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Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Jan., 1985, Vol. 89, No. 1, Centennial Issue (Jan., 1985), pp. 103-120

Published by: Archaeological Institute of America

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The Parthenon Frieze and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis: Reassessing a Programmatic Relationship*

MARGARET COOL ROOT

(Pls. A, 22–25)

Abstract

The Parthenon frieze and the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis are frequently invoked as symbols of the polarity between Greek democracy and Persian despotism, the one depicting the citizenry of Athens freely convening to celebrate the Great Panathenaia, the other depicting representatives of the subject nations forced to offer their wealth to the Great King on New Year's Day. In this article, however, the possibility of a programmatic relationship between these two important monuments is reassessed in light of recent scholarship which demonstrates the metaphorical nature of the Apadana reliefs as a vision of idealized social order.

Significant similarities in narrative structure and thematic content emerge from this analysis. When the Parthenon is understood in the context of the imperial mood of the mid-fifth century, these similarities imply Athenian awareness and indeed emulation of the Persian imperial program. The Parthenon frieze emerges as a monument rich in the multiple connotations of a votive relief in a world where the cult of Athena had become intimately bound up in the service of empire. It is seen as a statement of the idealized imperial aspirations of Athens couched in a metaphor of imminent procession borrowed from the Persians and recast in an eminently Athenian mode.

More than thirty years ago—well in advance of the first volume of the final excavation record of Persepo-

lis—A.W. Lawrence offered a series of perceptive and provocative observations on the general similarities of form and function between the ceremonial citadel of the Persians and the Akropolis of the Athenians.¹ Implicit in his discussion is the notion that Athens must have consciously embraced and internalized critical aspects of Persian imperial manifestations. Since then, several scholars have suggested more specifically that the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis provided a formal prototype for the Parthenon frieze as an extended two-pronged representation which illustrates an actual and recurring procession. Either tacitly or explicitly, however, they have all assumed that the Apadana was quoted on this straightforward formal level deliberately to provide, in the words of Ashmole, a “democratic *counterblast*” to the Persian mode of government (my emphasis).² Brommer has drawn us even further away from Lawrence's original idea of conscious emulation by suggesting that we should probably reject the concept of any determining relationship between the Apadana reliefs and the Parthenon frieze as being “unwahrscheinlich, umso mehr, wenn man an die griechischen Vorläufer denkt.”³ Because of the great significance of Brommer's work as the definitive

especially B.S. Ridgway. I alone am responsible for the analysis presented here.

The following special abbreviations are used:

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|----------|---|
| Boardman | J. Boardman, “The Parthenon Frieze—Another View,” <i>Festschrift für Frank Brommer</i> (Mainz 1977) 39–49. |
| Brommer | F. Brommer, <i>Der Parthenonfries. Katalog und Untersuchung</i> (Mainz 1977). |
| Root | M.C. Root, <i>The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire</i> (<i>Acta Iranica</i> 19, Leiden 1979). |

Simon 1983 E. Simon, *The Festivals of Attica* (Madison 1983).

¹ “The Acropolis and Persepolis,” *JHS* 71 (1951) 111–19.

² B. Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (London 1972) 117. See also G.M.A. Hanfmann, “Narration in Greek Art,” *AJA* 61 (1957) 76; H. Luschey, “Iran und der Westen,” *AMIran* 1 (1968) 23; E.G. Pemberton, “The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon,” *AJA* 80 (1976) 124; and S. Moscati, *Il volto del potere: arte imperialistica nell'antichità* (Rome 1978) 122.

³ Brommer 173.

* The idea for this study emerged from an undergraduate honors thesis by Victoria Weston Julius, written under my supervision in 1981. Ms. Julius and I prepared a joint paper on the subject for the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1981: *AJA* 86 (1982) 283. Since that time, I have continued work on the relations between the Parthenon and the Apadana without benefit of Ms. Julius' good mind and energetic collaboration, although the work she did remains a meaningful part of this endeavor. My own thoughts have, however, changed a great deal between 1981 and the present. This article is based on a paper which I delivered at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America in February 1983.

I thank Gail Hoffman, Margaret Morden and Jacqueline Royer, doctoral candidates at The University of Michigan, for research assistance and preparation of drawings—supported by funds generously supplied by the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and by a grant from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, The University of Michigan. For valuable suggestions and references I acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of N. Cahill, A.A. Donohue, A. Momigliano, J.G. Pedley, I.J. Winter, and

documentary volume on the Parthenon frieze, his view has the potential to decide an issue which some scholars would in any case apparently prefer to avoid. Indeed, Kroll makes short work even of the theoretical possibility of Persian impact on the Parthenon frieze by stating that any connection between the two monuments "could be considered seriously only if there were no well established Greek precedents for portrayals of sacrificial processions."⁴

There is, however, need to re-evaluate the implications of Lawrence's reflections. A considerable amount of documentary and interpretive scholarship on the Parthenon, on Persepolis, and on Graeco-Persian political, social and economic history has appeared in the last ten years which both necessitates and facilitates the reassessment of a programmatic relationship between the two sculptural systems along lines which Lawrence could not possibly have pursued in 1951.⁵ Here I propose to demonstrate: 1) that there are indeed critical points of similarity between the Parthenon and the Apadana reliefs; 2) that these similarities imply not only Athenian awareness, but also conscious emulation, of the Persian programmatic vision; and 3) that such emulation is a plausible, even inevitable, result of the historical context out of which the Parthenon emerged. The discussion which follows condenses the central point of a forthcoming monograph in which problems only touched upon here are placed in a broader art historical framework. While in this discussion I have avoided elaborate commentary on the views of others regarding specific aspects of the Parthenon and the Apadana, historiographic concerns

play an important role in the fuller work, where, for instance, it will be shown that the history of analytic treatment of the Parthenon frieze and the Apadana reliefs runs a revealingly parallel course. Here, brevity demands primary focus on my own view of each monument, a view which owes much, of course, to the contributions of others before me.

THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

The decision to build the Parthenon (traditionally dated around 449) was made when Athens had successfully stood up to Persia and was herself building an empire. While Meiggs warns us against being overly cynical about the motives of Athens in taking on the role of leader in the Delian League in 478/7, the fact remains that the transfer of the League's treasury from Delos to Athens in 454 is a tangible demonstration of Athenian controlling ambitions transcending the disinterested administration of an alliance among equals.⁶ Measuring about 110 × 237 feet at the bottom step, the Parthenon is the largest and most sumptuous temple in mainland Greece—with the significant exception of the Olympieion in the lower city, which was begun under the Peisistratid tyranny to rival the giant edifices of Asia Minor.⁷

Although work on the Parthenon sculpture continued for six years after the dedication in 438, the frieze itself had to have been planned, if not necessarily completely executed, well before the dedication date. This fact does not, however, preclude the possibility that it was planned rather late—perhaps not until the close of the 440s.⁸ Crowning the exterior of the cella and

⁴ J.H. Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief," *AJA* 83 (1979) 349.

⁵ Among the publications that contribute most comprehensively to a new understanding of Persepolis are: E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1 (*OIP* 68, Chicago 1953); F. Kretter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen* (Teheraner Forschungen 3, Berlin 1971); A.B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars* (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 16, Rome 1972), "A Study on the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone and on the Parts Left Unfinished in Achaemenian Architecture and Sculpture," *East and West* 18 (1968) 67–95, and *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars* 2 (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 18, Rome 1978); Root; and M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis* (*Iran* 21 [1983]), which deals with labor organization at the site and its implications for dating.

⁶ R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 42–43. Approval for construction of the Parthenon and for the use of League funds for this and other building projects in Athens presumably took place ca. 449 by means of a formal decree. This so-called Congress Decree has been linked directly to the Peace of Kallias—the decree being considered a logical result of the treaty with Persia. Such a peace, in effect, freed the Athenians from their (presumed) oath before the Battle of Plataia, in which they are said to have vowed not to rebuild their temples, but to leave them in ruins as memorials of war. J. Walsh has recently argued for an earlier date for the Peace of Kallias (ca. 465/4): "The Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree," *Chiron* 11 (1981) 31–63, esp. 52–55. He sug-

gests that the "Congress Decree" was a temporary failure in the sense that it was proposed by a young Perikles in 464/3, but not acted upon until the beginning of the 440s. For an archaeological perspective on the planning of the Parthenon and related issues, see T.L. Shear, Jr., *Studies in the Early Projects of the Periclean Building Program* (Diss. Princeton University 1966), J. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen 1970), and F.E. Winter, "Tradition and Innovation in Doric Temple Design III: The Work of Iktinos," *AJA* 84 (1980) 399–416.

⁷ On the Parthenon: W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (London 1950) 159–79, and G.P. Stevens, "The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon," *Hesperia* Suppl. 3 (1940); see also the important commentary by Winter (supra n. 6) on the deliberateness of innovative architectural features, which is pertinent here in the context of how the frieze itself relates to traditional modes. For the Olympieion: Dinsmoor 91, 280–81.

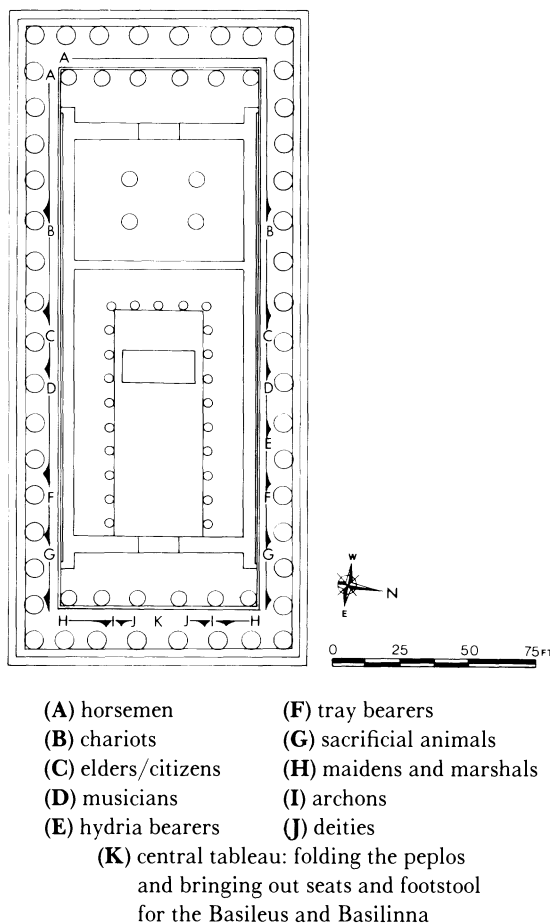
⁸ On the west and east the method of carving suggests the likelihood of execution in the workshop, and hence completion well before that of the structure itself in time for the dedication in 438. On the long sides, however, the figures overlapping the joints between blocks suggest that here work was done in situ. In either case, the entire frieze must (I believe) have been planned, if not executed, at the same time. Stillwell's analysis presupposes either an elaborate planning procedure using an architectural model to scale, or else the blocking out of the figures in situ: R. Stillwell, "The Panathenaic Frieze: Optical Relations," *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 231–41. See also B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*

porch walls, it provides a continuous sequence of figural imagery which starts at the southwest corner and proceeds in two directions toward the center of the east side, over the entrance to the pronaos (ill. 1). There is general agreement that in some sense the relief represents the Great Panathenaic procession. Many debated points of interpretation remain, but those of particular relevance here involve *narrative structure, thematic context* and *precedents in Greek tradition*.

As I see the frieze, it describes one single moment experienced by a definite order of participants in a definite order of locations. It is a complex expression of a moment *before* a procession is to begin.⁹ Everything is shown at the same absolute point in time, but captured within this point in time are figures who are in different stages of readiness for the beginning of the formal activity. Depending upon the spatial positions occupied by a given group of figures (close to the front line of the processional formation or farther back), the group exhibits a corresponding psychological position relative to the impending start of the procession. Thus, for example, the horsemen on the west are in a state of preliminary preparation, while those on the south and north are set to go—charging ahead and pulling back (pl. 22, fig. 1a–b).

