extensive detailing in the design is closely related to many seals in a miniaturist Modeled Style of carving.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1568*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 05.B.03.p. Archers: Standing human or winged/tailed human archer: Aiming at animal(s)/creature(s) moving away from archer: Horned animal: deer, gazelle, wild goat, wild sheep (caprid); Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic

689 PF 937, PF 1012, and NN 1789.
690 PFS 1568* was initially published as PFS 1568, as the inscription was not discovered until later.
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Portion of middle section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims arrow at caprid and young; paneled inscription in upper and terminal fields.
Archer (top of head, face, lower legs, details of garment not preserved) faces to right.
Stands with right arm, sharply bent, held up behind head to pull back on bow in front of chest; left arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right. Wears belted Persian court robe; short end of belt hangs from waist. Central vertical pleats are indicated on skirt of garment; folds of drapery hang to either side. Sleeves are pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass at back of head. Short rounded beard hangs to chest.
To right of archer is caprid (hindfeet not preserved) moving to right. Head turns back behind body to face to left toward archer. Hindlegs, held together, extend back behind body. Forelegs, held together, reach outward in front of body. Thin wavy tail hangs from hindquarters. Large horn sticks up from top of head and splits into two, each side curving back down toward body; top is serrated. Small snout is indicated and cheek is rounded. Drill hole marks eye. Ear with bulbous termination emerges from back of head. Two arrows, one in hindquarters and other in shoulder, stick out.
Below caprid is smaller caprid (feet not preserved), evidently young, moving to right. Hindlegs extend behind body; forelegs reach in front of body. Small pointed tail curves down from hindquarters. Large horn sticks up from top of head and splits into two; each side curves back down toward body and comes to point. Small snout and eye are indicated.
Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field and upper field above large caprid’s forelegs.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1.? […] ’ . . ’ […]
       2.? . . […] ’ . . ’
       3.? . . […]
       4.? ’ . . ’ […]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined
Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, we cannot collate the full extent of the design, thus the broken inscription in our reconstructed drawing, to either side of the figural scene. The exact configuration of the inscription is unclear. At left it appears to occupy the whole of the terminal field; at right the forelegs of the large caprid clearly run under the panel, which thus appears to occupy only the upper part of the terminal field. Such a layout would be unprecedented, but the design is an extremely ambitious one. Neither the top nor the bottom of the panel are preserved; the exact number of lines is unclear.

Line 1: fragments of perhaps two letters preserved (at the end of the line, to right of the figural scene). It is unclear how many letters precede.

Line 2: five unidentifiable letters preserved (two at the beginning of the line, to left of the figural scene, and three at the end of the line, to right of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional letters there are.

Line 3: two unidentifiable letters preserved (at the beginning of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional letters follow.

Line 4: one broken and unidentifiable letter preserved (at the beginning of the line, to left of the figural scene). It is unclear how many, if any, additional letters follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1854</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1568*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 614</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1568*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1568*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2572</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1568*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1568* appears on three Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are letters.

Based on the sealing protocols associated with letters, we can with some assurance attribute PFS 1568* to the addressor, Harrena.\(^{691}\) The name Harrena is attested in a total

\(^{691}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 371.
of 53 Elamite texts from the Fortification archive. One of these individuals is a very high-ranking official who carries the title kasabattiš ("cattle chief"). Given the concern of the letter-orders sealed by PFS 1568* with livestock, we clearly have to do with the same individual.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The composition is an ambitious one. Garrison has discussed in some detail the compositional linkages with the heirloom seals PFS 51 and PFS 93*. The deep temporal sequencing is a feature of these heirloom seals, as well as a handful of experimental designs that contain much court-centric iconography. The tension on the bow, the spent arrows, as well as the fleeing pose of the animals, contribute to the narrative qualities of the design. If the small caprid represents a kid, it is a rare feature; most often, animals are depicted as mature.

As noted, the exact spatial relationship of the inscription with the figural imagery is unclear. It is possible that the animal invades the panel; such a relationship between text and figural imagery is far more common when an inscription is free-floating.

Court Style, but with hesitation. The large and broad animal forms are typical Court Style. The modeling in the arms of the hero is, however, unusual for the Court Style. Highly unusual for the style also is the dizzying composition. Garrison links PFS 1568* with a cluster of what he characterizes as experimental designs, some in the Court Style, others in the Fortification Style or Modeled Style, that exhibit dense court-centric iconography, often inventively contrived, and exceptionally active scenes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2010a, pp. 344 (fig. 32.5h), 345 (fig. 32.6h), 352-53; Garrison 2013, p. 583; Garrison 2014a, pp. 500-02, and 505 (fig. 16); Garrison 2017a, pp. 79, 83, 341, 371-72, and 384; Henkelman 2008, p. 547.

PFS 2106*

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692 E.g., PF 1791, NN 572, and NN 1665. This is the only person with this title in the Fortification archive (Garrison 2017a, p. 371). While it is uncertain what exactly he did in this role, cattle generally seem to be related to royal activity; see Henkelman (2008, pp. 419-20) for royal uses of cattle.
693 Garrison 2017a, p. 371.
694 Ibid. See also PFS 71* in this regard.
695 Some exceptions include PFS 83*, PFUTS 138s, and PFUTS 145.
696 E.g., PFS 4*. See Chapter 6 for discussion of this phenomenon.
697 Garrison 2017a, p. 371.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE
Typology and Style: 06.B.02. Hunts with Spears: Standing: Spearing animal/creature
Moving Toward Hunter: boar; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 11
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hunter spears boar; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hunter (right hand, face not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head; hand holds back end of spear. Left arm, straight, is held diagonally downward in front of body to hold front end of spear. Wears belted Persian court robe; end of belt hangs from waist. Central vertical pleats are indicated on front of skirt; folds of drapery hang to either side. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Detailing is indicated on sleeves of garment. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Outline of pointed nose is indicated. Thin pointed beard rests over chest.

To right of hunter is boar marchant facing to left. Tail hangs down from hindquarters and terminates in two-pronged tuft. Face consists of rounded eye with surrounding fold. Mouth is closed. Tufts of hair and perpendicular band line shoulders and hindquarters. Tufts of hair stick up from top of head. Small ears point forward from top of head.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is complete at top and bottom of design.

698 NN 2337 and NN 2370.
INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. ḤT[M]
     2. DDMSG
     3. ʾḤKTN
     “Seal (of) DDMSG, ʾḤKTN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: HTM PN + title

Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the
horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top of the panel is not preserved. Even though
the panel is not fully preserved at present, we do not believe there are any additional lines
of text. The letters appear in close proximity to each other. The penultimate and third to
last letters of line two appear to be retrograde. The case heights appear uneven, with the
third much taller than the second; as a result, the letter sizes also vary. It is noteworthy
that the panel does not occupy the full height of the seal but floats in the upper and
middle zones of the terminal field.

Line 1: two letters preserved: Ḥ and T. We reconstruct M at the end.

Line 2: five letters: D, D, M, S, and G.

Line 3: five letters: perhaps Ḥ, Ḥ, K, T, and N.

While much of the inscription is preserved, the reading is uncertain. It seems clear that it
begins with HTM followed by a personal name. The third line is unclear. Without BR
following the name to prompt a patronym, it is likely that a title occurs in the third line.
At present, neither a name nor a title is recognizable.699

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
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<th>Tablet</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 2290</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>PFS 2106* (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2299</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>PFS 2106* (x2)</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2337</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
<td>PFS 2106*</td>
<td>PFS 27*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attestations of PFS 2106*

699 Neither the name nor the title appears Iranian (Tavernier, personal communication via Mikołajczak 2018, p. 479).
PFS 2106* appears on seven Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol with PFS 27*.

With two exceptions (Fort. 1916B-101 and Fort. 2264-101), PFS 2106* occurs on the left edge (often impressed twice) with PFS 27* applied to non-left-edge surfaces (generally the upper and left edges). On Fort. 1916B-101 and Fort. 2264-101, PFS 2106* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces; on Fort. 1916B-101, PFS 27* is applied to the left edge.

These transactions include journals and an account.

PFS 2106* always occurs in conjunction with PFS 27*, an important accounting seal. Mikołajczak links PFS 2106* with the bureau of PFS 27*, suggesting that it was even used by the same officials who used PFS 27*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Scenes of hunters employing spears are relatively few in number in Persepolitan glyptic, but, like PFS 2106*, they are often spectacular designs. Court-centric iconography is relatively rare in hunt scenes. PFUTS 314* and PFUTS 232* are closely related thematically and stylistically to PFS 2106*. On PFUTS 314*, the hunter, wearing the Persian court robe, spears a boar who is under the paneled inscription; like PFS 2106*, the inscription floats in the upper field. On PFUTS 232*, the hunter, again in the Persian court robe, spears a rampant lion; a hound accompanies the action. Both seals are rendered in a similar modeled style of carving.

Modeled Style. The carving is ambitious but somewhat uncontrolled. The deep carving and muscular detailing in the boar are noteworthy. The heavy swags of drapery on the upper part of the Persian court robe is a common trope in early experiments in court-centric iconography.

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700 The right edge of NN 2299, as well as several surfaces of Fort. 2264-001, are destroyed; thus we cannot be certain what seal, if any, was applied. However, based on the consistent pairing of PFS 2106* and PFS 27* on other tablets, it is likely that the latter is applied to at least one surface on each of these tablets.
702 Garrison 2017a, p. 32.
703 Mikołajczak, 2018, pp. 46-47, 60, and 480.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 2361* 704

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE 705
Typology and Style: 09.A.03. Cult Imagery: Atlas Figure(s) Supporting Symbol: Supporting Symbol of Uncertain Type; miniaturist Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.6 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Portion of middle section of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Atlas creature stands within decorative border; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Atlas creature (feet, hands not preserved) stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Turns head back behind body to face to left. Human arms, straight, extend to either side and in front of top pair of wings. Two additional pairs of human arms extend upward from tips of horizontal wings; one forearm terminates in upturned cupped hand (atlas pose). Second pair of wings extends diagonally downward from shoulders, one wing to either side of torso; each wing has single row of feathers. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Human head has outline of large triangular nose indicated. Rounded beard hangs to chest.

704 PFS 2361* was, with hesitation, included by Garrison (2017a). New impressions of the seal confirm his suggestion that, rather than a tower structure, the feature is an inscription panel.
705 NN 1946.
Circular border (partially preserved) encloses atlas creature. Consists of series of small rectangular shapes between inner and outer bands.

To right of creature and border, likely in terminal field, is inscription within panel with case lines.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. [...] ‘MY
2. [...] ‘T/G

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, we appear to have the top of the panel and only the ends of the two preserved lines. It is likely that an additional line of text follows. The letters vary in size from line one (small) to line two (large).

Line 1: three letters preserved: a broken and unidentifiable letter, \( M \), and \( Y \). It is unclear how many additional letters precede.

Line 2: two letters preserved: a broken and unidentifiable letter and \( T \) (or perhaps \( G \)). It is unclear how many additional letters precede.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible at present.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<th>Bottom Edge</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN 1946</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 2361*</td>
<td>PFS 2361*</td>
<td>PFS 2361*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 904-204</td>
<td>PFS 2361*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2361* appears on one Elamite and one uninscribed document, apparently, in both instances, in the single-seal protocol.\(^{706}\)

NN 1946 is a ration allocation.

\(^{706}\) Four surfaces of PFUT 904-204 are destroyed. Given the use of the single-seal protocol on NN 1946, it is possible that here too PFS 2361* is the sole seal.
Given the single Elamite document whose sealing patterns are irregular, seal attribution is not possible. We would only note the intriguing stylistic connection of PFS 2361* to PFS 1*, the Persepolis regional office seal used for a time by Karkiš, the supplier of wine in NN 1946.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The design is an enigma. The arms emerging out of the creature’s wings are unparalleled in Persepolitan glyptic. The “pose” recalls atlas figures, which are very popular in Persepolitan glyptic; the creature, of course, does not actually support anything.707

The circular hatched border strikingly recalls that on PFS 3, where it encloses crossed caprids.

miniaturist Modeled Style. As is typical in the style, there is much detailing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 1555*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.C.04. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Lions;
Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 15
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its entire length.

707 For more on atlantids, see Chapter 5; see, also, Garrison (2017a, p. 346) and Garrison (2009, pp. 13-14, 33-35, 43-44, and 52).
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero holds pair of inverted lions by hindlegs and stands on winged human-headed lion-creatures; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, hands not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left, atop tails of pedestal creatures below. Arms, straight, extend diagonally upward to either side to grasp hindleg of lion (not preserved). Wears Persian court robe; folds of drapery fall to waist. Thin border is indicated along bottom and right side of top of garment. Wears headdress. Hair is gathered in ovular mass behind head. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of inverted lions (right hindleg, tip of left forepaw of lion at left not preserved; hindfeet of lion at right not preserved) held up by hindleg by hero. Other hindleg extends outward toward waist of hero. Forelegs extend downward in front of chest; paws appear to rest on head and wing of creatures below. Forepaws of lion at right have sharp nail(s). Head is turned back behind body to look upward. Short triangular (lion at left) or long, curved, and pointed (lion at right) tail extends from hindquarters. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Small drill hole marks eye on lion at left. Thick mane runs along back of head and neck of lion at right. Small triangular ear emerges from top of head of lion at left.

Below hero is pair of winged human-headed lion-creatures couchant (head, forelegs, chest, base of tail of creature at left not preserved; right hindleg of creature at right not preserved) facing outward and away from each other. Left hindleg of creature at left, bent, is tucked underneath hindquarters; small paw is indicated. Right foreleg of creature at right, straight, is extended on ground in front of body; paw is squared. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Thin tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft. Creature at right wears flat-topped headdress; hair is gathered in small ovular mass at back of head. Creature at right has outline of large squared nose and pointed beard.

Horizontal line preserved below left hindleg of pedestal creature at left could either be ground line or bottom edge of seal.\textsuperscript{708}

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION:
Line: 1. [HTM] 
2. [...]YN 
3. GRDPT
"[Seal of] [Irš]ena, the *Gṛdapatiš"

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: \textit{HTM PN + title}

\textsuperscript{708} PFUTS 18*, which has a nearly identical scene, includes a ground line underneath pedestal creatures.
Three lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the entirety of the top of the panel and sections of the bottom are not preserved. As the inscription seems clear with what is preserved, we do not think that there are more than three lines. Nothing of what we assume to be the first line of text is preserved. The preserved letters are large and clear. A small chip/flaw in the second case does not appear to obstruct any text.

Line 1: The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct $H$, $T$, and $M$.

Line 2: two letters preserved: $Y$ and $N$. Space suggests that there are perhaps three letters preceding.


The beginning of the inscription is not preserved; we reconstruct the first line as $HTM$, as it is the most common way to begin Aramaic seal inscriptions at Persepolis. Line two, though broken, is likely a name; we suggest the well-known Iršena (*ṚŚYN*). *ṚŚYN* is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Ṛšēna-* (Elamite Iršena). Another attestation of the Aramaic rendering of the name is in the inscription on PFS 981*. The name Iršena (rendered in Elamite) appears in 309 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive; he is the Fahlīyān regional director (years 17-24), a šaramanna and damanna official, and a Kurdabattiš*. The inclusion of the title, Kurdabattiš, in the third line of the inscription strengthens the restoration of the personal name.

The Persian title *Gṛdapatiš* (Elamite Kurdabattiš) is reflected in the Aramaic GRDPT, which shows an influence of the Babylonian transliteration gardapata. The inclusion of it on PFUTS 1555* marks its only appearance in a glyptic context at Persepolis. The word, in its Elamite form, occurs in 28 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive. The translation of the title seems clear: “chief of workers.” The specific nature of the title/position, Kurdabattiš, in the Fortification agency is, however, uncertain. The office is concerned with responsibilities exceptionally high up in the administration; at present, it is a title that only eight individuals are known to carry.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

709 It would be unusual for anything to follow a title, which is the content of line three.

710 Tavernier 2007, p. 290 (no. 4.2.1436).

711 See the catalogue entry for PFS 981*.

712 As regional director, he uses PFS 4*; for details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 4*. Šaramanna (PF 239), Damanna (PF 405), Kurdabattiš (PF 1368 and PF 1800); see Chapter 4 for details on these titles; see, also, the comments for PFS 981*.

713 Tavernier 2007, p. 424 (no. 4.4.7.56).

714 E.g., PF 158.


716 Ibid.; in addition to Iršena, other officials known to be designated Kurdabattiš include the Persepolitan regional directors Karkiš and Suddayaunda and the šaramanna/damanna officials Mišparma, Bakadada, Datukka, and Zimakka; for additional details on the position of Kurdabattiš, as well as Iršena, see Briant (2002, pp. 426-28, and 431).
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFUTS 1555* appears on one Aramaic and one uninscribed document, in the single-seal protocol.

The text of PFAT 800 is, unfortunately, broken and unclear. While the text of PFAT 800 provides no assistance in seal attribution, the single-seal protocol, combined with the application of a seal to multiple surfaces (in some instances multiple times) in cases of a more robust dossier, often indicates officials of high administrative rank.\textsuperscript{717} Iršena, \textit{kurdabattiš}, would certainly fit this profile.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
A hero controlling inverted animals/creatures is a less common compositional formula within the thematic type of the heroic control encounter. Rather interestingly, PFUTS 18*, a royal-name seal, has a very similar scene. On that seal, the pedestal creatures are different, the court-centric iconography is more pronounced (winged symbol and date palms), and the style is Court Style. Both seals, however, have paneled inscriptions displayed in the terminal field. If the horizontal line beneath the pedestal creature at left on PFUTS 1555* is a ground line (as opposed to the bottom edge of the seal), this would constitute another similarity among the two seals. PFUTS 18* also follows the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{718}

Fortification Style. The carving is fairly conventional for the style; the Persian court robe is not commonly seen in the style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

\textbf{Aramaic Group 2:}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Orientation: Horizontal
  \item Location in Field: Terminal
  \item With/Without Panel: With Panel
  \item With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{717} E.g., Parnakka with PFS 9* and PFS 16*.
\textsuperscript{718} See the catalogue entry for PFUTS 18* for details.
1. **PFS 54***

A second method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, but without case lines. At present, only one of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

PFS 54* (*OIP 117 Cat.No. 277*)

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Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: 505 BCE\(^{719}\)  
Typology and Style: 02.C.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Winged lion creatures; Mixed Styles I  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic  
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 4.0 cm (complete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.3 cm  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.3 cm  
Number of Impressions: 17  
Quality of Impressions: Fair  
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**  
Hero threatens rampant winged horned lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Right leg, straight, is underneath body; left leg, bent, is raised in front of body with foot resting on left hindleg of rampant creature to right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head with short dagger in hand. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grab horn of creature; four fingers are indicated. Wears belted knee-length garment; sheath extends diagonally downward from waist behind body. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of small eye and rectangular

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\(^{719}\) NN 694.
border, outline of shallow nose, and curvature of mouth. Short rounded beard hangs to chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged horned lion-creature (bottom of left hindfoot, forepaw, tip of tail not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward hero. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. Right hindleg, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body with hindfoot flexed; left leg, straight, is on ground behind body. Forelegs, held together, reach diagonally upward in front of body. Two wings extend outward, one to either side of body; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Thin tail curves downward from hindquarters and crosses behind left leg. Long bifurcated horn sticks up from top of head; hero grabs one side. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Small tongue sticks out from back of mouth. Drill hole marks eye. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Pointed ear emerges back of head.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and hero; triangular mass/waviness is perhaps chip/flaw in stone.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  
1. ḤTM ʾ  
2. G?DHZY  
3. ḤR/DK  
4. ’..’  
“The seal (of) G...”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: *HTM PN + title?*

Four lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the bottom and the upper left corner of the panel are not preserved. Based on the height of the figural scene, it is unlikely that there are additional lines of text.

Line 1: four letters: *H, T, M,* and ’.

Line 2: five letters: perhaps *G, D, H, Z,* and *Y.*

Line 3: three letters: *H, R* (or perhaps *D,* and *K.*

Line 4: two broken and unidentifiable letters preserved. It is unclear how many, if any, letters follow.

The beginning of the inscription is clear, *HTM* followed by a personal name. The ’ following *HTM* is emphatic (“*the seal*”). The letters in the following lines do not
comprise a recognizable name. It is unlikely that a single name occupies all three lines; thus our suggestion of a name followed by a title.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 273s</td>
<td>PFS 54*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 54* appears on 15 Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PF 1037.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Counter-Seal:
PF 448, PF 506, PF 558, PF 575, PF 972, PF 1010, PF 1021, PF 1181, NN 492, NN 623, NN 694, NN 1035, NN 1349, and NN 1387.

In all instances, PFS 54* occurs as the counter seal (generally on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.\textsuperscript{720}

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement and ration allocations for workers.\textsuperscript{721}

\textsuperscript{720} The right edge of NN 1035 is destroyed; it is likely, based on the sealing patterns of PFS 54* elsewhere, that this surface was not sealed or that PFS 54* was applied here.

\textsuperscript{721} Receipts of commodity movement: PF 448, PF 506, PF 558, PF 575, NN 492, NN 623, and NN 694; ration allocations for workers: PF 972, PF 1019, PF 1021, PF 1181, NN 1035, NN 1349, and NN 1387.
This dossier, consisting of multiple types of transactions, is characteristic of šaramanna and damanna officials. Unfortunately, the sealing protocols in the particular types of transactions sealed by PFS 54* are opaque. In multiple documents, the šaramanna official is either Naptaš or Uštanna.\textsuperscript{722} It is possible that PFS 54* is linked with one of their bureaus, but at present this attribution cannot be proven.\textsuperscript{723}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The compositional formula wherein the hero chases after an animal/creature is particularly well documented among inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{724} The scene on PFS 54* seems, however, rather less dynamic in comparison to other iterations of the scene among inscribed seals (e.g., PFS 57*, PFS 98*, and PFS 1566*). The knee-length garment is also uncommon within this subset of seals.

The lack of case lines within a paneled inscription is very rare; only PFS 54* and PFS 266* include multi-line inscriptions in the terminal field, within a panel, but without case lines. Interestingly, both scenes feature the heroic combat encounter with a winged creature.

Mixed Styles I. Both human and animal forms exhibit subdued modeling. The hour-glass shape of the hero’s body is conventional Fortification Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**Aramaic Group 3:**

- Orientation: Horizontal
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: Without Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFUTS 273*

A third method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and with case lines. At present, only one of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

\textsuperscript{722} Naptaš: PF 506, PF 558, PF 575, PF 972, PF 1021, PF 1181, NN 694, and NN 1035; Uštanna: PF 1019, PF 1037, NN 623, NN 1349, and NN 1387.

\textsuperscript{723} Koch (1990, pp. 297-98, and 307) suggests that PFS 54* belongs to Naptaš, whom she identifies as a subordinate of Uštanna, the director of grain cultivation in her Elam Region VI.

\textsuperscript{724} See Chapter 5 for details.
PFUTS 273*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 08.B. Warfare Scenes: On Foot; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.8 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 10
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure spears archer; third figure lies on ground; figure emergent from winged symbol hovers in upper field; inscription in upper section of terminal field.

At right, spearman faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Right leg, bent, is in front of body with foot (not depicted) presumably atop figure on ground; left leg, straight, stands on ground. Both arms, bent, hold spear above shoulders; right hand makes rounded fist, left hand appears open. Thin bracelet wraps around left wrist. Wears Persian court robe that falls to ankle of left leg and leaves right leg bare below knee. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Bow-case attaches at hip. Top of head is rounded and back of head is flat, perhaps indicating headdress. Face consists of outline of curved line for eye and outline of triangular nose. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

To left of spearman, and at left of figural scene, is archer (top and back of head, hands, backs of feet not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, sharply bent, is held up behind head to pull back on bow (not preserved); left arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right. Wears long pants with thin band along back of right leg, perhaps end of long belt or weapon. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Beard hangs to chest.
Between spearman and archer is figure (chin not preserved) lying on ground. Appears to face downward, perhaps with slight twist in torso and legs, apart, outstretched to left. Apparently arms are by side. Wears long pants. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Hair is gathered in small ovular mass behind head.

Above spearman and archer is winged symbol (tips of wings not preserved) with figure emergent (top of head, one hand not preserved). Figure, facing to right, is depicted from waist up and emergent from pair of horizontal wings below. One arm, straight, extends in front of body from torso; hand is rounded fist. Other arm reaches diagonally upward in front of body. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Long beard rests over chest. Winged symbol below is comprised of pair of horizontal wings with single row of feathers and short tail. Tendril extends diagonally downward from either side of tail and curves up at end.

Preserved inscription occupies upper section of terminal field with case line.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below horizontal figure.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. […]N?[…]

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved with a case line and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, all we have of the inscription is a single letter, which is very faint in all impressions. Whether the inscription fills the full terminal field is unknown, but highly likely.

Line 1: one letter preserved: perhaps N. It is unclear how many, if any, additional letters there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a reading is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>PFUT 500-201</td>
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<td>PFUTS 273*</td>
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<td>PFUTS 273*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PFUTS 273* appears on four uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol. Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Scenes of warfare are not common in Persepolitan glyptic. Garrison and Henkelman have recently given an exhaustive review of the evidence. As they note, PFUTS 273* is closely related to PFS 2899*, the seal belonging to prince Aršāma. Both scenes show combats involving spears, bows and arrows, dead combatants, winged symbols, and Aramaic inscriptions. In both scenes the antagonists wear trousers and soft headdresses.

Mixed Styles I. Modeling is restrained. Figures appear squat with short legs and torsos. Arms, particularly of the standing figure at left, are thin. Detail is limited.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Garrison 2017a, p. 100. Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, pp. 80 (figs. 2.24-25), 87-89, 91, 93, 96, 103, 118, 122, and 124.

**Aramaic Group 4:**

- Orientation: Horizontal
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: Without Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFATS 130*
2. PFS 82*
3. PFS 1633*
4. PFS 2084*
5. PFUTS 264*
6. PFUTS 559*
7. PFUTS 1217*

A fourth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, seven of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately 19 percent) are so disposed.

PFATS 130*

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725 See Tuplin (2020) for combat scenes in Achaemenid glyptic.
727 Ibid., p. 87.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 34.C. Fragmentary Designs with One Animal Preserved of Uncertain Composition: Lion preserved; Fortification Style?
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 0.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 0.8 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Small section of middle or top of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Only head of lion and single letter of inscription are preserved.

Lion (preserved only along head and neck) faces to right. Small divot at end of snout indicates nostrils. Mouth is open. Round drill hole marks eye. Grooves at back of head and neck indicate mane.

Single Aramaic letter is preserved in space behind lion’s head, possibly terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1.? B[…]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Very little of the inscription is preserved.

Line 1: one letter preserved: B. It is unclear how many letters follow.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal?

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<td>PFATS 130*</td>
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</table>

PFATS 130* appears on one Aramaic document, apparently in the single-seal protocol.

A translation of this text was not available at the time of writing.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

Too little of the design survives for commentary.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFS 82*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE\(^{728}\)
Typology and Style: 09.B.03. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Crescent or Winged Symbol: Before Winged Symbol with Figure Emergent; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.5 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

\(^{728}\) PF 1840.
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 35
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Attendants stand atop winged lion-creatures marchant flanking figure emergent from winged symbol; winged human-headed lion-creature sejant is below winged symbol; inscription in terminal field.

Pair of attendants (top of head of figure at left not preserved) face inward toward figure emergent from winged symbol at center. Stand with feet apart, one foot in front of other on top of wings of winged lion-creatures below. Arms extend in front of torso to hold long vertical staff. Staff held by attendant at left terminates at top in three-pronged floral element; staff held by attendant at right terminates at top in downturned V-shaped element. Bottom of each staff rests on head of creature below. Wear long Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee. Attendant at right wears rounded headdress with small knob on top; hair lies flat against back of head before being gathered in rounded mass above shoulder. Curved forehead on attendant at left may indicate headdress; long mass of hair rests over back. Face consists of small eye with outer triangular border and outline of squared nose. Long pointed beard rests over chest.

Below attendants is pair of winged lion-creatures marchant (base of tail on creature at right, lower legs of both creatures not preserved) facing in toward center. Wing extends back behind body with two rows of feathers indicated. Bird’s tail with three feathers curves upward from hindquarters. Divot indicates nostrils. Mouth is open. Small rounded eye is indicated. Mane, thin band, runs along back of neck. Tuft of hair sits atop head. Ear emerges from top/back of head.

Between standing figures is figure emergent from winged device (some details of feathers not preserved). Emergent figure is depicted from torso up, facing to left. One arm, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of torso; hand is splayed with fingers indicated. Ovular shoulder may indicate sleeve of garment. Wears rounded headdress with rounded knob on top. Hair is gathered in teardrop-shaped mass at back of head. Face consists of small round eye with outer triangular frame and thin nose. Thin pointed beard rests over chest. Winged device below consists of thin crescent with nestled half-circle; below is bird’s tail. Pair of wings extend horizontally, one wing to either side. Single row of feathers is indicated with horizontal (wings) or vertical (tail) bands. Right wing also has thin vertical band(s).

Below figure emergent from winged symbol is winged human-headed creature sejant (not preserved below chest) facing to left. Wings extend upward, one to either side of head; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Face consists of small rounded eye and outline of triangular nose. Top of head is flat, perhaps indicating headdress.

729 Cf. the sleeves on the standing attendants.
Inscription occupies terminal field. Rounded mass at bottom could be additional part of inscription or additional element of figural scene.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and figure emergent from winged symbol.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM [...] 
2. [...] 
3. W/R/D [...]  
“Seal (of)…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: ḤTM PN + title?

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. We assume that there are three lines in total. The beginning of the inscription is present. Nothing survives of the middle line. The letters that are present vary greatly in size.

Line 1: three letters preserved: Ḥ, T, and M. It is unclear how many, if any, letters follow.

Line 2: no letters preserved.

Line 3: two letters preserved: W and R (or perhaps D). It is unclear how many, if any, letters follow.

The beginning of the inscription is clear, ḤTM (“seal”). If the inscription has three lines, we might expect the second and third lines to contain a personal name followed by a title; neither can be reconstructed at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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</table>

PFS 82* appears on 12 Elamite and two uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.730

These transactions are letters.

The šaramanna/damanna official Maraza, the addressor of most of the above letters, occurs in several other texts.731 The letters, NN 502 and NN 977, addressed by Hašina, are the only texts that name Hašina šaramanna.732 There is also a Hašina who acts as a kurman official for wine (and flour/grain).733

The appearance of PFS 82* on two uninscribed documents, PFUT 274-203 and PFUT 1074-103, is noteworthy. The seals of šaramanna/damanna officials do not occur commonly on uninscribed documents. Seals of issuers of letter-orders are even more rare on uninscribed documents (to date, in addition to PFS 82*, only PFS 38, PFS 124*, and PFS 2116, always in the single-seal protocol).

Based on the letter-orders, we may attribute PFS 82* to Maraza and/or Hašina, or, perhaps, a šaramanna office that they staff.734

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

PFS 82* is an especially rich and dense design. The two attendants and the figure in the winged symbol all rest above pedestal creatures. PFUTS 813 is for all intents and purposes a duplicate of PFS 82* (the figure in the winged symbol is turned in the opposite direction). Both are cut in the same style, perhaps even by the same workshop/artist. The garments are Assyrian, but the static compositions generated upon

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730 At least one surface on NN 502, NN 1062, and Fort. 1145-009 are destroyed. Given the consistent application of PFS 82* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, we suggest either that these surfaces were left unsealed or that PFS 82* occurred here, as well.
731 Letters: PF 1840, PF 1841, PF 1842, PF 1843, PF 1844, NN 34, NN 1062, NN 1382; other texts: PF 760, PF 905, PF 906, PF 907, PF 1112, PF 1789, PF 1790, PF 1792, PF 1793, PF 1795, PF 1801, PF 1805, PF 1806, PF 1807, PF 1808, PF 1814, PF 1945, PF 1979, PF 1980, PF 1990, PF 2001, PF 2025, PF 2080, NN 13, NN 61, NN 254, NN 458, NN 504, PFS 562, NN 581, NN 842, NN 974, NN 1078, NN 1106, NN 1138, NN 1140, NN 1202, NN 1255, NN 1289, NN 1330, NN 1352, NN 1441, NN 1509, NN 1511, NN 1666, NN 1731, NN 1752, NN 2255, NN 2433, NN 2515, NN 3099, NN 3145, Fort. 1229-107.
732 Fort. 1145-009, which Hašina also addresses is, however, poorly preserved.
733 PF 35, PF 351, PF 426, PF 1465, PF 1548, PF 1549, PF 2027, NN 9, NN 563, NN 564, NN 565, NN 588, NN 593, NN 937, NN 1863, NN 2163, NN 2527, NN 2532, and NN 3030.
734 Garrison 2017a, p. 86.
the winged symbol evoke designs closely linked to the Court Style and monumental relief.

Mixed Styles I. The figures are small with squat proportions. There is pronounced drill work (note, for example, the segmented human and animal bodies). The style is a restrained version of a miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 1633*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 506 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.A.05. Hero controls winged lion creatures; Mixed Styles I/Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 10
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls rampant winged lion-creatures; small caprid stands between hero and each winged lion-creature; inscription in upper and lower sections of terminal field.

Hero faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Both arms, bent, extend outward to either side to grasp (hands not depicted) forelegs of rampant winged lion-creature. Wears Persian court robe. Central vertical pleat is indicated on front of skirt;

735 Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 426 and 428.
diagonal folds of drapery hang to either side, with additional detailing along left thigh. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Top of head is flat and curved line across forehead may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of small eye and outline of triangular nose. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged lion-creatures (top of head of creature at right, right hindfoot of creature at left not preserved). Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other. Turn head back behind body to face outward. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body; hero grabs near wrist. Other foreleg, straight, extends horizontally toward hero (creature at left) or hangs in front of torso (creature at right). Forepaws have long digits (creature at left) or one large nail (creature at right). Two wings extend diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Straight tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in multi-pronged tuft. Mouth is open on creature at left; small, pointed tooth sticks up from bottom jaw. Creature at left has ovular eye. Mane, thin band (creature at left) or spiked tufts of hair (creature at right), runs along top of head and back of neck. Creature at left has large tuft of hair and two ears atop head.

Pair of small caprids (forepaws, tip of tail on animal at left, tip of horn, hindfeet of animal at right not preserved), one caprid to either side of hero. Stand on hindlegs with feet apart, one in front of other. Face to left (animal at left turns head back behind body to do so). Foreleg(s) extends in front of body. Animal at left has thin tail that extends from hindquarters. Horn sticks up from top of head; horn on animal at left splits into two and curves to left and to right. Animal at left has ear emerging from back of head.

Inscription occupies upper and lower sections of terminal field.

Edge of seal (apparently with seal cap at top) is complete at top and bottom of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. BD/R
      2. T

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is unclear whether there are additional letters.

Line 1: two letters: B and D (or perhaps R).

Line 2: one letter: T.

It is difficult to know what to make of the inscription. At present, the preserved letters do
not spell a recognizable name or title.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<tr>
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<tr>
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</table>

PFS 1633* appears on 10 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. These transactions include journals and accounts.\textsuperscript{736}

Given the restriction to journals and accounts, we may with some degree of certainty assign PFS 1633* to an accounting office at Persepolis. The texts refer to the Persepolis region and surrounding environs and some of the transactions are authorized or supervised by high-ranking individuals such as Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya, Karkiš, and Iršena.\textsuperscript{737}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE


\textsuperscript{737} Mikołajczak 2018, p. 428.
The inclusion of the small caprids between the hero and the winged lions is very unusual.\textsuperscript{738} PFS 1633*, and related designs by the same artist/workshop (see below), almost always indicate the upper part of the Persian court robe as elongated swags of drapery framing a thin torso.

Mixed Styles I/Fortification Style. PFS 1633* is one of many by a well-attested artist/workshop. Previous discussions have classified the style as Fortification Style.\textsuperscript{739} More recent discoveries of the hand reveal, from time to time, evidence of thick human or animal forms with some indications of modeling. Such is the case with the animal forms on PFS 1633*. Thus, we prefer Mixed Styles I.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Azzoni and Stolper 2015, p. 27; Garrison 2017a, pp. 80 (fig. 2.24); Mikolajczak 2018, pp. 183, 271-72 (fig. 30), 278, 292, 299, 367, 426-30, 485, and pl. 30; Root 2008, p. 94 (n. 15).

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**PFS 2084**

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE\textsuperscript{740}
Typology and Style: 08.C. Warfare Scenes: Other; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

\textsuperscript{738} Often animals/creatures will appear in the terminal field of heroic encounters; see, e.g., PFATS 575, PFS 326, and PFS 524; cf. small lion(?) on PFS 176 and bird(s) on PFS 2214s and PFS 940.

\textsuperscript{739} E.g., Garrison 1996.

\textsuperscript{740} NN 706, NN 1884, and NN 2295.
Winged horned archer-creature emergent from bird and winged human figure engage in combat; inscription in upper field.

At left, winged horned archer-creature (part of left wing not preserved) faces to right. Depicted from torso up emerging from bird (bottom of lower wing not preserved). One arm, sharply bent, is held behind head to pull back on bow; other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right. Two wings extend horizontally, one to either side of human torso; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Lion’s head has open mouth with two teeth hanging from top jaw. Two long wavy horns, one longer than other, extend from top of head and come to point. Short pointed tuft of hair sits behind horns. Two pointed ears emerge from back of head. Wears quiver with extra arrows on back. Bird below composite creature faces to right. Wing extends diagonally downward from underside of body. Tail has two small feathers. Small eye is indicated.

To right of composite archer-creature is winged human figure (back of head, left hand, lower body not preserved) facing to left. Arms, bent, reach up overhead; right hand (not depicted) holds short dagger in front of face. Tip of pointed object above back shoulder is likely additional weapon held in left hand (not preserved) behind head. Four wings extend from torso, two horizontally and two diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Wears headdress with detailing along top and thin band across forehead. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Thin triangular nose is indicated.

Inscription occupies upper portion of terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] WRY[...]

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is likely that there are additional letters; certainly there is space both before and after the preserved letters.

Line 1: three letters preserved: W, R, and Y.

The inscription is likely incomplete. The preserved letters, WRY, may be the Aramaic rendering of an Old Persian name beginning with Varya-; which one, exactly, is unknown.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal

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741 This reading differs from Mikołajczak (2018, p. 456), whose composite drawing is also different, which may explain the alternate reading.

742 For some possible names, see Tavernier (2007, pp. 339-40).
PFS 2084* appears on four Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
NN 706, NN 1884, and NN 2295.

These transactions are accounts.

Parallel-Seal:
Fort. 782-101.

This transaction is an account.

Based on the consistent use of PFS 2084* on accounts, we can identify the seal as belonging to an accounting office. Owing to the recurrence of Karkiš in three of the texts, Mikołajczak suggests that the seal is used by an official who handles accounts involving Karkiš.744

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 2084* is a unique design. While it has some conceptual linkages with scenes in which there is a composite human/animal archer, the composition and much of the iconography are unique within Persepolitan glyptic. PFUTS 336* also involves composite creatures in combat, one a lion-man, the others bull-men.745 The winged lion-headed creature emerging from a bird is a tour de force; Garrison has explored the significance of the entity within the context of the winged symbol.746

Mixed Styles I. The restrained modeling and thin-waisted figures point to the Fortification Style, but the extensive detailing in heads and wings suggested Mixed Styles I. PFS 2084* is another design that challenges tidy stylistic categories.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

743 Mikołajczak (2018, p. 458) reports “seal traces” here; the surface is largely destroyed.
744 NN 706, NN 1884, and NN 2295; Mikołajczak 2018, p. 457.
745 The exact nature of the interaction of the two figures on PFUTS 559* is unclear.
Garrison 2013, p. 583; Garrison 2017a, p. 341; Garrison 2017b, pp. 207, 209-13, 240 (fig. 16); Mikołajczak 2018, pp. 264 (n. 75), 293, 455-58, 493, and pl. 43.

PFUTS 264*

![Image of the seal](image)

**Seal Type:** Cylinder  
**Earliest Dated Application:** ND  
**Typology and Style:** 01.A.05. Hero controls winged lion creatures; Modeled Style  
**Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription:** Aramaic  
**Preserved Height of Image:** 2.0 cm (incomplete)  
**Preserved Length of Image:** 3.2 cm (complete)  
**Estimated Height of Original Seal:** NA  
**Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:** 1.0 cm  
**Number of Impressions:** 1  
**Quality of Impressions:** Good  
**Completeness of Image:** Large portion of middle and upper sections of design survives along its complete length.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**  
Hero controls winged horned lion-creatures while standing atop human-headed pedestal creature(s); figure emergent from winged symbol occupies upper terminal field; inscription in middle and lower terminal field.

Hero (right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right; left foot is atop head of human-headed creature below. Arms, straight, reach to either side to grasp winged horned lion-creature by horn. Wears Persian court robe; folds of drapery are indicated along upper left thigh. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Diagonal bands are indicated along right side of chest. Wears dentate crown. Hair lies close against back of head before being gathered in rounded mass at bottom. Small circle, perhaps neck, is carved between hair and shoulder. Face consists of large ovular eye and surrounding folds, long thin nose, and small mouth. Long beard, ovular segments, rests over chest.

Below hero is human-headed creature (only top of head is preserved). Faces to right. Wears dentate crown. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Nose is thin.
To left and to right of hero is pair of winged horned lion-creatures (lower body and horn of creature at left, hindfeet and top of head of creature at right not preserved). Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; terminates in ovular segment (creature at left) or paw with nails (creature at right). Other foreleg, straight, extends horizontally from chest; terminates in paw with two ovular segments (creature at left) or three nails (creature at right). Single wing extends horizontally behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters. Small divot (creature at left) or drill hole (creature at right) marks nostril(s). Mouth is open. Creature at left has small tongue; creature at right has sharp tooth hanging from top jaw. Horn, grasped by hero, sticks up from top of head of creature at right. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Creature at right has additional tuft on top of snout; bands across base of neck may indicate additional details of mane. Creature at left has long pointed ear.

In upper terminal field is figure (top of head not preserved) emerging from winged symbol (right tendril not preserved). Figure consists only of head, facing to left, and arm, extended in front of face, hand cupped upward. Perhaps wears headdress. Hair is gathered in ovular mass behind head. Face consists of large eye, outline of pointed nose, and small mouth. Short beard is indicated. Below figure is winged symbol consisting of two horizontal wings and vertical tail; long tendril extends to either side. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing; two rows of feathers are indicated on tail.

Diamond-shaped object, perhaps flaw in stone, floats in terminal field at end of second line of inscription.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal, perhaps with seal cap, is preserved at top of design along most of its length.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM
2. ḤN
3. PK
   “Seal (of) Manbaka”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: $HTM$ PN

Three lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. While there is space for a fourth line, this seems unlikely.


The reading is clear, $HTM$ and a personal name. The personal name, $HNPK$, could be the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *($H$)uwanpāka-. This was suggested to me by Annalisa Azzoni; the use of a $H$ instead of the expected $H$ could be explained by the interference of languages and is not uncommon at Persepolis (see for examples instances of $HTM$ as $HTM$; Tavernier 2007, p. 213 (no. 4.2.849)).

The Elamite rendering of the name, Manbaka, appears in one Elamite text from the Fortification archive.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tr>
<td>PFUT 1006-009</td>
<td>PFUTS 264*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 48</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 264* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFUTS 264* occurs as the counter-seal (on the obverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 48, applied to the left edge.

The seal occurring with PFUTS 264*, PFS 48, represents a well-known and important supply office for flour and grain, probably located at Pirdatkaš, towards the eastern edge of the Fahliyān region. PFS 48 is often encountered in the Elamite texts supplying travel rations. PFS 48 is also one of the most commonly occurring seals in the uninscribed documents (seventy-five tablets to date), almost always in the counter-seal protocol, and with two exceptions, never twice with the same seal. This particular pattern suggests that we have to do with travel rations.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFUTS 264* is a very sophisticated design. Note how the hero stands upon a pedestal creature while the lion-creatures do not. The composition is crowded, with nearly every corner of the design filled. The diamond (between the second line of the inscription and the winged lion creature facing to right), as well as the long tendrils of the winged symbol (hovering above the wings of the rampant creatures), serve especially to fill negative space.

747 This was suggested to me by Annalisa Azzoni; the use of a $H$ instead of the expected $H$ could be explained by the interference of languages and is not uncommon at Persepolis (see for examples instances of $HTM$ as $HTM$; Tavernier 2007, p. 213 (no. 4.2.849)).

748 man-$ba$-$ka$ (NN 284); this text is a travel ration in which Manbaka is a supplier of wine; a supplier seal does not occur.


750 Garrison 2017a, p. 32 and 49. PFS 48 also appears on Aramaic and uninscribed documents, as well as one Demotic tablet (Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 232; Azzoni et al. 2019, p. 13); of the approximately 90 documents sealed by PFS 48, approximately 19 are non-travel ration texts (Garrison and Henkelman 2020a, p. 225); see Garrison and Henkelman (2020a, pp. 225-37) for the full dossier of PFS 48.


752 Ibid., p. 234.
The placement of the figure in the winged symbol over the inscription is another noteworthy design element; it recalls a similarly intriguing design, PFS 389*. Like PFS 389*, PFUTS 264* is dense with court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, crown, winged symbol, pedestal creatures, and inscription.\footnote{753}

The emergent figure consists only of a head and arm. This may reflect a compromise in the decision to add this element – perhaps there was not enough vertical space to include a full emergent figure (typically depicted from the waist up), and rather than omitting the figure, he was shortened. The trope is found, however, in a few other designs in the archive.\footnote{754}

Modeled Style. The figures are well-modeled. Note, for example, the muscular hindquarters of the winged lion-creature at right, the arms of the hero, and the arms of the lion-creatures. Extensive detail has been added, particularly in the faces of the figures, the garment of the hero, and the wings of the rampant lion-creatures and the winged symbol.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 559*

753 See the catalogue entry for PFS 389*.
754 E.g., PFATS 45, PFATS 311, PFS 793s, PFS 2082, PFUTS 0153s, and PFUTS 0291s.
Two winged humans (head of figure at right, left foot of figure at left, rear hands of both figures not preserved) stand, one foot in front of other, facing to left. Feet on figure at right resemble hooves. Torso twists toward front leg. Arms, straight, reach diagonally outward, one diagonally upward behind body, other diagonally downward in front of body. Two (figure at right) or four (figure at left) wings extend outward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Figure at left has outline of triangular nose.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. ḤTM
     2. NBW'DRY
     “Seal (of) Nabû-idri”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: $HTM \ PN$

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is possible that there is a third line.


The reading seems clear, $HTM$ followed by a personal name. The personal name, $NBW'DRY$, is most likely Babylonian-Aramaic. It is not attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.

The length of the second line of the inscription is very long by Persepolitan standards. Indeed, among the horizontally oriented Aramaic seal inscriptions that are carved entirely in the terminal field, the second line of the inscription on PFUTS 559*, seven letters, is the longest.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, multiple-seal

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755 Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication); the theophoric appears to be the name of the god Nabû; this nominal sentence name is common in Akkadian and Aramaic names (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication). A late 7th century BCE seal (Bordreuil 1986, no. 111) carries the inscription, “ŠMŠ ’DRY” (“Šamaš- adri’); Bordreuil (1986, p. 90) suggests the name means “Šamaš est mon secours.” Note, also, Bordreuil 1986, no. 129 (c. 450 BCE): “’DRY” (“Adrî”), Of ’DRY, Bordreuil (1986, p. 100) says, “Le nom ’DRY est un hypocoristique signifiant ‘(la divinité) est mon secours’.”

720
PFUTS 559* appears on one Aramaic and four uninscribed documents and follows three sealing protocols.\(^756\)

**Single-Seal:**
PFUT 174-201.

**Counter-Seal:**
PFUT 1114-105, PFUT 1126-103, and PFUT 1126-104.

In all instances, PFUTS 559* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces (often impressed multiple times to several surfaces) with PFUTS 140s applied to the left edge.

**Multiple-Seal:**
PFAT 722.

The text is, unfortunately, illegible.

Three other attestations of PFUTS 140s, the supplier seal used in the counter-seal above, also occur on the left edge, thus clearly indicating that it represents a supply authority.\(^757\)

One may conclude accordingly that PFUTS 559* on these tablets is the receiving official/office.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

How, exactly, we are to read the scene on PFUTS 559* is not immediately clear. The fact that the two figures appear to face in the same direction may suggest that we have to do with a procession. The particular poses on PFUTS 559*, outstretched arms and twisted torsos, the close proximity of the figures, and the fact that the one at right may grasp the wing of the one at left may indicate a combat scene. There is an interesting sense of motion, a result of the twisted torsos and lengthened arms of the figures.

**Modeled Style.** The figures are very well-modeled through deep drill work. The legs of

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\(^756\) The upper edge of PFUT 174-201 is destroyed, leaving open the possibility that this surface was sealed. Given the fact that PFUTS 559* occurs on the upper edge of the other four tablets that it seals, we may suggest that it was also applied here in this instance, thus the single-seal protocol.

\(^757\) PFUT 1142-201, 1143-202, and PFUT 1139-203.
both figures are especially muscular. Detail has been added with the feathers of each wing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFUTS 1217*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.A.04. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Lions; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs rampant lion; rampant winged lion-/bull-creature; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (face not preserved) faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Left arm, straight, extends in front of body to grasp lion at throat; right arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body to stab lion with short dagger in chest. Wears belted knee-length garment. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Squared beard rests over chest.

To right of hero is rampant lion (rear forepaw not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward behind body; other foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body and
terminates at hero’s arm. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in small rounded tuft. Line along snout indicates nostrils. Mouth is open.

To right of rampant lion is rampant winged lion-/bull-creature (head, left foreleg not preserved) moving to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Right foreleg, bent, hangs in front of torso; paw has three sections. Large wing extends horizontally behind body; single row of feathers and ovular section at top are indicated. Thin element in front of chest could be part of mane or beard; if latter, creature has human-face/-head.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line:  1. ḤTM
        2. GRMN
    “Seal (of) Karramana”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: ḤTM PN

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is possible that there is a third line, but this seems unlikely given the height of the figural scene.

Line 1: three letters: H, T, and M.

Line 2: four letters: G, R, M, and N.

The reading seems clear, ḤTM and a personal name. It is possible that GRMN is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Kāravana-.758 The Elamite rendering of the name (kar-ra-ma-na), however, is not attested using G, so the identification is uncertain. A Karramana is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive, supplying wine in a journal entry.759

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFUTS 1217* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the single-seal protocol.

Seal attribution is not possible.

758 Tavernier 2007, p. 227 (no. 4.2.944).
759 NN 578.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The inclusion of an ancillary animal/creature within a scene of the heroic combat
encounter is well-attested.\footnote{Examples among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive include PFATS 22*, PFS 4*, PFS 9*, and PFS 266*.}

Fortification Style. The rendering of the rampant lion is particularly close to that seen in a
series of seals by a well-attested artist workshop represented here by PFS 1633*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aramaic Group 5:
- Orientation: Horizontal
- Location in Field: Upper
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 83*

A fifth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the
Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the upper field,
within a panel, but without case lines. At present, only one of the 37 seals carrying
Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

PFS 83*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 507 BCE\footnote{NN 698, NN 2425, and NN 2566.}
Typology and Style: 09.A.02. Cult Imagery: Atlas Figure(s) Supporting Symbol:
Supporting Winged Symbol; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 45
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged bull-man atlantid holds winged disk overhead; winged cow nurses calf; paneled inscription and star in upper field.

At left, winged bull-man atlantid (feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. Twists torso toward forward leg. Arms, bent, reach overhead; hands are cupped upward. Four wings extend outward from torso, two diagonally upward and two diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Thin tail hangs from hindquarters and terminates in rounded tuft. Top of head is flat, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in triangular mass at back of head. Outline of nose is indicated. Beard hangs to chest.

Above atlantid is winged disk (top of disk, left wing not preserved). Comprised of thin inner disk from which two horizontal wings extend, one to either side; short tail hangs below. Single row of feathers is indicated on each wing/tail.

To right of atlantid is winged cow. Stands with legs together and turns head back behind body to face to left. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Long tail extends horizontally from hindquarters before curving sharply downward and growing wider toward bottom. Horn curves forward from top of head and comes to point. Two drill holes mark nostrils and thin band runs along top of snout. Drill hole indicates eye. Utter hangs from underside. Small pointed ear emerges from back of head.

Below winged cow is small calf (forefeet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with neck extended upward toward udder above. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back toward body to terminate in large rounded tuft with striations. Small ear emerges from back of head.

In space to left of winged disc is star (upper left section not preserved).

Inscription within panel occupies upper field above animal pair.

Edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design below calf.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM ŠŠ˹W˺Š
   “Seal (of) Ziššawiš”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: *HTM PN*

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, the top horizontal side of the panel is not preserved. Even though the panel is not fully preserved at present, we clearly have the beginning of the inscription, thus we do not believe there are any additional lines of text.

Line 1: seven letters: *Ḥ, T, M, Š, Š*, broken *W*, and *Š*.

The reading is clear, *HTM* followed by a personal name. ŠŠWŠ is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Čiçavahuš* (Elamite Ziššawiš).\(^{762}\) Ziššawiš (as rendered in Elamite) is deputy-director of the agency and is well attested in the Elamite texts from the Fortification archive.\(^{763}\) Many of these documents carry impressions of PFS 83* (see below).

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

**Attestations of PFS 83***

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</table>

\(^{762}\) Tavernier 2007, pp. 155-56 (no. 4.2.406).

\(^{763}\) Elamite renderings include Zī-iš-šā-adū-iš (Fort. 1019), Zī-iš-šā-ú-iš (NN 333), and Zī-iš-šā-u-ú-iš (PF 1811).

\(^{764}\) Photos of this tablet are not available; owing to PFS 83* having been reported on this tablet, we assume at least one surface did in fact carry the seal.
PFS 83* appears on 22 Elamite documents, always in single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{765} These transactions include ration allocations and letters.\textsuperscript{766}

Based on the single-seal protocol, particularly on the letters, and the inscription on the seal, we may without hesitation attribute PFS 83* to Ziššawiš.\textsuperscript{767} In the letters, he is the addressee and in the ration allocations he is the recipient.

PFS 83* is Ziššawiš’s first seal. In year 19 he begins to use a new seal, PFS 11*, a royal-name seal of Darius.\textsuperscript{768}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Garrison discusses in detail the imagery on PFS 83*.\textsuperscript{769} The scene is comprised of two separate vignettes: 1) at left, atlantid and winged disk; 2) at right, winged cow and young. Among these two sections of the design are the inscription (in the upper field above the animal pair) and the star (to left of the winged disk). The imagery is highly Assyrianizing, sharing elements with Neo-Assyrian seals and ivories (e.g., cow and calf composition; bull-man atlantid supporting winged ring; star), but is itself not a Neo-Assyrian glyptic product.\textsuperscript{770} Instead, the seal is a local, Persepolitan creation that draws heavily on earlier imagery while also incorporating more contemporary glyptic conventions (e.g., paneled Aramaic inscription; carving style).\textsuperscript{771} Multiple features are rare/unique to PFS 83*: the suckling animal occurs only on seven seals in the

\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
NN 3061 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 83* & PFS 83* & PFS 83* \\
\hline
Fort. 1683-102 & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 83* & not sealed \\
\hline
Fort. 1889-103 & destroyed & destroyed & destroyed & destroyed & PFS 83* & destroyed \\
\hline
Fort. 2115-104 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 83* & PFS 83* & PFS 83* & not sealed \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{765} Some surfaces are destroyed on the tablets that carry impressions of PFS 83* (left edge, NN 49; upper edge, NN 543; left edge, NN 1093; all but left edge of Fort. 1889-103); however, given the consistent use of the single-seal protocol in all other instances, it is unlikely that other seals were applied to these destroyed surfaces.

\textsuperscript{766} Ration allocations: PF 670, PF 671, PF 673, NN 49, NN 698, NN 947, NN 2004, NN 2425, and NN 3061; letters: PF 1811, PF 1812, NN 299, NN 543, NN 1034, NN 1093, NN 1190, NN 2279, NN 2566, PF-Teh. 11, Fort. 1683-102, Fort. 1889-103, and Fort. 2115-104.

\textsuperscript{767} Garrison (2017a, pp. 333-374) discusses in detail Ziššawiš and his seals.

\textsuperscript{768} E.g., PF 675; for more on this seal, see the catalogue entry for PFS 11*.

\textsuperscript{769} Garrison 2017a, pp. 333-374.

\textsuperscript{770} Ibid., pp. 345-46.

\textsuperscript{771} Ibid., p. 341.
the depiction of a winged cow with the calf is unique to PFS 83*; the presentation of the inscription, in the upper field and within a panel, is unique among the Aramaic seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive. The full glyptic scene, with its winged animal and suckling calf, bull-man supporting a winged symbol, paneled inscription, and star, is, as far as we can tell, unattested anywhere else in the glyptic of the first millennium BCE.

Modeled Style. As noted by Garrison, the animal figures on PFS 83* are large and carved in a “smooth and restrained modeled style; some passages are deeply carved, others are more flatly carved (e.g., the body of the winged bull-man).” The seal is difficult to categorize stylistically, as it appears to blend elements of both the Fortification and Modeled styles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The others are PFS 2987s, PFUTS 138s, PFUTS 145, PFUTS 609s, PFUTS 1107s, PFUTS 1159s, and PFUTS 1388s.

Garrison 2017a, p. 341.

See Chapter 6 for details on the methods of presenting Aramaic seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

Garrison 2017a, p. 341.

Ibid.

Ibid.
Aramaic Group 6:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Upper
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFATS 22*
2. PFS 123*
3. PFS 1612*
4. PFS 2899*
5. PFUTS 336*

A sixth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the upper field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, five of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately 14 percent) are so disposed.

PFATS 22*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.B.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body; Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 11
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens winged lion-creature; bull marchant; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (lower legs not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Right arm, sharply bent, is raised in front of face; hand with three digits indicated grasps elevated arm of rampant winged lion-creature to left. Left arm, straight, is held down behind body with curved weapon in hand. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that covers left leg and falls to knee of right leg; front hem of skirt has thin band with row of
fringe. Top of head is flat and curved line runs across forehead and side of head, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass with short striations at base of neck. Face consists of large ovular eye and surrounding fold, outline of triangular nose, small mouth, and rounded chin; curved line above eye may be eyebrow. Rectangular beard with horizontal striations rests over chest.

To left of hero is rampant winged lion-creature (head, hindfeet, tip of tail not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. One foreleg, bent, is held up in front of body and grasped at wrist by hero; paw has four digits. Two wings extend horizontally, one to either side of torso; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Long wavy tail curves upward from hindquarters then back down between hindlegs.

To left of rampant winged lion-creature is bull marchant (feet not preserved) facing to left. Holds head down with snout close to chest. Atop hindquarters is small looped detail. Tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters before curving downward and terminating against back leg. Wavy horn extends from top of head. Snout is rectangular with bottom jaw rendered as small ovular segment. Small ovular eye is indicated; wavy line runs between neck and eye. Small triangular ear emerges from back of head.

Between hero and winged lion-creature is short fruiting date palm (bottom not preserved). Trunk is comprised of stacked bulbs from which wavy branches extend horizontally. Lowermost branch to either side of trunk terminates in rounded fruit.

To right of hero’s head is crescent encompassing dot above.

Inscription occupies upper field above bull.

Edge of seal is complete upper field above bull.

INSCRIPTION:
Line:  
1. Ḥ’T[M] 
2. LKNWNY
“Seal (belonging) to Kanuni”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Incription: \(HTM\ LPN\)

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The inscription is cut to be read on the actual seal itself; thus in impression, the letters are retrograde, reading from left to right. The letters are very large.

Line 1: two letters preserved: \(H\) and broken \(T\). We reconstruct \(M\) at the end of the line.

Line 2: six letters: \(L, K, N, W, N,\) and \(Y\).
Even though the first line is largely broken, the first letter, Ḥ, allows us to reconstruct the word ḤTM. This is followed by a personal name with the prepositional prefix, L (“belonging to”). The name, KNWNY, is likely Semitic or west Semitic.⁷⁷⁸ At Persepolis, the name, with some variation in spelling, appears on three tablets, all of which are sealed by PFATS 22*.⁷⁷⁹ Another variation of this name, Kanuna, may be attested on a fourth document;⁷⁸⁰ this tablet does not carry PFATS 22*.

The inscriptive formula utilized for PFATS 22*, specifically ḤTM combined with L, is not attested elsewhere among the seals from the Fortification archive. This construction is, however, common in west Semitic seal inscriptions.⁷⁸¹

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

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</table>

PFATS 22* appears on three Aramaic documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal: PFAT 35.

PFATS 22* occurs on the obverse and reverse with PFATS 104 applied to the left edge.

The transaction includes the name KNWNY; the exact context of the name is unclear.

Parallel-Seal: PFAT 61 and PFAT 76.

These transactions include the name KNWNY;⁷⁸² the exact context of the name is unclear in both instances.

⁷⁷⁸ Maraqten 1988, p. 175; Dirbas 2017, p. 46.
⁷⁷⁹ PFAT 61 (KNWNY), PFAT 35 (KNWNY), and PFAT 76 (exact spelling is uncertain due to breakage).
⁷⁸⁰ PF 1735.
⁷⁸¹ The use of the preposition, L, appears to be so common among west Semitic seals that it is even reconstructed when the beginning of a seal is not preserved (e.g., nos. 449, 451, 453, 457, 465, and 478 in Avigad and Sass 1997).
⁷⁸² PFAT 61: KNWNY; PFAT 76: exact spelling is uncertain due to breakage.
PFS 885, occurring in the parallel-seal protocol with PFATS 22* on PFAT 61 and PFAT 76, is well attested in the archive, occurring on all three document types. In the Elamite texts, PFS 885 clearly represents an office supply seal for flour/grain. On the Aramaic and uninscribed documents, however, it often occurs on surfaces other than the left edge.\(^{783}\) PFAT 35 is the only attestation of PFATS 104.

The Aramaic text on PFAT 61 and PFAT 76 both name \textit{KNWNY}; there may be some variation of the name \textit{KNWNY} on the latter, as the text is broken. Other details of the Aramaic texts were not available at the time of writing.

While the Aramaic texts on the documents sealed by PFATS 22* are obscure, the consistent appearance of the name \textit{KNWNY} (with some variation in spelling) on all of them, in combination with the inscription on the seal, allows us with certainty to attribute the seal to him.

\textbf{COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE}

The pairing of an inscription in the upper field (as opposed to the terminal field) with the heroic combat encounter is very rare; only PFS 1612* is also so configured.

While it is common for the main pair (i.e., hero and creature/animal) to be accompanied by additional figures who are not always directly involved in the central heroic encounter, bulls, as on PFATS 22*, are not well-attested. The only other examples are PFATS 236, where two crossed bulls appear in the terminal field, and possibly PFS 190, where a taurine(?) animal stands behind the hero.

Floral and plant elements, such as the date palm, are common additions to scenes of the heroic combat encounter. Typically, this device appears to either side of the central figural pair (i.e., hero and animal/creature);\(^{784}\) on PFATS 22* it is situated within them.\(^{785}\) The palm tree on PFATS 22* is particularly small.\(^{786}\) The palm tree is an element of court-centric iconography.\(^{787}\)

Modeled Style. The figures are well-modeled and muscular. This is especially clear in the figure of the rampant winged lion-creature. There is much detail in the faces of the figures and the garment of the hero.

\textbf{BIBLIOGRAPHY}

Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming; Garrison 2017a, p. 341.

\textit{PFS 123*}

\(^{783}\) The officials named as allocating commodities include Upirradda (PF 761 and PF 763), Bakamka (PF 1589), and Murada (NN 936).

\(^{784}\) E.g., PFS 58 and PFS 149.

\(^{785}\) See, also, PFUTS 359 and possibly PFS 2995 and PFUTS 180.

\(^{786}\) Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming; cf. the palm trees on PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, PFS 123*, and PFUTS 18*; other seals with a similarly sized palm tree are PFS 853, PFS 1466, and PFS 2651.

\(^{787}\) See Chapter 5 for more on court-centric iconography.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.A.06. Hero controls winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures; Mixed Styles II
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.2 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 25
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Upper and middle sections of design survive along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of rampant winged human-headed lion-creatures; palm tree in terminal field; inscription, crescent, and star in upper field.

Hero (legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arms, bent, held to either side to grasp forelegs of rampant winged human-headed lion-creature. Wears double-belted garment. Domed headdress sits atop head. Hair is gathered in ovular segments behind head. Long nose is indicated. Rectangular beard hangs to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged human-headed lion-creatures (legs not preserved). Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally upward in front of body; terminates in two-pronged paw. Other foreleg of creature at left hangs diagonally downward from chest. Single wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back toward body to terminate in rounded tuft. Hair is gathered in ovular segments behind head. Face of creature at left has outline of triangular nose, small mouth, and small chin or beard. Creature at right has outline of large triangular nose and short rounded beard.

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788 PF 162 and PF 163.
To left of hero and winged creatures is palm tree (bottom of trunk, fruit not preserved). Comprised of long, serrated trunk, egg-shaped mass at top, and stalks, some terminating in fruit. It is unclear whether mass to right of trunk is part of tree, additional floral device, or perhaps bird.

Above creature at left is crescent.

Above creature at right is star (lower right side not preserved).

Inscription occupies upper field above creature at left and hero.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design; small square mass is chip/flaw in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...]N[...] S T

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. We likely do not have the full inscription.

Line 1: three letters preserved: N, broken S, and T. It is unclear how many additional letters there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 123* PFS 171</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 172</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 163</td>
<td>PFS 171</td>
<td>PFS 171</td>
<td>PFS 460 PFS 461</td>
<td>PFS 123*</td>
<td>PFS 172</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 164</td>
<td>PFS 306</td>
<td>PFS 123*</td>
<td>PFS 123* PFS 230 PFS 463</td>
<td>PFS 230</td>
<td>PFS 307</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 219</td>
<td>PFS 306</td>
<td>PFS 486</td>
<td>PFS 123* PFS 230 PFS 463</td>
<td>PFS 486</td>
<td>PFS 307</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 220</td>
<td>PFS 306</td>
<td>PFS 123*</td>
<td>PFS 123* PFS 230</td>
<td>PFS 230</td>
<td>PFS 307</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

789 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 152) with some minor variation.
PF 123* appears on 14 Elamite documents and one uninscribed document, always in the multiple-seal protocol.

These transactions are receipts of commodity deposit.

Among the Elamite documents, PFS 123* occurs exclusively on receipts of commodity deposit. These documents generally carry between three and five seals; seals that occur on receipts of commodity deposit often do not occur on other text types. These seals also often pattern together on multiple texts; for example, in the dossier associated with PFS 123*, PFS 171, PFS 172, PFS 230, PFS 306, and PFS 463 appear on at least two of the documents. The texts detail deposits of commodities (usually tarmu) “on the account” of a named individual. Some of these figures are well-known, specifically the women Udusa (Atossa) and Irašduna (Artystone).\(^{790}\) Exactly who is sealing receipts of commodity deposit and why so many seals are often involved on any one transaction are unclear; field accountants are the most likely personnel.\(^{791}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

An inscription in the upper field of a heroic encounter is rare. Of the inscribed seals that feature the heroic control encounter, only PFS 123*, PFS 284* (Lydian), and PFS 1612*...

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\(^{790}\) Udusa: PF 162 and PF 163; Irašduna: PF 164.

\(^{791}\) See Tuplin (2008, pp. 354-59) for discussion of sealing praxis on these documents; for accounting seals, see Mikołajczak (2018).
(Aramaic) have an inscription in the upper field. The large date palm and busy upper field (star, crescent, and inscription) are conspicuous features of the design.  

Mixed Styles II. Modeling is restrained. Figures are slim and simply rendered. Forms appear geometric, as in the face of the hero and the hair among the figures. Some detailing is indicated along the trunk of the palm tree and the wings of the rampant creatures.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 1612* (*OIP 117 Cat.No. 268*)

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**Seal Type:** Cylinder  
**Earliest Dated Application:** 495 BCE  
**Typology and Style:** 02.C.02. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held up behind head: Winged bull creatures; Mixed Styles I  
**Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription:** Aramaic  
**Preserved Height of Image:** 2.0 cm (incomplete)  
**Preserved Length of Image:** 3.3 cm (complete)  
**Estimated Height of Original Seal:** NA  
**Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:** 1.1 cm  
**Number of Impressions:** 2  
**Quality of Impressions:** Poor  
**Completeness of Image:** Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**  
Hero threatens rampant winged bull-creature; tree in terminal field; inscription in upper field.

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792 On the date palm, see the comments above for PFATS 22*.  
793 New information has led to the discovery that this seal is inscribed, which the composite drawing here reflects.  
794 PF 2050.
Hero (front of crown, face, left shoulder, feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, bent, is held up behind head with hand, fist, grasping straight weapon (end not preserved). Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand, fist, approaches horn of rampant creature to right. Wears long Assyrian garment that covers right leg and leaves left leg bare from mid-thigh down. Wears crown with long thin vertical elements (feathers?). Hair lies flat behind head before being gathered into round mass at back of neck; single vertical striation is indicated. Face consists of small eye and outer fold and eyebrow; ear sits on side of head.

To right of hero is rampant winged bull-creature (top of horns, hindfeet, tip of tail not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left; head is dropped so snout approaches top of wing. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Right foreleg, bent, hangs in front of body; left foreleg, slightly bent, reaches diagonally upward in front of body. Tail curves downward from hindquarters. Wing extends horizontally behind body; two rows of feathers are indicated. Two horns stick up from top of head and curve back downward to left and to right; both come to point. Mane, tufts of hair, runs down back of neck. Small eye and outer square fold are indicated. Two small ears stick up from back of head.

To left of hero is tree (some sections of trunk and branches not preserved). Comprised of wavy trunk from which five branches extend.

Inscription occupies upper field above rampant creature.

Upper edge of seal is preserved above inscription.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [...]W?Š’MN
       “Višiyamanā”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

One line is preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is possible that there are additional letters that precede those preserved at present.795 The inscription is carved so as to be read on the actual seal itself; thus, in impression, the letters are retrograde.

Line 1: four letters preserved: perhaps $W$, broken $Š$, $M$, and $N$.796

It is possible that the inscription is complete, thus a personal name. However, it is also possible that $HTM$ precedes the name (perhaps in the space above the tree) but does not survive via any known impressions of the seal. The name, $WŠMN$, is the Aramaic

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795 We would expect $HTM$, if the beginning of the inscription is, in fact, missing.
796 The $W$ is not fully legible, but this is the best possible reading at present.
rendering of the Old Iranian *Višyamanā.\textsuperscript{797} The Elamite rendering of the name is attested one other time in the Fortification archive, in an account where a Miššiyamana is involved in fruit allocation.\textsuperscript{798}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 2050</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1612*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1613</td>
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<tr>
<td>NN 2447</td>
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<td>PFS 1612*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 185</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1612* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 1612* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include a travel ration and a ration allocation for workers.\textsuperscript{799}

Based on the counter-seal protocol, we can attribute PFS 1612* to Barnuš (PF 2050)/Pirnuš (NN 2447), the receiver in both of the texts above. Barnuš/Pirnuš is attested in additional texts from the Fortification archive: in PF 1537, a travel ration, he receives beer and appears to use PFS 1431; he is also listed in a journal as having received grain.\textsuperscript{800}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Only two seals among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive combine the heroic combat encounter with an inscription in the upper field: PFATS 22* and PFS 1612*; both of these inscriptions are Aramaic and are carved retrograde. The space allotted to the inscriptions vary greatly among these two seals – the letters on PFATS 22* are very large and wide, those on PFS 1612* are small and thin.

The crown does not appear to be the dentate crown, commonly encountered in court-centric iconography, but a feathered one.\textsuperscript{801}

Mixed Styles I. The figures, human and animal, are well-modeled with some musculature indicated (e.g., bare leg of hero, hindquarters of rampant creature). The long, sinuous contour of the rampant winged creature is more typically seen in the Fortification Style.

\textsuperscript{797} Tavernier 2007, p. 354 (no. 4.2.1932).
\textsuperscript{798} \textit{mi-iš-ši-ia-ma-na} (PF 1987).
\textsuperscript{799} Travel ration: PF 2050; ration allocation for workers: NN 2447.
\textsuperscript{800} NN 726.
\textsuperscript{801} For additional examples, see PFATS 513, PFS 774, PFS 1189, PFS 1371, PFS 1612*, and PFUTS 114*. 
Detail is added in the crown, face, and hair of the hero, as well as the face, mane, and wing of the rampant creature.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PFS 2899*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 08.B. Warfare Scenes: On Foot; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 5.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 3.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 6
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**
Figure spears human; three humans lie in row along bottom of design; horses flank combatants; winged disc and crescent hover in upper field; inscription in upper terminal field.