By the same token, the mood shifts as we reach the elders, musicians, offering bearers and sacrificial animals. They are all closer still to their final spatial positions and thus are displaying moods correspondingly subdued (pl. 22, fig. 2). The last figure on the north (panel I) is posed frontally with one hand crossed over the other, preparing us for a transition which is completed around the corner by the formal verticality of the maidens' robes (pl. 23, fig. 3). A veil of quietude has settled over the celebrants at the front. Marshals give final instructions now. One of them (marked "a" on fig. 3) beckons the girls of the left end of the east frieze into place from across an expanse of intervening figures. This device is one of several which suggest that the intervening figures are meant to be imagined

in an area apart from the converging files of celebrants. The five males at the left ("b" on fig. 3) and four at the right ("c" on fig. 3) are set distinctly apart also by their self-contained relationships and by virtue of the fact that they all lean on staffs. I am inclined to follow Jenkins' arguments for identifying these men as eight of the city archons plus the secretary of the college of archons.¹⁰



Ill. 1. Athens, Akropolis, Parthenon: plan with diagram of the frieze procession. (J. Royer)

(Princeton 1981) 79 and n. 14, Ashmole (supra n. 2) 141–42, Brommer 171–72, and E.B. Harrison's review of the last in *AJA* 83 (1979) 489–91. In terms of absolute dates, B. Wesenberg now offers architectural and historical arguments to support the idea that the frieze was not planned until 443 or thereafter: "Wer erbaute den Parthenon?" *AthMitt* 97 (1982) 99–125, and "Parthenongebäude und Südmetopenproblem," *AthMitt* 98 (1983) 57–86. The implications of his conclusions become significant here as I attempt to define the political mood of Athens which is reflected in the frieze. Wesenberg stresses the sense in which, after 443, Perikles' rule had become "quasi-monarchical."

⁹ For different theories on the space-time sequence, see, e.g., Hanfmann (supra n. 2) 76, J.J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (Cambridge 1972) 87, Ashmole (supra n. 2) 128,

Boardman, E. Simon, "Die Mittelszene im Ostfries des Parthenon," *AthMitt* 97 (1982) 127–44, also Simon 1983: 58–71, and E.B. Harrison, "Time in the Parthenon Frieze," in E. Berger ed., *Parthenon-Kongress Basel 1* (Mainz 1984) 230–34. But cf. Robertson, who stresses as I do the uniform aspect of preparation across the entire frieze: M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Oxford 1975) 11.

¹⁰ These figures plus one are frequently interpreted as the Eponymous Heroes of Attica: e.g., U. Kron, *Die zehn attische Phylenheroen* (Berlin 1975), Simon 1983: 70, Brommer 255–56, and E.B. Harrison, "The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren 1979) 71–85. Reservations have been expressed by, e.g., Ridgway (supra n. 8)

These nine men stand in a plane behind the seated gods (a feature which is articulated, for instance, by the passing of Hermes' leg in front of the adjacent archon in the group on the left). Thus, they are hierarchically distinguished from the gods by their secondary planar disposition as well as their smaller scale. Nevertheless, they occupy a privileged position, like trusted advisors of a royal court. They attend the exalted ones with an easy grace born of closeness to the inner circle. Their appearance of aloofness does not mean that they are unaware of the gods' presence. Rather, it accentuates their status as courtly figures captured in a moment of casual informality. The gods themselves chat together or muse inwardly as they await the start of the ceremonies. This entire retinue seems meant to be understood as appearing in state, and on high ground. The symbolical elevation of the gods and magistrates is surely suggested by the figure of Aphrodite, as she seems to point downward toward someone or something happening at the right end of the east frieze. We might conceivably visualize the scene as set on Mount Olympus, as Fehl has suggested.¹¹ It is more likely, however, that the gods and the eight archons plus secretary are shown on the rocky terrain of its earthly counterpart—the Akropolis. The depiction of the gods may then allude both to their spiritual omnipresence and to their actual appearance at the Panathenaia in the form of images set on real seats.¹²

The scale of the gods and their focus away from the central scene actually enhance the specialness of the

so-called peplos incident. This central motif is a discrete and intimate dramatic tableau which one looks *into* rather than gazes *along*.¹³ The figures exist in a less compressed, more "real" space than do the others on the frieze. They are shown as if within the temple over the front porch of which they are actually depicted, yet they are bonded by dramatic implication to the external world of activity which is portrayed by the converging Athenian celebrants and the assembled gods and archons. Certainly the domestic-genre intimacy of the tableau emphasizes a conceptual link between it and the actual temple-as-house of the goddess. When the frieze was in situ, the scene must have had the psychological effect of beckoning the viewer into the pronaos.¹⁴ The fact that such a calculated device was employed on the building—this invitation toward the actual physical interior through symbolical allusion to interior (domestic-cult) activity—is at least as important in our effort to understand the meaning of the frieze as is the fact that *in actuality* the precise activities described in the central scene may not have taken place in the Parthenon, and may also not have taken place at the time and in the exact manner portrayed in the scene. Clearly, there are many points at which the frieze asks that we suspend preoccupation with the literal in order to acknowledge an impressionistic vision. This is one of those points.

Focusing now on the tableau itself, we see a man who folds a peplos with the help of a small child.¹⁵ I follow those who interpret this man as the Archon Basileus¹⁶; I take the peplos to be the *old* peplos of Athe-

78–79, esp. n. 12, and P. Fehl, "The Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze," *JWarb* 24 (1961) 16–17 and n. 38. For I. Jenkins' suggested solution to the problem, see "The Composition of the So-Called Eponymous Heroes on the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 89 (1985) 121–27.

¹¹ Fehl (supra n. 10) 10–15, followed by Brommer 258.

¹² L.R. Taylor suggests that the twelve thrones listed in the Parthenon inventories for 434–412 were used precisely for this purpose: "Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze?" *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London 1937) 260–61. The seats shown on the frieze are not "thronoi," and the gods are not rendered as statues, but a double entendre alluding to such a cult practice is still possible. The presence of the archons (or Eponymous Heroes) in the company of the gods reinforces the plausibility of a location for the scene on the Akropolis rather than Mount Olympus.

¹³ See Fehl (supra n. 10) 16, n. 36.

¹⁴ Stillwell's analysis of optical relations, (supra n. 8) 238, suggests specific aspects of how this sense of inward direction is achieved through coordination with the architectural members. My analysis of the intentional allusion to the interior of the temple through the peplos scene should be contrasted with W. Gauer's theory that the peplos incident was meant to be shown occurring in the Agora: "Was geschieht mit dem Peplos?" in Berger ed. (supra n. 9).

¹⁵ Taylor, (supra n. 12) 253–64, argues that the cloth is not a peplos, but a covering intended to adorn the *diphros* of a god. Most of her objections to an identification with Athena's garment (e.g.,

256) become invalid if my interpretation of the frieze in general is accepted. As for the apparent lack of decoration on the fabric, we must imagine that the peplos was originally brightly painted to reveal a section of the gigantomachy which is known to have been woven into the actual garment. Taylor also objects that the cloth would be too large for the wooden image of Athena Polias (260, n. 33); but note Simon's suggestion (Simon 1983: 66) that the peplos was folded on the statue's knees. Not everyone agrees, however, that the image of Athena Polias was a seated figure: e.g., J. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20, Princeton 1982) 65–76. The problem of the size of the actual peplos presented to Athena at the Great Panathenaia is complex. In terms of the artistic representation of the garment on the Parthenon frieze, however, it is evident that the depiction is treated as a kind of icon in its own right. It is as large as it possibly could be within the artistic context of the frieze. It was intended, together with the original decoration of the gigantomachy, to call forth a host of images in the mind of the beholder. On the symbolism of the peplos and of weaving generally in the cult of Athena, see R. Luyster, "Symbolic Elements in the Cult of Athena," *History of Religions* 5 (1965) 139–43.

¹⁶ See Simon 1983: 66, and also 66–77, for a discussion of the child. Jenkins (supra n. 10) similarly retains the identification of the mature male figure as the Archon Basileus (the other eight archons keeping company with the secretary of the college in the retinue of the gods). For alternative interpretations of the figures in the central scene as mythical personages, see C. Kardara, "Glauko-

na. Many have argued that this must be the new peplos, already handed over to the Archon Basileus.¹⁷ This theory necessitates elaborate explanations of the time-space relationships of the rest of the frieze to the action of the central zone in order to reconcile the preparatory aspects of the frieze of converging figures with the idea that the presentation of the peplos has in fact taken place. Instead, the Archon Basileus' pensive focus on the old peplos—which is perhaps shown being ceremonially folded for deposit within the treasury of the temple—has the appeal of temporal and spatial coherence with the rest of the frieze. This interpretation allows us to see the entire sculptural system as portraying the same moment in various locations. Furthermore, the rendering of the old peplos may symbolize concisely and powerfully the interdependent aspects of preparation for the future (i.e., for the arrival of the new garment) on the one hand, and care for the traditions and values of the past (i.e., through the safe-keeping of the old peplos) on the other.¹⁸

As the old peplos is folded, a woman usually described as the Priestess of Athena turns toward the left. I follow a small minority who see in this figure the Basilinna, queen-wife of the Basileus.¹⁹ She steadies the cushioned seat on a young girl's head,

pis—the Archaic Naos and the Theme of the Parthenon Frieze," *ArchEph* 1961 (1964) 61–156, with a helpful English summary in R.R. Holloway, *A View of Greek Art* (New York 1974) 126–27; and K. Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon," *ActaA* 34 (1963) 23–33.

¹⁷ Indeed, this is the prevailing opinion in recent scholarship, although Brommer (269) leaves the issue open. Others, e.g., Fehl (supra n. 10) 15 and n. 36, Boardman 47, and Simon 1983: 66, all understand this scene to depict the handing over of the new peplos, even though their reasons vary considerably. I cannot follow Simon, who argues that the peplos of the Great Panathenaia was placed on the lap of the cult image (not actually draped around her as clothing), but also maintains (p. 66) that this *must* be the *new* peplos shown on the Parthenon frieze because Athena Polias was *undressed* only on the day of the annual Plynteria two months earlier. Her own important observations suggest that the two rituals were not mutually exclusive. Robertson, (supra n. 9) 11, is a notable exception to the current trend, as he sees the logic of the scene involving folding of the old garment. In a different vein altogether, Holloway, (supra n. 16) 129, suggests the possibility (within the context of his theory that the whole frieze represents the idea of votive offerings destroyed by the Persians in 480) that the peplos illustrates one of those which would have been lost in the sack of the Akropolis—hence an old peplos turned into a votive relic.

¹⁸ Although I cannot accept the details of Holloway's interpretation of the frieze, his discussion, (supra n. 16) 129, does underscore the fact that every old peplos must have become a cherished relic. V.J. Bruno has suggested an appealing analogy with the tunic of the Virgin at Chartres, noting that perhaps the old peploi of Athena might similarly have become sacred hangings in the temple: "The Parthenon and the Theory of Classical Form," in V.J. Bruno ed., *The Parthenon* (New York 1974) 89 and n. 53. See also B. Nagy, "The Ritual in Slab V-East on the Parthenon Frieze," *CP* 73 (1978) 136–41, esp. 138 and n. 6 on epigraphic evidence for the

while another girl stands apart—posed frontally—with a similar seat already securely balanced and a footstool resting along her extended left forearm.²⁰

Thus, the procession is forming in the Agora while the gods, attended by eight of the city archons plus their secretary, wait on the Akropolis. Simultaneously, final preparations are being made inside the temple to receive the procession when it arrives. The frontal pose and ready aspect of the one girl in the central tableau suggest that she is on the verge of moving out of the temple. She will set her seat and footstool in a place of honor for the Archon Basileus. The other seat will be for the Basilinna.²¹ Thus, the royal couple will join the courtly retinue of gods and magistrates to give audience to the ceremonial parade about to begin. The imminent placement of the seats of honor, the restless waiting of the gods, and the extended sequence of celebrants in a preparatory disarray which resolves into anticipatory solemnity all combine to tell us that we are witnessing a highly selective panoramic overview of a moment before the Great Panathenaic procession is to commence.