At left, spearman faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right; right foot is on top of extended arm of dead figure at lower left, left foot is on top of leg of horizontal figure to right. Right arm, bent, reaches up behind head to hold back end of long spear; thin band, perhaps bracelet or hem of garment, is around wrist. Left arm, bent, reaches downward in front of body to hold front end of spear. Hands are rendered as fists with single long digit. Spear terminates in front at shoulder of standing figure to right; spear terminates in back with small hook. Wears double-belted knee-length garment over pants. Domed headdress sits atop head; thin strap hangs from back. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of large ovular eye, outline of triangular nose, and small

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802 NN 958.
mouth. Pointed beard is indicated. Wavy rope attaches at back of waist and connects to reins of horse to left.

To left of spearman is horse mounted (hindlegs, tip of tail not preserved) facing to right. Head is angled downward with snout close to chest. Thick tail curves downward from hindquarters. Face consists of round eye and large round cheek; striations line sides of snout. Thin horizontal band across snout and neck may be part of reigns. Mane with short striations runs along back of neck. T-shaped lock of hair sticks up from top of head. Pointed ear emerges from back of head.

To right of spearman is human figure facing to left. Stands with feet close together. Heel of right foot is on top of toes of left foot; toes of right foot are on top of wrist of horizontal figure to left. Bends forward slightly from waist. Right arm, bent, is held in front of body with hand, fist, holding spear that enters right shoulder. Left arm, slightly bent, reaches upward behind head. Thin band, perhaps bracelet or hem of garment, wraps around each wrist. Wears long coat over pants; bottom of coat flares along left thigh. Case for bow and arrow is attached at waist. Wears headdress that comes to point at front. Hair is gathered in long rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of large oval eye, outline of triangular nose, and small mouth. Long pointed beard is indicated. Thin rope attaches to left elbow and terminates at reigns of horse marchant to right.

To right of speared standing figure is horse marchant (left forefoot, right hindfoot, tip of tail not preserved) facing to left. Head is angled slightly downward. Tail hangs from hindquarters. Nostril is indicated. Half-circle marks eye. Ovular tuft of hair sits atop head. Pointed ear emerges from top of head. Thin rope attaches at snout and connects to standing figure to left.

At bottom of design is row of three horizontal figures (figure at left not preserved below neck; face, upper arm of figure at right not preserved). Lie horizontally on backs, head at right, feet at left. One arm, straight, extends to right behind head; other arm, straight, extends to left parallel to torso. Hand is rendered in two segments. Wear long belted coat over pants. Figure at right has thin band around wrist of top arm, perhaps bracelet or hem of garment. Figures at left and at right wear headdress with point at front. Additional headdress lies in field above central horizontal figure, presumably belonging to him. Figures at left and at center have triangular eye and nose. Long pointed beard is indicated. Owing to horizontal disposition, figures appear dead.

In field above central horizontal figure is bow with broken string.

Above combatants is winged ring-in-disk. Comprised of central disk from which two horizontal wings extend, one to either side; two rows of feathers are indicated on each. Tail hangs below; thin horizontal band and single row of feathers are indicated. Tendril sits atop disk.

Above spearman is crescent.
Inscription occupies upper field above horse at left.

Edge of seal, thick horizontal band, is complete at top and bottom of design; irregular horizontal lines may be elements of seal cap.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤT[M ṭ]RŠ[M]
2. BR BYTʾʾʾʾ
   “Seal of Aršam, royal prince”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: HTM PN + title

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. At present, we have much of the inscription; reconstruction of the broken/missing letters is possible.

Line 1: four letters preserved: Ḥ, T, R, and Š. Following T, we reconstruct M (to complete HTM) and ṭ (as the first letter of the personal name). We reconstruct M at the end of the line (as the final letter in the name).


The reading is clear. RŠM is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Persian Aršam-, which reflects the Old Iranian *Aršāma-. The name (rendered in Elamite as Iršama) appears in documents from the Fortification archive (see below), including two carrying PFS 2899*, as well as in Achaemenid royal inscriptions (e.g., DB i.1-2).

In addition to the seal inscription, the name Iršama appears in six Elamite documents from the Fortification archive, three that mention him directly (two of these are discussed below; the third, PF 309, is a receipt of barley that was issued to the woman Uparmiya on the orders of Iršama), and three memoranda that mention him in association with his mother, Iritašduna; these are receipts for commodities requested for the royal pair. Iršama is the son of Darius I and the queen Iritašduna.

The title BR BYTʾʾʾʾ, literally “son of the house,” is well attested in other contexts; PFS 2899* is the earliest known occurrence of the title. It is the equivalent of the Old Persian word *Viθapuça- (“prince”).

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803 Azzoni via Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 66).
804 Tavernier 2007, pp. 13 (no. 1.2.3.) and 44 (no. 2.2.2).
805 See Tavernier (ibid., p. 13 (no. 1.2.3) for other examples and various spellings.
806 For PF 309, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 58). Memoranda: PF 733, PF 734, and PF 2035.
807 Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 59
808 Ibid., pp. 50, 54-55.
809 Ibid., p. 74; Tuplin 2020, p. 389.
810 Tavernier 2007, p. 355 (no. 4.2.1934); Viθ-, “royal house,” Puça, “son” (ibid., pp. 568); for more on the title, see Garrison and Henkelman (2020b, p. 74) and Tuplin (2020, p. 389).
The inscription on PFS 2899*, both for its content (i.e., inclusion of the title and naming of a prince) and presentation (upper field), distinguish the seal.\footnote{811}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

**Sealing Protocol: single-seal**

**Attestations of PFS 2899***

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<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>PFS 2899*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
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</table>

PFS 2899* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are letters.

Based upon sealing protocol, the occurrence on letter-orders (addressed by Iršama), and the name in the seal inscription, we may with certainty attribute PFS 2899* to Iršama, son of Darius and Irtašduna.\footnote{812}

In addition to its use on documents from the Fortification archive, PFS 2899* also occurs on seven clay bullae (Sigill.Aram. I-III and V-VIII) held in the Bodleian Library.\footnote{813} The bullae belong to a larger collection of materials, namely letters and leather pouches, documenting correspondence from the Achaemenid prince and satrap, Aršāma (Elamite Iršama), in the second half of the fifth century BCE.\footnote{814} PFS 2899* thus is a very rare example of a seal that belonged to an Achaemenid satrap.\footnote{815} In this later context of the bullae, the seal is an heirloom used by a different Aršāma, the satrap.\footnote{816} The exact familial relationship of Iršama, the son of Darius I and queen Irtašduna, and Aršāma, the satrap, is unknown.\footnote{817}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

\footnote{811} Among the seals from the Fortification archive, the terminal field is by far the most common place to present an inscription, regardless of language; see Chapter 6 for details.
\footnote{812} Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 50.
\footnote{813} See Garrison and Henkelman (2020b) for these texts.
\footnote{814} Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, pp. 46-47.
\footnote{815} Ibid., p. 48.
\footnote{816} Ibid., pp. 48, 50.
\footnote{817} Ibid., p. 50; Garrison and Henkelman (ibid., p. 54), based on the use of PFS 2899* by both individuals, as well as the shared name and the fact that both are identified as royal (BR BYT’, “royal prince”; the later Aršāma is also referred to as mār bīti (the same meaning as BR BYT’, in the Murašū archive), suggest that the two figures have a familial connection: the later Aršāma, the satrap, is a grandson or great-grandson of the earlier Iršama, the son of Darius I and Irtašduna.
Garrison and Henkelman provide an exhaustive analysis of the scene on PFS 2899*. Their study is made in the context of Fortification. Warfare is a relatively rare thematic type in the Fortification archive. The visual dynamics of PFS 2899* recall PFS 93* and PFUTS 273*. All three of these seals contain a spearman, a wounded and fleeing/fighting combatant, stacked figures, bows and arrows, dead combatant(s) lying on the ground, and a sense of time through the active (e.g., engaged spear) or spent (e.g., broken bow, arrow stuck in combatant) weaponry. Both PFS 2899* and PFUTS 273* also include an inscription and a winged symbol in the upper part of the design, and their respective spearmen both wear a bowcase on their hip. Horses appear both on PFS 2899* and PFS 93*.

An additional special quality of PFS 2899* is its size; the seal is very large, not only by Persepolitan standards, but by Achaemenid glyptic standards overall. Moreover, the design is extremely dense with figural elements; no other inscribed seal from the Fortification archive has a scene with five human figures, let alone a scene with five humans and two horses, as well as realia, a crescent, and a winged ring.

Mixed Styles I. The figures are deeply, but simply carved. Modeling is restrained. Musculature is not overtly indicated. Surface detail is limited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2014a, pp. 496-97, 499 (fig. 9), and 500; Garrison 2017a, pp. 100 and 341; Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 46ff; Tuplin 2020, pp. 389-90; Wu 2014, pp. 222, 226 (n. 34), 228-29, 245-46, 251 (n. 76), 260, 265-66, 273, and pl. 4a-b.

PFUTS 336*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 08.B. Warfare Scenes: On Foot; Mixed Styles I
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)

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819 See Chapter 5 for details.
820 Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, p. 63.
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.6 cm  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm  
Number of Impressions: 4  
Quality of Impressions: Fair  
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:  
Pair of winged human-headed bull-men stab lion-headed human; bird in terminal field;  
inscription in upper and lower fields.

At center, lion-headed human (back of right foot, top of head not preserved) faces to  
right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, straight, reaches out behind  
body and terminates at face of composite figure to left. Left arm, bent with elbow up, is  
held in front of body; hand grabs spear. Wears long belted garment. Nostrils are  
indicated. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Small triangular eye is indicated. Mane, thin  
band, runs along back of head and neck.

To left and to right of lion-headed figure is pair of winged human-headed bull-men (left  
leg of figure at left, feet of figure at right not preserved) facing in toward center. Stand  
with feet apart, one in front of other; feet appear to terminate in hooves. One arm, bent, is  
held up behind head to grasp back end of spear; hand is rendered as rounded fist (bull-  
man at left) or triangular hoof (bull-man at right). Other arm of bull-man at left is bent  
and held down in front of body; hand, apparently splayed, holds front end of spear. Other  
arm of bull-man at right is outstretched diagonally upward in front of body and  
terminates at snout of lion-headed human. Single wing extends diagonally downward  
behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Wing on bull-man at right also has  
ribbing along top. Long tail hangs down from hindquarters. Bull-man at left wears belted  
garment. Wear dentate crown. Hair is gathered in long mass at back of head. Face  
consists of rounded eye and outline of triangular nose. Long beard rests over chest. Small  
circular object is carved next to left leg of bull-man at left.

In terminal field is large bird (right foot not preserved) facing to left. Stands with feet  
together. Long beak curves upward. Round eye is indicated. Wing is held down against  
body; single row of vertical feathers is indicated. Thick tail extends diagonally downward  
behind body. Thin bands run horizontally across neck.

Inscription occupies upper and lower fields.

INSCRIPTION  
Line:  1. ḤTM DDGŠ  
      2. HBY?[...R/D  
      “Seal (of) Sadakuš…”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION  
Formula of Inscription: $HTM \; PN + \text{title}$
Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The first line is complete. The second line is partially preserved.

Line 1: seven letters: Ḥ, T, M, D, D, G, and Š.

Line 2: four letters preserved: H, B, perhaps Y, and R (or perhaps D). It is unclear how many additional letters there are.

The beginning of the inscription is clear, HTM and a personal name. The name, DDGS, is probably the Aramaic rendering of an Old Iranian geographical name, *θatagūš (“Sattagydia”), used as a personal name here.821 The name (rendered in Elamite) is attested in 18 documents from the Fortification archive.822 In eleven instances, a S/Šadakuš is identified as a šaramanna official.823 In two instances, a Sadakuš is identified as a damanna official.824 Other documents name a S/Šadakuš who allocates a commodity.825 The Median equivalent of the name, *Satagus, appears in Achaemenid royal inscriptions.826

In the absence of BR, we suspect that the second line contains a title; identification is not possible at present.

The presentation of the inscription, running almost the full length of the upper field and part of the lower field (as preserved at present), is not common. PFATS 22* also carries an Aramaic inscription in the upper field, but it is contained to roughly one half of the length of the figural design. The Aramaic inscription in the upper field of PFS 2899* is limited to about one quarter of the length of the figural design. This is true also of the paneled Aramaic inscription on PFS 83*, which is above approximately one half of the figural scene. One of the closest parallels for the placement of the inscription is PFS 284*, which carries a Lydian inscription. If the second line of the inscription on PFUTS 336* also continues throughout the length of the figural scene, it would be unique.827

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

821 Tavernier 2007, pp. 63 (no. 2.2.56) and 546; normally one would expect θ to be rendered as S in Aramaic, but it is possible that the presence of the following voiced dental may have resulted in this change (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication).
822 E.g., Sa-da-kiš (PF 2020, NN 47, NN 389, NN 1562, and NN 1600), sa-ud-da-ku-š (PF 789, NN 378, NN 1288, NN 2167, and NN 2124), and ša-da-ku-š (PF 2018).
823 PF 2018, PF 2020, NN 389, NN 1335, NN 1364, NN 1471, NN 1479, NN 1559, NN 1600, NN 2400, and NN 2640.
824 NN 2103 and NN 2167.
825 PF 789, NN 790, and NN 1562
826 Sa-ad-da-gu-ši (DSm), sa-at-a-gu-ši (XPh 17), sa-at-gu-ši (DNa 13), sa-at-ta-gu-š (DB 6, 41, 81), sa-at-ta-gu-ši-’ (DSaa 30) (Tavernier 2007, p. 75 (no. 2.3.41)).
827 Very few seals have inscriptions in the lower field; this may be due, in part, to issues of preservation. PFUTS 230* has one line of Aramaic text in the lower field, occupying approximately a third of the length of the figural design; PFS 1334* has a paneled two-line Elamite inscription in the lower field, occupying approximately half of the length of the figural scene; three signs of the Elamite inscription on PFS 103* are carved in the lower field among the figural elements, resulting in the bottom line of the inscription running the full length of the figural scene.
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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PFUTS 336* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFUTS 336* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces with PFUTS 335 applied to the left edge.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene on PFUTS 336* includes an interesting combination of imagery. The composition, a central figure flanked by composite creatures, immediately recalls a very popular theme in Persepolitan glyptic, the heroic control encounter. On PFUTS 336*, the central trio consists of a composite figure fighting off two spear-wielding combatants, one to either side. As noted, scenes of warfare are very rare in Persepolitan glyptic; the scene on PFUTS 336* is quite striking owing to the composite creatures. Only PFS 2084* and PFUTS 559* also have composite creatures in what appears to be some type of combat.

While birds are commonly seen in Persepolitan glyptic, the one on PFUTS 336* is noteworthy for its size and detail.

Mixed Styles I. The small figures, hints of modeling, and fussy details recall a miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 341; Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, pp. 70 (fig. 2.8-9), 76, 82, 101-02.

Aramaic Group 7:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Central Space
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFUTS 230*

The seventh method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the central space.
of the design, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, only one of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

PFUTS 230*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.A.04. Hero controls lions; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.6 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 118
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of rampant lions; small lion in upper terminal field; inscription between hero and lions.

Hero faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, straight, extend to either side to grasp throat of rampant lion. Wears long belted garment that covers right leg and falls to mid-thigh of left leg. Diagonal folds of drapery are indicated along torso and skirt of garment. Small weapon or end of belt/ribbon hangs from left hip. Rounded (right foot) and pointed (left foot) heel may indicate shoes. Wears tiered headdress with knob on top. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass at back of neck. Outline of long nose is indicated. Thin rectangular beard falls to chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant lions facing inward toward center. Stand on one leg, straight, on ground; terminates in paw with small ovular segment (horizontal on animal at left, vertical on animal at right). Other leg, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body. One foreleg reaches diagonally downward in front of torso; terminates in rounded paw with at least one nail. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back toward body; terminates in rounded tuft (tuft on animal at right has two pointed projections). Nostrils are indicated (small divot at end of snout on animal at left;
bulbous compartments along snout on animal at right). Mouth is open. Small eye is indicated (animal at right also has outer crease). Face is carved as distinct from rest of head, perhaps indicating mane; animal at left has cross-hatching along back of head.

In upper terminal field is small lion facing to left. Hindlegs are close together under hindquarters. Forelegs, straight, are held together in front of body. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back toward body; terminates in large, rounded tuft. Small semi-circle marks eye. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription occupies space between forelegs and hindlegs of rampant lions and space between hindlegs of lion at left.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design and nearly complete at bottom.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line:  1. ḤTM Y?WH?K
    2. M/QT/GDT

    “Seal (of)…”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: *HTM PN + title*

Two lines are preserved, oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. The letters are cut so as to be read on the actual seal; thus, via impression, they are retrograde. The letters are large; some are unclear.


Line 2: four letters (to left of hero): *M (or perhaps Q), T (or perhaps G), D, and T.*

The beginning of the inscription is clear, *HTM*. A personal name follows at the end of line one, but its reading is, at present, uncertain. We assume that the second line is a title, but, again, the reading is uncertain.

The placement of the inscription is highly unusual.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

**Attestations of PFUTS 230**

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PFUTS 230* appears on four Aramaic and 22 uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

The seal is always applied on at least four surfaces, often multiple times. Such sealing patterns generally are indicative of an office of considerable administrative authority. Unfortunately, the Aramaic texts provide no assistance in determining the seal user.\(^{828}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
The hero’s headdress is quite unusual; there are no ready parallels in Persepolitan glyptic.

Modeled Style. The modeling is closely related to a miniaturist Modeled Style; note the distinctive segmentation of human and animal form and the fussy detailing in the hero’s garment and headdress and the lions’ manes.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
Garrison 2017a, p. 31; Garrison and Henkelman 2020b, pp. 70, 72 (figs. 2.12-13), and 76.

**Aramaic Group 8:**
- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFATS 24*
2. PFS 66a*
3. PFS 66b*
4. PFS 66c*
5. PFS 535*

An eighth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines.\(^{829}\) At present, five of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately 14 percent) are so disposed.

PFATS 24*  

\(^{828}\) PFAT 648 reads, “Seal. Seed.”  
\(^{829}\) Four of the seals (PFATS 24*, PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*) carry single-line inscriptions that appear within a panel. Necessarily, these inscriptions omit case lines. However, for the sake of simplifying classification, as well as owing to the paneling of the text, which in most other instances also features case lines, we include them here.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 10.A.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession toward a seated personage; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 1.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 9
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Three figures, each separated by vertical line, stand, kneel, or sit; paneled inscription in terminal field.

At right, seated figure (front of headdress not preserved) faces to left. One leg, bent over chair, is indicated. One arm, bent, is held in front of face. Other arm reaches diagonally downward in front of body; hand holds small ovular object. Details of hands are not indicated. Wears rounded headdress; no other details of clothing are indicated. Hair is long ovular mass extending diagonally downward from back of head. Face consists of long ovular nose. Head/beard is long ovular form resting over chest. Below figure is chair comprised of horizontal seat, single rung, and two legs. Legs are pointed at bottom. Back of chair curves slightly outward to right.

To left of seated figure is kneeling figure facing to left. One leg, bent with knee on ground, is under body with foot flexed. Other leg, bent, is in front of body with foot flat on ground. Arms, held together, reach diagonally downward in front of body; hands are ovular. Apparently wears trousers; belt is indicated. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is rendered as long ovular mass extending diagonally downward from bottom of headdress. Outline of triangular nose is indicated. Pointed beard rests over chest.
To left of kneeling figure is figure facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, bent, is held out in front of torso; hand rests atop vertical staff. Staff terminates at bottom on top of left foot. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body to hold staff. Wears long double-belted Assyrian garment that covers right leg and leaves left leg bare below mid-thigh; diagonal folds of drapery are indicated along right hip. Four vertical elements at top of head may be hair or headdress (feather crown?). Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Large drill hole marks eye. Outline of squared nose is indicated. Rounded beard rests over chest.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

Vertical line is carved between each element of design.

INSCRIPTION:
Line: 1. [Ḥ]TM B/WD/R/KTMD/R […]
“Seal (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Inscription formula: ḤTM PN

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The beginning and end of the line are not preserved. Owing to issues of preservation, as well as over-rolling of many of the impressions, the letters are difficult to identify at present.

Line 1: The beginning of the line is not preserved; we reconstruct Ḥ (for ḤTM).
Following, seven letters are preserved: T, M, B (or perhaps W), D (or perhaps R or K), T, M, and D (or perhaps R).

The beginning of the inscription seems clear, ḤTM. Beyond this, what we assume to be a personal name, is not clear at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: unknown

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<td>PFATS 740</td>
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<td>PFAT 261</td>
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<td>PFATS 24*</td>
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</table>
PFATS 24* appears on three Aramaic documents and follows unknown sealing protocol(s).\textsuperscript{830}

Only a reading of PFAT 261 was available at the time of writing; the text is broken but appears to begin with ʾRŠN ŠMH ("Iršena by name").

Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The exact dynamics of the scene are not immediately clear. The vertical lines that separate each element of the design are unique; their function is unclear. Are the lines meant to separate each element so that the figures are viewed separately and as distinct images? Or are the lines purely decorative and we are meant to view the entirety of the scene together? With the presence of the seated figure, as well as two figures before him (one of whom faces in his direction), a procession toward the seated figure is perhaps one way to understand the scene. Alternatively, the cylinder face could have been faceted into four surfaces, and what we are reading as vertical dividers are in fact the edges of the facets.

There is some variation among the clothing and hairstyles of the figures. The head of the standing figure is treated differently than the heads of the other two figures; perhaps he wears a feathered crown? The garment of the standing figure also carries decorative elements that the garments of the other figures lack. The hair of the standing figure assumes a very common format, close to the back of the head and then gathered in a larger mass toward the bottom; the other two figures have a more unusual arrangement with long ovular masses of hair that appear to extend directly out of the headdress or back of the head.

Fortification Style. PFATS 24* is a very small seal. Carving is restrained and little musculature is indicated. The left leg of the standing figure, right leg of the kneeling figure, and right arm of the seated figure are all rendered as separate elements; while this adds definition, these forms are still quite thin and lack musculature. Surface detail is limited throughout.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFS 66a*

\textsuperscript{830} The upper and right edges of PFAT 261 are destroyed, leaving open the possibility that there were more seals applied to the tablet; thus the sealing protocol is uncertain at present. The two seals that appear with PFATS 24* on PFAT 68 and PFAT 478 (PFATS 740 and PFATS 741 and PFATS 815 and PFATS 816), are illegible. Given the possibility that these seals could, in fact, be PFATS 24* (but are too poorly preserved to be confirmed), sealing protocol(s) cannot be determined at present.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE\textsuperscript{831}
Typology and Style: 10.A.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession toward a seated personage; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 16
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure, attendant, and rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure (feet not preserved) faces to right. Right arm, bent, is held against torso with forearm in front of body and parallel to lap; hand, fist, holds floral element (lotus blossom?). Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; thin vertical element extends upward from wrist; hand is perhaps open or large fist. Appears to wear long garment. Wears domed headdress. Hair is gathered in small ovular mass at back of head. Outline of small triangular nose is indicated. Beard is thin and pointed. Below seated figure is stool (lower portion not preserved) comprised of seat, single rung, and two legs. Seat is covered in crosshatching; rounded edges give impression of cushion. Two rounded moldings are at top of right leg below seat.

To right of seated figure is standing figure (feet not preserved) facing to left. Stands with feet apart, one in front of other. Right arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of body to grasp upper part of staff; left arm, straight, extends in front of torso to hold staff. Hands are ovular. Details of clothing are uncertain; perhaps wears long skirt over back leg or loose-fitting pants. Top of head is rounded, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is

\textsuperscript{831} NN 1843 and NN 3135.
gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Outline of pointed nose is indicated. Beard is short and pointed.

To right of standing figure is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature (feet not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. Forelegs, straight, extend diagonally upward in front of body; paws are cupped downward. Two wings extend behind body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Thin tail curves up from hindquarters and comes to point. Bird’s beak is open. Rounded tuft of hair sits atop head. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Two pointed ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. PRNDT PTP‘K’[N]
     “Parnadadda, piθfa’k[āna]”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN + title

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. We believe there to be an additional letter at the end.


The reading seems clear, a personal name followed by a title. The name, PRNDT, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Farnadāta-. The Elamite rendering of the name, Parnadadda, is attested in 10 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive (with some variation in spelling). Notably, a Parnadadda dies in year 17; in years 19-25 a Parnadadda is active in various types of activity. The name also occurs in the inscriptions on PFS 66b* and PFS 66c*, the replica seals to PFS 66a* (see below). These three seals are attested from year 19 to year 25.

Based on the death of a Parnadadda in year 17, as well as the activity of a Parnadadda years later, it is likely that we have multiple individuals with the same name. The

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832 Tavernier 2007, p. 177 (no. 4.2.565).
833 See Tavernier (ibid., p. 178 (no. 4.2.565)) for examples of the different spellings.
834 In NN 548 (year 17), a journal, Parnadadda dies; Mikolajczak (2018, p. 25) notes that this detail was recorded as a way of explaining why his tablets (i.e., those in Parnadadda’s possession) were not available for recording. In NN 3135 (year 19), a receipt of flour, Parnadadda is noted as a tumap (“grain handler”); this tablet includes an impression of PFS 66a*. In PF 1955 (year 20), a journal, Parnadadda is linked to grain. In NN 395 (year is broken, 20+), Parnadadda allocates horses. In NN 230 (year 21), Parnadadda receives beer. In PF 414 and NN 212 (both year 22), Parnadadda receives grain. In NN 1841 (year 24), a letter, Parnadadda is the addressee and orders grain rations for workers. In NN 1697 (ND) and NN 2567 (year 25), Parnadadda allocates grain.
Parnadadda active between years 19 and 25 is documented primarily as overseeing grain/flour operations; these dates align with the usage of PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*, which also name him.

The title, PTPKN, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian word *Pīθfakāna, which designates someone overseeing the delivery of rations. The title does not occur in the documents from the Fortification archive; the inscriptions on PFS 66b* and PFS 66c* also include the word (see below).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

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PFS 66a* appears on five Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 7*.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

PFS 7* is a royal-name seal of Darius that represents an office overseeing provisions for the king. Ration allocations for royal provisions (i.e., J texts) normally follow the single-seal protocol. However, when flour is being allocated (as opposed to cattle), PFS 7* always appears with PFS 66a* (or one of its replica seals, PFS 66b* or PFS 66c*).

The name of the grain handler in NN 3135, Parnadadda, matches the name in the seal inscription. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. Based on the evidence detailed above, where we identified a Parnadadda working in grain oversight during the period when PFS 66a* (and PFS 66b* and PFS 66c*) is used exclusively on J texts dealing with flour rations for the royal table, as well as the inscription that names him (which appears on a document in which he is listed), we can suggest that PFS 66a* (and PFS 66b* and PFS 66c*) belongs to him and is used in an official capacity for securing flour for the royal court.

As noted by Garrison and Root (Forthcoming), details of carving style, small nuances in rendering details of iconography, differences in spacing between figures, and the slight

835 Tavernier 2007, p. 430 (no. 4.4.7.92).
836 Garrison 2017a, p. 353.
837 Ibid., p. 64.
difference in size distinguish PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, and PFS 66c*. The three seals appear to carry identical inscriptions. On three of the five documents on which PFS 66b* occurs, it follows a different sealing protocol than PFS 66a* and PFS 66c* (see below). The seals also are differentiated by their dates of use, suggesting that they follow one another in chronological order. PFS 66a* occurs only with texts dated to years 19-21, PFS 66b* only with texts dated to year 22, PFS 66c* only with texts dated to years 24-25.838

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene on PFS 66a* (and PFS 66b* and PFS 66c*) is unusual for its inclusion of a composite creature in the procession. In almost all other instances, the figures are human.

Fortification Style. The human figures in particular are simply rendered with thin arms and legs. The segmentation of body parts is more commonly encountered in the Modeled Style. Surface detail has been added in the seat of the stool and the mane and wings of the composite creature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 66b*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 10.A.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession toward a seated personage; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)

838 For another example of replica seals, see the catalogue entries for PFS 188a* and PFS 188b*.
839 PF 703, PF 704, NN 117, NN 919, and Fort. 1533-101.
Preserved Length of Image: 3.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 12
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure, attendant, and rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure (feet not preserved) faces to right. Right arm, bent, is held against torso with forearm in front of body and parallel to lap; hand holds floral element (lotus blossom?). Left arm, slightly bent, reaches diagonally upward in front of body. Appears to wear long garment. May wear domed headdress. Hair is gathered in small rounded mass at back of head. Outline of large squared nose is indicated. Beard is pointed. Below seated figure is stool (lower portion not preserved) with single(?) rung and two legs. Rounded moldings are at top of legs.

To right of seated figure is standing figure (lower legs not preserved) facing to left. Right arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of body to grasp upper part of vertical staff/spear; left arm, bent, extends outward in front of torso to hold staff/spear. Apparently wears knee-length garment. Line across forehead may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass that flips slightly at back of neck. Outline of triangular nose is indicated.

To right of standing figure is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature (back of head, tip of upper wing, legs not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs. Forelegs, straight and held together, reach diagonally upward in front of body. Two wings extend behind body, one diagonally upward and one horizontally; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Thick tail curves upward from hindquarters. Detailing along neck may be additional feathers. Bird’s beak is slightly open. Two stacked ovular elements atop head may be tuft of hair or short horn. Two ears emerge from top of head.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. PRNDT PTP’K [N]
   “Parnadadda, piθfa’k[āna]”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscripton: PN + title

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved.

For details on the name and title, see the catalogue entry above for PFS 66a*. As with PFS 66a*, we suggest adding N at the end of the line. Note the slight differences in the rendering of the letters when compared to the inscription on PFS 66a*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

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PFS 66b* appears on seven Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.\(^{840}\)

Counter-Seal:
NN 117, NN 324, NN 919, and Fort. 1533-101.

In all instances, PFS 66b* appears on the left edge with PFS 7* applied to the reverse, (and in some instances also the upper, bottom, and/or right edges).

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 703, NN 704, and Fort. 2329-104.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

As noted, the four documents following the counter-seal protocol distinguish PFS 66b* from PFS 66a* and PFS 66c*. PFS 66b* occurs only with texts dated to year 22.

On seal attribution, see the comments above with PFS 66a*.

\(^{840}\) The left edge of Fort. 2329-104 is destroyed; however, based on the otherwise consistent application of PFS 66b* to the left edge of tablets, it is likely that it also occurred here.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
See the comments above for PFS 66a*.

Fortification Style. Stylistic details that distinguish PFS 66b* from PFS 66a* include: the angular rendering of the body of the seated figure; the thick and short neck of the standing figure, and, apparently, his different garment; disposition of the wings and detailing of the wings, ears/horns, and tuft of hair at the front of the head of the rampant winged creature; the thick tail of the rampant winged creature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 66c*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 498 BCE
Typology and Style: 10.A.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession toward a seated personage; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 14
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

841 PF 700, NN 174, and NN 797.
Seated figure, attendant, and rampant winged lion-creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure (feet, stool/chair not preserved) faces to right. One arm, straight, extends in front of torso; presumably hand holds floral element (lotus blossom?) above lap. Other arm, bent, is held diagonally upward in front of face; hand has three fingers indicated. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of small eye and outline of triangular nose. Thick pointed beard rests over chest.

To right of seated figure is standing figure (lower legs not preserved) facing to left. One arm, bent, is raised in front of body to hold upper end of staff/spear; other arm, bent, is held in front of torso to grasp middle of staff/spear. Hands are fists. Apparently wears long garment. Line across forehead may indicate headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of long rectangular nose and ovular eye. Long beard rests over chest.

To right of standing figure is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature (most of tail, hindlegs not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs. Forelegs, held together, reach outward in front of body; paws are cupped downward. Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward and one horizontally; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Tail terminates in triangular tuft. Crosshatching is indicated along neck. Bird’s beak is open. Ovular eye is indicated. Tuft of hair, or perhaps short horn, sticks up from top of beak. Two ears/horns emerge from top of head. Additional tuft of hair/horn extends from back of head.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. PRNDT PT[PKN]

“Parnadadda, piθ[fakāna]

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN + title

The one-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom the panel are not preserved. Based on PFS 66a* and PFS 66b*, we believe there to be an additional three letters carved at the end of the line.


The rendering of the letters and their spacing in the inscription on PFS 66c* are noticeably different from that on PFS 66a* and PFS 66b*. Letter forms are in all instances shorter and in some instances more abbreviated (see, e.g., the P and N).

For details on the name and title, see the catalogue entry above for PFS 66a*.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: parallel-seal

Attestations of PFS 66c*

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PFS 66c* appears on five Elamite documents, always in the parallel-seal protocol with PFS 7*.

As noted, this sealing pattern aligns with that seen for PFS 66a* and differs from that seen for PFS 66b*.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

On seal attribution, see the comments above with PFS 66a*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
See comments above on PFS 66a* and PFS 66b*.

Fortification Style. The boxy rendering of the body of the seated figure aligns PFS 66c* with PFS 66b*. The hatching on the neck of the rampant winged creature, the thick tail, and the disposition of the wings, also links PFS 66c* with PFS 66b* (and distinguishes them from PFS 66a*). The heads and facial details of both seated and standing figures on all three seals are slightly different.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFS 535*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 499 BCE

Typology and Style: 10.B.01. Scenes with Seated Personages: Banquet Scenes: With one seated figure; Mixed Styles I

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic

Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.7 cm (complete)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm

Number of Impressions: 159
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along lower edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure before table and incense burner; attendant approaches from left; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure faces to left. One leg, bent over chair, is indicated; foot hovers on groundline/edge of seal below. One arm, straight, extends horizontally in front of torso; hand holds lotus above lap. Other arm, bent, is raised in front of chest; hand, cupped, holds rimmed cup in front of face. Wears coat with long sleeve that hangs below seat of chair below and what appear to be tight-fitting pants. Hair is gathered in triangular mass at back of neck; bands/ribbons are indicated above hair. Face consists of small eye and outer fold, outline of triangular nose, small mouth, and rounded chin. Below seated figure is chair (bottom of back leg not preserved) comprised of seat, segmented rung, front leg with two ovular moldings at bottom, and back of chair that hooks downward at top behind back of figure.

To immediate left of seated figure is table (lower legs not preserved). Consists of two legs with single rung; top has rounded edges. Atop table is ibex-shaped stand holding small bowl. Ibex appears recumbent with legs extended to front and to back. Short two-pronged tail sticks out from hindquarters. Long horn extends from top of head. Small pointed ear emerges from back of head. Bowl above ibex tapers outward at top; horizontal striations are indicated.

842 PF 289.
To left of table is incense burner (bottom of stand not preserved). Stand is comprised of bulbous segments and rounded top, atop which is triangular element with three-pronged opening and long loop curved to side.

To left of incense burner is figure (lower legs not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, straight, is held down behind body; hand holds floral/plant object. Left arm, straight, reaches horizontally in front of body with large jar and ladle in hand; jar has two handles that run from shoulder to rim. Wears knee-length garment. Top of head is flat, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of outline of triangular nose. Pointed beard hangs to chest.

Groundline, footstool, or bottom edge of seal is preserved below foot of seated figure.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 
1. ŠLMN
2. WSTRBR
   “Šālamana, vastrabara”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN + title

Two lines are preserved, enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom (starting in the case at left). At present, the bottom side and upper left corner of the panel are not preserved, but we appear to have the full inscription.

Line 1: four letters: Š, L, M, and N.


The reading is clear, a personal name followed by a title. The origin of the name, ŠLMN, is debated.\(^\text{843}\) ŠLMN would appear to reflect the Aramaic rendering of Šalamana.\(^\text{844}\) He occurs in eleven or perhaps twelve texts in the archive, sometimes as a šaramanna official, multiple times linked with the royal woman Irtašduna.\(^\text{845}\) In a series of letters, Irtašduna writes to Šalamana with requests for wine or grain.\(^\text{846}\) In five instances, the places of issuance are her estates at Matannan or Kuknakkan.\(^\text{847}\)

\(^{843}\) Tavernier 2007, p. 533.
\(^{844}\) Šā-la-ma-an-na (PF 718) and šā-la-ma-na (PF 168, PF 1836, and NN 761) (Tavernier 2007, p. 533).
\(^{845}\) PF 168, NN 222, and NN 1707.
\(^{846}\) PF 1836, PF 1837, PF 1838, PF 1839, NN 761, and NN 1137.
\(^{847}\) Matannan: PF 168 and NN 761; Kuknakkan: PF 1836, PF 1837, and NN 1137.
In PF 718, Šalamana allocates grapes EŠŠANA tibba makka (“consumed before the king”) at the place Kuknakkan. In NN 1896, he allocates grain to workers gal makip (“consuming rations”) at the place Urarduš. In NN 2089, he allocates sheep and goats EŠŠANA tibba makka (“were consumed before the king”) at the place Kuknakkan.

None of the documents that mention Šalamana are sealed by PFS 535*, but a strong case may be made for attributing the seal to him (see below).

The title, WSTRBR, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Persian *Vastrabara-, which is the Median equivalent of the Old Persian vaçabara- attested at Naqš-i Rustam (DNd 1). It occurs in the Neo-Babylonian Murašu archive in the Babylonian form (the Babylonian appellative ustabar). The Aramaic WSTRBR is possibly influenced by the Babylonian form (as some other titles). The word is thought to mean “chamberlain” (literally “garment-bearer”). Elamite lipte kuktir (lipte “garment”, ku(k)tir “bearer”) has been identified as synonymous with *vastrabara-. Those holding the title probably did not serve literally as garment bearers, but instead were involved in various aspects of the Achaemenid administration; one could hold the title of *vastrabara-, as well as other titles. The title has royal affiliations and indicates high social status; Aspathines, the co-conspirator of Darius, is the most famous example. Apparently, one did not have to be Persian to carry the title. Those holding the title are documented as owning large estates or managing royal estates, as well as having subordinates; they also often had direct connections with the royal family.

The title is mentioned in four Elamite documents from the Fortification archive; in one text, the *vastrabara- is identified by name, Tetukka (PF 1256). With the inscription on PFS 535*, we can now identify another *vastrabara- by name, Šalamana.

Šalamana’s dossier in the Fortification archive is an interesting one. He is a highly-placed šaramanna official associated with the bureau of the queen Irtashduna. He appears to be located at Kuknakkan and Urarduš, where he is recorded as supplying rations of grape, grain, sheep, and goats. He is noteworthy for the active role that he plays in the bureau of

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848 Tavernier 2007, p. 434 (no. 4.4.4.121).
849 Ibid., pp. 434-35 (no. 4.4.7.121); for all individuals known as ustabarus, most of whom occur in the Murašu archive, see Tavernier (2014, pp. 297-322).
850 For example, GRDPT (PFUTS 1555*) reflects the Babylonian transliteration gardapata (Tavernier 2007, p. 424 (no. 4.4.7.56)).
851 Tavernier 2014, p. 309; Henkelman 2008, p. 127 (n. 283); Henkelman 2003a, p. 120; see Tavernier (2014, pp. 308-09, 311-15) for details on the position of *vastrabara-.
852 Tavernier 2014, pp. 309-10, and 320; Henkelman 2008, pp. 232, 288, and 320; Henkelman 2003a, p. 120.
853 Tavernier 2014, pp. 310 and 320.
854 Ibid., p. 310; Henkelman 2008, pp. 127 (n. 283) and 320.
856 Ibid., pp. 311-14; Henkelman 2008, p. 339.
857 For example, Darius II assigned the title to individuals who supported him in his accession of kingship (Tavernier 2014, p. 311, 320-21).
858 NN 1057, NN 1848, and NN 2252 include the phrase but the specific individuals holding the title are unclear; see Tavernier (2014, pp. 310-11) for discussion of this; see, also, Henkelman (2008, p. 320).
Irtašduna. Indeed, he is mentioned at all three of her known estates, at Kuknakkan, Matannan, and Uranduš. Henkelman suggests that Šalamana acts, perhaps with Tetukka, as general manager of these estates, and is someone whom we could call a steward or a chamberlain; Henkelman posits that all transactions in which he is mentioned are connected to his role as manager of Irtašduna’s estates (including her work forces).

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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859 Henkelman 2010a, p. 698 (n. 112).
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PF 535* appears on one Aramaic document, one Elamite document, and 45 uninscribed documents and follows four sealing protocols.\(^{860}\)

**Single-Seal:**

**Counter-Seal:**

In all instances, PF 535* occurs on non-left edge surfaces with a different seal applied to the left edge.

The one document with text, PFAT 665, is illegible.

**Parallel-Seal:**
PF 289.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity deposit.

\(^{860}\) The sealing protocol on several tablets (PFUT 162-202, PFUT 646-202, PFUT 821-203, PFUT 1015-202, PFUT 1017-203, PFUT 1521-101, PFUT 1563-202, PFUT 2087-203, PFUT 2127-207, and PFUT 2253-201) is uncertain. These documents have at least one surface destroyed.

\(^{861}\) The right edges of PFUT 652-201, PFUT 681-201, PFUT 2068-101, and PFUT 2102-004 are destroyed; while we cannot be certain that they do not carry a third seal, PF 535* rarely occurs on tablets that have the right edge sealed; the two exceptions that do carry seals on the right edges (PFUT 0000-103 and PFUT 695-101) are sealed by PF 535*. The bottom and right edges of PFUT 417-206 are partially destroyed; given the other attestations of PF 535* in accordance with the counter-seal protocol, where PFUTS 12 occurs on the left edge, it is unlikely that an additional seal was applied to these surfaces.
Multiple-Seal:
PFUT 579-202.

PFS 535* is one of the most commonly occurring seals on the uninscribed tablets in the Fortification archive. Additionally, PFS 535* follows the single-seal protocol numerous times and is often applied multiple times to a surface. These sealing patterns often indicate officials of high administrative rank.

Given the textual evidence for the role of Šalamana, especially his close connection to queen Irtašduna, and the unique inclusion of the title, vastrabara, in the seal inscription, we suggest that the seal belongs to Šalamana; even though he is not named in the Elamite document bearing this seal (PF 289) (only two texts carrying PFS 535* have text; the other is an illegible Aramaic document), he is clearly a chamberlain, most likely for Irtašduna. The large number of uninscribed documents on which PFS 535* occurs, and the fact that almost half of them are in the single-seal protocol (many with multiple applications per surface), likely indicates that PFS 535* represents a high-authority user, which Šalamana certainly is.

As noted above, a Tetukka is identified as a vastrabara in an Elamite text from the archive, PF 1256, in which he is noted as a receiver. One wonders whether this Tetukka is the same individual who appears as a supplier in PF 289, which carries PFS 535* in accordance with the parallel-seal protocol (with PFS 94). It is possible that this is simply a coincidence; however, given the rarity of the title in the archive, one wonders whether the duties potentially shared by Šalamana and Tetukka led to PFS 535* being linked to Tetukka in this instance.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 535* stands out among banqueting scenes in Persepolitan glyptic for the carefully depicted elaborate realia. Compositionally, the closest parallel in the archive is PFATS 352, where the attendant also holds a ladle and handled jar. The composition of PFS 535* suggests also PFS 77*, an heirloom seal, where a seated (female) figure raises a cup and is approached by an attendant also carrying a cup; an Elamite inscription occupies the terminal field.

The exact dynamics of the composition on PFS 535* are complex. While on one level the scene may be read as a banquet, the formality of the attendant also suggests an audience scene (e.g., see here the audience scenes PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, PFS 66c*, and PFUTS 332*; PFS 77* suggests a similar complexity). In this sense, the scene on PFS 535* cannot also help but recall the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis where an elevated seated king holds a lotus in one hand and is approached by a formally attired and posed figure; incense burners are also in the scene.

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862 The following supply seals occur with PFS 535*: PFUTS 12, PFUTS 184, PFUTS 229, PFUTS 252, PFUTS 322, PFUTS 324, PFUTS 811, PFUTS 812s, PFUTS 1227, PFUTS 1280, PFUTS 1510, PFUTS 1513, and PFUTS 1600.

863 On the drinking paraphernalia included in PFS 535*, see Root (Forthcoming (A)).
The seated figure on PFS 535* appears to wear a long cloak over trousers.\(^{864}\) A very similar figure, seated wearing a long cloak and holding a cup and lotus flower, occurs on a remarkable seal from the Murašu archive.\(^{865}\)

The face of the seated figure on PFS 535* could be read as either clean-shaven or a very short rounded beard.\(^{866}\) The configuration of the hair is quite unusual; are the two projections above the baggy chignon segments of hair or decorative elements? The hair and potential lack of beard certainly complicate our reading of this figure.

The form of the inscription panel adds an additional decorative element to the scene. The top of the panel extends beyond the right vertical; the edge is also rounded. This form closely mirrors the shape of the table at the center of the scene, with its horizontal surface with rounded edges extending beyond the vertical legs. The consistency in shapes ties the design together.

Mixed Styles I. PFS 535* is beautifully carved. Modeling is restrained and many forms appear soft and rounded (e.g., garment, legs of seated figure). Detailing is fine and well-executed.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Colburn 2015, p. 187 (n. 70); Dusinberre 2008, p. 248; Garrison 2002/2006, p. 95; Garrison 2008, pp. 158-60 (n. 16, 22, 23), 163-64, 168, 182, 186, 190, 216 (figs. 2-3); Garrison 2014b, pp. 75 (n. 50) and 86 (n. 118); Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 49, 51, 53, 91, 110, and 378; Henkelman 2008, p. 99; Henkelman 2010a, p. 686 (n. 72); Root 2007, pp. 197 and 199; Root Forthcoming (A); Root Forthcoming (B).

**Aramaic Group 9:**

- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 266*

A ninth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field,

\(^{864}\) Root (Forthcoming (B)) describes the clothing as the “riding garment complete with draped mantle.”

\(^{865}\) CBS 12866 (no. 214 in Bregstein 1993). On the seal from the Murašu archive, the figure wears a bashlyk and sits before an incense burner and horse approaching at right; behind the seated figure is an isolated hand. Of the scene, Bregstein (1993, pp. 184-85) says: “The one example of a narrative scene…features an undoubtedly Achaemenid scene, reminiscent of the royal audience scenes on the Persepolis wall reliefs.” See, also, Root (Forthcoming (A)) for the seal from the Murašu archive.

\(^{866}\) Note the longer, pointed beard of the standing figure on PFS 535*. 
within a panel, but without case lines. At present, only one of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

PFS 266* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 208)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.A.05. Heroic Combat: Hero stabs rampant animal or creature: Winged lion creatures; Mixed Styles II
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 9
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero stabs rampant winged horned lion-creature in chest with dagger; bird between hero and creature; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward across torso to stab rampant lion-creature in chest with dagger; hand is fist with knuckles/digits indicated. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body to grasp (hand not indicated) horn of rampant creature. Wears double-belted Persian court robe with central vertical pleat on skirt; diagonal folds are indicated across left thigh and right hip. Wears quiver with arrows and hanging tassels on back. Face consists of eyebrow, small eye, and outline of large, squared nose. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Segmented beard rests over chest.

To right of hero, and at right of figural scene, is rampant winged horned lion-creature (right hindfoot not preserved) facing to left. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right; hindfoot is bird-like. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body;

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867 PF 1097, PF 1112, and NN 1106.
paw is comprised of two ovular segments and approaches upper arm of hero. Other foreleg, straight, extends horizontally in front of body; paw is rendered with small ovular segment above lower arm of hero. Wing extends horizontally behind body; single row of feathers and thin band along upper edge are indicated. Additional feather-like details are indicated along torso. Hook-like projection is attached at upper back below wing. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and terminates in ovular tuft. Two drill holes mark nostrils at end of snout. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Tooth is indicated on top and bottom jaw. Eye is large and ovular. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Long pointed horn sticks up from top of head and is grasped by hero.

Between hero and composite creature is small bird facing to left. Wing extends to either side of body; one row of feathers is indicated on left wing. Tail extends downward, apparently in three sections. Small beak and large round eye are indicated.

Inscription within panel occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM SYW
  2. [D]YNʾ
     “Seal (of) Syava, the judge”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: ḤTM PN + title

The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. Except for one letter, the text is complete.

Line 1: six letters: Ḥ, T, M, S, Y, and W.

Line 2: The beginning of the line is not preserved; we reconstruct D. Following are three letters preserved: Y, N, and ʾ.

The reading seems clear, ḤTM followed by a personal name and a title. The name, SYW, is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian *Syāva-. The name, rendered in Elamite, is attested in at least one document from the Fortification archive. This document is a travel ration that details Šiyama, three šalup (“gentlemen”), and seven boys receiving flour rations; Šiyama carries a halmi from Bakabana. The seal applied to the reverse (hence, the receiver’s seal) is PFS 1410.

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868 This reading updates Garrison and Root (2001, p. 305); new impressions of the seal have since clarified the composite drawing.
869 Tavernier 2007, p. 316 (no. 4.2.1620).
870 Ši-ia-ma (PF 1514); Tavernier (2007, p. 319 (no. 4.2.1648)) also records the name in NN 2490, but this cannot be verified.
The title, *DYNY* (“the judge”), is a well-known Aramaic title; it is not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive.

The presentation of a multi-line inscription within a panel but without case lines is uncommon. At present, only PFS 266* and PFS 54* definitely present inscriptions in this way. Interestingly, both are Aramaic inscriptions and both feature the heroic combat encounter. The inscription on PFS 54* may also follow the same formula as on PFS 266*.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, multiple-seal

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PFS 266* appears on eight Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

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871 This is one of two Aramaic titles (as opposed to Persian titles) among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication); PFUTS 19*, with *KMRY* (“priest”) (Holm 2017, p. 12), is the other.
872 See the catalogue entry for PFS 54* for details.
873 The middle portion of the reverse is missing; there may be traces of additional seal impressions here, but nothing is identifiable.
874 The sealing protocol involving PFS 266* on NN 1106, an M text (“specials rations”), is uncertain. With destroyed surfaces, we cannot speculate as to the pattern of PFS 266* in this instance.
Counter-Seal:
NN 1085.

PFS 266* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 2428, applied to the reverse.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Multiple-Seal:
PF 1097, PF 1112, PF 1120, NN 2527, Fort. 254-102, and Fort. 1586-101.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

PFS 266* is used exclusively on ration allocations for workers. Seals that follow the multiple-seal protocol, which PFS 266* does in most instances (usually with PFS 264, PFS 265, PFS 1076, and PFS 1181), are often difficult to attribute to a particular seal user. The one instance in which PFS 266* follows the counter-seal protocol may be instructive: on NN 1085, PFS 266* would appear to represent the supplier of wine, Yauda, as the seal occurs on the left edge. However, without this individual recurring in any of the other documents to which PFS 266* is applied, we cannot say with certainty that the seal belongs to him. One notable fact about the dossier is the occurrence of PFS 266* always on the left edge. While one cannot assume that the left edge seal in multiple-seal transactions represents the supply authority, the insistence of PFS 266* on the left edge of eight Elamite documents may in fact indicate that it represents supply. The name in the seal inscription does not match any of the individuals in the documents above, but this is not an uncommon feature of tablets that are sealed by more than two seals. We suspect that the seal belongs to an office, probably one dealing with wine supply.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
Birds are not often encountered in scenes with extensive court-centric iconography.

Mixed Styles II. The hero is simply rendered with thin arms and little indication of musculature (what conventionally we would consider Fortification Style). The rampant creature, on the other hand, is very well-modeled, particularly in the hindquarters and forelegs. There is much surface detailing. The formal composition suggests linkages to the Court Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aramaic Group 10:
Orientation: Vertical
A tenth method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, but with a case line. At present, such a composition is limited to one seal, PFUTS 1530*, among the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions.

PFUTS 1530*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.B.04. Hero holds animals or creatures at his chest: lions; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.8 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Middle section of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero holds pair of lions; winged disk and stylized plant; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms extend to either side to hold lion around chest. Wears Assyrian garment that covers right leg. Wears polos headdress. Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of triangular nose. Squared beard hangs to chest.
To left and to right of hero is pair of lions (face, legs of animal at left, hindfeet of animal at right not preserved) facing outward. Held at chest by hero with torso angled inward, head turned back behind body to face outward. Forelegs not indicated. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in triangular tuft (lion at right) or point (lion at left). Mouth of lion at right is open and jaw is lined; face has rounded eye.

At right of preserved scene is winged disk (tip of left tendril not preserved). Consists of disk at center; two horizontal wings extend and tail hangs below. Single line of feathers is indicated on each wing/tail. Wavy tendril sits atop disk. Long tendril hangs to either side of tail; right tendril bends upward at end.

Below winged disk is stylized plant consisting of vertical rectangular post and crescent-shaped top with triangular elements at center.

Inscription perhaps occupies terminal field; partial preservation makes this somewhat uncertain.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...]DN
2. [(BR) B]GPN
   “…dana (son (of)) Bagapana”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ BR PN₂?

The two-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from bottom to top. Owing to the partial preservation of the design, there certainly were additional letters carved.

Line 1: two letters preserved: D and N. It is unclear how many additional letters there are.

Line 2: three letters preserved: G, P, and N. It is unclear how many additional letters there are.

It seems likely that we have two personal names, presumably separated by BR (not preserved at present). The first personal name would be a -dāna name, of which there are various possibilities from *Bagadāna- to, more likely (if we reconstruct BR in the second line), longer names such as *Bagavardāna-, or even a -bṛdana name such as *Arēbṛdana-.

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875 *Bagadāna- (Tavernier 2007, p. 132 (no. 4.2.244)); in the texts of the Fortification archive, this name occurs in Elamite in PF 1793. *Bagavardāna- (ibid., p. 142 (no. 4.2.299)); in the texts of the Fortification archive, this name occurs in Elamite in PF 1988. *Arēbṛdana- (ibid., p. 112 (no. 4.2.98)); in the texts of the Fortification archive, this name occurs in Elamite in PF 140.
The second personal name is likely Bagapana (Elamite Bakabana), which is well attested in the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{876}

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

**Sealing Protocol: single-seal?**

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PFUTS 1530* appears on one uninscribed document, perhaps in the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{877}

Seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene on PFUTS 1530* – a hero holding two animals around the chest – is not otherwise attested among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The form of the stylized tree is also unique; this device has an architectural quality to it, reminiscent of an altar.\textsuperscript{878} The presentation of the Aramaic inscription – vertically oriented, in the terminal field, without a panel, but with a case line – leads to a truly unusual glyptic artifact.

The combination of a winged symbol above a stylized tree is also attested on PFS 2117* and PFS 3035*, but the placement of those pairs (central scene), as well as the forms of those devices, are very different than on PFUTS 1530*.

Modeled Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Aramaic Group 11:**

- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: Without Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 164*
2. PFS 815*
3. PFUTS 19*

\textsuperscript{876} Ibid., p. 137 (no. 4.2.274); in the texts of the Fortification archive, this name occurs in Elamite in PF 58, PF 336, PF 615, PF 997, Pfa13, NN 366, and NN 570. Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication) suggested these name possibilities to me.

\textsuperscript{877} With three surfaces destroyed, we cannot be certain which sealing protocol PFUTS 1530* follows.

\textsuperscript{878} See, for example, PFUTS 19*.
An eleventh method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, six of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately 16 percent) are so disposed.

PFS 164* (OIP 117 Cat. No. 20)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 494 BCE879
Typology and Style: 01.A.03. Hero controls winged human-face/human-headed bull creatures; Mixed Styles I880
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 14
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of winged human-headed lion-creatures while standing atop winged horned lion pedestal creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head, feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, presumably on backs/hindquarters of creatures below. Arms, bent, extend to either side to grasp foreleg of winged human-headed lion-creature; hands have three fingers. Wears Persian court robe; central vertical pleat is indicated on front of skirt with diagonal folds over right leg. Sleeves are pushed up toward shoulders; long folds of drapery hang to waist.

879 All of the documents carrying PFS 164* date to year 28.
880 This is a change from Garrison and Root (2001, p. 90).
Wears dentate crown. Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of large triangular eye and nose. Squared beard with horizontal striations rests over chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of winged human-headed lion-creatures facing outward. Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other (creature at left has only one hindleg indicated). Forward hindleg terminates in paw with two ovular segments/nails atop wing of creatures below. Other hindleg of creature at right terminates atop snout of creature below. Turn head back behind body to face outward. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body. Other foreleg, straight, extends in front of torso. Paws have one or two ovular segments/nails. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Wavy tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves sharply back toward body. Creature at right wears dentate crown. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face of creature at left consists of semi-circle for eye and outline of triangular nose; face of creature at right consists of small rounded eye and outer crease and thin triangular nose. Long beard with horizontal striations (partial on creature at left) hangs to wing.

Below hero and rampant creatures is pair of winged horned lion pedestal creatures (not preserved below wing) facing outward. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated (creature at left also has central ribbing). Drill holes mark nostrils. Mouth is open and jaw is lined. Drill hole marks eye. Serrated mane runs along back of neck. Long pointed horn sticks up from top of head.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and is almost complete at bottom.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM DD . .

“Seal of Data...”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: ḤTM PN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Based on the height of the figural scene, it is unlikely that additional letters are carved.

Line 1: seven letters: H, T, M, D, D, and two unidentifiable letters.

The beginning of the inscription is clear, ḤTM; this is likely followed by a personal name. The reading of the name is incomplete but it appears to begin Data-, a common

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881 This reading updates Dusinberre (1997, p. 107) and Garrison and Root (2001, p. 90).
A complete reading of the name is, at present, not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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</table>

PFS 164* appears on seven Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.  

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

PFS 164* occurs exclusively on ration allocations for workers, all of which involve the same supplier, Uštanna, and šaramanna official, Attiyakka. The location of the transactions is Liduma or Hunar, both in the Fahliyān region. Based on the single-seal protocol, it is likely that the šaramanna official Attiyakka uses PFS 164* in his role as overseer of rations for workers. This sealing protocol is a common one for šaramanna officials. With one exception, these texts sealed by PFS 164* constitute the only occurrence of the name Attiyakka. The one exception is a ration allocation for royal provisions (NN 117) that names Attiyauka (Attiyakka?) as the tumara (“grain handler”); this individual is probably the same as the one using PFS 164*.  

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene on PFS 164* is very similar to that on PFS 524. Both of these seals include a hero wearing the Persian court robe (rendered very similarly) who controls lions (or lion creatures) while standing atop the backs of winged horned lion pedestal creatures below. PFS 524 is preserved only along part of its length and no impression(s) shows the terminal field; at present, it is uninscribed, but it is possible that this seal also carried an

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882 For examples, see Tavernier (2007, pp. 16 (no. 1.2.15), 57 (no. 2.2.21), and 169 (nos. 4.2.508 and 4.2.509)).

883 The left edge of NN 782 is destroyed, thus we cannot know whether another seal was applied here. However, given the otherwise consistent use of PFS 164* in accordance with the single-seal protocol and its application to the left edge, it is likely that the same patterns apply here as well.

884 Dusinberre (1997, p. 106) suggests that the seal belongs to Uštanna. When šaramanna officials such as Uštanna step into the role of supplier, they rarely apply their seals to the transactions. The sealing pattern, isolation of the name Attiyakka to these texts, and rank of Attiyakka (šaramanna official) strongly suggest that he is the seal user.
inscription in the terminal field. Based on these similarities, Garrison and Root suggest that the same seal carver is responsible for both seals.\textsuperscript{885}

Mixed Styles I. Some modeling is indicated, particularly in the composite creatures, which leads us to suggest Mixed Styles I (rather than Mixed Styles II, as Garrison and Root). Note, especially the hindlegs of the winged human-headed lion creatures. Detail has been added in the faces and wings of the creatures, as well as the face and garment of the hero.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


PFS 815* (*OIP 117 Cat. No. 215)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE\textsuperscript{886}
Typology and Style: 02.B.02. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged bull creature; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

\textsuperscript{885} Garrison and Root 2001, p. 65. These similarities have also led Dusinberre (1997, p. 124 (n. 59)) to suggest that PFS 164* was commissioned as a replacement for PFS 524; this linkage seems unlikely. PFS 524 occurs once, on a completely unrelated type of text, C2 text (“accounting balances”), and follows the parallel-seal protocol. The šaramanna official is Mištanna, which could be a variant of either Mišdana or Uštanna.

\textsuperscript{886} PF 608.
Hero threatens rampant winged bull-creature with weapon held down behind body; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (top of head/face, right foot, forward hand not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart. Right leg, straight, is underneath hips; left leg, bent, is raised in front of body at hip-height with foot near hindquarters of rampant creature. One arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body, presumably to grab horn of rampant creature (not preserved). Other arm, straight, is held down behind body with weapon (not preserved at bottom) in hand. Wears Assyrian garment that covers right leg and leaves left leg bare; thick fringe is indicated along front of right leg. Curved line across forward bicep may indicate sleeve of garment. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck; squared beard hangs to chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged bull-creature (top of head, forefeet, right hindfoot, tip of tail not preserved) moving to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left; head is angled downward so snout approaches top of wing. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Forelegs, straight, are held together diagonally upward in front of body. Long wing extends back behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Long tail hangs from hindquarters. Serrated mane runs along back of neck.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. …ŠTPMH Ḥ
   “Çuta…”887

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN + title?

The two-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. We are clearly missing letters in line two; it is also uncertain whether there are more letters at the beginning of each line.

Line 1: six letters preserved: Š, T, P, M, H, and Ḥ. It is unclear whether there are additional letters.

Line 2: six letters preserved: an unidentifiable letter, R (or perhaps D), perhaps G, and three unidentifiable letters. It is unclear whether there are additional letters.

Owing to the absence both of HTM, at the beginning of the inscription, and BR, in the middle, we suggest the inscription follows the formula PN + title. What may be the beginning of the inscription, ŠT, may reflect an Old Persian name beginning *Çuta-.888

887 New impressions of the seal update the reading by Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 313-14).
888 For possible examples, see Tavernier (2007, pp. 161-62).
A title cannot be reconstructed at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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<td>PFS 815*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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PFS 815* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include a receipt of commodity movement and a letter.\(^{889}\)

Sealing protocols on letters indicate that PFS 815* is used by Daddapparna (=Datapparna), the addressor of NN 1018. Datapparna is also named as the šaramanna official in PF 608. Datapparna is well attested in the archive (named in 78 Elamite documents). He often assumes the role of wine supply for allocations to kurtaš (“workers”) sealed under the authority of PFS 1*, the Persepolis regional office seal.\(^{890}\) He is also the addressee in two letter-orders from Parnakka and two from Ziššawiš.\(^{891}\)

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The winged bull is rare in scenes of the heroic combat encounter.

Modeled Style. The seal is beautifully carved, a wonderful example of this particular workshop. The segmented human and animal forms are particularly sharply articulated (e.g., back forearm of hero, forelegs of rampant creature).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 19*

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\(^{889}\) Receipt of commodity movement: PF 608; letter: NN 1018.

\(^{890}\) E.g., NN 274, NN 278, NN 607, and NN 1082.

\(^{891}\) PF 1788, NN 1789, NN 1093, and NN 1190.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.d.06.b.01. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other
Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Structure: Worshipper before Tower
Structure: Attendant(s) Displayed to either side of tower structure; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 51
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Pair of attendants flanks tower structure; inscription in terminal field.

Pair of attendants (top of head, left foot and hand of attendant at left, top of head of attendant at right not preserved) face inward toward center. Stand with feet apart, one in front of other. Torso is profile; skirt of garment faces outward toward viewer. One arm, slightly bent, is held in front of torso with lotus (attendant at left) or ovular object with flat top (attendant at right) in hand. Attendant at left has three fingers indicated on hand and bracelet around wrist; attendant at right has two fingers indicated on hand. Other arm, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand is apparently cupped. Wear Persian court robe with central vertical pleat on skirt; diagonal folds of drapery are indicated on legs. Sleeves of garment hang down past waist. Wear dentate crown. Hair is gathered in large ovular (attendant at left) or small rounded (attendant at right) mass at back of head. Face of attendant at left is comprised of large rounded eye, triangular nose, and small mouth; attendant at right has small ovular nose. Beard rests over chest (horizontal striations are indicated on beard of attendant at left).

Between attendants is tower structure comprised of rectangular base, pillar, and crenellated top. Rectangular base has thick band at bottom and concentric inverted-U-shaped detailing; atop rectangular base is border consisting of inverted V-shaped
elements. Vertical pillar above rectangular base has two vertical bands to either side. Top of tower structure is crenelated.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal (or seal cap) is almost complete at bottom of design.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. ‘PTR/DK ŠMH
2. KMR
   “…by name, priest”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: PN ŠMH + title

The two-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The first letter is broken, but the inscription is otherwise likely complete.

Line 1: seven letters: perhaps broken P, T, R (or perhaps D), K, Š, M, and H.

Line 2: three letters preserved: K, M, and R.

With the first letter broken, the beginning of the inscription is somewhat unclear, but it certainly begins with a personal name, PTR, which may suggest an Egyptian name; however, at present, a recognizable name is not clear. The Aramaic texts offer no assistance in providing a name, although one hints intriguingly at a possible name beginning PTR (see below).

Following the name is the expression ŠMH (“by/his name”); this is common, following a personal name, in Imperial Aramaic texts (including those from the Fortification archive). PFUTS 19* constitutes the only example in Persepolitan glyptic.

The Aramaic title KMR means “priest.” In addition to the inscription on PFUTS 19*, the word appears in two Aramaic texts from the Fortification archive, one of these texts also carries impressions of PFUTS 19* (see below).

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFUTS 19*

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892 Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication).
893 PFAT 774.
894 E.g., PFAT 1.
895 Annalisa Azzoni (personal communication); see, also, Holm (2017, p. 12).
896 PFAT 390 (in the plural form) and PFAT 619.
897 PFAT 390.
PFUTS 19* appears on three Aramaic, one Elamite, and three uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{898}

PFAT 390 contains one word, “priests.”

PFAT 774 is broken; it may read “Seal (of)…” The personal name might read PTR, but the text is broken.

Translations of PFAT 578 and Fort. 1501-153 were not available at the time of writing.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene on PFUTS 19* is closely related to PFS 11*, a royal-name seal of Darius. Both seals include attendants wearing the Persian court robe and crowns while flanking a central tower structure; both seals also have a vertically-oriented inscription in the

\textsuperscript{898} PFAT 774, PFUT 308-259, and PFUT 854-101 have at least one surface destroyed; given the consistent use of PFUTS 19* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, these surfaces were likely sealed by PFUTS 19* or left unsealed.
terminal field (trilingual cuneiform on PFS 11*). The form of the tower structure on PFUTS 19* is unique and, indeed, exceptionally ornate.\textsuperscript{899}

Court Style. The deep profile shoulders of the attendants link the carving to PFS 11*, but on PFUTS 19* the forms are somewhat stiff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 114*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 02.B.05. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body; Winged lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 32
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature; archer shoots at small animal moving away; inscription in terminal field.

At far right of figural scene, hero faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Right arm, straight, reaches in front of body to grasp rampant creature by throat. Left arm, straight, is held down behind body with short sword or dagger in hand; three fingers are indicated. Wears Persian court robe. Central vertical pleat is indicated on front of skirt; diagonal folds of drapery hang to either side. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Wears dentate or feather crown. Hair

\textsuperscript{899} Garrison 2017a, pp. 149 and 257.
is gathered in rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of small eye and long ovular nose. Pointed beard rests over chest.

To left of hero is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature facing to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left; terminate in bird’s feet. Forelegs extend in front of body, one diagonally upward and one diagonally downward; terminate in paws with nail(s). Long wing extends diagonally downward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Short tail curves upward from hindquarters and comes to point. Dimple indicates nostrils. Mouth is open. Short pointed ear emerges from top of head. Short pointed horn or additional ear sticks up from behind snout. Straight element at back of neck could be arrow from archer or possibly part of mane.

At far left of figural scene is archer (right foot not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. One arm, sharply bent, is held up behind head to pull back on bow (neither hand nor bow is indicated). Other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow (not indicated) to right; hand has three fingers. Wears Persian court robe; diagonal folds are indicated on sides of skirt. Long folds of drapery hang around waist. Flat top of head may indicate some style of headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of long nose and small lip. Rectangular beard with ovular segment at bottom rests over chest.

To right of archer is small rampant animal (lion or caprid?) (one hindfoot not preserved) moving to right. Hindlegs, straight, are held together diagonally downward behind body. Forelegs, straight, are held together diagonally upward in front of body. Tail sticks up from hindquarters and comes to point. Mouth is closed. Mane runs along back of head and neck. Long ear emerges from top of head.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above hero and rampant winged lion-creature.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ḤTM DDN
   “Seal (of) Dattanna”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: ḤTM PN…?

One line is preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. A second line of text is possible, given the space between the inscription and the archer. If there is more to the inscription, it likely would be a title or possibly a patronym.

Line 1: six letters: Ḥ, T, M, D, D, and N.

The reading is clear, ḤTM followed by a personal name. As noted above, there is space for an additional line of text, but none of the known impressions preserve any evidence of
additional letters. The name, *DDN*, is most likely the Aramaic rendering of the Elamite name Dattanna;\(^900\) it occurs (in Elamite) in seven Elamite documents from the Fortification archive.\(^901\) In each text, Dattanna receives rations; in all but one instance, Dattanna is designated *hallati-hašira* (“clay tablet auditor”).\(^902\) As far as we can discern, the name does not occur on the one Aramaic tablet on which it is applied.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal

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PFUTS 114* appears on one Aramaic and eight uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.\(^903\)

Single-Seal:

PFAT 750, PFUT 615-201, PFUT 867-208, and PFUT 2131-102.\(^904\)

The text on PFAT 750 is, unfortunately, illegible.

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\(^900\) This exhibits *T>D* change in place of another voiceless dental (Annalisa Azzoni, personal communication).

\(^901\) PF 776, PF 1238, PF 1239, PF 1240, PF 1241, PF 2037, and NN 253.


\(^903\) The left edges of several tablets (PFUT 315-201, PFUT 2127-103, PFUT 2189-202, and PFUT 2218-201) are destroyed; thus, the sealing protocol(s) in these instances cannot be determined.

\(^904\) Even though the right edges of PFUT 615-201 and PFUT 2131-102 are destroyed, it is unlikely that a seal was applied to these surfaces – in no other instance involving PFUTS 114* does a seal occur on the right edge.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The design on PFUTS 114* is an unusual one that combines the archer and heroic combat encounter. The closest compositional parallels are, perhaps, PFS 49 and PFUTS 1471. The rampant animal at which, presumably, the archer shoots on PFUTS 114* allows the archer scene to stand on its own compositionally, while at the same time the integration of that animal visually into the heroic encounter binds the two scenes together in a quite interesting manner. One may also read both animals as part of the archer scene (cf., e.g., PFS 35* where the archer shoots at a group of lions attacking a caprid) or a separate scene of animal combat.

Modeled Style. The animal figures are well-modeled. Note, especially, the hindquarters, feet, and forelegs of the rampant creature, as well as the hindlegs of the small animal. The forelegs and hindlegs of the animal and creature are carved as if distinct from the rest of the body. The heroes are especially detailed, particularly on their garments and crown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garrison 2017a, p. 31.
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Middle of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hunter threatens rampant lion with spear; hound attacks lion; inscription in terminal field.

Hunter (head, left hand, feet not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body to hold front end of spear near chest of rampant lion to left. Left arm, bent, is up behind head, presumably to hold back end of spear. Wears belted Persian court robe. Central vertical pleat is indicated on front of skirt; diagonal folds of drapery hang over right leg. Sleeves are pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare; long folds of drapery hang to either side of waist. Thin vertical band lines right hem of sleeves.

To left of hunter is rampant lion (face, base of tail, hindfeet not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left. Forelegs, straight, extend in front of body, right diagonally downward, left diagonally upward. Right foreleg terminates in hoof with ovular segment; left foreleg terminates in paw with three digits/nails. Long tail curves upward from hindquarters and arcs back toward body to terminate in ovular tuft. Mouth is open. Serrated mane runs along back of head and neck. Cross-hatching is along upper torso.

Between hunter and rampant lion is hound (hindfeet not preserved) facing to left. Hindlegs extend back behind body; forelegs, held together, reach forward in front of body. Straight tail extends diagonally upwards from hindquarters. Mouth is closed. Ear emerges from top of head. Thin band, perhaps collar, is around neck.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. [...] R/D. [...] 