Are there any implicit messages in this elaborate vision beyond the obvious allusions to the cult of Athena? Kroll has rejected the idea, saying that "... there can no longer be any doubt that the Parthenon frieze

storage of old peploi.

¹⁹ E.g., J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque classique* (Paris 1943) 101, D.B. Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens," in S.S. Weinberg ed., *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (New York 1956) 290, and E.B. Harrison, "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," *Studies Thompson* (supra n. 15) 41, n. 4, reaffirmed in Harrison's paper presented at the Basel Congress in 1982 (supra n. 9). Cf., most recently, Simon 1983: 67.

²⁰ Here I follow Fehl (supra n. 10) 15, n. 36. Cf. Simon 1983: 67–68, who has the woman removing the seat from the girl's head. She also proposes that the frontal girl carries an incense box rather than a footstool on her left arm. I see no reason to doubt the judgment of Thompson, (supra n. 19) 290, and Boardman (p. 41) as to the traces of lion's paw feet that would corroborate the footstool identification.

²¹ Opinions vary as to who will sit upon these furnishings. Taylor, (supra n. 12) passim, summarizes and adds to the extensive arguments which had been made over the years in support of the idea that the seats were intended for Olympian gods. But these gods are already shown seated on the frieze; such a redundancy seems unlikely. Simon (1983: 68–69) proposes Pandrosos and Kouroutrophos, two chthonic deities who are not shown on the frieze, but whom Simon links with Athena's aspects of relationship to vegetation and fertility. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1974) 309, suggests that the two seats are meant for the display of the two peploi side by side at some point in the ceremony not documented by textual evidence. Boardman (p. 41) postulates the use of the furniture for the Archon and the woman (a priestess, in his view), giving the footstool to the latter. My own view is closest to that of Charbonneaux, (supra n. 19) 101: "... il semble bien que ces deux sièges soient destinés au couple royal et sacerdotal, appelé ainsi à prendre place parmi les dieux, au nom de la cité tout entière."

must be accepted at face value as portraying the recurrent Panathenaic procession of Classical Athens . . . " (my emphasis).²² Reading the frieze as a straightforward votive monument, he focuses on fixing a context for the sculpture within established Greek iconography of sacrificial processions. But other aspects of the frieze are not satisfactorily explained. Despite the efforts by Kroll and others, the frieze has remained a puzzling anomaly vis-à-vis previous Greek architectural sculpture in terms of placement, narrative structure, theme and iconographic detail.²³ None of the Greek monuments with individual aspects of similarity offers a whole system of significant similarities; and none can claim any particular historical plausibility as the model for a monument as important and politically charged as the Parthenon.²⁴

The Parthenon frieze, as I have presented it here, does, on the other hand, bear striking resemblance to the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. The resemblance is not limited to one aspect in isolation. Rather, it embraces a network of interlocking similarities. In my opinion, the planners of the Parthenon frieze consciously emulated features of the Apadana reliefs.

²² Kroll (supra n. 4) 349.

²³ Ridgway (supra n. 8) 79.

²⁴ The limitations of specific monuments cited by Brommer (151–53) as Greek precursors for isolated aspects of the Parthenon frieze (e.g., the Siphnian Treasury frieze, and the Ephesus column drums) are discussed in my forthcoming monograph.

²⁵ Note, however, that the conventional understanding of the site as an exclusively ceremonial capital—emphasized, for instance, by A.U. Pope in "Persepolis as a Ritual City," *Archaeology* 10 (1957) 123–30—needs modification. See M.C. Root, "The Persepolis Perplex: Some Prospects Born of Retrospect," in D. Schmandt-Beserat ed., *Ancient Persia: The Art of an Empire* (Invited Lectures on the Middle East at the University of Texas at Austin 4, Malibu 1980) 5–7. Still, it is evident that Darius intended the public areas of the citadel to serve as the major center for imperial ceremonies involving ecumenical rituals. Pretexts for such ceremonies may have been coronations and royal birthdays and funerals as well as the New Year's Festival which is so often the focus of discussions on the function of Persepolis.

²⁶ Foundation texts give Sardis as the western limit of the empire, thus suggesting a date before the campaign of 513 against the European Scythians: R.G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (American Oriental Series 33, New Haven 1953) 136–37. For the early date of the Scythian campaign, see now J. Harmatta, "Darius' Expedition against the Saka Tigraxauda," in J. Harmatta ed., *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest 1979) 19–28. Coins deposited in the foundations suggest, but do not prove, a date of about 515 or slightly later: E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis 2: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (OIP 68, Chicago 1957) 110; Krefter (supra n. 5) 53, n. 178; and M. Thompson, O. Mørholm and C.M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973) 1789. The numismatic evidence is not conclusive, and Roaf, (supra n. 5) 138–39, for instance, stresses the possibility of using it to indicate a later date. D. Stronach is currently re-evaluating the numismatic evidence of the Persepolis deposits: see his abstract, "Achaemenid Coins: Problems and Prospects," *AJA* 87 (1983) 262.

²⁷ Fragments of inscriptions in glazed brick apparently from the superstructure of the north facade (XPg) and those on the inscrip-

tion panels of both stairway facades (XPb) indicate that Xerxes finished the work begun by Darius: Kent (supra n. 26) 150 and 148 respectively; Root 90–91 for commentary. It is critical to note in this context that the reserved inscription panels on stairway facades always seem to have been inscribed only upon completion of the entire building. On the Palace of Darius, for instance, the south stair panels were not inscribed until Xerxes had become king in 486, but the royal figures on one set of doorjamb reliefs inside are inscribed as Xerxes, the crown prince: Root 83–86. An archive of administrative tablets (the Treasury Tablets) informs us that final work on a columned hall (presumably the one in question here) did continue through the twelfth year of Xerxes. This work involved production of bronze doors, wooden reliefs (for interior decoration) and the like: G.G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (OIP 65, Chicago 1948) 16–17, and the commentary by A. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten 33, Leiden 1974) 61–62, 72–73. On the other hand, refined stylistic features of the sculptures on the north stair of the Apadana suggest a very early date in the period of Darius' work at Persepolis: Root 88–89, ns. 133–34. That this stair is the first thing the visitor sees upon emerging from the Gate of All Lands and that it commands the open area established on the terrace further suggest that its early completion was considered a priority. Reinforcement for this view is offered by E. Porada in "Some Thoughts on the Audience Reliefs of Persepolis," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley 1979) 39.

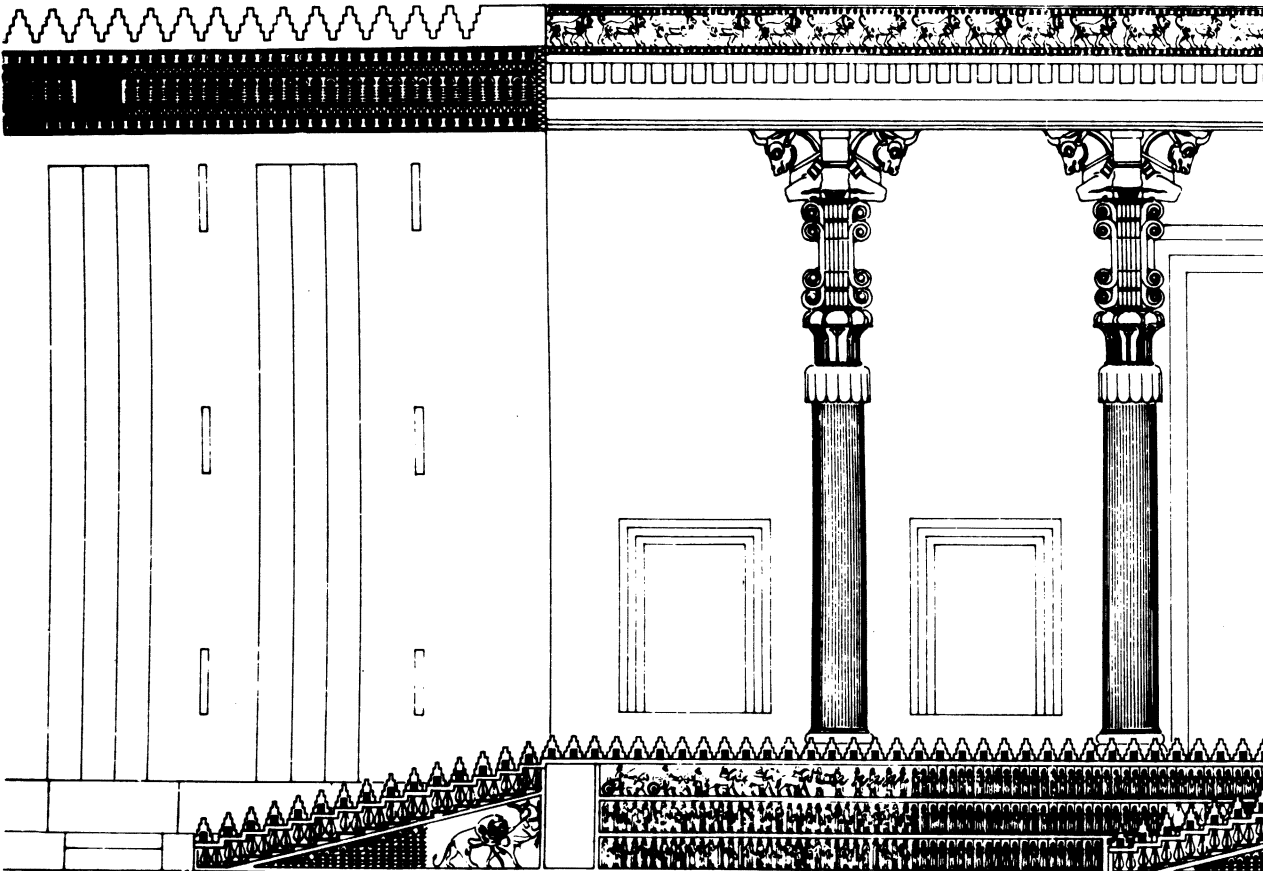
THE APADANA RELIEFS

Darius the Great founded Persepolis as the new ceremonial capital of the Persian empire upon his return from the reconquest of Egypt in 518.²⁵ Textual and numismatic evidence suggests that the Apadana was begun around 515–513.²⁶ The reliefs of the north stair facade may have been completed as early as 500–490.²⁷ Thus, construction took place at a time when the Persian empire was in the ascendant—able to extend its operations beyond the mere stabilization of troublesome frontiers to plot a foreign policy of more creative and subtle scope through maneuvers such as the attempted reinstatement of the exiled Athenian tyrant, Hippias.²⁸