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

One line is preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Very little of the inscription is present; it appears that we have part of the middle of one line. It is possible that there are additional lines of text.

Line 1: three letters preserved: a broken and unidentifiable letter, R (or perhaps D), and a broken and unidentifiable letter. It is unclear how many additional letters there are.

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, a reading is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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PFUTS 232* appears on one uninscribed document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFUTS 232* occurs as the counter-seal with the supplier seal, PFS 17, applied to the left edge.

PFS 17 is a well-known supply office seal (principally wine, but also dates and figs) suggesting that PFUTS 232* represents a receiver.\(^{905}\) Attribution of PFUTS 232* is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
There is a substantial number of seals from the Fortification archive that show a hunter spearing an animal; a lion is a common foe.\(^{906}\) The large size and rampant pose of the lion on PFUTS 232* recalls scenes of the heroic combat encounter.\(^{907}\) The hound is a rare addition. In hunting scenes, it is common for the hunter to wear the Persian court robe, as on PFUTS 232*.\(^{908}\)

Modeled Style. This is a very large and boldly carved seal. Stylistically it is closely related to PFS 522, which shows a hunter spearing a lion attacking a boar, and PFS 2106*, where a hunter spears a boar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 305*

\(^{905}\) On PFS 17, see Garrison (2017a, p. 49); e.g., PF 46 (wine) and PF 1154 (figs and dates).

\(^{906}\) E.g., PFS 522 and PFS 2406s.

\(^{907}\) E.g., PFATS 22*.

\(^{908}\) E.g., PFS 7* and PFS 11*.  

792
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 10.A.02. Scenes with Seated Personages: Procession of prisoners toward seated figure; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.7 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.9 cm
Number of Impressions: 20
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Seated figure is approached by two figures; armed attendant stands behind seated figure; whole of figural scene is elevated on floral elements; inscription in terminal field.

Seated figure (front of crown not preserved) faces to right. Legs, bent, hang over front of chair; feet may rest on stool below (partially preserved). One arm, bent, is held at side with forearm in front of body and parallel to lap; hand, fist with three sections, holds large lotus. Rope appears to run from bottom of fist to small figure to right. Wears Persian court robe; details of folds of drapery are indicated along skirt. Long right sleeve of garment hangs down below seat of chair. Wears dentate crown; horizontal bands across forehead may be part of headdress. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of large squared eye and outline of squared nose. Long rectangular beard rests over chest. Below seated figure is elaborate chair (bottom not preserved). Comprised of teardrop-shaped back, seat, and horizontal rung; chair flares outward between rung and seat. Lines below feet and seat/rung of chair are perhaps additional part of chair or footrest.

To right of seated figure is small figure facing to left. Stands or kneels with arms, straight, held together diagonally upward in front of body; hands are cupped and appear to face downward. Scalloped hem at bottom of figure could be part of skirt or perhaps loose-fitting pants. Appears to wear headdress with visor, ear flap, and long ribbon hanging down from back head.
To right of small figure is attendant (face, front foot not preserved) facing to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left, atop floral device below. Bends forward slightly at waist. One arm, straight, is held close in front of body with hand before mouth; thin bracelet is around wrist. Wears belted Persian court robe; end of belt hangs in front of hips. Diagonal folds of drapery hang along sides of legs. Short projections at top of head may indicate headdress. Hair lies close to back of head before being gathered in small rounded mass above shoulder.

To left of seated figure is attendant (back of head not preserved) facing to right. Stands with feet apart, one in front of other; back foot is atop floral device below. One arm reaches diagonally upward in front of body; hand has three digits. Wears double-belted knee-length garment; fold or hem runs along bottom of garment over forward leg. Wears large quiver or bowcase on back. Headdress appears to have visor at front above forehead, ear flap, and cheek flap. Face consists of large triangular eye and outline of triangular nose.

Frieze of floral elements runs along bottom of design and acts as platform which elevates figural scene; three floral elements are preserved: one under each attendant and small figure.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above attendant at right and inscription and at bottom of design below standing figures and inscription.

INSCRIPTION

Line:  1. HTM ZRNMY

“Seal (of) Zarnamiya”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: HTM PN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The inscription is complete.


The reading is clear, HTM followed by a personal name. ZRNMY is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian name *Zarnamiya-. The name, rendered in Elamite as Šarnamiya or Zarnamiya, is attested in 25 Elamite documents from the Fortification archive. In three texts, he is noted as a šaramanna official.

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909 Tavernier 2007, p. 403 (no. 4.3.274).
910 See Tavernier (ibid., pp. 369-70 (no. 4.2.2050)).
911 PF 1116, PF 1117, and NN 1911.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFUTS 305*

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PFUTS 305* appears on five uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

The repeated use of the single-seal protocol often indicates officials of high administrative rank. While purely speculative, the linking of the name in the seal inscription on PFUTS 305* with the Zarnamiya the šaramanna official is a possibility. Zarnamiya certainly has a wide profile in the archive overseeing rations for workers. One journal entry (NN 2370) designates a Zarnamiya as haršira (araššara = “chief”); whether this is the same individual as the šaramanna official is uncertain.\(^\text{912}\)

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The scene is unique within Persepolitan glyptic. It encompasses a variety of motifs: audience, procession, and, perhaps, presentation of prisoners. The composition of the scene clearly evokes the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis. Various iconographic elements appear in both scenes: a seated figure, the king, wears the Persian court robe and crown and holds a lotus while centrally enthroned; armed attendant(s) stand behind the king; a standing figure faces the king, bends forward at the waist, and makes a hand-over-mouth gesture.

The small figure who is directly in front of the king on PFUTS 305* may be a captive/subject; the element that runs from his lower body up to the lap of the king could be a rope, which would seem to suggest this. The size differential between him and the other figures in the scene may also reflect differentiated status. If this figure is a captive, the scene would recall the relief at Behistun, where the various subject peoples of the empire stand bound before the king.

\(^{912}\) A title of uncertain status/rank; it occurs also in PF 1826, NN 576, NN 1269, and NN 3007.
PFUTS 305* is dense with court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, crown, quiver, throne, footstool, lotus flower, inscription. The floral elements beneath each figure, which effectively elevate the entire scene, are unique. This may constitute another nod toward monumental royal imagery, as the theme of “the king on high” is well-attested.

Court Style. The figures are well modeled. The deep profile shoulders of the seated king and attendant are very similar to that seen on the royal figures on PFS 11*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aramaic Group 12:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Central Space
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 9*

A twelfth, and final, method of presenting Aramaic inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the central space of the design, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, one of the 37 seals carrying Aramaic inscriptions (approximately three percent) is so disposed.

PFS 9* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 288)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 506 BCE
Typology and Style: 02.H.14. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens marchant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Ostriches; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Aramaic
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.3 cm

913 See Root (1979) and Garrison (2011b); see, also, Chapter 5 for details.
914 NN 102.
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 298
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero threatens ostrich; rampant caprid is behind hero; star in upper field, inverted crescent in lower field; inscription between ostrich and hero.

Hero faces to left. Stands with feet apart, right in front of left. Right arm, straight, reaches in front of body to grasp neck of ostrich at left. Left arm, bent with elbow up, is held down behind body with long weapon in hand; hand is fist with knuckles indicated. Wears belted Assyrian garment that falls to knee of right leg and covers left leg; fringe is indicated along front of left leg. Diagonal bands with short striations line chest. Wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in three rounded masses behind head. Face consists of rounded eye and upper crease and outline of squared nose. Beard comprised of three rounded segments rests over chest.

To left of hero is ostrich facing to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Two wings extend outward, one vertically behind neck, other downward in front of body; single row of feathers is indicated on each (top wing also has thin band along front edge). Large plume-shaped tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters. Beak is long and pointed. Ovular eye is indicated.

To right of hero is rampant caprid. Stands on hindlegs, right in front of left, and turns head back behind body to face to right. Right foreleg, straight, extends in front of body; ovular hoof approaches back arm of hero. Left foreleg, sharply bent, is held down in front of torso. Short tail sticks up from hindquarters. Thick horn emerges from top of head and curves to left. Mouth is open. Ovular eye is indicated. Short pointed ear emerges from back of head.

In upper field between caprid and hero is star.

In lower field between legs of ostrich is downturned crescent.

Inscription occupies space between ostrich and hero.

Edge of seal is complete at top and bottom of design; rounded masses extending from both edges may be chips/flaws in stone.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. PRNK
“Parnakka”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN
The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The inscription is complete.


The reading is clear, a personal name. $PRNK$ is the Aramaic rendering of the Old Iranian name *Farnaka-. The name is attested in 389 Elamite and six Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive. It also occurs as the personal name in the inscription on PFS 16*. Parnakka is the director of the agency represented by the Fortification archive.

The presentation of the Aramaic inscription, vertically oriented in the central space of the design and among the figural elements, is unique among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive. The proximity of the inscription to the hero may indicate that it serves as a caption, as if we are to envision Parnakka himself in place of the hero and thus imbued with his heroic qualities.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 9*

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915 Tavernier 2007, pp. 178-79 (no. 4.2.567).
916 See Chapter 3 for details.
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800
PFS 9* appears on 102 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{919}

These transactions include accounting balances, receipts of cattle as tax, receipts of commodity deposit, receipts of commodity movement, ration allocations, and letters.\textsuperscript{920}

PFS 9* is one of the most commonly occurring seals in the Fortification archive; it is one of only six seals to occur on over 100 tablets.\textsuperscript{921} It is clear that PFS 9* belongs to Parnakka, based on the single-seal protocol, particularly for ration allocations (in which

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Fort. & 2096-101 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 9* & PFS 9* & PFS 9* & PFS 9* \\
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Fort. & 2287-103 & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 9* & PFS 9* & PFS 9* & not sealed \\
\hline
Fribourg & A\textsuperscript{918} & not sealed & not sealed & PFS 9* & not sealed & PFS 9* & not sealed \\
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\textsuperscript{918} This is an Elamite tablet in the Institut Biblique, Université de Fribourg that was published by Vallat (1994).
\textsuperscript{919} Some tablets have at least one destroyed surface; given the otherwise consistent use of PFS 9* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, it is very likely that these surfaces were not sealed or that PFS 9* occurred on them.
\textsuperscript{921} The other seals are PFS 1*, PFS 3, PFS 16* (the second seal of Parnakka), PFS 48, and PFS 75; this list updates Garrison (2017a, p. 67).
he is noted as the receiver of rations) and letters (of which he is the addressee). The name in the seal inscription confirms this.

PFS 9* is Parnakka’s first seal. He replaces it with PFS 16* on 6 June 500 BCE, as documented in two Elamite texts.922

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The ostrich is rarely seen in Persepolitan glyptic.923 PFS 263 is, perhaps, the closest compositionally to PFS 9*. As noted in several publications, the ostrich is one of several Assyrianisms in the design of PFS 9*.924

Fortification Style. The fussy detailing is unusual in the Fortification Style and reflects yet another aspect of the Assyrian inheritance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

922 PF 2067 and PF 2068; for more on PFS 16*, see the catalogue entry.
923 Other examples: PFS 263, PFS 771, PFUTS 981, and PFUTS 1234.
924 Garrison and Root 2001, p. 405; for the hero and ostrich in a heroic combat encounter in Neo-Assyrian glyptic see, for example, Herbordt 1992, nos. 3 and 5.
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Babylonian Catalogue Entries

While Elamite is the most common language among the cuneiform seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive, Babylonian also appears in good number. At present, there are 16 seals (approximately nine percent of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive) that carry monolingual Babylonian inscriptions. As with the Elamite, it is possible that some of the cuneiform inscriptions with unrecognizable languages are actually Babylonian.

The following entries are ordered by the same organizing principles as the entries above: 1) orientation of the inscription; 2) location of the inscription within the overall glyptic design; 3) existence of a panel; 4) existence of case lines separating the lines of text. Unlike the Elamite and Aramaic seal inscriptions, no seal from the Fortification archive carrying a Babylonian inscription has the text oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. Thus, the subgroups below all feature vertical orientation of text.

Babylonian Group 1:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 50* 2. PFS 165* 3. PFS 2687*

One method of presenting monolingual Babylonian inscriptions among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines. There are three seals with inscriptions that are so disposed, accounting for approximately 19 percent of all monolingual Babylonian seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive.

PFS 50*

Seal Type: Cylinder

925 The four seals that carry Babylonian within trilingual inscriptions are presented separately in the catalogue.
Earliest Dated Application: 502 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.F.01. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before anthropomorphic deity/cult image: In non-processional scene; Old Babylonian
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 40
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details of figural scene.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figure stands before anthropomorphic deity/cult image; small kneeling figure; inscription in terminal field.

Figure at left faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, bent, are held in front of body; hands are not indicated. Wears ankle-length garment; diagonal hem runs across front of right leg. Pointed heel under left foot may indicate shoe. May wear rounded headdress. Face consists of large triangular eye and outline of large triangular nose. Thick neck or beard is above chest.

Figure at right (top of head, left hand not preserved) faces to left. Stands atop rounded platform with ovular top; feet are not indicated. Right arm, bent, is held in front of body with large spade in hand; left arm, bent, is held close to chest. Wears long triple-belted garment; vertical folds are indicated on front of skirt. Appears to wear wide-brimmed headdress. Long ponytail or ribbon hangs from bottom of headdress. Face consists of outline of large triangular nose. Short pointed beard or chin is indicated.

Between standing figures is small kneeling figure facing to right. Right leg, sharply bent, is under body with knee on ground and right foot flexed; left leg, bent, is in front of body with foot flat on ground. One arm, sharply bent, is raised in front of face; hand is not indicated. Other arm, sharply bent, is tucked behind back. Wears wide-brimmed triangular headdress. Face consists of outline of large triangular nose. Short pointed chin or beard is indicated.

Thin ground line runs below standing figure at left and kneeling figure.

Inscription occupies terminal field within panel with case lines.

Edge of seal is complete at top and bottom of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ANUD-ra-bi
2. DUMU ir-ri-ba

926 PF 285 and PF 810.
3. ÌR šà AN nin-
4. šubur
“Šamaš-rabi, son (of) Irriba, servant of Ninšubur”\textsuperscript{927}

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN\textsubscript{1} DUMU PN\textsubscript{2} ÌR DN

The four-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The last sign of the inscription constitutes its own line (four), carved on top of the left side of the panel. The signs are Old Babylonian in form. The inscription is complete.

Line 1: four signs: AN, UD, -ra, and -bi.

Line 2: four signs: DUMU, -îr, -rî, and -ba.

Line 3: four signs: ÌR, -šà, AN, and -nin.

Line 4: one sign: -šubur.

The reading is clear. Given that the seal is antique, it is unsurprising that neither personal name is attested elsewhere in the Fortification archive.

The phrase “servant of Ninšubur” is well-attested among inscribed seals from Mesopotamia.\textsuperscript{928}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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\textsuperscript{927} This reading is by Matthew Stolper.
\textsuperscript{928} See, for example, Collon 1986, nos. 168, 247, 404, 573, 578, 605, 612, 622, and 656.
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<tr>
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<td>PFS 50*</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFUT 1192-264</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFUT 1521-201</td>
<td>PFS 535*</td>
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<td>PFS 50*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 50*</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 50* appears on 17 Elamite and nine uninscribed documents and follows four sealing protocols.\(^{929}\)

**Single-Seal:**
PFUT 683-204, PFUT 943-102, and PFUT 1129-102.\(^{930}\)

**Counter-Seal:**
PF 285, PF 287, PF 297, PF 810, NN 1256, NN 1985, and NN 3070.

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\(^{929}\) Several tablets (NN 2140, Fort. 2151-111, PFUT 162-202, PFUT 1192-264, and PFUT 1521-201) have destroyed surfaces; determining the exact sealing protocol(s) in these instances is not possible at present.

\(^{930}\) The reverse of PFUT 683-204 and the upper and bottom edges of PFUT 1129-102 are destroyed; however, based on the sealing patterns on PFUT 943-102 (PFS 50* appears on the obverse, reverse, and left edge), it is likely that the other two tablets carry PFS 50* on the same surfaces.
With one exception (PF 285), PFS 50* occurs on non-left edge surfaces with a different seal applied to the left edge. On PF 285, PFS 50* occurs on the left edge with PFS 94 applied to the obverse and upper edge.

These transactions include accounting balances, receipts of commodity deposit, and ration allocations.\(^{931}\)

Parallel-Seal:
PF 288, PF 290, PF 2026, NN 373, NN 395, NN 2109, PFUT 274-202, and PFUT 717-207.\(^{932}\)

These transactions include accounting balances, receipts of commodity deposit, and a general receipt of commodities.\(^{933}\)

Multiple-Seal:
PF 72, NN 453, and PFUT 579-202.\(^{934}\)

These transactions include a receipt of commodity movement and a receipt of commodity deposit.\(^{935}\)

PFS 50* is involved in a variety of document types and is applied in all four sealing protocols. Garrison has suggested that PFS 50* may be associated with accounting or auditing that happens in the field away from Persepolis.\(^{936}\) The seal often appears with PFS 94, which tends to occur on documents detailing livestock allocations.\(^{937}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Root suggests that the small figure on PFS 50* be identified as a statuette of the worshiper, presumably the standing figure at left, who dedicated it to a deity, presumably the figure at right.\(^{938}\) An anthropomorphic deity is also depicted in a standing position on PFS 165*; this seal also carries a vertically-oriented paneled Old Babylonian inscription (following the same formula) in the terminal field.


\(^{932}\) The obverse and right edge of NN 395 are destroyed. Owing to the sealing patterns of PFS 50* among other tablets where PFS 94 is impressed both on the left edge and another surface (e.g., NN 2019), it is likely that PFS 50* follows the parallel-seal protocol in this instance, as well.

\(^{933}\) Accounting balances: NN 2109; receipts of commodity deposit: PF 288, PF 290, PF 2026, and NN 395; general receipt of commodities: NN 373.

\(^{934}\) While the upper and right edges of NN 453 are destroyed, PFS 50* does not appear elsewhere with more than two other seals, thus we suggest that no additional seals occurred on these surfaces.

\(^{935}\) Receipt of commodity movement: PF 72; receipt of commodity deposit: NN 453.

\(^{936}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 32.

\(^{937}\) Ibid., p. 110 (n. 260); Koch (1990, pp. 72-73 (n. 326)) suggests that PFS 50* belonged to Qatru (the name that Hallock read as Suruba), a high-ranking official involved in livestock and grain; Aperghis (1998, p. 51) stresses the connection between PFS 50* and Pukša, a deliverer, on B texts; he also notes an association with Šuruba, whom he claims uses the seal to receive rations.

\(^{938}\) Root 1990a, p. 40.
Old Babylonian. Additional Old Babylonian seals in the Fortification archive include PFS 165* and possibly PFS 2687*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Aperghis 1998, pp. 51 and 53; Garrison 2017a, pp. 31-32; Garrison 2017b, p. 201 (n. 54); Koch 1990, pp. 72-73 (n. 326); Root 1990a, p. 40.

PFS 165*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.F.02. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before anthropomorphic deity/cult image: In processional scene; Old Babylonian
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 20
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two figures face anthropomorphic deity/cult image; inscription in terminal field.

Figure at left (face not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arms, bent, held in front of torso with upturned cupped hand and behind back. Wears ankle-length garment. Central vertical pleat on skirt is indicated; diagonal folds of drapery hang across left leg.

To right of figure at left is figure (back hand, feet not preserved) facing to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. One arm, bent, is held up behind head. Other arm, slightly bent, is held down in front of body; hand, rounded fist, holds scimitar. Line at wrist may be bracelet. Wears belted knee-length skirt; bottom hem comes to point.

939 NN 1043.
between legs. Central and diagonal folds are indicated on skirt. Top of head is flat, perhaps indicating headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of head.

Figure at right (hand, top of head, lower legs not preserved) faces to left. Stands apparently with one arm hanging to side. Wears long garment; central and diagonal folds are indicated on skirt. Curved line across biceps may indicate short sleeve of garment.

To immediate left of figure at right is object, perhaps stool/stand, comprised of half-circle atop two squared blocks.

In upper field at center are three rounded forms, perhaps flaws/chips in stone.

Inscription occupies terminal field within panel with case lines.

Edge of seal is almost complete at top of design and is complete at bottom.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ’HAL?’ a-za-al-wi-is
2. ’DUMU’ ud-ir-šu-din-x’
3. maḫ-ḫi-ba-ra-x
   “… son (of) …”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂?

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The signs are Old Babylonian in form; some are broken and/or unidentifiable at present.

Line 1: six signs: perhaps broken HAL, -a, -za, -al, -wi, and -is.

Line 2: six signs: broken DUMU, -ud, -ir, -šu, -din, and a broken and unidentifiable sign.

Line 3: five signs: -maḫ, -ḫi, -ba, -ra, and an unidentifiable sign.

While much of the inscription is preserved, the reading is unclear. The likely HAL at the beginning would prompt a personal name to follow; the subsequent signs do not appear to form a recognizable name. With DUMU in line two, the inscription likely follows some variation of the patronymic formula, PN₁ DUMU PN₂.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 165*
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<td>PFS 165*</td>
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<td>PFS 165*</td>
<td>PFS 165*</td>
<td>PFS 165*</td>
<td>PFS 165*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 165* appears on seven Elamite documents and one uninscribed document, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions include a receipt of commodity movement, general receipts of commodities, and ration allocations for workers.\(^{940}\)

The sealing protocols for some of the text types above are obscure. A Šandupirzana, a šaramanna official, recurs in some of the documents sealed by PFS 165*.\(^{941}\) At present, seal attribution is not possible.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The scene is a procession toward a figure, perhaps an anthropomorphic deity/cult image (figure at right), a common theme in Old Babylonian glyptic.\(^{942}\)

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Garrison 2017b, p. 201 (n. 54); Henkelman 2008, p. 484.

PFS 2687*

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\(^{940}\) Receipt of commodity movement: PF 77; general receipts of commodities: PF 306 and PF 323; ration allocations for workers: PF 791, PF 2044, NN 1043, and NN 1553.

\(^{941}\) PF 77, PF 323, and PF 2044.

\(^{942}\) See Chapter 2 for examples.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.H. Cult Imagery: Possible Worship Scenes; Old Babylonian
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Babylonian?
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 4
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along part of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two figures stand before goat; third figure holds staff(?); paneled inscription in terminal field.

In middle of scene (as preserved), figure (head, shoulders, hand, feet not preserved) presumably faces to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. One arm, bent, is held in front of chest; other arm, apparently straight, is held in front of torso and terminates in point. Wears double-belted garment; thick folds of drapery hang along right leg.

To right of standing figure is figure (head, shoulders, hands, feet not preserved) presumably facing to right. Arms, slightly bent, extend in front of body. Appears to wear long garment with detailing along front at waist. Sheath or additional detailing extends diagonally downward from middle of back.

At far right of preserved scene is small goat (legs, abdomen not preserved) facing to left. Short pointed tail sticks up from hindquarters. Mouth is open. Two long wavy horns extend from top of head and curve to right. Mane is indicated along back of head.

At far left of preserved scene, figure (top of head, back hand, lower body not preserved) faces to left. Stands with right arm, bent, held in front of body with upturned cupped hand; pointed element hangs from bottom of hand. Other arm, slightly bent, is held down by side. Wears short-sleeved belted garment; thick folds of drapery are indicated across abdomen and thin bands run down chest and shoulders. Squared mass with small ovular
details at back of head is perhaps hair. Face consists of two sharp projections, perhaps
nose and mouth; triangular shape at center perhaps indicates eye.

At far right of preserved scene is L-shaped element behind goat, perhaps part of another
figure(?)

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field; at least one additional
sign is above outstretched arm of figure at far left of figural scene (as preserved).

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [...] nu DUMU ’ul?’ [...]  
2. [...] ’ṣi?’ ga? ḫi? [...]  
3. [...] ’x x ŠR?’ [...]  
4. ’x’

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN₁ DUMU PN₂ ŠR…?

The four-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to
bottom. At present, the beginnings and ends of the lines are not preserved. One sign
occurs among the figural scene, above the hand of the figure at left (of the preserved
design). The signs appear Old Babylonian in form, but many are not immediately
recognizable.

Line 1: three signs preserved: -nu, DUMU, and perhaps broken -ul. It is unclear how
many additional signs there are.

Line 2: three signs preserved: broken -ṣi (or perhaps -id), perhaps -ga, and perhaps -ḫi. It
is unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 3: three signs preserved: two broken and unidentifiable signs and perhaps ŠR. It is
unclear how many additional signs there are.

Line 4: one broken and unidentifiable sign preserved. It is unclear how many additional
signs there are.

The reading is obscure. It is likely that we are missing at least the beginnings and ends of
the lines. DUMU and ŠR may help to identify the inscriptive formula.¹⁴³

It is not unusual for Old Babylonian inscribed seals to include text outside of a panel and
among the figural elements of the design.¹⁴⁴ Immediately below the free-floating sign at
left is the cupped hand of the attendant, which appears wedge-shaped, below which is a
thin vertical element. Together, the hand and vertical form resemble a cuneiform wedge.

¹⁴³ See Chapter 2 for examples of these inscriptive elements among earlier inscribed seals.
¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 2 for examples.
One wonders whether the combination of the two – hand and vertical element – are intended to serve as text (i.e., a cuneiform wedge).

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 2687*

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<td>PFS 2687* (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 2687*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

PFS 2687* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols associated with receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like NN 693), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The partial preservation of the scene makes the exact dynamics unclear, but it would appear to be a procession of two figures, arms upraised in worship, to the right toward a deity(?). The scene is a common one in the Old Babylonian period. A goat is commonly held as an offering in these types of scenes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Babylonian Group 2:
Orientation: Vertical
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFATS 34*s 6. PFS 451*s 11. PFS 1240*
2. PFS 108* 7. PFS 813* 12. PFS 1632*
3. PFS 115* 8. PFS 1205*s 13. PFUTS 219*
4. PFS 161*s 9. PFS 1216*s
5. PFS 289*s 10. PFS 1228*s

945 See Chapter 2 for examples.
946 See note immediately above.
947 Among the stamp seals, the inscription is along the seal edge at the end of the design.
A second, and the most common, method of presenting a monolingual Babylonian inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, 13 seals carrying monolingual Babylonian inscriptions (approximately 81 percent) are so disposed.

PFATS 34*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.D.02. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshiper before Animal(s)/Creature(s) on Pedestal: bull with lightning Bolts; Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian?
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 1.6 cm
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for bottom of seal.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces bull supporting lightning bolts atop pedestal; crescent in upper field; rhomb behind figure; inscription behind lightning bolts.

Figure (lower part of garment not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arm(s), straight, raised in front of chest; hand is cupped upward. Wears long garment. Hair is gathered in rectangular mass at back of head. Face consists of outline of triangular nose. Long squared beard rests over chest.

To right of figure is bull resting on pedestal facing to left. Recumbent with one foreleg and hindleg indicated; legs/hooves rendered as ovular segments. Pointed ear emerges from back of head. Above bull is lightning bolt; rendered as inverted omega emerging from ring on post. Below bull is rectangular pedestal comprised of two horizontal rungs, between which are many thin vertical bands.
In upper field above worshiper and bull is crescent.

Behind worshiper is rhomb.

Behind lightning bolt is inscription.

Edge of seal is almost complete.

**INSCRIPTION**

**Line:** 1. ’AN?’

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

**Formula of Inscription:** DN?

One sign is preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. We likely do not have the full inscription. Based on the type of imagery on PFATS 34*s, which is so often accompanied by a Babylonian inscription, we suggest the language is Babylonian.

*Line 1: one broken sign preserved: perhaps AN.*

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the inscription, a full reading is not possible. It is common for AN, the divine determinative, to appear on seals that feature the so-called Babylonian worship scene, as PFATS 34*s does. The placement of the sign to right of the figural design, however, is unique in our corpus. In all other instances of the Babylonian worship scene among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, the inscription is placed along the left side of the design, behind the worshiper. Another oddity of the inscription is the form of AN. The horizontal wedge appears to flare out at the end after it passes the vertical wedge. While we would expect AN to accompany the cult imagery, the carving style of the wedge is unusual and leaves the reading uncertain.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

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<td>PFATS 34*s</td>
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<td>PFS 142</td>
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<td>PFATS 34*s</td>
<td>PFS 1577</td>
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<td>PFAT 395</td>
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<td>PFATS 34*s</td>
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<td>PFATS 993</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

948 For a common inscription among these scenes, see PFS 161*s below.

949 See, for example, PFS 161*s below.
PFATS 34*s appears on three Aramaic documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal:
PFAT 57 and PFAT 395.

In both instances, PFATS 34*s occurs on the reverse with a different seal applied to the left edge.

Translations of these texts were not available at the time of writing.

Parallel-Seal:
PFAT 315.

PFAT 315: The phrase “By the seal of Bagapana” occurs.

PFATS 34*s occurs with two well-attested kurman office seals, PFS 142 and PFS 1577. At a minimum, we may suggest that it may represent a receiving authority.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFATS 34*s is one of many Persepolitan seals that show some variation of the Late Babylonian worship scene. In the case of PFATS 34*s, the bull and lightning bolt represent Adad. The lightning bolt is rarely encountered in the Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis; one other inscribed (Babylonian) seal, PFS 289*s, also includes them. PFUTS 60*s likewise has a rhomb behind the worshipper. The god Adad is well attested in Elam and in the Fortification archive.

Fortification Style. It is noteworthy that the Late Babylonian worship scene in Persepolitan glyptic is normally rendered in either the Modeled Style or a schematic Drilled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFS 108*

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950 Garrison 2017a, p. 354; for an introduction to the Late Babylonian worship scene in the Fortification archive, see Root (1998 and 2003b); for the ways in which the Late Babylonian worship scene, specifically PFS 161*s, may relate to the development of glyptic at Persepolis, see Garrison (2017a, pp. 354-56); for additional details on the inscriptions accompanying Late Babylonian worship scenes, see Chapter 4; for the imagery, see Chapter 5.
951 Black and Green 1992, p. 47.
952 See the lengthy analysis in Henkelman (2008, pp. 305-23).
953 See Chapter 5 for details.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE

Typology and Style: 22.D. Heraldic: Human-faced/Human-headed Winged Bulls; Court Style

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Neo-Babylonian (Akkadian)

Preserved Height of Image: 2.5 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.5 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 43
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Heraldic human-faced winged bull-creatures flank stylized tree; inscription in terminal field.

Pair of human-faced winged bull-creatures (hindlegs of creature at left, left forefoot and one hindfoot of creature at right not preserved) flank central stylized tree. Face in toward center. Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other; forward hindleg of creature at right terminates in hoof. Forelegs, bent, are held in front of chest; terminate in small hooves. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; one (creature at left) or two (creature at right) rows of feathers and thin section along top are indicated (wing on creature at left also has central ribbing). Long thin tail bends upward from hindquarters; terminates in serrated (creature at left) or segmented (creature at right) tuft. Two horns emerge from top of head, one curving back behind head and coming to point (with detailing indicated along underside on horn of creature at left), other shorter horn curving upward and coming to point. Face consists of eye and outer folds, outline of triangular nose, and small mouth. Segmented beard rests over chest. Pointed ear with detail at center emerges from top of head. Creature at right has bands, perhaps detailing of mane, across neck.

At center of scene is stylized tree. Consists of trunk with serrated edges from which tendrils emerge and terminate in cones. Atop trunk is disk from which emerge eight rays enclosed in thin circular band; at end of each ray is cone.

954 Fort. 1995-105.
Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ANPA PAP ‘ZI’
     “Nabû, protect my life!”\footnote{This reading follows Mikołajczak (2018, p. 363).}

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: invocation

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Except for the broken final sign, the inscription is complete. The signs are carved in reverse (i.e., mirror-image) such that they would be legible on the seal itself. While such a convention is common in seals from earlier periods, it is in fact rare at Persepolis.\footnote{See Chapter 4 for a list of seals that read in reverse. Mikołajczak (ibid., p. 364) suggests that an illiterate seal carver could have copied the inscription from the impression of another seal, resulting in the inscription on PFS 108* being legible on the seal itself, rather than via impression. PFS 108* is clearly a very special glyptic artifact; the unusual inscription would seem to be just one of the many striking features of the design.}

Line 1: four signs: AN, PA, PAP, and broken ZI.

The reading is clear. This is a well-known invocation that occurs on two other inscribed seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 289*s and PFUTS 219*, as well as in other glyptic contexts.\footnote{See Chapter 4 for discussion of this inscription.}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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Photographs of this tablet are not available; with PFS 27* and PFS 108* having been reported on the tablet, we assume at least one impression of each seal; sealing protocol cannot be determined.
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</table>
PFS 108* appears on 40 Elamite documents and follows four sealing protocols.\(^{959}\)

**Single-Seal:**

These transactions include accounting balances, journals, and an account.\(^{960}\)

**Counter-Seal:**

In most instances, PFS 108* occurs on the left edge with a different seal applied to non-left-edge surfaces. In five instances (NN 2041, Fort. 1668-101, Fort. 1682-102, Fort. 1759-101, and Fort. 2006-101), PFS 108* occurs on non-left-edge surfaces with PFS 513 on the left edge.

These transactions include accounting balances, journals, and accounts.\(^{961}\)

**Parallel-Seal:**

These transactions include journals and accounts.\(^{962}\)

**Multiple-Seal:**
Fort. 2163-101.

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\(^{959}\) Photos of the surfaces of NN 2655, a journal, were not available at the time of writing.


This transaction is a journal.

PFS 108* is a well attested account office seal. With one exception (PF 243, an accounting balance), it occurs exclusively on journals and with one other seal. When PFS 108* occurs with another seal, it often appears with PFS 27* and PFS 513, two other important accounting office seals. Mikolajczak identifies these three seals as belonging to different regional sections of the same network, with some overlap in regional purview. PFS 108* and PFS 513 (along with PFS 1591) are what Mikolajczak calls “core accounting seals.”

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFS 108* is one of the most striking seals in the archive. The seal is large, handsomely carved, and is a powerful and unique expression of a very common theme at Persepolis, heraldic animals/creatures. The trunk and tendrils of the stylized tree are strikingly Assyrianizing, while the rayed circular device at its top highly innovative. The human-faced bull-creatures are often associated with court-centric iconography. Among the seals at Persepolis that carry a monolingual Babylonian inscription, PFS 108* is the only seal to feature heraldic creatures.

Court Style. The style is close to that seen on the royal-name seal PFS 113*. The multiple rows of feathers on the wing is another characteristic of the Court Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


PFS 115*
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 05.D.04.A. Archers: Human or Winged/Tailed Human Archer
Kneeling or Running: Aiming at Heraldic Group; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 7
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Excellent
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper and lower portions of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Archer aims at caprid; winged symbol in upper field; inscription in terminal field.

Archer (lower legs not preserved) faces right. Stands with left leg, bent, raised at hip-height in front of body; right leg is straight under hips. One arm, sharply bent, is behind body, with hand pulling back on bow in front of chest; other arm, straight, extends in front of body to aim arrow to right. Wears Assyrian garment that falls to left knee. Sheath extends diagonally downward behind body from waist. Hair is gathered in rounded mass behind head. Face consists of small eye, outline of triangular nose, and small mouth. Long rectangular beard rests over chest.

To right of archer is caprid (hindleg, tip of tail and horn not preserved) angled to right. Turns head back behind body to face to left toward archer. One hindleg, straight, extends into space between two branches of tree. Forelegs, slightly bent, are placed between branches of tree; terminate in small hooves. Thin tail curves upward from hindquarters. Horn extends from top of head. Pointed tuft of hair hangs below chin. Large round eye is indicated. Pointed ear emerges from back of head.

To right of caprid is stylized tree comprised of triangular trunk and downward curved branches.

966 PF 2032 and NN 1274.
In upper field between archer and caprid is winged disk (top, one wing not preserved). Consists of central disk from which extend two horizontal wings and vertical tail. Wings and tail are comprised of thin ovular elements.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1. "AN BÁN? NU DIŠ [...]  
2. ANNU GI? [...]  

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN?

The two-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Based on the height of the figural scene, it is possible that there are additional signs at the ends of the lines.

Line 1: four signs preserved: AN, BÁN (or perhaps BAR), NU, and DIŠ. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

Line 2: three signs preserved: AN, NU, and perhaps GI. It is unclear how many, if any, additional signs follow.

While much of the inscription is preserved, the apparently Babylonian signs do not readily make sense. It is possible that they are logograms, thus perhaps at least one personal name spelled logographically.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, multiple-seal

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PFS 115* appears on eight Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal:
PF 1232, NN 2050, and Erlenmeyer 7.

In two instances (PF 1232 and NN 2050), PF 115* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal, PFS 14, applied to the upper edge. On Erlenmeyer 7, PFS 115* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse and upper edge) with the supplier seal (perhaps PFS 64*) applied to the left edge.967

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

Multiple-Seal:
PF 1098, PF 1221, PF 2032, NN 1274, and Fort. 2119-106.

These transactions include ration allocations for workers, a receipt of commodity movement, and a receipt of commodity deposit.968

In two instances (PF 1098 and PF 1221), PFS 115* appears as one of the triplicate PFS 14, PFS 115*, and PFS 176, where PFS 14 and PFS 176 are applied to the same surface, PFS 115* to a separate surface. In two other instances (PF 1232 and NN 2050), PFS 115* occurs with PFS 14 alone in the counter-seal protocol (PFS 14 on the upper edge, PFS 115* on the left edge).

Koch suggests that PFS 115* belongs to Irzappara, who recurs as a receiver in the documents to which PFS 115* is applied.969 The name Irzappara occurs several times in the Elamite documents of the Fortification archive, and once (PF 582) is named a damanna official. Most often he receives special rations for workers of the royal woman Irdabama, as in the dossier for PFS 115*.970 The placement of PFS 115* to the left edge

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967 The impression of the seal on the left edge is poorly preserved but resembles PFS 64*. With hesitation, it is identified as appearing here.
968 Ration allocations for workers: PF 1098, PF 1221, and NN 1274; receipt of commodity movement: PF 2032; receipt of commodity deposit: Fort. 2119-106.
969 PF 1098, PF 1221, PF 1232, NN 1274, and NN 2050; Koch 1990, pp. 144 and 296.
970 PF 1098, PF 1221, PF 1232, and NN 2050.
(typically the surface sealed by the supplier), as well as the several documents that include three or four seals, make seal attribution impossible at present.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 115* is a beautifully executed seal. It is unique among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive for its composition of an archer aiming at an animal disposed to the side of a tree, as well as the particular stylized rendering of the tree.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Koch 1981, p. 122; Koch 1990, pp. 144 and 296; Garrison 2008, p. 167; Garrison 2010a, p. 346 (fig. 32.7c), 347 (fig. 32.8c), and 353; Garrison 2017a, p. 131.

PFS 161*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.D.04. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Incense Burner/Table/Cult Object; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.6 cm (complete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.6 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Number of Impressions: 22
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details, portions of seal edges.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshippers flank small stand/altar; crescent in upper field; inscription behind figure at left.

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971 Fort. 1727-102.
Figure at left faces to right. Stands with feet apart, one in front of other. Arm, bent, is held in front of face with upturned cupped hand. Wears belted ankle-length garment. Hair is comprised of stacked ovular segments at back of head. Face is comprised of thin L-shaped nose. Long beard, stacked ovular segments, rests over chest.

Figure at right (back of head, back foot not preserved) faces to left. Stands with feet apart, one in front of other. Arm, bent, is held in front of face with upturned cupped hand. Wears triple-belted ankle-length garment. Face consists of L-shaped nose. Long squared beard rests over chest.

Between figures is stand/altar comprised of tall triangular base atop which is five-sided device with point at apex; thin ovular molding decorates base just below five-sided device.

Above stand/altar is crescent.

Inscription occupies space behind figure at left.

Edge of seal is preserved along sections of four sides.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ANKASKAL
   “DN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: DN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The inscription is complete.

Line 1: two signs: AN and KASKAL.

The reading of the signs is clear; its content, however, is debated. ANKASKAL appears on seven seals from the Fortification archive. It occurs also in non-Persepolitan contexts. The inscription is not found in non-glyptic contexts anywhere in the ancient Near East.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal

Attestations of PFS 161*s

972 The six other seals are PFS 451*s, PFS 813*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, possibly PFS 1228*s, and PFS 1240*.
973 See Chapter 4 for details.
PFS 161*s appears on 11 Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols, but always with PFS 451*s. It is rare for two inscribed seals to occur together on the same tablet; even more remarkable about this pair is that they both feature cult imagery and carry the same inscription.

Single-Seal:
Fort. 2139-101

This transaction is a receipt of commodity deposit.

Parallel-Seal:

These transactions are receipts of commodity deposit.

With one exception, where PFS 161*s occurs in the single-seal protocol (Fort. 2139-101), the seal always occurs with PFS 451*s in the parallel-seal protocol on receipts of commodity deposit. There is debate surrounding the exact nature of receipts of
commodity deposit. Tuplin discusses these texts in detail, as well as highlights some of the sealing patterns that make seal attribution among them difficult (e.g., seals do not seem to correspond to particular individuals, locations, commodities named in the texts; several seals – i.e., more than the number of individuals required for a transaction to take place – are present). These uncertainties, as well as the use of the parallel-seal protocol, which is not well understood, renders seal attribution, at present, impossible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

PFS 161*s appears to show a variation on the Late Babylonian worship scene, which typically includes a single worshiper facing elevated cult objects (e.g., a spade and stylus). For what appears to be the same type of stand/altar, see PFS 813*.

Modeled Style. Garrison notes of the carving style: “hastily modeled with much linear detailing in the human faces.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garrison 2017a, pp. 354-56; Garrison and Root 1996, p. 19 (figs. 7a-b); Jones and Stolper 2006, pp. 4-5; Root 1998, p. 277; Root 2003b, p. 260 (n. 23); Tuplin 2008, pp. 354-55 (n. 99 and 103), and 379.

PFS 289*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE

Typology and Style: 09.D.01. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Symbol on Kudurrus: lightning bolts; Modeled Style Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.3 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.6 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Width of Original Seal: NA

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975 See Tuplin (2008) for thorough discussion of the texts and the questions surrounding them.
978 Garrison 2017a, p. 354.
979 NN 615.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces lightning bolts extending from kudduru; winged symbol in upper field; inscription behind worshipper.

Figure faces to right. Stands with feet apart, one in front of other. One arm is raised in front of chest with upturned cupped hand. Wears belted ankle-length garment. Rectangular detail with diagonal striations is indicated on skirt; X-shaped detail appears on right side of torso. Hair is gathered in thin ovular mass at back of neck. Face consists of small eye and surrounding crease and thin nose. Chin or short beard is indicated.

To right of figure is kudduru from which lightning bolts emerge on pedestal. Consists of inner rectangular detail at center and small ovular element at top. Four lightning bolts, rendered as zig-zag, extend upward from ovular element. Pedestal consists of two horizontal rungs between which are several thin vertical bands. Ends of rungs are pointed.

In upper field between figure and lightning bolts is small winged symbol comprised of two horizontal wings and tail.

To left of worshiper is inscription.

Edge of seal is preserved along bottom of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. AN PA [PAP] ẒI. MEŠ?
“Nabû, protect life”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: invocation

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Some signs are broken; one sign is not preserved.

Line 1: four signs preserved: AN, broken PA, broken ZI, and perhaps MEŠ; we restore PAP as the third sign.

The inscription is a well-known invocation, attested elsewhere among the inscribed seals from Persepolis, as well as in other glyptic corpora from the ancient Near East. These examples have allowed for the reconstruction of the broken text on PFS 289*.

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980 See the catalogue entry for PFS 108* above for details.
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, multiple seal

Attestations of PFS 289*s

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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 289*s (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 289*s (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 940</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 1008-105</td>
<td>PFS 289*s (x2)</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 579 (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 885</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 289*s appears on five Elamite documents and one uninscribed document and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal:
PF 1398, PF 1548, PF 1704, PF 1785, and NN 615.

In all instances, PFS 289*s occurs as the counter-seal (generally on the reverse and/or upper edge) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions include travel rations for humans and animals.981

Multiple Seal:
PFUT 1008-105.

Sealing protocols for travel rations are clear. In the travel rations above, PFS 289* occurs on surfaces other than the left edge, likely indicating that it belongs to the receiver. In two instances (NN 615 and PF 1398), large groups of travelers receive rations with no oversight official/escort noted. In one text (PF 1548), Miramana receives rations for a group of Indians. The two travel rations for animals both mention a Miramana as the receiver. The evidence seems fairly clear that PFS 289*s is used by or represents Miramana. Although never named as such, he appears to be an elite travel guide (NN 615 and PF 1368 note travel from Susa to Kerman).982

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

981 Travel rations for humans: PF 1398, PF 1548, and NN 615; travel rations for animals: PF 1704, and PF 1785.
982 Root 2003b, p. 275 (n. 50).
Both *kudurru* and lightning bolts are rare in Persepolitan glyptic. The elaborate detailing on the garment and clean-shaven worshipper are also striking in a Persepolitan context. The seal may in fact belong to the Late Babylonian period.

Modeled Style. The execution is hasty; the distinctive manner of rendering the face is similar to that seen on the worshipper on PFS 813*, another possibly Late Babylonian seal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Root 1998, p. 277; Root 2003b, pp. 260 (n. 23) and 275 (n. 50).

PFS 451*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.C.02. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Spade, Stylus, Other Symbols: Spade and Stylus and Other Symbol on Platform or Groundline: With Symbols Placed on Mushussu; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Width of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 12
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for details at left, right, and bottom.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

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983 For *kudurru*, see also PFATS 35, PFUTS 1218*s, PFUTS 1304s, and PFUTS 1618.
984 See also PFATS 35, PFUTS 1218*s, PFUTS 1304s, and PFUTS 1618.
985 PFS 451*s was previously published as PFS 451s; recently discovered impressions of the seal have revealed the inscription. The discovery of the inscription on PFS 451*s indicates that the seal in fact does not collate with PTS 61s in the Treasury archive (Schmidt 1957, pp. 15 and 38), as has been reported for many years. In addition to the lack of inscription on PTS 61s, in the field to the left of the worshipper is a large hooked device (Schmidt 1957, p. 38: “crook”) clearly not present on PFS 451*s.
986 Fort. 1727-102.
Worshipper faces spade and styli atop mušḫuššu on platform; crescent in upper field; inscription to left of worshipper.

Figure (lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arm, bent, held in front of face with upturned cupped hand. Wears double-belted ankle-length garment. Hair is gathered in long rectangular mass behind head. Face consists of outline of large rounded nose and two small lips. Long segmented beard rests over chest.

To right of worshiper is mušḫuššu (hindquarters not preserved) facing to left atop pedestal (only top edge is preserved). One foreleg and one hindleg are indicated. Small head sits atop long neck. Two-pronged tongue sticks out of mouth. Thin ear with bulbous termination emerges from top of head. Extending from upper back of mušḫuššu is spade comprised of tall vertical element, ovular cross-bar, and triangular termination at top. Behind spade are two vertical elements connected at top by cross-bar representing two styli.

Above worshiper and mušḫuššu is crescent.

Inscription occupies space behind worshipper.

Edge of seal is preserved behind head of worshipper.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. AN’KASKAL’
    “DN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: DN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Even though the inscription is broken, we do not believe there are any additional signs.

Line 1: two signs: AN and broken KASKAL.

While the text is broken, the reading is clear. The inscription is well-attested elsewhere in the archive.987

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal

Attestations of PFS 451*s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

987 For details on the inscription, see the catalogue entry for PFS 161*s.
<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 141</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF 142</td>
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<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 143</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 1258</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1174</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1854</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 2022</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erlenmeyer 1</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 1727-102</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 1805-101</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s (x2)</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort. 2078-101</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 161*s</td>
<td>PFS 451*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 451*s appears on 11 Elamite documents and follows two sealing protocols, but always with PFS 161*s. It is rare for two inscribed seals to occur together on the same tablet; even more remarkable about this pair is that they both feature cult imagery and carry the same inscription.

Single-Seal:
PF 1258.
This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 141, PF 142, PF 143, NN 1174, NN 1854, NN 2022, Erlenmeyer 1, Fort. 1727-102, Fort. 1805, and Fort. 2078-101.

These transactions are receipts of commodity deposit.

As noted above, sealing protocols on commodity deposits are opaque, but, as is the case with PFS 451*s, we often get recurring doubles and triplets of seals; in the case of PFS 451*s and PFS 161*s, the latter is always applied to the left edge. It may be noteworthy

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While some surfaces are destroyed, the otherwise consistent sealing patterns involving PFS 451*s and PFS 161*s likely suggest that all of these tablets follow the parallel-seal protocol with these two seals.
that the single ration allocation (PF 1258) employs the single-seal protocol, and the receiver, Beltin, is qualified as a *mušin zikkira* (“account writer,” “accountant”). Receipts of commodity deposit are a type of field accounting. The only other attestation of the name Beltin is on another similar text (NN 1505) where fruit is deposited into his account (at Nupištaš). We probably have to do with the same individual. Whether we may link PFS 451* with him is less clear.\(^{989}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The *mušḫuššu* supporting a spade and styli is a common variant of the late Babylonian worship scene.\(^{990}\)

**Modeled Style.**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 71, and 113; Jones and Stolper 2006, pp. 4-5; Root 1998, p. 277; Root 2003b, pp. 260 (n. 23) and 274; Tuplin 2008, pp. 355 (n. 103) and 379.

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**PFS 813***

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE\(^{991}\)
Typology and Style: 09.C.02. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Spade, Stylus, Other Symbols: Spade and Stylus and Other Symbol on Platform or Groundline: With Symbols Placed on *Mušḫuššu*; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.3 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Poor – Fair
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives along some of its length.

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\(^{989}\) Garrison 2017a, p. 113 (n. 366).
\(^{990}\) See Chapter 5 for details.
\(^{991}\) PF 606.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper, stand/altar with mušḫuššu supporting spade and double styli; inscription in terminal field.

At right of preserved scene, figure (lower legs not preserved) stands facing to right. Arm, bent, is held upward in front of chest with upturned cupped hand. Wears ankle-length garment. Hair is gathered in large rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of small round eye, small nose, thin lips, and rounded chin. Vertical line at far left of preserved scene may be body of worshipper (e.g., front of skirt of garment) preserved at far right.

To right of vertical line is stand/altar (lower part not preserved) comprised of tall triangular base from which emerges U-shaped element; thin ovular moldings decorate base just below.

To right of stand/altar is recumbent mušḫuššu (much of head not preserved) atop pedestal. Left foreleg, straight, extends in front of body. Thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and terminates in ovular tuft. Atop long neck is head with large pointed ear emerging from back. At middle of back is vertical spade (top not preserved) with ovular molding near top. Emerging from hindquarters are two vertical styli (top not preserved) with round moldings. Below mušḫuššu is pedestal consisting of two horizontal rungs (front of bottom rung not preserved), between which are thin vertical bands.

To right of mušḫuššu is teardrop-shaped object in mid-field.

Inscription occupies what we believe to be terminal field.

Below mušḫuššu and platform is groundline or bottom edge of seal.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ṢAN KASKAL’
     “DN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: DN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. Even though the inscription is partially preserved, we do not believe there are any additional signs. The signs are large, especially the second.

Line 1: two broken signs: AN and KASKAL.

While the text is broken, the reading is clear, owing to inscription being well-attested elsewhere.992

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992 For details on the inscription, see the catalogue entry for PFS 161*s.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, multiple-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Bottom Edge</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
<th>Left Edge</th>
<th>Right Edge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 746</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 813*</td>
<td>PFATS 908s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 39s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 606</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 813*</td>
<td>PFS 813*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 39s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 813* appears on one Aramaic document and one Elamite document and follows two sealing protocols, but always with PFS 39s on the left edge.

Counter-Seal:
PF 606.

PFS 813* occurs on the bottom edge and reverse with PFS 39s applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Multiple-Seal:
PFAT 746.

A reading of this document was not available at the time of writing.

Owing to the uncertainty in sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement (i.e., G texts like PF 606), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The scene is essentially the same as that on PFS 451*s, but here on a cylinder with the addition of a stand/altar and a teardrop-shaped element. The imagery and inscription are more commonly attested on stamp seals, but cylinder seals are not uncommon, especially in the Late Babylonian period.993

Modeled Style. The distinctive rendering of the worshipper’s face, sharp details, flat head, and downturned features, are seen on other large cylinders traditionally dated to the Late Babylonian period.994 The large size of the seal, big spacing between figures and objects, as well as these stylistic features may suggest that the seal may be Late Babylonian in date.995

993 For examples of the Late Babylonian worship scene on stamp seals from the Fortification archive, see PFATS 34*s, PFS 451*s, and PFS 289*s; the one other example on a cylinder from the Fortification archive is PFS 1240*. For Late Babylonian cylinder seals, see Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 102-05, 128-30, 132-34, 136-44.

994 See, for example, Ehrenberg 1999, no. 104.

995 However, similar scenes executed on large cylinders in a modeled style of carving from the Eanna at Uruk occur on tablets dated to the Achaemenid period (e.g., Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 104, 105, 119, 120, 121142, 143, 144). It is possible that these seals were made in the Late Babylonian period.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 31; Root 1997, pp. 239-240; Root 2003b, p. 260 (n. 23).

PFS 1205*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.C.01. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Spade, Stylus, Other Symbols: Spade and Stylus on Platform or Groundline; Cut-and-Drilled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.4 cm (complete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.6 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.4 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 1.6 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details, portion of edge of seal.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper stands before cult symbols on platform; crescent in upper field; inscription behind worshipper.

Figure (hand not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arm, bent, raised diagonally upward in front of body. Foot is rendered as long thin ovular segment. Wears ankle-length garment. Hair is gathered in triangular mass behind neck. Pointed beard rests over chest.

To right of worshiper is spade (pointed post with orb), double stylus, and tall stand/lamp (tripod at bottom, bulbous trunk, and orb at top with three pointed projections) atop pedestal (two horizontal rungs between which are several thin vertical bands).

Crescent occupies upper field.

Inscription occupies space behind worshiper to left.
Seven out of eight edges of seal are preserved.

**INSCRIPTION**
Line: 1. $\text{ANKASKAL}$
   “DN”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**
Formula of Inscription: DN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The signs are carved such that the wedge elements appear as straight lines and the horizontal and vertical components meet at right angles. The signs are large.

Line 1: two signs: AN and KASKAL.

The reading is clear. The inscription appears on multiple seals, both in and outside of the Fortification archive.\(^{996}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1263</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1205*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1206</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1205*s appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 1205*s occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal, PFS 1206, applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers.

As with PF 1263, ration allocations often follow the counter-seal protocol with the suppler seal on the left edge, the receiver on the reverse and/or upper edges. While our data is limited with regard to PFS 1205*s, the receiver named in PF 1263, Mišdaya, occurs only in this text. Thus, we may tentatively link PFS 1205*s with him.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**
For details on the Late Babylonian worship scene, see Chapter 5.

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\(^{996}\) For details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 161*s.
Cut-and-Drilled Style. This is a typical version of this compositional formula in the Cut-and-Drilled Style. The scene, rendered in this style, is very popular at Persepolis. The style has long been recognized to continue into the Achaemenid period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.D.02. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Animal(s)/Creature(s) on Pedestal: goat-fish with ram-headed staff; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Width of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details and left and bottom edges of seal.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces goat-fish supporting ram-headed staff on platform; crescent in upper field; inscription behind worshipper.

Figure (lower part of garment not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arm, bent, held in front of body with upturned cupped hand in front of face. Wears long garment. Hair is gathered in ovular segments at back of head. Serrated edge along top of head indicates

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997 Examples include PFS 116s, PFS 186s, PFS 262s, PFS 273s, PFS 279s, PFS 499s, PFS 623s, PFS 668s, PFS 1037s, PFS 1068s, PFS 1121s, PFS 1140s, PFS 1159s, PFS 1205s, PFS 1333s, PFS 1414s, and PFS 1687s.
998 See Chapter 5 for details.
999 PF 1274.
either hair or headdress. Face is comprised of long nose and triangular eye. Beard, ovoid segments, rests over chest.

To right of standing figure is recumbent goat-fish (tip of tail not preserved) facing to left. One foreleg, bent, extends in front of body; terminates in rounded hoof. Other foreleg, sharply bent, is tucked under torso; terminates in two-pronged hoof. Small fin extends from underside of abdomen. Two-pronged fish’s tail extends from back of torso. Pointed tuft of hair hangs below chin. Horn with small projection at front extends back behind head. Mane rendered as thin band runs along top of head and back of neck. Y-shaped element (fin?) emerges from back. Below goat-fish is horizontal band. Above goat-fish is ram-headed staff (bottom not preserved). Comprised of small ram’s head at end of long curved staff.

Crescent is in upper field.

Thin vertical band in middle of design bisects field from top to bottom; carved behind crescent, hand of standing figure, and snout and front leg of goat-fish, but in front of horizontal platform below goat-fish.

Inscription occupies space behind worshiper to left.

Edge of seal is preserved at top and upper right side of design.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. "AN\textsuperscript{1000}\textsuperscript{1001}KASKAL"
     “DN”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: DN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. While there appears to be space between the two signs, we do not believe that there are any additional signs.

Line 1: two broken signs: AN and KASKAL.\textsuperscript{1000}

The reading is clear. The inscription appears on multiple seals, both in and outside of the Fortification archive.\textsuperscript{1001}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 1216*s

\textsuperscript{1000} It is possible that these signs are not actually broken, but instead abbreviated (i.e., fewer wedges constitute each sign).

\textsuperscript{1001} For details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 161*s.
PFS 1216*s appears on three Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 1216*s occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers or travel rations.

Although only three texts, this is an interesting dossier. The texts appear to be travel rations, and the sealing protocols appear to follow the counter-seal protocol. A different receiver is named in each transaction. Two of them, however, Dattana and Ištinka, are qualified as *mušin zikkira* (“account writer,” “accountant”). Perhaps PFS 1216* represents a field accounting office.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

The goat-fish and ram-headed staff are less commonly attested in the Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis;\(^\text{1002}\) the compositional formula is, however, known in other contexts.\(^\text{1003}\) Traditionally, the goat-fish and ram-headed staff are associated with the god Ea.\(^\text{1004}\)

Modeled Style.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


PFS 1228*s

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\(^\text{1002}\) There are four other examples: PFS 1240*, PFUTS 1437, PFUTS 1477s, and PFUTS 1609s; for the goat-fish creature outside of the Babylonian worship scene, see PFS 536, PFS 1567*, PFUTS 15, PFUTS 630s, and PFUTS 1641(?).

\(^\text{1003}\) E.g., the Eanna Temple at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 75).

\(^\text{1004}\) Black and Green 2004, p. 169.
Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.C.01. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) before Spade, Stylus, Other Symbols: Spade and Stylus on Platform or Groundline; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian?
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.9 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Width of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces spade and double styli on platform; inscription behind worshipper.

Figure (top of head, lower body not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arm, bent, in front of body with upturned cupped hand in front of face. Straight line at back of head perhaps indicates headdress. Hair is gathered in two ovular segments behind neck. Face consists of triangular eye and outline of large triangular nose. Long beard with two ovular segments rests over chest.

To right of figure are spade and double styli (tops not preserved) on pedestal (front and bottom not preserved). Spade has two horizontal ovular moldings. Pedestal consists of upper horizontal rung and thin vertical bands below.

Inscription occupies space behind worshiper to left.

Edge of seal is preserved behind worshiper.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. ˹X˺

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

For an example, see PFS 451*s.
Formula of Inscription: DN?

The inscription appears to be oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, likely reading from top to bottom. The text is broken, with fragments of perhaps one sign preserved.

Line 1: perhaps one broken sign preserved: perhaps AN (or perhaps KASKAL).

Owing to the fragmentary preservation, the reading is not clear. However, with the popularity of the Babylonian inscription ANKASKAL, which is often paired with cult imagery, as on PFS 1228*, it is very likely that the fragments belong to one (or both) of these signs.\textsuperscript{1006}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 1283</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1230</td>
<td>PFS 1229</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1228*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1228*s appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

One other seal, PFS 1229, certainly occurs on the tablet, applied to the reverse; another illegible impression, PFS 1230, occurs on the bottom edge. Given that the text is a travel ration, one may assume that PFS 1230 is in fact the same seal as PFS 1229, thus the counter-seal protocol with PFS 1228*s and PFS 1229/PFS 1230.

This transaction is a ration allocation for workers or a travel ration.

One assumes that PFS 1228* represents the unnamed supply authority.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPPHY AND STYLE
For details on the Late Babylonian worship scene, see Chapter 5.

Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textsuperscript{1006} For examples, see PFS 161*s, PFS 813*, and PFS 1205*s.
Seal Type: Cylinder  
Earliest Dated Application: 501 BCE  
Typology and Style: 09.D.02. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Animal(s)/Creature(s) on Pedestal: goat-fish with ram-headed staff; Modeled Style  
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian  
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (incomplete)  
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (incomplete)  
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA  
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA  
Number of Impressions: 2  
Quality of Impressions: Poor  
Completeness of Image: Large portion of design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Worshipper faces goat-fish supporting ram-headed staff(?) atop platform; crescent in upper field; inscription and dot in terminal field.

Figure (top of head, face, hand not preserved) faces to right. Apparently holds arm(s) diagonally upward in front of chest. Foot is rendered as small ovular segment. Wears ankle-length garment. Perhaps wears headdress. Hair is gathered in thick mass at back of neck. Long beard with two ovular segments rests over chest.

To right of figure is recumbent goat-fish (tip of tail not preserved) on platform (back not preserved) facing to left. One foreleg, bent, extends in front of body; terminates in two-pronged hoof. Other foreleg, sharply bent, is tucked under torso; terminates in rounded foot with single nail. Fish’s tail is rendered in two segments. Fin extends from top of back. Tuft of hair hangs from chin. Pointed horn emerges from top of head and curves upward. Extending from back is long wavy element (top not preserved), likely neck of ram-headed staff. Below goat-fish is rectangular horizontal platform.

In upper field above head of goat-fish is crescent.

---

1007 NN 1564.
1008 For an example, see PFS 1216*. 

845
In terminal field behind worshiper is dot and inscription.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. … ‘KASKAL’
   “DN”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: DN

One sign is preserved, oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, likely reading from top to bottom. We suspect that an additional sign precedes the one that is preserved at present. The present sign is very large.

Line 1: one broken sign preserved: KASKAL.

Owing to the presence of the well-known Babylonian inscription, AN*KASKAL, on several seals from the Fortification archive that show the Late Babylonian worship scenes, of which PFS 1240* is an example, it is very likely that AN, the divine determinative, is also carved on the seal (perhaps above the dot).\(^{1009}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<td>PFS 1241</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 1240*</td>
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<td>PFS 21</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1240* appears on two Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In both instances, PFS 1240* occurs as the counter-seal (on the reverse) with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are travel rations.

Given the sealing protocols on travel rations, we may with some assurance link PFS 1240* with Mitrabada, the receiver in both documents above. He is qualified in NN 1564 as *kanzabara* (“treasurer”). The two texts appear to record the same trip; both involve a very large contingent of 260 (or 262) individuals going to the king at Susa under a *halmi* from Parnakka. NN 1564 mentions additionally a treasure/treasury at Hidali.

\(^{1009}\) See the catalogue entry for PFS 161*s for details on the inscription.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
For details of the scene, see Chapter 5. Among the inscribed seals, only PFS 813* and PFS 1240* feature the Babylonian worship scene on a cylinder seal, as opposed to the more common (for the compositional formula) stamp seal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Root 2003b, p. 260 (n. 23).

PFS 1632* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 244)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 504 BCE

Typology and Style: 02.B.06. Heroic Combat: Hero threatens rampant animal or creature, weapon held down behind body: Winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures;

Modeled Style

Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Middle part of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged hero threatens rampant winged human-faced lion-creature; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (head, feet not preserved) moves to right. Stands with legs apart, left in front of right. Left leg, bent, is held at hip-height in front of body, presumably with foot (not preserved) resting on hindleg of creature at right. Right leg, straight, is slightly behind body. Right arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward behind body; hand, two ovular segments, holds scimitar. Left arm, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of body and terminates at lower wing of rampant creature at right. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves left leg exposed below knee; fringe is indicated along front edge of garment on right leg and along hem over left leg. Additional hem between legs

1010 PF 2070.
has triple-banded border with fringe. Wing extends diagonally downward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Rectangular beard hangs to chest.

To right of hero is rampant winged human-faced lion-creature (head, left forepaw, hindfeet not preserved) facing to right. Stands on hindlegs, left in front of right. Right foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally downward in front of torso; terminates in paw with four nails. Left foreleg, straight, is raised diagonally upward in front of face. Two wings extend back behind body; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Tail bends upward from hindquarters and terminates in rounded tuft. Mane is indicated along back of neck. Additional detailing, three small segments, lines chest. Thin beard, three small circular segments, rests over chest.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [...] "AN" AMAR.UTU-PAP [...]  
2. [...] ŠÁ AN [...]  
3. [...] BA [...]  
   “Marduk-nāṣir...”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: PN...

The three-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. It is cut to be read on the stone itself; thus in impressions it is reversed (and line one is at far left). It is unlikely that there are additional lines. It is possible that the beginnings and ends of the lines are not preserved; it is unclear how many additional signs there may be. The signs that are present are large.

Line 1: four signs preserved: broken AN, AMAR, UTU, and PAP. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 2: two signs preserved: ŠÁ and AN. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

Line 3: one sign preserved: BA. It is unclear whether there are additional signs.

The reading is obscure. We appear to have a personal name, Marduk-nāṣir; the name is Babylonian and not otherwise attested in the Fortification archive. If the inscription is comprised solely of a name, it follows a rare formula (PN) for cuneiform seal inscriptions at Persepolis.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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1011 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 352).
1012 See Chapter 4 for details on this formula.
Attestations of PFS 1632*

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<thead>
<tr>
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<td>not sealed</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 1632* appears on one Elamite document and one uninscribed document and follows the single-seal protocol.⁹¹³

Single-Seal:
PF 2070.

This transaction is a letter.

Sealing protocols for letters are well understood. Based on PF 2070, we can identify Raubasa, the addressee, as the user of PFS 1632*. He occurs in two other texts, NN 2302 and PF 2025, both receipts for cattle as tax. In all instances, he is concerned with sheep/goats.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 1632* is unique at Persepolis for combining the heroic combat encounter with a monolingual Babylonian inscription. Only two other seals, PFS 108* and PFUTS 219*, feature non-cult imagery with a monolingual Babylonian inscription.⁹¹⁴ By far, the most popular compositional formula to accompany a monolingual Babylonian inscription is the so-called Late Babylonian worship scene.⁹¹⁵

miniaturist Modeled Style. The carving is less accomplished than we generally encounter in a miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 1998, p. 121 (n. 15); Garrison 2014b, p. 86 (n. 119).

PFUTS 219*

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⁹¹³ All but one surface (obverse) of PFUT 1586-201 is destroyed; thus, the exact sealing protocol utilized in this instance is unknown.
⁹¹⁴ For details, see the catalogue entries for PFS 108* and PFUTS 219*.
⁹¹⁵ For examples, see PFS 289*s, PFS 451*s, PFS 813*, PFS 1205*s, PFS 1216*s, PFS 1228*s, and PFS 1240*.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.A.06. Hero controls winged human-faced/human-headed lion creatures; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.9 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.9 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 12
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details and edges of seal.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of rampant winged human-headed lion-creatures; inscription in terminal field.

Hero (right foot not preserved) faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Arms, bent, reach outward to either side to hold rampant winged human-headed lion-creature by foreleg. Wears long belted Assyrian garment that leaves right leg bare. Band around torso could be additional belt or detailing. Fringe is indicated along front of skirt of garment over left leg, as well as on back hip. Perhaps wears rounded headdress. Hair is gathered in three oval segments at back of neck. Face is comprised of triangular nose and mouth. Beard, oval segments, rests over chest.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged human-headed lion-creatures (head, hindfeet, upper forepaw of creature at left not preserved; hindfeet of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward center. Stand on hindlegs with feet apart, one in front of other. One foreleg, straight, extends upward in front of head; foreleg of creature at right terminates in hoof. Other foreleg, straight, reaches in front of body toward hero; terminates in paw with two (creature at right) or three (creature at left) nails. Two wings reach back behind body, one diagonally upward and one horizontally; single row of feathers is indicated on each. Thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in point. Creature at right wears rounded headdress with small projection at front. Hair is gathered in oval segments behind neck. Face of creature at right consists of small eye with outer folds, thin nose, small mouth, and
rounded chin/short beard. Thin curved band attaches at front of chest. Creature at right has additional detailing along front of chest and abdomen. Ithyphallic.

Inscription occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is preserved at top of design above inscription and creature at left and at bottom below right hindleg of creature at right.

**INSCRIPTION**

Line: 1. AN PA PAP ZI
2. TIN RA
   “Nabû, protect life, give health”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: invocation

The two-line inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The signs are carved in reverse so that they are legible on the seal itself and mirrored via impression. With the exception of one broken sign, the text is complete.

Line 1: four signs: AN, PA, PAP, and ZI.

Line 2: two signs: broken TIN and RA.

The reading is clear, an invocation. With some variation, this invocation appears on other seals, both within and outside of the Fortification archive.\(^\text{1016}\)

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, multiple-seal

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<thead>
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<td>PFUTS 219*</td>
<td>PFUTS 219*</td>
<td>PFUTS 219*</td>
<td>PFUTS 630s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 219* appears on two Aramaic and two uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.

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\(^{1016}\) For details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 108*. 

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Single-Seal:
PFUT 78-201.

Multiple-Seal:
PFAT 282, PFAT 528, and PFUT 252-201.\textsuperscript{1017}

Translations of the Aramaic texts, PFAT 282 and PFAT 528, were not available at the
time of writing.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFUTS 219* is the only example of the heroic control encounter paired with a
monolingual Babylonian inscription in the Fortification archive. Only two other seals
include non-cult imagery with a monolingual Babylonian inscription: PFS 1632* (heroic
combat encounter) and PFS 108* (heraldic creatures).

Modeled Style. The segmented arms of the hero and the puffy shoulders recall a
miniaturist Modeled Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Garrison 2017a, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{1017} The upper and left edges of PFAT 528 are destroyed. Given that the remaining surfaces already carry
two seals (PFUTS 188 and PFUTS 219*), it is likely that a third seal occurred on the left edge, as is the
case with the other two tablets that carry PFUTS 219* in the multiple-seal protocol.
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian) Catalogue Entries

Four seals from the Fortification archive carry trilingual inscriptions (Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian). All four seals carry the same inscription naming Darius and are oriented along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines, reading from top to bottom.

**Trilingual Group 1:**
- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 7*
2. PFS 11*
3. PFS 113*
4. PFUTS 18*

PFS 7* (*OIP 117 Cat. No. 4*)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.A.02. Hero controls winged bull creatures; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.6 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 5.4 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 3.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 116
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details.

**DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**
Hero controls pair of winged bull-creatures; figure emergent from winged symbol in upper field; palm trees flank heroic encounter; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (feet not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right. Arms, straight, reach diagonally upward to either side to grasp horn of rampant winged bull-

---

1018 PF 707, NN 790, NN 1843, NN 1901, and NN 3135.
creature; fingers are indicated. Thin bracelet wraps around left wrist. Wears Persian court robe. Central vertical pleat is indicated on front of skirt; diagonal folds hang to either side. Sleeves are pushed up to shoulders and long folds of drapery hang at waist. Wears dentate crown with double-banded border with square details. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of large rounded eye and lower crease, outline of triangular nose, and small mouth. Blunt-pointed beard rests over chest; detail is indicated along right side of jaw.

To left and to right of hero is pair of rampant winged bull-creatures (tips of horns, hooves of creature at left not preserved; right hoof of creature at right not preserved) facing in toward center. Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other; left hindleg of creature at right terminates in hoof. One foreleg, straight, reaches diagonally upward in front of body; terminates in hoof approaching arm of hero. Other foreleg, straight, reaches outward toward waist of hero; terminates in hoof. Two wings extend back behind body, one diagonally upward and one horizontally; two rows of feathers are indicated on each. Thin tail curves upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body terminating in large rounded (creature at left) or ovular (creature at right) tuft. Horn extends from top of head. Face consists of ovular eye and detailing along snout. Serrated edge along back of neck indicates mane. Ear emerges from back of head with detail at center.

Above hero is figure (head, hands not preserved) emergent from winged symbol (corner of wing not preserved) presumably facing to right. Depicted as bust. Two thin arms extend diagonally upward in front of body. Appears to wear upper part of Persian court robe depicted in profile. Below figure are two horizontal wings with horizontal bands and two intersecting vertical lines. Short tail extends downward; single row of feathers is indicated. Tendril extends to either side of tail and curves up at end.