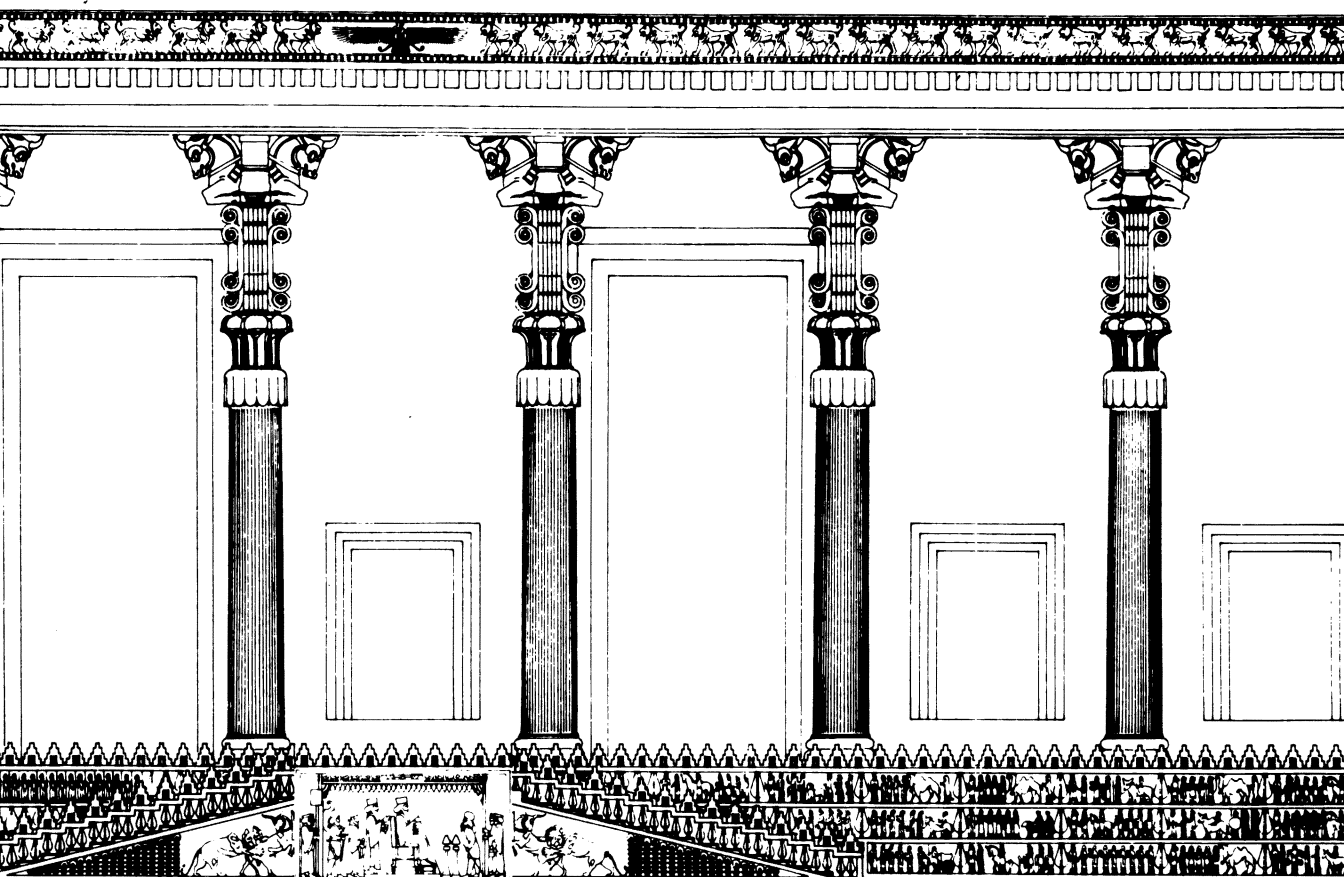
The Apadana crowns the citadel of Persepolis—its

tion panels of both stairway facades (XPb) indicate that Xerxes finished the work begun by Darius: Kent (supra n. 26) 150 and 148 respectively; Root 90–91 for commentary. It is critical to note in this context that the reserved inscription panels on stairway facades always seem to have been inscribed only upon completion of the entire building. On the Palace of Darius, for instance, the south stair panels were not inscribed until Xerxes had become king in 486, but the royal figures on one set of doorjamb reliefs inside are inscribed as Xerxes, the crown prince: Root 83–86. An archive of administrative tablets (the Treasury Tablets) informs us that final work on a columned hall (presumably the one in question here) did continue through the twelfth year of Xerxes. This work involved production of bronze doors, wooden reliefs (for interior decoration) and the like: G.G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (OIP 65, Chicago 1948) 16–17, and the commentary by A. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten 33, Leiden 1974) 61–62, 72–73. On the other hand, refined stylistic features of the sculptures on the north stair of the Apadana suggest a very early date in the period of Darius' work at Persepolis: Root 88–89, ns. 133–34. That this stair is the first thing the visitor sees upon emerging from the Gate of All Lands and that it commands the open area established on the terrace further suggest that its early completion was considered a priority. Reinforcement for this view is offered by E. Porada in "Some Thoughts on the Audience Reliefs of Persepolis," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley 1979) 39.

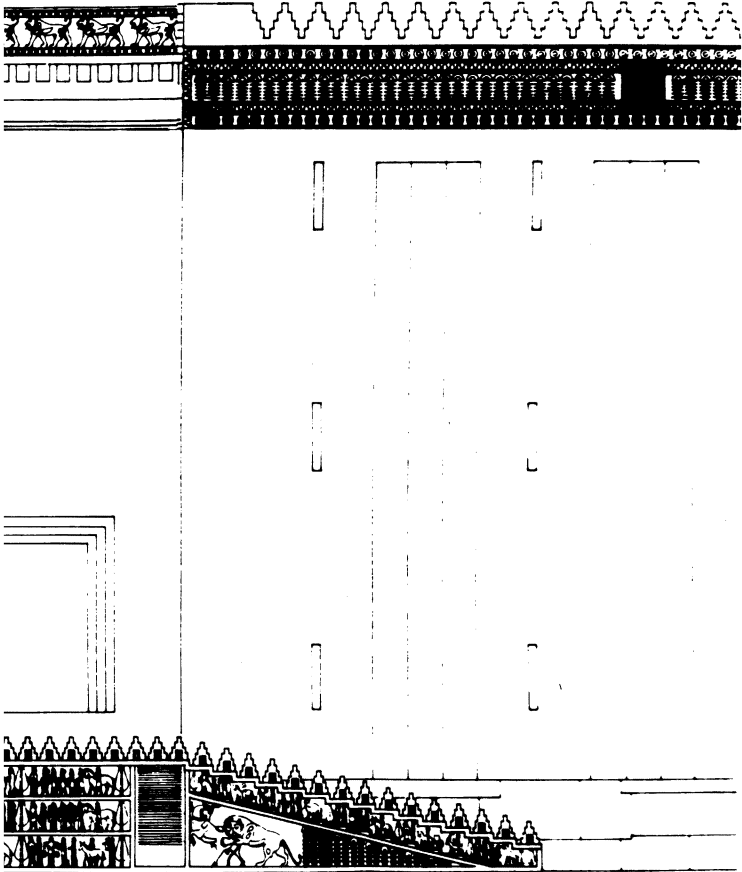
²⁸ It is important to remember that to some degree Darius' invasion of mainland Greece was meant to re-establish an Athenian government which would be friendly to the interests of Persia. Puppet government it surely would have been, but the point is that this scheme was a tactical maneuver in Darius' grand plan for ever-widening orbits of influence and control. Persia was not a mindlessly ravenous giant—she was a giant with a global agenda. See J.M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (London 1983) 92, for the most recent account, and two studies which stress the specifically Persian/Near Eastern side of Darius' engagement with Athens: L.L. Orlin, "Athens and Persia ca. 507 B.C.: A Neglected Perspective," in L.L. Orlin ed., *Michigan Studies in Honor of George G. Cameron* (Ann



Ill. 3. Persepolis, A



Persepolis, Apadana north stair: reconstruction of the facade. (Root, *King and Kingship* fig. 11)



western portico a splendid veranda over the fertile plains of the Persian homeland in Fars. The largest and loftiest of the edifices there, it measures approximately 250 feet square and stands on a platform which raises it about eight feet above the level of the terrace (ill. 2).²⁹ Access to this imposing structure, which seems to have been intended as a ceremonial hall for the acceptance of imperial embassies and assets, was provided by great double staircases on the north and the east.³⁰ The facade of each stairway is decorated with a system of relief sculpture which is identical in essential details. The reliefs of the east present a reversed image of those on the north. When viewed head-on, each sculptured facade creates the impression of a single continuous decorative surface (pl. A, ill. 3). As originally planned, the relief of each central section depicts the enthroned king (over life-size) and his crown prince within a "real" dramatic space established by a canopied kiosk (pl. 24, fig. 4).³¹ An official bows before the king while attendants stand by. On wing A, behind this scene, we see a retinue of guards, horses and chariots, equestrian attendants and nobles displayed across three explicitly defined registers (ill. 4; pl. 24, fig. 5). The nobles have generally been described as alternating Medes and Persians, but they ought rather to be understood as Persians wearing alternately the military garment (leggings and tunic) and the courtly garment (long pleated robe, belted and with wide sleeves). On wing B, groups of gift-bearing delegates from the subject nations (dressed to suggest the lands whence they come) stretch out before the king (pl. 25, fig. 6). Each group is guided by an official. Like the nobles on wing A, these marshals wear alternately the military and the courtly garb.

The imposing central panel of the facade draws the viewer irresistibly toward and into its dramatic contextual embrace defined in a realistic spatial framework. This central scene must be read to suggest an activity taking place within the great hypostyle hall

up on the platform. In contrast, the wings of figures seem distant because of their small scale and their non-realistic, grid-patterned composition. These figures are to be imagined lining up farther away, *before* they ascend the stairway which they in fact are already decorating. Here, then, is an elaborate vision of figures who are captured in a moment just before they converge from their separate directions toward the central tableau which portrays an interior activity. Visible links between wing A and the central panel are created by the chariots of king and crown prince, the stool and rug for mounting and dismounting from the chariots, the horses and gear which must belong to the three attendant officials shown within the baldachino on the central panel, and the presence in the central scene of spear bearers and a standard bearer who must in a theoretical earlier moment have been part of the preliminary procession leading the royal entourage up to the palace to prepare for the assembly about to begin. Between the central panel and wing B, the visible link is embodied in the figure of the bowing official. He carries a baton identical to those carried by the marshals who lead the individual foreign delegations. We must imagine him as the grand marshal, who has just now stepped forward into the presence of the king from the throngs of delegates and marshals on the terrace below.

CRITICAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE PARTHENON FRIEZE AND THE APADANA RELIEFS

Narrative Structure

We can immediately establish a structural resemblance between the Parthenon frieze and the Apadana reliefs which is more intricate than the simple echoing of the idea of two-pronged convergence toward a central scene. The Apadana also provides a prototype for the subtle interplay of real and non-real spatial definition which hints at different locations for various groups of figures—all in a symbolical relation to the *actual* architectural setting which is the vehicle for the

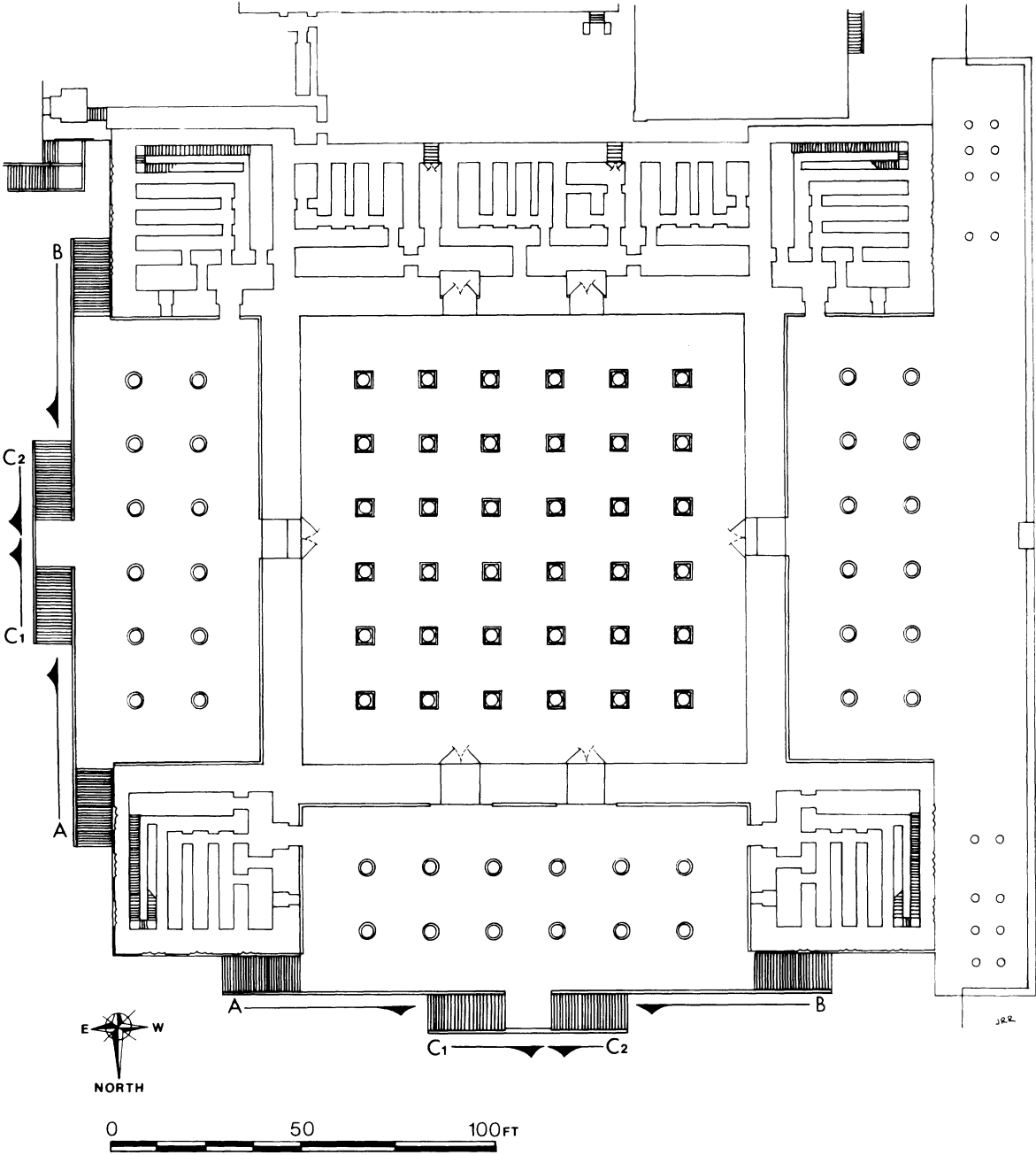
Arbor 1976) 255–66, and T.C. Young, Jr., "480/79 B.C.—A Persian Perspective," *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980) 213–39. Although dealing particularly with a later phase, a study by C.G. Starr is nonetheless critical here, for it challenges conventional interpretations of relations between Persia and the Greeks: "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Contacts before Alexander, Part I," *Iranica Antiqua* 11 (1975) 39–99.

²⁹ See Schmidt, Krefter, Tilia and Root (supra n. 5). The capacity of the hall has been estimated (perhaps somewhat generously) at about 10,000 persons.

³⁰ The function of the building must be assumed on the basis of its physical characteristics. It is the only truly *public* large edifice on the citadel. And although, as will be discussed shortly, the facade reliefs must be understood metaphorically, they may also be read to suggest the type of activity associated with the building. The reliefs

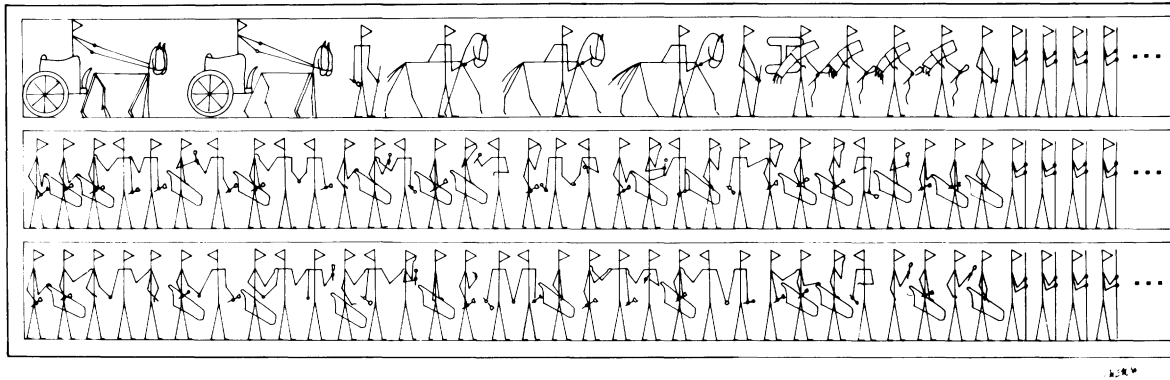
depict non-Persian peoples offering assets to the king, and it is legitimate to suppose that on this particular building the sculpture relates at least generally to the actual function of the architecture. Later at Persepolis isolated elements of the Apadana sculptures were adapted for other palace facades. This does not, however, alter the significance of their primary use on the Apadana of Darius.

³¹ Root 91–95 for summary of the debate over the reasons for the removal of these panels. The removal probably took place sometime in the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–425). The fact that the inscription panels accompanying the replacement tableaux were never inscribed may suggest that the change was made late, when the king was no longer fervently interested in clarifying his contributions to the work of his predecessors (as he most certainly was early in his reign). But this is only conjecture.



- (A) nobles, horses, chariots, equestrian attendants and guards
- (B) gift-bearing delegations from the subject nations, each led by a marshal
- (C) original central panel: king and crown prince receiving the bowing grand marshal

Ill. 2. Persepolis, Apadana: plan with diagram of the relief system. (J. Royer)



Ill. 4. Persepolis, Apadana north stair: schematic drawing of wing A excluding foremost files of guards. (M. Morden)

grand scheme. Pressing the comparison further, the Apadana reliefs, like the Parthenon frieze later, present a theme of *imminent convergence*—imminent convergence *upward*, toward a conceptually as well as physically elevated destination (from terrace floor to Apadana platform, and from lower city to Akropolis). As with the Parthenon frieze, it would be a mistake to insist upon the literalness of the depiction. That is to say, the important aspects of the relief are its symbolical language and its symbolical integration of representation with architectural context. Whether any procession of such figures ever in actuality ascended these particular stairs in precisely this way is an interesting, but not a critical, question. More important, the relief was certainly meant to work with the architecture, drawing the viewing participant up and inward. We have already established that the Parthenon frieze functions in a similar way—in this case to draw the participant *around* the building literally and *upward and into* the building symbolically, with reference to the ascent from Agora to Akropolis and hence toward the interior of the temple at the east.

On wing A of the Apadana the mood of imminence is established by the rhythm of the figures (ill. 4). The formal devices used here are less spectacular than those on the west, south and north sides of the Parthenon, but they are clear and real. In the upper register the horses are being reined in at their point of assembly for the ceremony which is about to begin. Below, the nobles make last minute adjustments to their garments, whisper among themselves, or settle into pri-

vate thoughts. We are reminded here of the elders on the Parthenon frieze (compare pl. 22, fig. 2 and pl. 24, fig. 5). This subdued but obvious activity stops abruptly on all three registers simultaneously, as the hand-over-wrist gesture is assumed by the leading figure in line (pl. 24, fig. 5; ill. 4). From there on, the rhythmic interaction of the figures gives way to the steady drumroll of measured beats created by the strong verticals of the spear-bearing guards who draw the eye inexorably forward.

The hand-over-wrist gesture, used with such clarity on the Apadana to establish a shift in mood, is assumed on the Parthenon frieze by the last figure on the north (pl. 22, fig. 2) with precisely the same function within the narrative structure. A venerable motif in Mesopotamia, where it is linked securely to the iconography of the earthly and spiritual courtly milieu (pl. 25, fig. 7), the gesture seems to make its Athenian debut on the Parthenon. Its sudden popularity in Egyptian art of the Persian period has long been recognized as a direct result of Egyptian emulation of Persian forms and mores.³² Here on the Parthenon a similar mechanism is at work—with the added aspect that the gesture has been transplanted, leaving the functional significance of the primary model intact.

The emphatic use of verticals to provide a transition in mood on wing A of the Apadana is clearly recollected on the Parthenon frieze by the maidens of the east (pl. 23, fig. 3). Once again, this type of compositional device has a long history in the Near East.

³² The hand-over-wrist gesture is known sporadically in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onward; see, e.g., a Dyn. V statuette: G. Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum* 4, trans. J.E. and A.A. Quibell (Cairo 1908) fig. 15; and a Dyn. VI relief: W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom* (Boston 1949) fig. 84a. In the Persian period it seems to have occurred specifically on monuments which in other ways as well display Persian influence. Note B. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960) 83–84. A similarly conscious quota-

tion of this gesture as a symbol of contact with Oriental court circles occurs in Dyn. XVIII under Amenhotep III: W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 2 (Cambridge 1959) 236 and fig. 142, and W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 1962) 543. Note the important addition to this discussion by A.R. Schulman, "A 'Persian Gesture' from Memphis," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 3 (1981) 103–11.

On the Apadana it is distilled and integrated into the architectural setting in a new way which offers a refinement of the earlier tradition. In the Greek idiom, the maidens on the east frieze of the Parthenon give us a similar sense of measured beat which works as rhythmic prelude to the glimpse within and as essential formal reminder of the architectural setting which confronts the viewer. The maidens echo the fluted columns of the temple porch—which support the east frieze and define passage to the door giving access inward. Similarly, the guards on the Apadana activate through their very qualities of severe verticality and sameness the process of stairway ascent which is such a strong element of the iconographical formula for architecture at Persepolis—and which is here key to the mechanism of invitation to the interior.³³

On wing B, the mood of imminence is created largely through an intimate dependence upon the action of the central tableau. Once the bowing official straightens up, we sense that he will step out to the portico and raise his baton on high as a signal which will release the delegate groups from their suspended animation on wing B. Only then will they move forward, up the stairs, and into the presence of the Great King. The momentariness, the transitory aspect, of the grand marshal's bow (pl. 24, fig. 4) is thus functionally equivalent to the momentariness established by the frontal pose of the girl in the central tableau of the Parthenon frieze (pl. 23, fig. 3). Although she may seem a secondary figure, her completely frontal pose is a striking departure from convention within the context of contemporary Greek sculpture. It must have been meant to convey a direct and meaningful statement. We may come close to understanding the subtly *active* effect of her frontality here through Meyer Schapiro's remarks on the formula in Medieval art:

... the face turned outwards is credited with intentness, a latent or potential glance directed toward the observer, and corresponds to the role of "I" in speech, with its complementary "you." It seems to exist both for us and for itself in a space virtually continuous with our own, and is therefore appropriate to the figure as symbol or as carrier of a message.³⁴

The ushering officials of wing B (pl. 25, fig. 6) are staid in comparison to the gesticulating marshals on the Parthenon (figs. 1a–b and 3), but their jobs are functionally analogous: they are there to organize the

parade and to make sure it runs according to plan and protocol. The gesturing marshals of the Parthenon express a sense of imminent activity much more vigorously than do those of the Apadana. Yet the place of the Persian marshals within the paratactic structure of the Apadana facades makes them, *within the realm of Near Eastern imagery*, powerful actors in a drama of latent energy which is every bit as vivid in these terms as is the blatant energy bursting from the marshals of the Parthenon.