To left and to right of central trio are palm trees (bottoms, tops not preserved). Comprised of tall textured trunk and leafy fronds at top; fruit cluster hangs to either side of trunk.

Inscription within panel with double case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [a-]da-ma da-a-ra-ia-va-[u-ša XŠ]</td>
<td>“I am Darius”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [DISû] DIS da-ri-i-ia-ma-u-iš [EŠŠANA]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [ana-ku DIS]da-ri-i-ia-muš [šáru rabû]</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

“I (am) Darius, [King/Babylonian: Great King]”

**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: “I,” RN + title

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with double case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. The top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the beginning and end of each line does not survive in any known

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1019 This reading follows Jones and Henkelman (Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 68-69) after Schmitt (1981, pp. 22-23); Schmitt’s (ibid., p. 22) reading was informed by a letter from Hallock.
impressions of the seal. The inscription is known as SDe, one of multiple exemplars of what appears to have been the standard trilingual seal inscription of Darius.1020 In all exemplars, the first line is Old Persian, the second Elamite, and the third Babylonian. Three other exemplars are attested in the Fortification archive: PFS 11* (SDf), PFS 113* (SDg), and PFUTS 18* (SDh).1021 A seal known today as the London Darius Cylinder (SDa) preserves the full text, allowing for the reconstructed reading here and for all other attestations.1022

Line 1: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -a. Following are seven signs preserved: -da, -ma, -da, -a, -ra, -ia, and -va. We reconstruct -u, -šá, and XŠ at the end.

Line 2: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ and -ú. Following are seven signs preserved: DIŠ, -da, -ri, -ia, -ma, -u, -iš. We reconstruct EŠŠANA at the end.

Line 3: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -ana, -ku, and DIŠ. Following are four signs preserved: -da, -ri, -iá, -muš. We reconstruct šarru rabû at the end.

While the inscription is broken, the reading is clear thanks to SDa.1023

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, parallel-seal

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1021 PFUTS 18* was unknown to Schmitt. Garrison (2014a, p. 75) has suggested SDh; see also the catalogue entry for PFUTS 18* below.
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PFS 7* appears on 73 Elamite documents and what appears to be one uninscribed document and follows three sealing protocols.\(^{1025}\)

Single-Seal:
PF 697, PF 698, PF 705, PF 706, PF 707, PF 708, PF 709, PF 711, PF 712, PF 713, PF 714, PF 715, PF 716, PF 717, PF 718, PF 719, PF 720, PF 721, PF 722, PF 724, PF 725, PF 726, PF 727

\(^{1024}\) PFS 7* was discovered on an administrative tablet in the Louvre; see Garrison (1996b).

\(^{1025}\) The one uninscribed tablet is a small fragment. Given the overwhelming evidence for PFS 7* occurring only on Elamite documents, it may very well be that PFUT 979-102 in fact is an Elamite document, the small surviving fragment simply by chance having not captured any of the text. Several tablets carrying PFS 7* (NN 697, NN 766, NN 790, NN 1894, NN 1901, NN 3086, Fort. 1660-201, and PFUT 979-102) have at least one surface destroyed; thus, in these instances, the specific sealing protocol(s) cannot be determined.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

Counter-Seal:
PF 723, NN 117, NN 324, NN 919, and Fort. 1533-101.

In all instances, PFS 7* occurs as the counter-seal with the supplier seal applied to the left edge.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

Parallel-Seal:
PF 699, PF 700, PF 701, PF 702, PF 703, PF 704, NN 174, NN 797, NN 1843, NN 1874, NN 3135, Fort. 1248-101, and Fort. 2329-104.

These transactions are ration allocations for royal provisions.

With the exception of the one uninscribed document, PFS 7* appears exclusively on ration allocations for royal provisions. When not following the single-seal protocol, it often appears with one of the triplicate seals PFS 66a*, PFS 66b*, or PFS 66c* in the parallel-seal protocol on documents concerning disbursements of flour.1026 The seal represents an office associated with procurement of various commodities for the king.1027

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The design is dense with court-centric iconography: Persian court robe, dentate crown, figure emergent from winged symbol, palm trees, and inscription.1028

Court Style. PFS 7*, with PFS 11*, are two of the earliest attested examples of the full Court Style.1029 Modeling is restrained; the outline is sharp.1030

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Anderson 2002, pp. 179-80 (fig. 19), 184, 193, and 200 (n. 30 and 33); Aperghis 1999, pp. 164 and 169; Dusinberre 1997, p. 111; Finn 2011, pp. 226-29 (fig. 4), 230-34, 244, 256, and 262; Garrison 1991, pp. 4, 12-16, 18-20, 23-24 (n. 18, 27, and 31), and 27 (n. 82-84, and 90); Garrison 1996a, pp. 42-43 (n. 60 and 64), and 45 (n. 71); Garrison 1996b, passim, figs. 1-7; Garrison 1998, pp. 128 (n. 24) and 131 (n. 30); Garrison 2000, pp. 128, 154, and 156; Garrison 2001, pp. 69-73; Garrison 2008, p. 174 (n. 54); Garrison 2010a, p.

1026 Garrison 2017a, p. 64; e.g., NN 174, NN 324, and NN 797.
1027 Garrison (2017a, p. 357) suggests that the office represented by PFS 7* traveled with the king.
1028 See Chapter 5 for details.
1029 Garrison 2017a, p. 351.
1030 Ibid.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.d.06.b.02. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other
Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Structure: Worshipper before Tower Structure: Attendant(s) Displayed to either side of tower structure with winged symbol; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 101
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle part of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figures flank crenellated tower structure; figure emergent from winged disk in upper field; palm trees flank central scene; paneled inscription in terminal field.

PF 11*

PFS 11*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 503 BCE
Typology and Style: 09.d.06.b.02. Cult Imagery: Worshipper(s) before Other
Symbol(s)/Cult Installations(s): Worshipper before Structure: Worshipper before Tower Structure: Attendant(s) Displayed to either side of tower structure with winged symbol; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 4.5 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.4 cm
Number of Impressions: 101
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle part of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Figures flank crenellated tower structure; figure emergent from winged disk in upper field; palm trees flank central scene; paneled inscription in terminal field.

1031 PF 678.
Two figures (lower legs not preserved) stand facing each other toward center. Depicted in profile. Right arm, bent, is raised in front of body with upturned cupped hand. Left arm, bent, is held in front of torso; hand, with fingers indicated, grasps top of long staff (bottom not preserved) with rounded termination at top. Wear Persian court robe; central vertical pleat and diagonal folds of drapery are indicated on skirt. Long sleeve of garment covers upper part of arm; comes to point below waist with detailing along arm and front hem. Wear dentate crown. Crown on figure at left has double-banded border with square details; crown on figure at right has banded border at forehead with small squared detail above. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck; striations are indicated. Face consists of eye, eyebrows (two on figure at left, small line on figure at right), outline of triangular nose, and two lips. Long beard rests over chest; striations are indicated on beard (vertical on figure at left, horizontal on figure at right) and side of face.

Between standing figures is crenellated tower structure (bottom not preserved) comprised of rectangular body with rectangular insets at center. Top is crenellated with small V-shaped device at center; three small circular elements, one at center above small V-shaped element and one on top of each corner, are at top.

Above tower structure is figure (top of head not preserved) emergent from winged disk (tip of right wing not preserved). Emergent figure, depicted from torso up, faces to right. One arm reaches diagonally upward in front of face with upturned cupped hand. Other arm, straight, extends horizontally from torso with ring in hand. Wears Persian court robe (sleeve depicted in profile). Line across forehead likely indicates headdress. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of large eye and outline of triangular nose. Long beard rests over chest. Below figure is disk from which two horizontal wings extend, one to either side, and tail below. Horizontal bands run along length of each wing; two perpendicular vertical lines, evenly spaced, are indicated on each wing. Tail has three rows of feathers (marked by horizontal bands). Tendril extends to either side of tail and curves up slightly at end.

To either side of royal figures is palm tree (bottom, top not preserved) comprised of tall textured trunk and leafy fronds at top. Fruit cluster hangs to either side of trunk.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  1. [a-da-]`ma`: da-a-ra-ia-[va-u-ša XŠ]
  2. "DIŠ DIŠ da-ri-ia- `ma- [u-iš EŠŠANA]
  3. [ana-ku] HA! da-ri-ia-`muš` [šárru rabû]
  "I (am) Darius, [King/Babylonian: Great King]"

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “I,” RN + title

1032 See PFS 7*.  
860
The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the beginning of lines one and three, as well as the end of all three lines, are not preserved in any known impressions of the seal. The inscription is known as SDf, an exemplar of the standard trilingual seal inscription of Darius (line one is Old Persian, two Elamite, three Babylonian).\footnote{Schmitt 1981, pp. 22-23; for additional details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 7* above.}

Line 1: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -\(a\) and -\(da\). Following are five letters preserved: broken -\(ma\), -\(da\), -\(a\), -\(ra\), and -\(ia\). We reconstruct -\(va\), -\(u\), -\(ša\) and XŠ at the end.

Line 2: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ, -\(u\), and DIŠ. Following are four letters preserved: -\(da\), -\(ri\), -\(ia\), and broken -\(ma\). We reconstruct -\(u\), -\(iš\) and EŠŠANA at the end.

Line 3: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -\(ana\) and -\(ku\). Following are five signs preserved: HAL, -\(da\), -\(ri\), -\(iá\), and broken -\(muš\). We reconstruct šárru rabû at the end.

The inscription occurs also on PFS 7*, PFS 113*, PFUTS 18* in the Fortification archive, as well as the London Darius cylinder.\footnote{For details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 7* above.}

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
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863
PFS 11* appears on 75 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.1035

These transactions include receipts of commodity movement, ration allocations and letters.1036

In all but two instances (PF 614 and PF 1182), Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the Fortification archive, is named. In the ration allocations, he is the receiver; in the letters, he is the addressor. Based on the single-seal protocol for these text types, we can with confidence attribute PFS 11* to Ziššawiš.1037

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICNOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 11* is the only one of the royal-name seals of Darius to feature cult imagery. The others show a hunt from a chariot (London Darius cylinder) or the heroic encounter (PFS 7*, PFS 113*, and PFUTS 18*). The inclusion of both date palms and a tower structure in one design is rare.1038 The dynamics of the design – the stillness of the figures and the symmetry – create a subdued scene.1039

Court Style. Modeling is deep. Forms are rounded. Drapery is voluminous. Detail is added in the faces and garments of the attendants, as well as the wings and tail of the winged disk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1035 Some tablets carrying PFS 11* have surfaces that are destroyed; however, given the otherwise consistent use of PFS 11* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, it is likely that either these surfaces were not sealed or that PFS 11* was applied to them.
1037 For another seal linked to Ziššawiš, see the catalogue entry for PFS 83*; Aperghis 1999, p. 164; Henkelman 2003a, p. 104; Koch 1990, p. 227; Root 1999, p. 170; Lewis (1994, pp. 30-31) claims that PFS 11* is used by Ziššawiš but actually belongs to Darius, whom the inscription names (cf. Garrison 1998, p. 126 (n. 23)).
1039 Ibid., p. 287.
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 495 BCE\textsuperscript{1040}
Typology and Style: 01.A.03. Hero controls winged human-face/human-headed bull creatures; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 14
Quality of Impressions: Many preserve excellent detail.
Completeness of Image: Large portion of middle part of design survives along its complete length.

\textsuperscript{1040} PF 864 and PF 879.
DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of winged human-headed bull-creatures; palm tree at left; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (lower legs not preserved) faces to right. Stands with arms, straight, extended diagonally upward to either side to grasp foreleg of rampant winged human-headed bull-creature; long finger is indicated on right hand. Wears double-belted Persian court robe. Central vertical pleat and diagonal folds of drapery are indicated on skirt. Sleeves of garment are pushed up to shoulders leaving arms bare. Long folds of drapery hang around waist; double banded border is indicated along sides and bottom hem. Wears dentate crown. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of ovular eye and outer crease, thin nose, and mouth. Beard, ovular segments, rests on chest.

To left and to right of hero is rampant winged human-headed bull-creature (lower body of creature at left, lower hindlegs of creature at right not preserved). Stand on hindlegs, one in front of other. Turn head back behind body to face outward. One foreleg, straight, reaches up in front of head; foreleg of creature at left terminates in small ovular hoof. Other foreleg, bent, is held in front of body; terminates in small hoof. Wing extends horizontally behind body; three rows of feathers are indicated. Thin tail of creature at right extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in ovular tuft. Wear serrated crown. Face consists of ovular eye and outer crease, thick eyebrow (creature at left), triangular nose, and small mouth (creature at right). Long beard rests on wing; outer edges of beard on creature at right are textured.

To left of creature at left is palm tree (bottom not preserved) comprised of trunk with cross-hatching and leafy fronds at top. Round fruit cluster hangs to either side of trunk.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION

Line: 1. [a-d]a-ma : da-˹a-˺[ra-ia-va-u-ša…]
2. [DIŠ] ˹ú˺DIŠ da-ri-a-˹ma-˺[u-iš…]
3. [ana-] ˹ku˺DIŠ da-ri-a-˺[iá-muš…]
“I (am) Darius, [King/Babylonian: Great King]”

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION

Formula of Inscription: “I,” RN + title

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; the beginning and end of each line does not survive in any known impressions of the seal. The inscription is known as SDg, an exemplar of the

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1041 This reading follows Jones (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 89), which is an amended version of Schmitt (1981, pp. 22-23); see PFS 7* for details on the inscription.
standard trilingual seal inscription of Darius (line one is Old Persian, two Elamite, three Babylonian).  

Line 1: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -a. Following are four signs preserved: broken -da, -ma, -da, and broken -a. We reconstruct -ra, -ia, -va, -u, and -ša at the end.

Line 2: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct DIŠ. Following are six signs preserved: broken -ú, DIŠ, -ri, -a, and broken -ma. We reconstruct -u and -iš at the end.

Line 3: The beginning is not preserved; we reconstruct -ana. Following are five signs preserved: broken -ku, DIŠ, -da, -ri, and -a. We reconstruct -iá and -muš at the end.

While the text is broken, the reading is possible owing to reconstructions from other exemplars.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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PFS 113* appears on 11 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol.

These transactions are ration allocations for workers.

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1042 Schmitt 1981, pp. 22-23; for additional details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 7* above.
1043 For details, see the catalogue entries for PFS 7* and PFS 11* above.
1044 This refers to the Fortification texts; see below for the Treasury texts.
Baratkama is named as the šaramanna official in each of the documents to which PFS 113* is applied in the Fortification archive.

PFS 113* also occurs on both letter-orders and memorandum-type documents in the Treasury archive (there identified as PTS 4*), again associated with Baratkama. The linkage of PFS 113* to Baratkama is thus secure.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The appearance of winged human-headed/-faced bull-creatures in heroic encounters is rare. The creature may have specifically royal connotations.

Court Style. Forms are rounded. Modeling is somewhat restrained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 18*

1045 Garrison (2014a, pp. 74-75) discusses the texts in detail. Baratkama eventually becomes the treasurer at Persepolis (490-479 B.C.E.). For PFS 113* (PTS 4*) in the Treasury archive, see Schmidt (1957, p. 20, pl. 4).
1046 In the Treasury archive, PFS 113* (PTS 4*) is applied to letter-orders (e.g., PT 1) that are addressed by Baratkama, confirming seal attribution. Garrison (2014a, p. 74) discusses whether PFS 113* is Baratkama’s personal seal or a Treasury office seal.
1047 Among the inscribed seals, there are only two examples – PFS 113* and PFS 164*; among the overall glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive, there are seven examples – PFS 18, PFS 38, PFS 113*, PFS 164*, PFS 1465, PFS 1641, and PFS 1684.
1048 Garrison (2009, p. 44) notes the various royal contexts of the human-headed/-faced bull-men creatures in Achaemenid art (e.g., monumental at Persepolis, royal-name seals).
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.C.04. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Lions; Court Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian
Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.9 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.2 cm
Number of Impressions: 156
Quality of Impressions: Variable, many are shallow and very poorly preserved.
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero holds pair of inverted lions by hindleg and stands atop composite creatures; figure emergent from winged symbol in upper field; palm trees flank central scene; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (right foot not preserved) faces to right. Stands with feet apart, left in front of right, on backs of composite creatures below. Arms, straight, reach diagonally upward to either side to hold hindleg of inverted lion. Wears belted Persian court robe; long folds of drapery hang around waist. Wears serrated crown. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of round eye, eyebrow, and rounded nose. Round ear is indicated on side of face. Squared beard with vertical striations rests over chest.

To left and to right of hero is inverted lion (lower hindlegs of animal at left, left hindleg of animal at right not preserved). Turn head back behind body to face upward. Held aloft by hero by one hindleg. Other hindleg, straight, extends outward with paw resting on hero’s waist; right hindleg of lion at right terminates in paw with two segments. One foreleg, straight, extends downward with paw resting on wing of creature below; other foreleg extends diagonally from chest with paw resting on head of creature below. Forepaws are ovular. Thin tail extends diagonally upward from hindquarters and curves back toward body to terminate in ovular tuft. Mouth is open; jaw of lion at left is lined. Lion at right has small eye, outer crease, and detailing along neck.
Below hero and inverted lions is pair of winged bird-headed (at left) or lion-headed (at right) creatures couchant (foreleg, tail of creature at left, belly of creature at right not preserved) facing outward. One foreleg, straight, extends along ground in front of body. One hindleg is tucked under hindquarters. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Creature at left has thin tail that extends diagonally downward from hindquarters. Creature at left has bird’s head with open beak and small eye; small triangular detail attaches to top of beak. Creature at right has lion’s head with open mouth. Mane is indicated by thin band along back of head and neck (creature at left) or serrated edge along back of neck (creature at right). Creature at right has pointed ear emerging from top of head. Groundline/platform is indicated immediately below creatures.

Above hero is figure emergent from winged symbol facing to right. Figure is depicted in profile from torso up. Arms, bent, are held in front of body with upturned cupped hands. Wears dentate crown. Hair is gathered in long rounded mass at back of head. Face consists of round eye and outline of triangular nose. Long beard rests above chest. Below figure are two horizontal wings that extend from what appears to be torso of figure emergent. Horizontal bands run length of each wing; one intersecting vertical or diagonal line is indicated on each wing. Short tail hangs below; single row of feathers is indicated. Short tendril extends to either side of tail, right tendril terminates in small round mass.

To left and to right of figures is palm tree (bottom of tree at right not preserved) comprised of rounded base, textured trunk, and round mass at top from which leafy fronds extend. Round fruit cluster hangs to either side of trunk.

Inscription within panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design and preserved at bottom below left side of figural elements. Small circular detail at center along top edge could be chip/flaw in stone or part of seal cap.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. a-da-ma : da-a-‘ra-ia-va’-u-ˇša-ˇ [XŠ]
2. Diš-ú  Diš-da-ri-ia-ˇma-ˇu-ˇiš ˇEŠŠANA’
3. ‘ana-ku’ HAL da-ri-ia-muˇš ˇšarru’ [rabû]
“I (am) Darius, King/[Babylonian: Great King]”1049

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: “I,” RN + Title

The three-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with case lines and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal, reading from top to bottom. At present, the bottom of the panel is not preserved; the end of lines one and three do not survive in any known impressions of the seal. Following Schmitt’s schema, Garrison has suggested identifying the inscription

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1049 This reading follows Garrison (2014a, p. 75).
as SDh, an exemplar of the standard trilingual seal inscription of Darius (line one is Old Persian, two Elamite, three Babylonian).  

Line 1: ten signs preserved: -a, -da, -ma, -da, -a, broken -ra, broken -ia, broken -va, -u, and broken -ša. We reconstruct XŠ at the end of the line.

Line 2: ten signs preserved: DIŠ, broken -ú, DIŠ, -da, -ri, -ia, broken -ma, -u, -broken -iš, and broken EŠŠANA.

Line 3: eight signs preserved: broken -ana, broken -ku, HAL, -da, -ri, -iá, -muš, and broken šarru. We reconstruct rabû at the end of the line.

While the inscription is broken, the reading is clear. PFUTS 18* preserves more of the standard inscription than the other royal-name seals in the Fortification archive; note particularly the beginning of each line, as well as some parts of the title.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

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Garrison 2014a, p. 75. For details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 7* above.

The London Darius Cylinder, a well-preserved version of the inscription, aided in the reconstructions of the other royal-name seals (PFS 7*, PFS 11*, and PFS 113*); for details, see the catalogue entry for PFS 7* above.
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872
PFUTS 18* appears on 37 uninscribed documents, always in the single-seal protocol.  

With its exclusive use on uninscribed documents, attributing the seal to a specific office/official is not possible. However, its sealing patterns are illuminating: it always follows the single-seal protocol, appears on a large number of tablets, often seals multiple surfaces of tablets (in some cases as many as six surfaces), and almost always appears on tablets of a distinctive shape (Type K). These sealing patterns may indicate that the seal belongs to or represents an office/official of high administrative rank.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The scene is densely populated: a hero, inverted animals, pedestal creatures, a figure emergent from a winged symbol, palm trees, and an inscription. Several of the figures appear small, perhaps a result of the crowded central composition (i.e., hero, lions, pedestal creatures, winged symbol). Examples of court-centric iconography abound: Persian court robe, crown, palm trees, winged symbol, paneled inscription, pedestal creatures.

Court Style. Given the expansive vertical composition (platform – pedestal creatures – hero – winged symbol), the figural elements have been compressed. Impressions of the seal are generally very poor, making it difficult to see stylistic details. The carving appears to have been quite flat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dusinberre 1997, p. 107; Finn 2011, pp. 229-32, 256, 263, and 270 (n. 67); Garrison 1991, p. 27 (n. 87); Garrison 1996a, p. 42 (n. 6); Garrison 1996b, pp. 26 (n. 38) and 28; Garrison 2000, p. 124 (n. 29); Garrison 2001, pp. 70 and 73; Garrison 2010a, p. 353; Garrison 2010b, pp. 167-68; Garrison 2017a, pp. 49, 51, 53, 67, 80, 86, 110, 244, 281, 351-52, 368-382; Henkelman 2008, p. 98.

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1052 Some surfaces are destroyed. Given the otherwise consistent use of the seal in accordance with the single-seal protocol, it is likely that these surfaces were either left unsealed or also carried impressions of PFUTS 18*.

1053 Garrison 2014a, pp. 75-76.

1054 Ibid., p. 76.

1055 See Chapter 5 for details.
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Lydian Catalogue Entry

One seal from the Persepolis Fortification archive carries an inscription written in the Lydian script. The inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal, in the upper field, without a panel, and without case lines.

Lydian Group 1:
- Orientation: Horizontal
- Location in Field: Upper Field
- With/Without Panel: Without Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFS 284*

PFS 284* (OIP 117 Cat.No. 111)

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE

Typology and Style: 01.A.16. Hero controls various composite creatures; Diverse Styles
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: Lydian

Preserved Height of Image: 1.7 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.7 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 17
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along upper part of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls rampant winged two-headed lion-creature; inscription in upper field.

Hero faces to left. Stands with legs apart, right in front of left. Arms, bent, extend to either side to hold wings of composite creature; hands are not indicated. Wears belted knee-length garment; diagonal bands are indicated across skirt. Sleeves hang to elbows; diagonal folds are indicated. Hair is gathered in round mass at back of neck. Face consists of thin nose; curved line on side of face may indicate cheek. Thin pointed beard is indicated.

1056 NN 1159, NN 1254, and Erlenmeyer 8.
Rampant winged two-headed lion-creature consists of one body and two heads, one looking to left, other looking to right. Stands on hindlegs. Two wings extend horizontally from shoulders and two additional wings extend diagonally downward; single row of feathers and thin rib along top edge are indicated on each. Long tendril extends diagonally downward from between each pair of horizontal and diagonal wings and terminates in ankh. Faces consist of small rounded eye; nostrils and slightly open mouth are indicated on head facing to left.

Inscription occupies upper field, to either side of hero’s head.

Line border is preserved upper field, to either side of hero’s head.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. xxxxxxx

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: PN

The one-line inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal. It is possible that there are additional letters.

Garrison and Root published the inscription as Greek letters but struggled to find any clear reading. Recent research on the inscription now suggests that the inscription is a personal name written in Lydian.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal

Attestations of PFS 284*

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\footnote{Garrison and Root 2001, p. 192.}
PF 33-201 | PFS 284* | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed | not sealed

PFS 284* appears on seven Elamite documents and one uninscribed document, always in the single-seal protocol.\textsuperscript{1058}

These transactions are general receipts of commodities.

In each of the Elamite documents sealed with PFS 284*, Ukama receives rations (flour or wine) for himself and taššup (“soldiers,” “people”). Given the amount of the commodities, the number of troops would have been large.\textsuperscript{1059} Ukama is always qualified as Beziyamatiya (“the Beziyamatian”). Henkelman notes that Beziyamatiya is probably the Elamite rendering of Old Persian Paišiyāuvādā, an important town, perhaps a military stronghold, located either near Pasargadæ or Fasā, linked with two of the rebel kings at the time of Darius’ ascent to the throne.\textsuperscript{1060} Ukama is the only individual in the archive to carry this designation.\textsuperscript{1061}

The consistent use of the single-seal protocol and naming of Ukama as the receiver, coupled with what would appear to be the high rank/status of Ukama, suggests that PFS 284* is linked with him.\textsuperscript{1062}

\textbf{COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE}

The composition of PFS 284* carefully utilizes the rolled nature of the cylinder seal in its design. While the scene technically contains only one creature (albeit a double-headed creature), when the seal is rolled out the hero appears as if holding two creatures.

The manner of rendering the lion creature, particularly the wings, as well as the \textit{ankh} symbols, attest to strong Egyptian influence. The Lydian inscription would seem also to suggest that the seal originates in the western fringes of the empire.

Diverse Styles. Limbs are thin. Modeling is restrained. Thin bands are utilized throughout as detail, in the wings of the creature and the garment of the hero.

\textbf{BIBLIOGRAPHY}

Garrison 2011b, p. 59 (n. 157); Garrison 2017a, pp. 31, 116, and 341; Garrison and Ritner 2010, p. 5; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 192-93; Henkelman 2003a, p. 134 (n. 54);

\textsuperscript{1058} The right edges of some tablets are destroyed; owing to the consistent use of PFS 284* in accordance with the single-seal protocol, as well as the overall rarity of seals appearing on the right edge, it is unlikely that these surfaces were sealed.

\textsuperscript{1059} Cf. NN 1044, a travel ration, where Ukama receives rations for 1,060 soldiers; PF 329 may indicate 21,400 troops with him.

\textsuperscript{1060} Henkelman 2003a, p. 134 (n. 54); Henkelman 2010a, pp. 707-708.

\textsuperscript{1061} In PF 329, another general receipt, Karkiš receives flour rations for what appears to be an extremely large contingent of \textit{taššup} Bešiyamatiya (Bešiyamatiya troops). This Karkiš is the satrap at Kerman (as attested by his seal, PFS 233); other texts link Ukama and the satrap Karkiš (see the discussion in Henkelman 2010, pp. 704-08)).

Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Fake/Mock Catalogue Entries

Six seals from the Fortification archive include inscriptions that appear to be fake. These seals carry text-like elements that, at first glance, mimic legible text. However, these elements simply resemble signs/letters, rather than constitute a legible inscription. We classify them thus as mock inscriptions.

The ways in which the mock inscriptions are presented vary greatly. However, each of them presents an inscription in ways that are documented elsewhere among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive (e.g., within a panel, with case lines). Thus, we organize the following entries according to the same four visual characteristics used above as organizing principles: 1) orientation of the inscription; 2) location of the inscription within the overall glyptic design; 3) existence of a panel; 4) existence of case lines separating the lines of text.

Mock Group 1:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Terminal
With/Without Panel: With Panel
With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines
1. PFS 610*

The first method of presenting a fake/mock inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, one of the six seals carrying fake/mock inscriptions (approximately 17 percent) is so disposed.

PFS 610*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 28.C. Single Animal/Creature + Inscription: winged creature of Uncertain Type; Fortification Style(?)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)

---

1063 PF 360, PF 471, and NN 1522.
Preserved Length of Image: 2.5 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 5
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along top and bottom of design.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Winged (bull?) creature marchant; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Winged creature marchant (top of head, lower forelegs, hindlegs, tip of wing not preserved) faces to left. Stands with forelegs close together. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers and central ribbing are indicated. Head appears to be held downward with snout close to neck.

Inscription within panel with case line occupies terminal field.

INSCRIPTION
Line: NA

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

The inscription is enclosed in a panel with a case line. At present, the upper corners, as well as the bottom side of the panel are not preserved. The signs – single cuneiform wedges rendered geometrically – appear randomly dispersed in the cases.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF 360</td>
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<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 609</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF 471</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 700</td>
<td>PFS 700</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 707</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 700</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 781</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>PFS 2748*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN 1522</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 700</td>
<td>PFS 700 (x2)</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 610*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 610* appears on five Elamite documents, always in the counter-seal protocol.

In all instances, PFS 610* occurs as the supplier seal (on the left edge) with the counter-seal applied elsewhere (generally the reverse).
These transactions are receipts of commodity movement.\footnote{1064}{NN 781 is largely destroyed.}

All of the documents carrying impressions of PFS 610*\footnote{1065}{Irdubama, the satrap at Susa, is not the same individual as the Irdubama/Irdupma linked with PFS 610*.}, with the exception of NN 781, detail the allocation of grain by Irdubama/Irdupma. In three instances (PF 471, NN 707, and NN 1522), the seal patterns with PFS 700. Irdubama/Irdupma is named in one other text (NN 2046), a receipt of commodity deposit; the impression on the left edge is illegible.\footnote{1066}{See Chapter 5 for details.} While sealing protocols for receipts of commodity movement are not well understood, the consistent placement of the seal on the left edge of tablets and the repeated attestation of Irdubama/Irdupma as the \textit{kurman} official strongly suggest that PFS 610* is linked with him.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE**

Even though the inscription appears to be fake, the way it is presented (i.e., in the terminal field, within a panel, with case line(s)), as well as the compositional formula with which it is paired (i.e., a single animal marchant), clearly situates the seal within Persepolitan glyptic. Indeed, this particular combination of text and figural imagery is one of the most popular among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.\footnote{1066}{See Chapter 5 for details.}

Given its preservation, it is difficult to determine the exact stylistic category. We could perhaps place the seal in Mixed Styles I rather than the Fortification Style; the swelling of the chest indicates some modeled qualities.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**


**Mock Group 2:**

- Orientation: Vertical
- Location in Field: Terminal
- With/Without Panel: With Panel
- With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

\begin{itemize}
  \item PFS 671*
\end{itemize}

A second method of presenting a fake/mock inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the vertical axis, in the terminal field, within a panel, and with case lines. At present, one of the six seals carrying fake/mock inscriptions (approximately 17 percent) is so disposed.

\begin{itemize}
  \item PFS 671* (\textit{OIP} 117 Cat.No. 174)
\end{itemize}
Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: 500 BCE
Typology and Style: 01.C.04. Hero controls inverted animals or creatures: Lions;
Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.4 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 2.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.7 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Good
Completeness of Image: Middle section of design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Hero controls pair of inverted lions; paneled inscription in terminal field.

Hero (lower body not preserved) faces to left. Stands with arms, bent, extended to either side to grasp hindleg of inverted lion. Appears to wear long garment. Hair is gathered in rounded mass at back of neck. Face consists of triangular eye and outline of triangular nose. Short pointed beard is indicated.

To left and to right of hero is inverted lion (forelegs of animal at left, upper body of animal at right not preserved) facing upward. Held aloft by hindleg, straight, grasped by hero; other hindleg, straight, reaches out toward hero with paw resting on hero’s waist. Forelegs of lion at left apparently extend outward toward hero and downward toward ground. Tail curves upward from hindquarters and back toward body to terminate in small tuft. Mouth of lion at left is open and jaw is lined; round eye and nostril are indicated.

Inscription occupies terminal field within panel with case lines.

INSCRIPTION
Line: 1. […] xxxx […]
      2. […] x […] x […]

881
COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

The two-line inscription is enclosed in a panel with a case line and oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved. It is possible that there are additional signs. Within each case are various straight lines that seem to emulate cuneiform, however they lack any wedge-shaped elements; none constitute known signs.1067

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal

Attestations of PFS 671*

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<tr>
<td>PF 434</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 671*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFS 29</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFS 671* appears on one Elamite document and follows the counter-seal protocol.

PFS 671* occurs on the reverse with PFS 29 applied to the left edge.

This transaction is a receipt of commodity movement.

Owing to the uncertainty of sealing protocols on receipts of commodity movement (i.e., F texts like PF 434), as well as the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFS 671* includes many elements – textual and figural – that, despite the mock inscription, clearly situate the seal within Persepolitan glyptic. The paneled inscription in the terminal field and the heroic control encounter with lions are two of the most common features of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

Fortification Style.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mock Group 3:
Orientation: Horizontal
Location in Field: Central Space
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

A third method of presenting a fake/mock inscription among the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive is to orient the text along the horizontal axis, in the central space of the design, without a panel, and without case lines. At present, one of the six seals carrying fake/mock inscriptions (approximately 17 percent) is so disposed.

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 01.A.05. Hero controls winged lion creatures; Style unknown
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.6 cm (complete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.6 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 20
Quality of Impressions: Fair – Good
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details along bottom edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two heroes control pair of rampant bird-headed lion-creatures; inscription in central space between legs of creature at right.

At center of design, hero faces to right. Stands with feet close together, left in front of right. Arms, straight, extend to either side to grasp foreleg of composite creature. Wears belted ankle-length garment; tie of belt with two-pronged termination hangs in front of hips. Diagonal bands are indicated across chest and skirt of garment. Band across right bicep may indicate short sleeve. Appears to wear rounded headdress with projection at back of head. Hair is gathered in thin mass at back of neck and curves up at end. Pointed beard is indicated.

To left and to right of hero is rampant winged bird-headed lion-creature facing outward. Hindlegs are held close together and appear to terminate in talons. One foreleg, bent, extends upward in front of head; foreleg of creature at right terminates in triangular hoof(?). Other foreleg, straight, hangs diagonally downward toward legs of central hero;
terminates in hoof. Wing extends diagonally upward behind body; single row of feathers is indicated. Creature at right has bands across wing and triangular element along top edge. Long thin tail curves downward from hindquarters. Creature at left has pointed projections on body, above and below wing and between hindlegs. Bird’s beak(?) is open. Creature at right has detailing – horizontal bands with short vertical striations – along back of head and neck.

At far left of scene, second hero (left side of torso, legs not preserved) stands in what normally would be terminal field facing to right. Arms, bent, reach outward to either side to grasp wing of creature; left hand is triangular and wrist has thin bracelet. Wears long garment with rectangular detailing across chest and skirt. Appears to wear rounded headdress with projection at back of neck. Face consists of outline of large triangular nose. Long pointed beard hangs to chest.

To immediate right of second hero is small stand (bottom not preserved). Comprised of vertical base that flares toward bottom with vertical detailing along right side; triangular top has curved bands at center.

Inscription occupies space between legs of creature at right.

Edge of seal is complete at top of design and is preserved at bottom below inscription.

INSCRIPTION
Line:  
1. x x x
2. x x
3. x x x x x

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

The inscription occupies the space between the legs of the creature at right. It is comprised of three lines of what appear to be single vertical cuneiform wedges; some are slightly slanted. It is unclear what this arrangement might mean. At present, we consider it a mock inscription.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: single-seal, parallel-seal, multiple-seal

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<tr>
<td>PFAT 838</td>
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<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFUT 132-201</td>
<td>PFUTS 233s</td>
<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>PFUTS 234*</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
PFUTS 234* appears on one Aramaic and five uninscribed documents and follows three sealing protocols.

Single-Seal:
PFAT 838 and PFUT 704-201.

A translation of the Aramaic text, PFAT 838, was not available at the time of writing.

Parallel-Seal:
PFUT 132-201, PFUT 264-206, and PFUT 381-201.

Multiple-Seal:
PFUT 1015-203.

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The location of the inscription is uncommon among all of the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

Unknown Style. The schematic, abstract cutting style with much linear detailing is not a local phenomenon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mock Group 4:
Orientation: Uncertain
Location in Field: Uncertain
With/Without Panel: Without Panel
With/Without Case Lines: Without Case Lines

1. PFATS 376*s  2. PFUTS 361*s  3. PFUTS 563*s

A fourth group of seals carrying a fake/mock inscription have some uncertain compositional features. All three are stamp seals and either include inscriptions as the full design or in a location that makes determining the orientation difficult. None include
panels or case lines. At present, four of the six seals carrying mock inscriptions (approximately 67 percent) are so disposed.

PFATS 376*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 31. Inscription on own; Foreign (possibly west Semitic)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.8 cm (complete)
Preserved Width of Image: 2.1 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.8 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 2.1 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Inscription occupies full design (see below). Edge of seal is complete.

INSCRIPTION
Line: NA

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

There are multiple elements in various forms: S-shaped, straight, ovular, etc. If a mock inscription, an orientation is not discernible. Neither the script nor the language is identifiable. The letters/shapes vaguely resemble those on a west Semitic seal included in Avigad and Sass (no. 1182) that is thought to have been carved by a semi-illiterate person.1068 Stamp seals comprised entirely of alphabetic text are common within the western Semitic glyptic corpus.1069 The design is very similar to another seal in the Fortification archive, PFUTS 361*s.

1069 For examples, see Phoenician seals (nos. 719, 720, 722, and 723), Hebrew seals (nos. 218, 220, 221, and 225), and Aramaic seals (nos. 750, 752, 753, and 765) in Avigad and Sass (1997).
COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: multiple-seal, parallel-seal

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 388</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFAT 690</td>
<td>PFATS 376*s</td>
<td>PFATS 608s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFATS 376*s appears on two Aramaic documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Multiple-Seal:
PFAT 388.
This text is broken and illegible.

Parallel-Seal:
PFAT 690.
This text is broken and illegible.
Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEALICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
PFATS 376*s is very similar to PFUTS 361*s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Daly, Dusinberre, and Garrison Forthcoming.

PFUTS 361*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 31. Inscription on own; Foreign (possibly west Semitic)
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Preserved Width of Image: 2.0 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Number of Impressions: 2
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Almost complete

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Inscription occupies full design (see below). Edge of seal is preserved along most of seal face.

INSCRIPTION
Line: NA

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

There are multiple elements in various forms: straight, ovular, etc. The design is very similar to that on PFATS 376*s; see the catalogue entry above for comments.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: counter-seal, parallel-seal

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<tr>
<td>PFUT 86-101</td>
<td>PFUTS 362s</td>
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<td>PFUTS 361*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
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<td>PFUT 1031-101</td>
<td>PFUTS 361*s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>PFUTS 1206s</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 361*s appears on two uninscribed documents and follows two sealing protocols.

Counter-Seal:
PFUT 1031-101.

PFUTS 361*s occurs on the obverse with PFUTS 1206s applied to the left edge.

Parallel-Seal:
PFUT 86-101.

Seal attribution is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
See the catalogue entry above for PFATS 376*s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PFUTS 563*s

Seal Type: Stamp
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 18.V. Animal Combat - 2-figure: Horned animal: deer, gazelle, wild goat, wild sheep (caprid) and horned animal: deer, gazelle, wild goat, wild sheep (caprid); Fortification Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.3 cm (complete)
Preserved Width of Image: 1.3 cm (complete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
Estimated Width of Original Seal: 1.3 cm
Number of Impressions: 1
Quality of Impressions: Fair
Completeness of Image: Complete except for some details and portions of seal edge.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two quadrupeds; V-shaped elements around seal edge.

At top of design, quadruped (neck, parts of feet not preserved) appears recumbent with body angled to right but turning head back to left. One hindleg, bent, extends behind body; terminates in hoof. Other hindleg, or perhaps tail, bends upward from hindquarters and terminates in triangular tuft/hoof. One foreleg extends diagonally upward in front of body. Two projections, perhaps ears or horns, emerge from top of head; additional projection extends from back of head.

At bottom of design, quadruped (tip of horn not preserved) appears recumbent facing to right. One hindleg is tucked under torso; terminates in hoof with small ovular segment at end. One foreleg, straight, extends diagonally downward in front of body; terminates in large triangular hoof. Short pointed tail extends downward from hindquarters. Snout is long and rectangular. Two large horns emerge from front of head and curve back behind head.
V-shaped elements, perhaps letters, occur along edge of seal.

Edge of seal is preserved along most of seal face.

INSCRIPTION
Line: NA

COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION
Formula of Inscription: NA

At first glance, the V-shaped elements around the seal edge resemble letters/signs (Aramaic $gimel$? Winkelhacken?). However, the single element, seemingly repeated around the design, does not constitute legible text. As a result, we consider the inscription fake/mock.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE
Sealing Protocol: uncertain

Attestations of PFUTS 563*s

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFUT 170-207</td>
<td>PFUTS 563*s</td>
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<td>destroyed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>not sealed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PFUTS 563*s appears on one uninscribed document and follows an uncertain sealing protocol.\textsuperscript{1070}

Seal attribution is not possible.

COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
The exact dynamics of the scene are obscure. It may be an animal combat. While animal combat is a very popular thematic type among Persepolitan glyptic, the choice of a stamp seal to display the theme is less common.\textsuperscript{1071}

BIBLIOGRAPHY

\textsuperscript{1070} With the left edge and reverse of the tablet being destroyed, we cannot know if another seal occurred on the tablet.

\textsuperscript{1071} Among all of the seals from the Fortification archive that show two animals in a combat scene, approximately 16 percent are stamp seals.
Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Text Unknown Catalogue Entry

There is one seal in the Fortification archive that includes an inscription panel but apparently no text. It is unclear whether the inscription is simply not preserved or had not yet been carved at the time of its use on the documents of the Fortification archive. What is preserved at present consists of a panel, horizontally oriented, with case lines, in what is likely the terminal field.

Text Unknown Group 1:
  Orientation: Horizontal
  Location in Field: Terminal?
  With/Without Panel: With Panel
  With/Without Case Lines: With Case Lines

1. PFS 532*

PFS 532*

Seal Type: Cylinder
Earliest Dated Application: ND
Typology and Style: 09.H. Cult Imagery; Possible Worship Scenes; Modeled Style
Language(s) (or Script) of Inscription: NA
Preserved Height of Image: 1.5 cm (incomplete)
Preserved Length of Image: 3.2 cm (incomplete)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.0 cm
Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA
Number of Impressions: 3
Quality of Impressions: Poor
Completeness of Image: Part of middle of design survives along some of its length.

DESCRIPTION OF SEAL AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:
Two standing figures; paneled inscription in terminal field.
Figure at far right of preserved design (head, hands, legs not preserved) stands, presumably facing to right. One arm, straight, extends horizontally in front of body from torso; other arm, bent, is held at shoulder height.

Figure at far left of preserved design (back of head, hands, feet not preserved) stands facing to left, left leg in front of right; legs are leonine. One arm, straight, extends horizontally in front of body from torso; other arm, bent, is held at shoulder height in front of face. Hair is gathered in ovular mass at back of head. Face consists of large triangular nose. Short triangular beard is indicated.

Inscription panel with case lines occupies terminal field.

**INSCRIPTION**

<table>
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<td>1.?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
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**COMMENTARY ON INSCRIPTION**

Formula of Inscription: cannot be determined

Nothing of the text of the inscription is preserved. It appears that the text (either previously carved or planned to be carved) is/would be oriented along the horizontal axis with at least two case lines separating the lines. At present, the top and bottom of the panel are not preserved; based on the height of the figural scene, there is perhaps one additional line. The height of the second preserved case is very tall relative to the figural scene.

Line 1: no signs preserved.

Line 2: no signs preserved.

Line 3: no signs preserved.

**COMMENTARY ON SEAL USAGE**

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Upper Edge</th>
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<td>PFS 532*</td>
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PFS 532* appears on one Elamite document and follows the single-seal protocol.

This transaction is an allocation of live cattle.

Owing to the limited data, seal attribution is not possible.
COMMENTARY ON SEAL ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE
While the scene is only partially preserved, it seems that we have at least two worshipers; when the seal is rolled out, the two figures probably face each other, as well as any additional figure/creature/object in the scene, perhaps between them. With what appears to be leonine legs, the figure(s) may be animal-human hybrids. The exact dynamics of the scene remain unclear.

Modeled Style. The heart-shaped torso of each figure evokes a miniaturist Modeled Style, but the forms here are large and broadly modeled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Order of Catalogue Entries

Elamite Entries

Elamite Group 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
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<tr>
<td>PFS 25*</td>
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<td>PFS 36*</td>
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**Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Entries**

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PFS 2228* 579
PFS 2698* 580
PFS 2710* 583
PFS 2732* 585
PFS 2734* 587
PFS 3035* 589
PFS 3096* 592
PFUTS 824* 594

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PFUTS 927* 599

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 3
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PFUTS 333* 612

Cuneiform – Language Unrecognizable Group 5
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PFUTS 314* 625

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PFS 526* 636
PFS 1095* 638
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PFS 3008* 646
PFS 3113* 649

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**Aramaic Entries**

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<td>PFS 2899*</td>
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PFUTS 336*  743
Aramaic Group 7
PFUTS 230*  747

Aramaic Group 8
PFATS 24*  750
PFS 66a*  753
PFS 66b*  757
PFS 66c*  760
PFS 535*  762

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Aramaic Group 10
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PFS 815*  781
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PFUTS 114*  787
PFUTS 232*  790
PFUTS 305*  792

Aramaic Group 12
PFS 9*  769

Babylonian Entries

Babylonian Group 1
PFS 50*  803
PFS 165*  808
PFS 2687*  810

Babylonian Group 2
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PFS 451*s  832
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PFS 1216*s  840
PFS 1228*s  842
Trilingual Entries

Trilingual Group 1
PFS 7* 853
PFS 11* 859
PFS 113* 865
PFUTS 18* 868

Lydian Entry

Lydian Group 1
PFS 284* 874

Fake/Mock Entries

Fake/Mock Group 1
PFS 610* 878

Fake/Mock Group 2
PFS 671* 880

Fake/Mock Group 3
PFUTS 234* 883

Fake/Mock Group 4
PFATS 376*s 886
PFUTS 361*s 887
PFUTS 563*s 889

Text Unknown Entry

Text Unknown Group 1
PFS 532* 891
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

Part 3: Plates
Part 3 begins with a full set of the collated line drawings of the inscribed seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive arranged alphanumerically (PFATS, PFS, PFUTS). 61 of the collated drawings are by the author, 110 are by Mark Garrison, and three are by Elspeth Dusinberre.¹

Following the full set of seal drawings are plates arranged by chapter (2-8). Plates renumber at the start of each chapter.

The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 1: PFATS

(A) PFATS 22*

(B) PFATS 24*

(C) PFATS 34*s

(D) PFATS 130*

(E) PFATS 195*

(F) PFATS 376*s
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 2: PFS
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 3: PFS

(A) PFS 32*

(B) PFS 35*

(C) PFS 36*

(D) PFS 43*

(E) PFS 45*

(F) PFS 50*

(G) PFS 54*

(H) PFS 57*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 5: PFS

(A) PFS 82*

(B) PFS 83*

(C) PFS 85a*

(D) PFS 85b*

(E) PFS 93*

(F) PFS 98*

(G) PFS 103*

(H) PFS 108*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 6: PFS

(A) PFS 113*
(B) PFS 115*
(C) PFS 123*
(D) PFS 124*
(E) PFS 160*
(F) PFS 161*
(G) PFS 164*
(H) PFS 165*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 7: PFS
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 8: PFS
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 9: PFS

(A) PFS 523*

(B) PFS 526*

(C) PFS 532*

(D) PFS 535*

(E) PFS 543*

(F) PFS 584*

(G) PFS 588*

(H) PFS 610*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 10: PFS

(A) PFS 629*

(B) PFS 671*

(C) PFS 677*

(D) PFS 706*

(E) PFS 739*

(F) PFS 769*

(G) PFS 790*

(H) PFS 813*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 11: PFS

(A) PFS 815*

(B) PFS 816*

(C) PFS 848*

(D) PFS 859*

(E) PFS 883*

(F) PFS 931*

(G) PFS 981*

(H) PFS 1025*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 12: PFS

(A) PFS 1084*

(B) PFS 1095*

(C) PFS 1127*

(D) PFS 1161*

(E) PFS 1205*

(F) PFS 1216*

(G) PFS 1227*

(H) PFS 1228*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 13: PFS

(A) PFS 1240*

(B) PFS 1308*

(C) PFS 1334*

(D) PFS 1566*

(E) PFS 1567*

(F) PFS 1568*

(G) PFS 1572*

(H) PFS 1574*

914
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 14: PFS

(A) PFS 1601*

(B) PFS 1612*

(C) PFS 1632*

(D) PFS 1633*

(E) PFS 1637*

(F) PFS 2036*

(G) PFS 2076*

(H) PFS 2084*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 15: PFS

(A) PFS 2088*

(B) PFS 2089*

(C) PFS 2096*

(D) PFS 2099*

(E) PFS 2106*

(F) PFS 2117*

(G) PFS 2138*

(H) PFS 2207*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 16: PFS

A) PFS 2228*
B) PFS 2249*
C) PFS 2277*
D) PFS 2346*
E) PFS 2361*
F) PFS 2437*
G) PFS 2482*
H) PFS 2632*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 18: PFS

(A) PFS 2748*

(B) PFS 2781*

(C) PFS 2789*

(D) PFS 2899*

(E) PFS 3008*

(F) PFS 3035*

(G) PFS 3094*

(H) PFS 3096*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 19: PFS

(A) PFS 3113*

(B) PFS 3204*

(C) PFS 3257*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 20: PFUTS

(A) PFUTS 18*

(B) PFUTS 19*

(C) PFUTS 114*

(D) PFUTS 182*

(E) PFUTS 219*

(F) PFUTS 230*

(G) PFUTS 232*

(H) PFUTS 234*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 21: PFUTS

(A) PFUTS 245*

(B) PFUTS 264*

(C) PFUTS 273*

(D) PFUTS 293*

(E) PFUTS 305*

(F) PFUTS 314*

(G) PFUTS 332*

(H) PFUTS 333*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 22: PFUTS

(A) PFUTS 334*

(B) PFUTS 336*

(C) PFUTS 361*

(D) PFUTS 559*

(E) PFUTS 563*

(F) PFUTS 643*

(G) PFUTS 787*

(H) PFUTS 824*
The Inscribed Seals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive: Plate 23: PFUTS

(A) PFUTS 927*

(B) PFUTS 1217*

(C) PFUTS 1422*

(D) PFUTS 1530*

(E) PFUTS 1555*
Chapter 2 Plates
Chapter 2: Plate 1: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Early Dynastic I-III)

(A) Amiet 1961, no. 955

(B) No. 2514 (Baghdad, Iraq Museum) (Frankfort 1996, no. 79)

(C) U.11751/BM 122536 (Rohn 2011, no. 54)

Chapter 2: Plate 2: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Akkadian)

(A) Chicago A917 (Rakic 2018, fig. 6.3a)

(B) U.7953/BM 120529 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1928-1009-12)

(C) U.8988/BM 120572 (Rohn 2011, no. 137)

(D) Chicago A526 (Rakic 2018, fig. 6.1)

(E) AM 1952.24 (Rohn 2011, no. 511)
Chapter 2: Plate 3: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Ur III)

(A) Morgan Seal 292 (Eppihimer 2013, fig. 6)

(B) Buchanan 1966, no. 440
Chapter 2: Plate 4: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Old Assyrian)

(A) ICK 1 29A (Teissier 1994, no. 22)

(B) CS 441 (Eppihimer 2013, fig. 3)
Chapter 2: Plate 5: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Old Babylonian)

(A) TC 3 45A (Teissier 1994, no. 618)

(B) BM 129511 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1945-1013-55)

(C) BM 102517 (Collon 1987, no. 168)

(D) L. 76.14 (Collon 1987, no. 193)
Chapter 2: Plate 6: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Kassite)

(A) VR 557 (Matthews 1990, no. 6)

6. VR 557

(B) Louvre A604 (Matthews 1990, no. 230)

230. Louvre A604

(C) Geneva 56 (Matthews 1990, no. 145)

145. Geneva 56
Chapter 2: Plate 7: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Mitannian)

591. Saushtatar

(A) Matthews 1990, no. 591
416. Louvre A708

(A) Louvre A708 (Matthews 1990, no. 416)
Chapter 2: Plate 9: II.a. Pre-1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Middle Elamite)

(A) Porada 1970, pl. XIV/8
(B) Álvarez-Mon 2020, pl. 122c
Chapter 2: Plate 10: II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Neo-Assyrian)

(A) BM 50790 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1882-0323-1782)

(B) ND 7080 (Winter 2010, fig. 1)

(C) ND 4336 (Watanabe 1993, no. 1.1)

(D) Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 88

(E) Ash. 1922.61 (Niederreiter 2015, no. 4)

(F) AO 3877 (Niederreiter 2015, no. 5)

(G) BM 89135 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1983-0101-210)

(H) Herbordt 1992, no. Nrd 2
Chapter 2: Plate 11: II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Neo-Assyrian)

(A) VA 5180 (Watanabe 1999, no. 1.1.1.)
Chapter 2: Plate 12: II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Assyro-Babylonian)

(A) BM 89148 (Watanabe 1993, no. 8.20)

(B) BM 89130 (Watanabe 1995a, no. 1.2)
Chapter 2: Plate 13: II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Late Neo-Elamite)

(A) Amiet 1973, no. 43

(B) Amiet 1973, no. 11

(C) Amiet 1973, no. 35

(D) Amiet 1973, no. 29

(E) Amiet 1973, no. 8

(F) Amiet 1973, no. 16 (Garrison 2018, fig. 32.1)

(G) Amiet 1973, no. 52

(H) Amiet 1973, no. 17
Chapter 2: Plate 14: II.b. 1st Millennium Inscribed Seals (Late Babylonian)

(A) AO 6784 (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 39)

(B) NBC 4286 (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 133)
Chapter 3 Plates
Chapter 3: Plate 1: I.a.1. Discovery of the Archive

(A) Map of Takht and surrounding areas, Persepolis. Location of Fortification archive is outlined in blue (adapted from Garrison and Root 2001, fig. 3)
Chapter 3: Plate 2: II. The Persepolis Fortification Archive: Document Types and Sealing Protocols

(A) Surfaces of tablets (memoranda) (adapted from Garrison and Root 2001, fig. 7)
Chapter 4 Plates
Chapter 4: Plate 1: IV.b. Combinations of Specific Figural Imagery and Languages/Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

(A) Thematic Types According to Language of Seal Inscription
Chapter 4: Plate 2: IV.b. Combinations of Specific Figural Imagery and Languages/Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

(A) Thematic Types According to Elamite Inscriptional Formulae
Chapter 4: Plate 3: IV.b. Combinations of Specific Figural Imagery and Languages/Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

![Diagram showing thematic types and Aramaic insessional formulae with bar charts for different elements like Heroic Combat Encounter, Archers, Seated Personages, Warfare, Heroic Control Encounter, Hunt, Cult, and Hero Holds Animals at Chest.]

(A) Thematic Types According to Aramaic Insessional Formulae
Chapter 4: Plate 4: IV.b. Combinations of Specific Figural Imagery and Languages/Formulae of Seal Inscriptions

(A) Thematic Types According to Babylonian Inscriptional Formulae
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Chapter 5: Plate 1: II.a.1. Cult Imagery: Worshper Before Symbols/Cult Objects on Podium/Pedestal

(A) PFATS 34*s

(B) PFS 289*s

(C) PFS 451*s

(D) PFS 813*

(E) PFS 1205*s

(F) PFS 1216*s

(G) PFS 1228*s

(H) PFS 1240*
Chapter 5: Plate 2: II.a.2. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Animal/Creature

(A) PFS 85a*

(B) PFS 85b*

(C) PFS 706*

(D) PFS 2096*

(E) PFS 1572*
Chapter 5: Plate 3: Il.a.3. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Winged Symbol

(A) PFS 82*

(B) PFS 389*

(C) PFS 1567*

(D) PFS 3035*

(E) PFS 3094*
Chapter 5: Plate 5: II.a.5. Cult Imagery: Atlas Figure

(A) PFS 83*

(B) PFS 2361*
Chapter 5: Plate 6: II.a.6. Cult Imagery: Worshiper(s) Before Stylized Tree

(A) PFS 2089*
Chapter 5: Plate 7: II.a.7. Cult Imagery: Anthropomorphic Deity in Isolation

(A) PFUTS 824*
Chapter 5: Plate 8: II.a.8. Cult Imagery: Exact Composition Unclear

(A) PFS 1095*

(B) PFS 2207*

(C) PFS 2684*

(D) PFS 3113*

(E) PFS 532*

(A) PFATS 22*

(B) PFS 9*

(C) PFS 815*

(D) PFUTS 114*

(E) PFS 1632*

(F) PFS 57*

(G) PFS 98*

(H) PFS 1566*
Chapter 5: Plate 11: II.b.2. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Threatens Animal/Creature with Weapon Held Up Behind Head

(A) PFS 54*

(B) PFS 1612*

(C) PFS 4*

(D) PFS 272*

(E) PFS 769*

(F) PFS 1637*

(G) PFS 2099*

(H) PFS 2632*
Chapter 5: Plate 12: II.b.2. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Threatens Animal/Creature with Weapons Held Up Behind Head

(A) PFS 2781*

(B) PFUTS 927*
Chapter 5: Plate 13: II.b.3. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Stabs Animal/Creature

(A) PFS 266*
(B) PFUTS 1217*
(C) PFS 43*
(D) PFS 523*
(E) PFS 584*
(F) PFS 2249*
(G) PFS 2789*
(H) PFS 859*
Chapter 5: Plate 14: II.b.3. Heroic Combat Encounter: Hero Stabs Animal/Creature

(A) PFUTS 245*
Chapter 5: Plate 15: II.b.4. Heroic Combat Encounter: Two Heroes Combat Animal(s)/Creature(s)

(A) PFS 1334*

(B) PFS 931*

(C) PFS 1227*
Chapter 5: Plate 16: Il.c.1. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Rampant Animals/Creatures

(A) PFS 16*

(B) PFS 123*

(C) PFS 164*

(D) PFS 981*

(E) PFS 1633*

(F) PFUTS 230*

(G) PFUTS 264*

(H) PFUTS 219*
Chapter 5: Plate 17: II.c.1. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Rampant Animals/Creatures
Chapter 5: Plate 18: II.c.1. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Rampant Animals/Creatures

(A) PFS 3008*

(B) PFS 7*

(C) PFS 113*

(D) PFUTS 234*
Chapter 5: Plate 19: II.c.2. Heroic Control Encounter: Hero Controls Inverted Animals/Creatures

(A) PFUTS 1555*

(B) PFS 1*

(C) PFS 32*

(D) PFS 2748*

(E) PFS 64*

(F) PFUTS 18*

(G) PFS 671*

(H) PFS 677*
Chapter 5: Plate 20: II.d. Single Animal/Creature

(A) PFS 27*

(B) PFS 45*

(C) PFS 73*

(D) PFS 124*

(E) PFS 188a*

(F) PFS 188b*

(G) PFS 543*

(H) PFS 1574*
Chapter 5: Plate 21: II.d. Single Animal/Creature

(A) PFS 2346*
(B) PFUTS 643*
(C) PFS 1161*
(D) PFS 2036*
(E) PFS 2698*
(F) PFS 2710*
(G) PFS 2732*
(H) PFS 2734*

(A) PFS 3096*

(B) PFS 610*
Chapter 5: Plate 23: II.e. Archers
Chapter 5: Plate 24: II.e. Archers

(A) PFS 848*

(B) PFS 2277*

(C) PFS 2707*

(D) PFUTS 182*

(E) PFUTS 1422*

(F) PFS 35*

(G) PFS 629*

(H) PFS 1127*
Chapter 5: Plate 25: II.f. Seated Personages

(A) PFATS 24*

(B) PFS 66a*

(C) PFS 66b*

(D) PFS 66c*

(E) PFS 535*

(F) PFUTS 305*

(G) PFS 1601*

(H) PFS 3204*
Chapter 5: Plate 26: II.g. Crossed/Intertwined Animal(s)/Creature(s)
Chapter 5: Plate 27: II.h. Warfare

(A) PFS 2084*

(B) PFS 2899*

(C) PFUTS 273*

(D) PFUTS 336*

(E) PFUTS 559*
Chapter 5: Plate 28: II.i. Heraldic Animal(s)/Creature(s)
Chapter 5: Plate 29: II.j. Hunt with Spear

(A) PFS 2106*

(B) PFUTS 232*

(C) PFS 2076*

(D) PFUTS 314*
Chapter 5: Plate 30: II.k. Inscription on Own

(A) PFATS 376*  
(B) PFUTS 361*  
(C) PFS 296*  
(D) PFS 2482*
Chapter 5: Plate 31: II.1. Human(s) Interacting with Animal(s)/Creature(s)

(A) PFS 739*
Chapter 5: Plate 32: II.m. Hero Holds Animals at Chest

(A) PFUTS 1530*
Chapter 5: Plate 33: II.n. Animal Combat

(A) PFUTS 563*s
Chapter 5: Plate 34: III.a. Figural Imagery: Inscribed Seals Versus Seals without Inscriptions

(A) Percentage of thematic types among inscribed seals and seals without inscriptions
Chapter 5: Plate 35: III.b.1. Court-Centric Iconography
Chapter 6 Plates
Chapter 6: Plate 1: II.a.1.a Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated
Chapter 6: Plate 2: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 2106*  

(B) PFUTS 1555*  

(C) PFS 1*  

(D) PFS 25*  

(E) PFS 36*  

(F) PFS 43*  

(G) PFS 73*  

(H) PFS 81*
Chapter 6: Plate 3: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 124*
(B) PFS 188a*
(C) PFS 188b*
(D) PFS 199*
(E) PFS 272*
(F) PFS 543*
(G) PFS 584*
(H) PFS 588*
Chapter 6: Plate 4: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 769*

(B) PFS 1566*

(C) PFS 1567*

(D) PFS 2099*

(E) PFS 2249*

(F) PFS 2277*

(G) PFS 2437*

(H) PFS 2632*
Chapter 6: Plate 5: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 2707*

(B) PFS 2737*

(C) PFS 2748*

(D) PFS 2789*

(E) PFS 3257*

(F) PFUTS 182*

(G) PFUTS 293*

(H) PFUTS 334*
Chapter 6: Plate 6: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFUTS 643*

(B) PFUTS 787*

(C) PFUTS 1422*

(D) PFS 64*

(E) PFS 526*

(F) PFS 859*

(G) PFS 1084*

(H) PFS 1095*
Chapter 6: Plate 7: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 1127*
(B) PFS 1227*
(C) PFS 2036*
(D) PFS 2088*
(E) PFS 2138*
(F) PFS 2207*
(G) PFS 2228*
(H) PFS 2734*
Chapter 6: Plate 8: II.a.1.a. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Isolated

(A) PFS 3096*
(B) PFS 7*
(C) PFS 11*
(D) PFS 113*
(E) PFUTS 18*
(F) PFS 610*
(G) PFS 671*
(H) PFS 532*
Chapter 6: Plate 9: II.a.1.b. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Figural Imagery Encroaches Into Panel or Serves as Part of the Panel Itself

(A) PFS 45*
(B) PFS 261*
(C) PFS 706*
(D) PFS 2781*
(E) PFS 35*
(F) PFS 739*
(G) PFS 816*
(H) PFS 2076*
Chapter 6: Plate 10: II.a.1.b. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Figural Imagery Encroaches Into Panel or Serves as Part of the Panel Itself

(A) PFS 2698*

(B) PFS 2710*

(C) PFS 2732*
Chapter 6: Plate 11: II.a.1.c. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Inscription in Panel Carries Over into Figural Field

(A) PFS 160*

(B) PFS 1574*

(C) PFS 1637*

(D) PFS 2096*

(E) PFS 2781*

(F) PFS 3008*
Chapter 6: Plate 12: II.a.1.d. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Above Figural Imagery

(A) PFS 1568*

(B) PFS 523*

(C) PFS 3035*
Chapter 6: Plate 13: II.a.1.e. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel is in Terminal Field: Panel is Below Figural Imagery

(A) PFS 1601*
Chapter 6: Plate 14: II.a.2. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel Serves as Central Focus of Figural Imagery
Chapter 6: Plate 15: II.a.3. Paneled Inscriptions: Panel Appears Above Figural Imagery in Figural Field

(A) PFS 83*

(B) PFUTS 314*
Chapter 6: Plate 16: II.b. Inscriptions With Just Case Lines

(A) PFUTS 273*  
(B) PFUTS 1530*  
(C) PFS 4*  
(D) PFS 98*  
(E) PFS 181*  
(F) PFS 425*  
(G) PFS 931*  
(H) PFS 1025*
Chapter 6: Plate 17: II.b. Inscriptions With Just Case Lines

(A) PFS 1161*
Chapter 6: Plate 18: II.c.1. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out the Terminal Field

(A) PFS 82*

(B) PFS 164*

(C) PFS 815*

(D) PFS 1633*

(E) PFS 2899*

(F) PFUTS 19*

(G) PFUTS 114*

(H) PFUTS 264*
Chapter 6: Plate 19: II.c.1. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out the Terminal Field
Chapter 6: Plate 20: II.c.1. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out the Terminal Field
Chapter 6: Plate 21: II.c.1. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out the Terminal Field

(A) PFUTS 245*

(A) PFATS 22*
(B) PFS 9*
(C) PFS 123*
(D) PFS 1612*
(E) PFS 2084*
(F) PFUTS 230*
(G) PFUTS 336*
(H) PFS 284*
Chapter 6: Plate 23: II.c.2. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out Space Above, Between, Below Figures

(A) PFS 27*

(C) PFS 848*

(E) PFS 629*

(G) PFS 1572*

(B) PFS 103*

(D) PFS 2089*

(F) PFS 790*

(H) PFUTS 333*
Chapter 6: Plate 24: II.c.2. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Fill-Out Space Above, Between, Below Figures

(A) PFUTS 234*
Chapter 6: Plate 25: II.c.3. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Comprise Full Design

(A) PFATS 376*s

(B) PFUTS 361*s
Chapter 6: Plate 26: II.c.4. Free-Floating Inscriptions: Letters/Signs Occur at Edge of Stamp Seal

(A) PFATS 34*s

(B) PFS 161*s

(C) PFS 289*s

(D) PFS 451*s

(E) PFS 1205*s

(F) PFS 1216*s

(G) PFS 1228*s

(H) PFUTS 563*s
Chapter 6: Plate 27: III.c. Paneled Inscription with Ritual/Numinous Imagery

(A) PFS 83*

(B) PFS 1334*

(C) PFS 1601*

(D) PFS 3035*
Chapter 7 Plates
Chapter 7: Plate I: II.a.1. Seal Users and Administrative Function: The Royal Family

(A) PFS 2899*
Chapter 7: Plate 2: II.a.2. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Director and Deputy-Director
Chapter 7: Plate 3: II.a.3. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Regional Directors

(A) PFS 1*

(B) PFS 4*
Chapter 7: Plate 4: II.a.4. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Šaramanna/Damanna Officials

(A) PFS 25*
(B) PFS 32*
(C) PFS 35*
(D) PFS 36*
(E) PFS 43*
(F) PFS 45*
(G) PFS 64*
(H) PFS 77*
Chapter 7: Plate 5: II.a.4. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Šaramanna/Damanna Officials

(A) PFS 81*

(B) PFS 82*

(C) PFS 85a*

(D) PFS 85b*

(E) PFS 98*

(F) PFS 113*

(G) PFS 124*

(H) PFS 164*
Chapter 7: Plate 6: II.a.4. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Šaramanna/Damanna Officials

(A) PFS 535*

(B) PFS 588*

(C) PFS 815*

(D) PFS 981*

(E) PFS 1566*

(F) PFS 1572*

(G) PFUTS 305*
Chapter 7: Plate 7: II.a.5. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Accounting Officials/Offices

(A) PFS 27*

(B) PFS 1574*

(C) PFS 1633*

(D) PFS 2076*

(E) PFS 2084*

(F) PFS 2088*

(G) PFS 2089*

(H) PFS 2096*
Chapter 7: Plate 8: II.a.5. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Accounting Officials/Offices

(A) PFS 2099*

(B) PFS 2106*

(C) PFS 2249*

(D) PFS 57*

(E) PFS 103*

(F) PFS 108*

(G) PFS 1637*
Chapter 7: Plate 9: II.a.5. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Accounting Officials/Offices

(A) PFS 50*

(B) PFS 1216*s
Chapter 7: Plate 10: II.a.6. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Receivers in Rations for Travel

(A) PFS 81*

(B) PFS 289*

(C) PFS 299*

(D) PFS 1216*

(E) PFS 1240*

(F) PFS 1308*

(G) PFS 1334*

(H) PFS 1612*
Chapter 7: Plate 11: II.a.6. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Receivers in Rations for Travel

(A) PFS 2228*

(B) PFS 3035*

(C) PFS 3113*
Chapter 7: Plate 12: II.a.7. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Receivers in Non-Travel Ration Texts

(A) PFATS 22
(B) PFS 73
(C) PFS 160
(D) PFS 181
(E) PFS 284
(F) PFS 320
(G) PFS 677
(H) PFS 1095
Chapter 7: Plate 13: II.a.7. Seal Users and Administrative Function: Receivers in Non-Travel Ration Texts

(A) PFS 1205*

(B) PFS 2117*
Chapter 7: Plate 15: II.a.9. Seal Users and Administrative Function: The Royal Table

(A) PFS 7*

(B) PFS 66a*

(C) PFS 66b*

(D) PFS 66c*

(E) PFS 93*

(F) PFS 859*
Chapter 7: Plate 16: IV. The Royal-Name Seals

(A) PFS 7*  
(B) PFS 11*  
(C) PFS 113*  
(D) PFUTS 18*
Chapter 7: Plate 17: V. Conclusion: PFS 535*
Chapter 8 Plates
Chapter 8: Plate 1: II.a. Assyro-Babylonian Inscribed Seals

(A) PFS 98*

(B) PFS 272*

(C) PFS 769*

(D) PFS 931*

(E) PFS 1227*

(F) PFS 1566*

(G) PFS 1637*

(H) PFS 2099*
Chapter 8: Plate 2: II.a. Assyro-Babylonian Inscribed Seals

(A) PFS 2632*

(B) PFS 2781*

(C) PFUTS 927*
Chapter 8: Plate 3: II.a. Assyro-Babylonian Inscribed Seals

(A) PFS 2089*

(B) PFS 27*

(C) PFS 103*

(D) Jeanette and Jonathan P. Rosen Collection (New York): 3693 (Niederreiter 2015, no. 3)

(E) AO 3877 (Niederreiter 2015, no. 5)
Chapter 8: Plate 4: II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

(A) Amiet 1973, no. 43

(B) PFS 27*

(C) PFS 45*

(D) PFS 73*

(E) PFS 124*

(F) PFS 188a*

(G) PFS 188b*

(H) PFS 543*
Chapter 8: Plate 5: II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

(A) PFS 610*

(B) PFS 1161*

(C) PFS 1574*

(D) PFS 2036*

(E) PFS 2346*

(F) PFS 2698*

(G) PFS 2710*

(H) PFS 2732*
Chapter 8: Plate 6: II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

(A) PFS 2734*
(B) PFS 3096*
(C) PFUTS 643*
(D) Amiet 1973, no. 35
(E) PFS 25*
(F) PFS 81*
(G) PFS 160*
(H) PFS 588*
Chapter 8: Plate 7: II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

(A) PFS 1084*

(B) PFS 2088*

(C) PFS 2228*

(D) PFUTS 334*

(E) Amiet 1973, no. 11

(F) PFS 320*

(G) PFS 816*

(H) PFS 2737*
Chapter 8: Plate 8: II.b. The Late Neo-Elamite Glyptic Style

(A) PFUTS 333*
Chapter 8: Plate 9: II.c. Late Babylonian Inscribed Seals

(A) AO 6784 (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 39)

(B) NBC 4286 (Ehrenberg 1999, no. 133)

(C) PFATS 34*

(D) PFS 289*

(E) PFS 451*

(F) PFS 813*

(G) PFS 1205*

(H) PFS 1216*
Chapter 8: Plate 10: II.c. Late Babylonian Inscribed Seals

(A) PFS 1228*s

(B) PFS 1240*

(C) PFS 161*s
Chapter 8: Plate 11: IV. Conclusion: Tradition in Innovation