Thematic Content

The entire Apadana relief system presents a complex synthesis of the actual and the ideal. It evokes the *idea* of the Persian New Year's Day celebration as we hear of it from Medieval sources—where gifts of praise were brought to the king by Persian noble families and vassal lords.³⁵ But the dichotomy established here between the Persian nobles on the one wing and the gift bearers on the other bespeaks something different. The former symbolize the aristocratic and military backbone of imperial power assembled behind the king in his support. The latter symbolize the domain which has issued from this power. The peoples shown offering *encomia* here correspond to the peoples listed in imperial inscriptions tabulating the extent of the empire under Darius. We can assume that on one level the Apadana reliefs function like the tomb relief of Darius, where an accompanying inscription states:

If now thou shalt think that "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures [of those] who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.³⁶

These then are the conquered peoples of the empire—the peoples whom we should expect (on the basis of comparisons with Near Eastern tradition) to see prostrate in submission at the feet of the king. Instead, we see the leading delegate of each group about to be brought forward by the hand, gracefully and with dignity, up into the presence of the king. This hand-holding image stems not from the age-old Near Eastern repertoire of tribute scenes, but rather from the equally venerable repertoire of apotheosis scenes,

³³ Note the apt comment by Moscati (supra n. 2) 94: "Tutta la struttura era concepita in funzione dell'ascensione processionale, vero motivo conduttore dell'architettura non meno che del rilievo."

³⁴ M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures* (Paris 1973) 38–39.

³⁵ For the most recent discussion of literal versus symbolical elements on the Apadana reliefs, specifically with regard to what we

are told in textual sources of the Medieval period, see P. Calmeyer, "Textual Sources for the Interpretation of Achaemenian Palace Decoration," *Iran* 18 (1980) 56–57. See also Root *passim*, for commentary on art versus actuality in the Achaemenid imperial program.

³⁶ Kent (supra n. 26) 138.

where a suppliant is led forward by the hand or wrist into the presence of a deity—and where the aspect of submission is moral or spiritual, not military (pl. 25, figs. 7, 8).

On the Apadana the ushering marshals of the court assume the role previously relegated in Mesopotamian and Egyptian apotheosis scenes to lesser divinities who serve an enthroned deity awaiting the suppliant. The hand-holding gesture and the ushering marshals who enact it thus convey a power-by-implication which is strongly rooted in a sense of the spiritual determination of human events. Herein lies the tensional impact of its serenely measured visual realization.

The iconography of the Apadana reliefs projects a message of harmonious imperial order richly shaded to suggest a divinely sanctioned and piously applied covenant of rulership. Within this covenant everyone has moved up a notch on the hierarchical scale. The king assumes the status of the focal divinity; the court entourage assume the status earlier assigned to the ranks of minor divinities; and the representatives of the lands controlled by the empire assume the status of suppliants on the verge of apotheosis—their gifts taking on the value of votive offerings. The whole has been couched in terms of an elaborate metaphor of a ceremony about to begin.

Is there any similar meaning of idealized order echoed in the Parthenon frieze? I believe so. There too we see a vision of harmonious, hierarchically defined relationships within a society. Boardman has suggested that the studied variations in dress worn by the riders of west, north and south allude to the diversity of the Athenian populace and perhaps to the diverse aspects of Athenian social life.³⁷ Within the objectified canons of Achaemenid art, the Persian nobles and ushers of wings A and B (in their alternating military and courtly garb) are clear precursors for this type of social index expressed through calculated variations in dress. On the Parthenon frieze Athenian youths and men, elders and maidens prepare to appear before their gods and their magistrates. Simultaneously the stage is being set for the Archon Basileus and his Queen symbolically to join this entourage which waits to receive the pious offerings of a united people. The message which runs beneath this drama of imminent moment is a message of imperial aspiration articulated through a festival metaphor borrowed deliber-

ately from the Persians and recast in the guise of an eminently Athenian celebration.

Such a notion will not seem so startling if we acknowledge that to Herodotos in the mid-fifth century it was the Persian king Cyrus who epitomized the ideal virtues of rulership. Cyrus offers the closing message of the *Histories*, suggesting in so many words that empire justly deserved, righteously and piously administered, and untainted by greed and false pride is good. The moral for Athens is that her empire will succeed (whereas Persia's ultimately failed, at least in its ambitions to control mainland Greece) only if this lesson is heeded. Viewed in this light, the Parthenon frieze gathers increased coherence with the rest of the sculptural program of the temple—where the blatant, warlike powers of Athens are stressed in traditional allegories which allude to the Athenian victories over the Persians and which simultaneously are imbued with an ominous undercurrent of allusion to divine retribution for acts of hubris.³⁸ Nestled amid the charismatic challenges that rage around the outside of the temple on metopes and pediments and burst forth again in staggering proportions on the cult statue within it, the frieze portrays sublime resolution. It is the metaphorical vision which explains in idealized, but richly human, terms why Athens deserves her empire and how she intends to govern it.

With different actors and in a different cultural idiom, the Apadana reliefs conveyed the same message decades earlier. On the Parthenon frieze the extended footage devoted to the flower of Athenian manhood is surely a reference to power justly deserved by valorous service and sacrifice for the state. This is especially, although not exclusively, true if we accept Boardman's brilliant theory of conscious allusion specifically to the 192 heroes of Marathon through the active personages of the west, north and south friezes.³⁹ Boardman and Pollitt have both suggested that a sense of apotheosis is implicit in the Parthenon frieze.⁴⁰ This nuance strikingly echoes the vision of apotheosis which is spelled out in direct representational imagery on the Apadana reliefs. While the hand-holding motif per se is not adopted on the Parthenon, the connotations which this image carries in the Persian milieu are woven into the fabric of the Athenian frieze in terms of the multiple suggestions it offers of ideal union and unity on spiritual and social

³⁷ Boardman 40. Note also the comments on clothing by Ridgway (supra n. 8) 82.

³⁸ E.g., E.B. Harrison, "Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon," *AJA* 71 (1967) 27–58, M. Robertson, "Two Question-Marks on the Parthenon," in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology* (supra n. 27) 78–87, Pollitt (supra n. 9) 98–99, and

E.D. Francis, "Greeks and Persians," in *Ancient Persia* (supra n. 25) 53–86, for discussion of the program of the building and its references to the victories over Persia, and to issues of hubris and fate.

³⁹ Boardman 47–49.

⁴⁰ Boardman 48–49, Pollitt (supra n. 9) 87.

planes of the human experience.⁴¹ It is significant, with respect to this sense of a combined spiritual union and social unity achieved through apotheosis, that both relief systems combine the literal aspect of ascent with the symbolic aspect of ascension toward ritual culmination. This culmination, I suggest, in both cases dramatically embodies the idea of an imperial aspiration dependent for success upon the recurring affirmation of a network of relationships between the past and the future and among gods, government and the governed.

We have thus reached the issue of righteous and pious administration of power justly deserved. We note that on one level the Panathenaic festival was a recurring enactment of the archaic role of the ruler as intermediary between the gods and his mortal subjects.⁴² In the legendary past it was King Erechtheus who initiated the festival after receiving a primitive image of Athena from the heavens. The pivotal figure of the ruler was later perpetuated through the office of the Archon Basileus, who by the fifth century had no political power, but who did maintain the strictly religious functions of archaic kingship. In fifth century Athens Perikles could not have had himself featured prominently as personal successor to the powers, privileges and duties of a divinely sanctioned rule, whereas it was possible for Darius (a king already) to have himself cast in the role of deity. But the central tableau of the Parthenon frieze, with its vision of the Basileus enacting his duties in the service of Athena—folding her old peplos to make way for the new—evokes, when viewed with these issues in mind, the powerful

allegorical message of Periklean Athens governed by pious rulership and guided by continuity from the past. We have read a similar message in the carefully archaizing apotheosis imagery of the Apadana; we shall read it again on the Ara Pacis Augustae.⁴³

This suggestion of subtle intertwining of piety and imperial aspiration may be reinforced by one last detail. The frontally posed girl on the Parthenon frieze is about to step forth from the temple to set down the seat for the Basileus. She also carries a footstool. Thompson has argued that this must be the footstool of Xerxes captured at Plataia and ultimately deposited in the Parthenon as a state treasure.⁴⁴ Will the Basileus set his feet upon the trappings of one empire as he waits to receive the celebrants of another?

HISTORICAL PLAUSIBILITY AND THE LOGIC OF EMULATION

The Parthenon was built with funds from the Delian League—turned—empire. It was the house of Athena, but it was also the imperial treasury of Athena's state, where even the colossal chryselephantine cult image was a repository of wealth extracted from the allies and used to display the fruits of hegemony.⁴⁵ Since the design of the building was determined by the projected aesthetic and functional demands imposed by such a statue, we are justified in linking the "message" of the building to the message of the image within. Indeed, I am not the first to understand the edifice as an overblown imperial treasury rather than a temple in the customary sense of that term.⁴⁶ It is no coincidence in this connection that the tribute quotas

⁴¹ It is quite possible that ecumenical festivals at Persepolis involved an actual protocol requiring that foreign delegates be led by the hand into the presence of the king. On actual protocol and artistic visions in the Near East see Root, index under "court protocol." The dramatization of this particular and eminently Oriental presentation ceremony would have had no place on the Parthenon frieze as a description of actuality, and so would not be adopted graphically—only implicitly. It is significant here that the hand-holding image would have evoked to a fifth century Athenian seeing the Apadana the complex power relationship involved in depictions of marital union: G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965) 59–66, and R. Sutton, "Weddings on Attic Red-figure Pottery," *AJA* 85 (1981) 220–21. The marital power relationship in Athenian society is similar in certain aspects to the type of imperial covenant of support/dependency expressed on the Apadana. In both cases, the bond is characterized by an implicit aspect of social coercion veiled in a display of voluntary gift-giving. See J. Redfield, "Notes on the Greek Wedding," in *American Classical Studies in Honor of J.-P. Vernant* (Arethusa 15, 1982) 181–201. In a different but related vein, Harrison, (supra n. 10) 85, describes the theme of the Parthenon frieze as "the timeless unity of the Athenian family linked through successive generations of time to their gods and to their native earth . . ." Allusions to marriage and family life have also been postulated by I.S. Mark in a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America in February 1978; see now "The Gods on the East Frieze

of the Parthenon," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 289–342, esp. 302–12. If I am correct in accepting the identification of the adults in the central tableau as the Basileus and the Basilinna, the case for an iconography of multiple aspects of union is even stronger.

⁴² I cannot accept the specifics of Kardara's theory (supra n. 16), but her discussion is important as it emphasizes the mythic background of the Panathenaia.

⁴³ See now M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor 1982) 27–61, and a forthcoming monograph in the same series by P. Zanker, based on his Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures at The University of Michigan in 1983: *A Cultural Program for the Roman Empire: Art and Architecture in the Augustan Age*. With regard to the propaganda power of the ruler portraying himself as having subsumed his secular persona in the identity of a priest-king figure, note G. Koeppl's suggestion that on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae must be understood as the Pontifex Maximus: "The Collegium Pontificum on the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 87 (1983) 241.

⁴⁴ Thompson (supra n. 19) 290.

⁴⁵ See S. Eddy, "The Gold in the Athena Parthenos," *AJA* 81 (1977) 107–11 and C.J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias: A Study in the Religion of Periclean Athens* (Manchester 1955) esp. 45–47.

⁴⁶ No altar stands before the Parthenon. And although it is easy now to forget the effect of the original grillwork closing the porches, as well as the great revetted doors of east and west, these must have

from the allies were regularly reassessed during the course of their required attendance at the quadrennial Great Panathenaia, which we see idealized on the Parthenon frieze.⁴⁷ It is, furthermore, no coincidence that Athens insisted on each allied delegation's coming to the Panathenaia with a suit of armor, as well as a sacrificial cow, to present to the city goddess. This requirement effectively blurred the distinction between symbolic enactments of political obligation and those of cultic observance.⁴⁸ The Panathenaia, like the Great Dionysia, had become a decidedly imperial event. In fact, the importance of the Dionysia—in which the subject states of the empire were once again required to participate, with their annual tribute paraded into the Theater for public exhibition—strongly suggests emulation of Oriental ceremonials.⁴⁹ Other aspects of the Great Dionysia as well, including the procession to bring the image of Dionysos back from the Academy to the city in the company of the Priest so that both could be enthroned in the Theater to watch the performances in their honor, have a distinctly Oriental flavor.⁵⁰ This eastern aura was certainly not suppressed as a result of the fact that Athens had earlier been devastated by the Persians. Far from it. The acquisition of specific rituals and paraphernalia of pomp from the Persian sphere was a conscious and quite logical way to render all the more wonderful the cults of the Athenians—and, by extension, the political/military strength of Athens.⁵¹

The Parthenon frieze reflects the reality of Athe-

nian society caught up in dramatic changes at the close of the 440s. Imagery and allusions which in the sixth century were the personal prerogative of self-aggrandizing tyrants had become viable and palatable modes of democratic expression by the second half of the fifth.⁵² While Peisistratos played Herakles in the sixth century, Philip of Macedon was to play thirteenth Olympian in the fourth.⁵³ The appearance on the Parthenon of the Basileus and the Basilinna about to seat themselves among the gods to enjoy the celebration of a victorious Athena gains historical plausibility when seen within this pattern.

Understood as an imperial monument, the Parthenon frieze is no less beautiful, no less meaningful. Rather, it achieves even greater significance. It may be read on one level as a votive relief which perpetuates a traditional genre (albeit employed here within an architectural context in an untraditional way). But to stop at this aspect would be to miss the essential nature of the votive procession-about-to-begin as the vehicle for an elaborate and crisply contemporary social metaphor. If the Parthenon frieze is imperial art in any sense, then we must confront the fact that it was formulated according to the type of complex motivations which habitually guide the planners of programmatic visions.⁵⁴ In other words, we should expect that, regardless of what prototypes may have existed within Greek tradition for various isolated formal or iconographical aspects of the frieze, the Athenians would have looked very carefully to the court of the Great

lent a formidable sense of containment to the edifice: Stevens (supra n. 7) 69–79. Most recently, note the analysis by G. Zinserling in "Perikles-Parthenon-Phidias," presented at the International Congress on the Parthenon (supra n. 9). He stresses the economic and political functions of the building.

⁴⁷ Meiggs, (supra n. 6) 293, notes that "The required participation of the allies in the Great Panathenaia and the enforcement of Athenian coins, weights, and measures were, we think, two of the measures taken by Athens in the early forties to express the new relationship of the allies to Athens." In these steps to establish centralized control and dominance over economic standards, the Athenian empire was following the lead of Darius, who was famous for similar measures of economic standardization: A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948) 185–91.

⁴⁸ The Klinias Decree specifically stipulates that "if anyone commits an offense with regard to the sending of the cow and the panoply he shall be indicted and sentenced as in the case of a tribute offense." See Meiggs (supra n. 6) 293.

⁴⁹ For descriptions of the Great Dionysia, see L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 5 (Oxford 1909) 225–26, Meiggs (supra n. 6) 253–54, 290, and H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca 1977) 133–34.

⁵⁰ Compare the Babylonian New Year's procession in which the king "takes the hand of Marduk" and leads the god's solid gold image back into the city from the *bit akitu*. The Assyrians, when in control of Babylon, and the early Achaemenids after them continued this practice. The importance to Babylonian chroniclers of the

enactment of the New Year's Festival as a gauge of internal political situations is brought out by A.K. Grayson in "Chroniclers and the Akitu Festival," in A. Finet ed., *Actes de la XVII^e rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Ham-sur-Heure 1970) 160–70. In the same volume see also P.-B. Berger, "Das Neujahrstfest nach den Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches," 155–59, esp. 159: "So ist schliesslich aus dem 'Frühjahrsputz' von Tempel und Götterstatue ein religiöses und schaulustiges Volksfest geworden, aus dem Zug zum Schöpfen des Reinigungswassers der Triumphzug, der als der Vorgänger für die spätere griechisch-römische Welt einzuschätzen sein wird" (emphasis mine).

⁵¹ Thompson (supra n. 19) 290.

⁵² There is not space here to digress on the pretensions of Peisistratos, but one of them—his conscious association with Herakles—has been convincingly argued by J. Boardman in "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* 1972, 57–72, and "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis," *JHS* 95 (1975) 1–12. On changing attitudes in Athens during the period under discussion, see A.W.H. Adkins, *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece* (New York 1972) 99–100.

⁵³ For his daughter's marriage, Philip staged a ceremony in the theater at Delphi, where he had an image of himself placed on a throne alongside the enthroned images of the Olympian gods: Diodoros 16.92.5—discussed by Taylor (supra n. 12) 262.

⁵⁴ Demonstration of this phenomenon is central to my earlier study: Root, introduction and passim.

King for inspiration on matters of imperial imagery—for the good reason that in the realm of artistic expression of imperial ideals, as well as in the realm of actual implementation of imperial policies, Persia was surely the resource par excellence.⁵⁵

AVAILABILITY OF THE APADANA MOTIF IN THE WEST

It now becomes essential to establish the “availability” of the Apadana motif as a model which could be used by the planners of the Parthenon frieze. To do justice to this subject, we should really reach back into the Peisistratid era to examine Athenian preoccupation with the Near East in the mid-fifth century against a backdrop of longstanding historical interaction and interest.⁵⁶ But here we must focus on the critical period from about 500 to about 440.

It is clear that Persian art and architecture had a decided impact on Athenian taste in the years following Xerxes’ invasion. Hoffmann’s study of the Attic adaptation of the Persian rhyton demonstrates on a “private” level the welcoming of characteristically Persian luxury paraphernalia by affluent Athenians.

⁵⁵ For one Athenian imperial institution adopted from Persia see J.M. Balcer, “The Athenian Episkopos and the Achaemenid ‘King’s Eye,’” *AJP* 98 (1977) 252–63. Note also that the Attic “record reliefs” introduced in the mid-fifth century relate directly to the Near Eastern practice of illustrated decrees on stone, e.g., the Law Code stele of Hammurabi and the Bisutun relief of Darius the Great. C. Lawton notes that the Attic record reliefs provide “symbolic headings” complementing the provisions inscribed below them: “A New Look at the Meaning of Attic Document Reliefs,” *AJA* 87 (1983) 242. She acknowledges that the form must have been introduced as a result of political developments, but she does not draw the Persian parallel. See Root 186–94, on the Bisutun relief as symbolic illumination of the apologia of Darius inscribed beneath it. The stele of Hammurabi, with its crowning representation of the king being offered the rod and ring by Shamash, is a precursor for this type of emblematic synopsis of the essential rather than the strictly literal message of an important legal text: H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*⁴ (Harmondsworth 1970) fig. 134. Also, the concept of the *proxenos* and the honorific monument glorifying his work for the state—on which see Meiggs (supra n. 6) 215–19—may go directly back to a Persian institution and accompanying honorific custom. Men like the Egyptian admiral Udjahorresne must have fulfilled roles in foreign cities of the Persian empire similar to those of the Greek *proxenoi* abroad: G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte* (Bibliothèque d’étude 11, Cairo 1936) 7–26. Herodotos tells us (3.88) that Darius’ first royal act was to erect a stele showing his groom Oebares on horseback together with an honorific inscription outlining his part in Darius’ successful bid for the throne. The anecdote may sound improbable in details, but underlying it is the suggestion of a tradition of thanking and insuring the continued loyalty of specific individuals by such means.

⁵⁶ A dissertation in preparation by Margaret C. Miller of Harvard University promises to examine and reinterpret the implications of the relations between Athens and Persia leading up to and culminating in the fifth century.

⁵⁷ H. Hoffmann, “The Persian Origin of the Attic Rhyta,” *AntK* 4 (1961) 21–26. Note also the Persianizing Greek pottery made for the eastern market by Attic workshops in the fifth century: K.

This adoption implies a kind of cultural embrace of the former invader.⁵⁷ Broneer’s theory of the impact of the tent of Xerxes on the plan of the Periklean Odeion and the Athenian Tholos suggests emulation of architectural ideas on an official level which is closer to the type of relationship I propose between the Apadana reliefs and the Parthenon frieze.⁵⁸ The quotation of Achaemenid-type campaniform column bases on the Athenian stoa at Delphi (some time before 468) and in the Thesmophorion at Delos (ca. 480–460) are two other cases in point.⁵⁹

But the possibility that the monuments of Persepolis specifically served as models for Athenian planners meets with great resistance for several reasons.

1) We tend to disregard the fact that a number of highly placed Athenians are known to have visited Persia during the critical period in question.⁶⁰ More than any other single Athenian of major political standing whose eastern adventures are known to us, Miltiades emerges as a potential informant on Persian programmatic ideas at the early end of the relevant period. Having left Athens to rule as tyrant of the Chersonesos, Miltiades returned home following the

DeVries, “Attic Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire,” *AJA* 81 (1977) 544–48. Here we have the ultimate extension of “private” embrace of the forms of Persian culture, in which Attic entrepreneurs have not only become familiar with the exotic objects of a foreign elite, but have gone on to sell Attic versions of Persian forms back to the Persians. This type of activity is one manifestation of the links between Greeks and Persians in Anatolia and East Greece, as discussed at length by C.G. Starr, “Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C., Part II,” *Iranica Antiqua* 12 (1977) 49–115.

⁵⁸ O. Broneer, “The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater,” *CPCA* 1 (1943) 305–12. Note also the recent affirmation of Broneer’s suggestions by H. von Gall, “Das persische Königszelt und die Hallenarchitektur in Iran und Griechenland,” *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 119–32.

⁵⁹ P. Amandry, *FdD* 2.1d. *La colonne des Naxiens et le portique des Athéniens* (Paris 1953) 97, and R. Vallois, “Topographie délienne,” *BCH* 53 (1929) 257, fig. 34.

⁶⁰ J. Weischofer’s lists include these Athenians as well as others, with literary references: “Die ‘Freunde’ und ‘Wohltäter’ des Grosskönigs,” *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980) 7–21. See also J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien: Prosopographie der Griechen in persischen Reich vor Alexander* (*AMIran* Ergänzungsband 5, Berlin 1978) and rev. by J.M. Balcer, *BibO* 36 (1979) 276–80. As important as the fact that considerable numbers of Greeks of high status traveled and worked in the Persian empire is the fact that many of them seemed to find life in Persia a viable alternative to life in Athens. This argues against the picture offered by Francis, (supra n. 38) passim. His discussion of Graeco-Persian cultural interactions is a major contribution in terms of the rich synthesis of documentary material. But his interpretation of the sources places unwarranted stress on the notion that the Greek and Persian civilizations were diametrically opposed on every philosophical, moral and social level—and thus intrinsically incapable of the type of relationship postulated in this article. The attractiveness to many intellectual Greeks of life at the Persian court is, however, underscored by A. Momigliano: “Persian Empire and Greek Freedom,” in A. Ryan ed., *The Idea of Freedom: Essays in Honour of Isaiah Berlin* (Oxford 1979) 140.

Ionian revolt and was accepted back as an enemy of Hippias. It is he, of course, who became the hero of Marathon. Miltiades was surely well informed on the activities of the Persian court. He would have been in the East long enough to be aware of the planning and execution of the great north facade of the Apadana at Persepolis. He might easily have surveyed the finished product. An influential figure like Miltiades would have started the Athenians thinking along certain lines. Others after him must have further established among the Periklean planners the validity of Athenian adaptation of certain imperial modes. Kallias, for instance, must have seen a great deal in the course of his mission to Persia. Once the Peace had been secured, we can assume the plausibility of easy interchange between Athenian and Persian diplomats. If Walsh is correct in dating the Peace of Kallias around 465/4 instead of 450/49, a significant number of years is added to the period between cessation of open hostilities and the time when the Parthenon frieze was planned. But even if we are bound to the traditional date, we may postulate roughly ten years from Kallias' embassy to the designing of the frieze.⁶¹

2) If we concede that politically influential Athenians were knowledgeable about Persia during the critical period, then we confront another issue: the traditional assumption that Persepolis was off-limits to Greeks. This assumption is based mainly on the fact that Persepolis seems not to have been mentioned explicitly by that name in Greek texts before Alexander. It is probable, however, that reference to Persepolis is sometimes meant by use of the designation "Persia"—with the city name being conflated with the country/tribe name by virtue of its special importance and its location in the Persian heartland.⁶² Briant's impor-

tant essay on aspects of historical sources as non-sources demonstrates that we must avoid interpreting the silence of an ancient writer on a particular issue or monument as an index of the writer's awareness of it.⁶³ We should recall that no extant Persian text refers to Athens or even to mainland Greece generally. Yet obviously this fact does not reflect historical reality. Similarly, if we had to rely on Pausanias' description of the Parthenon, we should have no knowledge of the existence of any frieze on the temple. Conversely, Herodotos' pointed suggestion (5.73 and 105) that Darius had never even heard of Athens in 507 needs to be evaluated as something other than pure fact.⁶⁴ It was perhaps a moralistically barbed way of reminding the Greeks that to the Persians Athens was hardly the focal point of their interest and destiny, but just one small part in the scheme of things. Yet another lesson in the potential dangers of imperial hubris when the warnings of Cyrus go ignored?

It has generally been assumed that Greeks were not allowed to visit Persepolis (and hence never referred to it) because the Persians did not want them in a city devoted to imperial ceremonial. This idea is not based on any positive evidence. In fact, one might argue the contrary—that Persepolis would be just the sort of place with which the Persian king might have especially enjoyed impressing Greek delegations if they came at the climatically hospitable seasons of the year. Persepolis functioned as the hub of agrarian administration in the Fars province, situated along the major southern route across the empire.⁶⁵ To think of it as "hidden away" for Persian eyes only is a meaningless fancy. It is, furthermore, a fancy which runs counter to the sense we receive from the Persepolis reliefs and the Achaemenid monuments from Egypt, where a

⁶¹ Walsh (supra n. 6). Note that the Apadana reliefs were probably intact in their original form (i.e., with central panels still in the original place) for most of the reign of Artaxerxes (supra n. 31)—and thus during this whole period after the Peace and before the planning of the Parthenon frieze. W.A.P. Childs finds circumstantial reinforcement for Walsh's early date and suggests a similar impact of the Peace in Lycia—with greatly increased artistic transmission and productivity as the result of freer interaction between east and west from roughly 460 to 410; see his abstract, "Lycian Art of the Classical Period," *AJA* 87 (1983) 229.

⁶² G.G. Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters," *JNES* 32 (1973) 55–56; Root (supra n. 25) 5–8. An important article by P. Jacobstahl interprets a critical piece of textual evidence for western familiarity with Persepolis and for "Persai" being the earlier Greek form for the name of the Persian capital in Fars: "A Sybarite Himation," *JHS* 58 (1938) 205–16, esp. n. 28. But cf. D.S. Robertson, "A Sybarite Himation," *JHS* 59 (1939) 136.

⁶³ P. Briant, "Sources grecques et histoire achéménide," *Rois, tributs, et paysans* (Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 43, Paris 1982) 491–506.

⁶⁴ See Orlin (supra n. 28). C.W. Fornara elaborates on related aspects of Herodotos' moralizing motivation in *Herodotus: An Interpretive Essay* (Oxford 1971).

⁶⁵ The administrative significance of the site to the internal imperial economy is clear from evidence derived from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets. See R.T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," *The Cambridge History of Iran* (advance fascicle of Vol. 2, 1971), and "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," in M. Gibson and R.D. Biggs eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6, Malibu 1977) 127–33. Note also the revealing commentaries by D.M. Lewis in *Sparta and Persia* (Cincinnati Classical Studies 1, 1977) 5–7, and "Datis the Mede," *JHS* 100 (1980) 194–95. In the latter, Lewis dates a sojourn of Darius at Persepolis to the winter of 495/4, when he received Datis after his return from a mission for the king at Sardis. The evidence gathered by W.M. Sumner attests to extensive settlement and irrigation around Persepolis: "Achaemenid Settlement and Land Use in the Persepolis Plain," *AJA* 87 (1983) 263. Briant, (supra n. 63) 475–89, uses recent archaeological investigations in Central Asia to demonstrate that the administration of the Achaemenid empire was an active and functioning one, not, as in the conventional interpretation, that of an empire in stagnation. These fresh insights presuppose dynamic activity and traffic across the empire rather than a passive insular situation which might have isolated Persepolis from the mainstream.

premium is placed upon the demonstration by ritual and protocol of ecumenicalism on an international scale.⁶⁶ While we must avoid falling into the trap of an exclusively literal interpretation of the reliefs, we are nevertheless entitled to use them as primary Persian sources of certain merit.⁶⁷ Commenting specifically on the shift under the Achaemenid Persians toward an artistically expressed ideology of rulership based on concepts of voluntary synthesis, Adams has speculated that "It seems unreasonable to suppose that even a consciously propagandistic change [from earlier Near Eastern ways of expressing power relationships] was not linked to at least some change in economic and administrative behavior."⁶⁸

I would go so far as to suggest that the imperial elaborations of the Great Panathenaia and the Great Dionysia (noted earlier here) were directly inspired by similar actual ceremonies long practiced at the Persian court: ceremonies involving the mandatory (but acted out as voluntary) participation of subject nations who brought prescribed *encomia*/cult offerings, as well as systematically assessed tribute. Whether any Athenian ambassadors ever witnessed such an event between ca. 500 and ca. 440, we cannot say. It is, however, difficult to believe that Ionians, Syrians, Egyptians and the like, would have been participating in such ceremonies year after year at Persepolis without highly placed Athenians being aware of it. We need not accept wholeheartedly Plutarch's tale (*Per.* 24) of the beautiful Ionian Thargelia—who, through amorous encounters with the most influential Greeks of the day, turned them all into Persian sympathizers—in order to imagine some of the ways in which ideas traveled in antiquity.

⁶⁶ See Root *passim*.

⁶⁷ C. Nylander first emphasized the importance of viewing the reliefs as other than strictly literal illustrations of actuality: "Al-Beruni and Persepolis," *Acta Iranica* 1 (1974) 137–50. But neither he nor I following him intended to negate their value as sources for imperial rituals and policies. Rather, the aim was to refine the understanding of their value. Root 1–2.

⁶⁸ R. McC. Adams, "Common Concerns but Different Standpoints: A Commentary," in M.T. Larsen ed., *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (Mesopotamia 7, Copenhagen 1979) 403. The ideology of empire expressed in Achaemenid art was related to an ideology of practical result in imperial administration: Briant (*supra* n. 63) 441 and *passim*. Yet Cook, (*supra* n. 28) 73, perpetuates a view that the west could not have known Persepolis and calls the notion of ecumenical pageants at Persepolis "absurd." The conclusions reached by N. Cahill in a forthcoming *AJA* article ("The Treasury at Persepolis: A Functional Analysis") support the notion that ceremonies involving receipt of imperial gifts and assets from the various parts of the realm did indeed take place on the citadel of the city.

⁶⁹ See G.M.A. Richter, "Greeks in Persia," *AJA* 50 (1946) 15–30; J.M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London 1962) 126, suggesting that Telephanes of Phokaia may have been

3) Another reason why the possible impact of Persepolis has been denied has to do with a major irony of scholarship on Achaemenid art. Many have emphasized the notion that the Persepolis reliefs were essentially created by Greek masters.⁶⁹ But on the other hand, the role which traveling sculptors would have played in the transmission to the west of ideas and motifs formulated at Persepolis is almost universally overlooked. Vallois is an exception in suggesting something along these lines to explain the Persianizing column bases in the Thesmophorion at Delos: "Les rapprochements . . . mettront, je pense, hors de doute l'intervention d'un Grec d'Asie; ils donneraient même à croire que celui-ci avait travaillé sur des chantiers perses."⁷⁰ There is surely an essential truth in Vallois' reflection. I would only qualify it by remarking that decisions to introduce distinctly foreign elements on official monuments presuppose approval (and hence awareness of the implications involved) by the planning commission of city or sanctuary. This is important when we think back to the Parthenon, for although tradition associates the name of Pheidias with the overseeing of the entire project, the programmatic planning of the sculpture of the building was certainly a committee affair. Pheidias himself need never have been in Persia for Persian forms to have found quotation on the Parthenon. In any case, many artists who had been involved in the great on-going building projects at Persepolis and other royal cities (as well as the constructions of the satraps throughout the empire, whose palaces are still unknown to us) must have been welcomed in Athens when the Periclean projects finally got underway.⁷¹ The combination of: a) numbers of returning artists (schooled at

the grandmaster of the Persepolis friezes; Farkas (*supra* n. 27) 83–116; and H. Luschey, "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisutun," *AMIran* 1 (1968) 88. Note also M. Roaf and J. Boardman, "A Greek Painting at Persepolis," *JHS* 100 (1980) 204–206. There can be no doubt that Greeks (especially East Greeks) worked at Persepolis, but so did artisans from all over the empire. The contribution of Egyptians, for instance, needs special attention in light of the clear evidence from the Fortification Tablets that large numbers of Egyptian workers were transported via Persepolis to the eastern reaches of the empire: see M. Roaf, "Texts about the Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis," *Iran* 18 (1980) 65–74. See also Root, esp. 4–15, for a reassessment of the impact of Greek artists at the Persian court upon the nature of the art itself.

⁷⁰ Vallois (*supra* n. 59) 257.

⁷¹ It is widely acknowledged that artists from all over the Greek world flocked to Athens to work on the Parthenon. See, e.g., Ashmole (*supra* n. 2) 92, Holloway (*supra* n. 16) 115–16, and A. Burford, "The Builders of the Parthenon," *Greece and Rome* (suppl. to Vol. 10, 1963) 25. The later evidence from Epidauros attests to the employment of craftsmen from a wide range of sites, and cosmopolitan Athens may be expected to have attracted an even greater panhellenic labor force. See A. Burford, *Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* (Toronto 1969) 138–45.

places like Persepolis in the problems and potentials of architecture and sculpture on an Oriental scale of magnificence); and b) the psychological receptivity of the Greek milieu to Persian exotica contributed ultimately to the situation manifest in the Athenian program of the second half of the fifth century.⁷²

4) One last factor is also overlooked in discussing the mechanics of transmission between Persepolis and Athens. The imagery developed at Persepolis for the Apadana was, like the iconography of Achaemenid art more generally, applicable to a variety of artistic contexts.⁷³ We know now, for instance, that a monumental stone copy of the historical relief and inscription of Darius at Bisutun was made for Babylon.⁷⁴ Various motifs of architectural relief documented at Persepolis in stone are known to have existed at Susa both in molded and/or glazed brick and in stone relief.⁷⁵ Canby has shown that a fragment of glazed brick decoration from Susa must belong to a composition which depicted either the motif of the royal hero stabbing a rampant beast or, as I think, the Bisutun motif of the king with his foot on a prostrate captive.⁷⁶ Other discoveries of this kind are likely to reward the patience of art historians working with the large numbers of unpublished brick fragments from Susa in the collections of the Louvre. Recently, small fragments of

lifesized interior wall paintings have also been discovered at Susa (apparently dating to the reign of Artaxerxes II), which seem to preserve a motif corresponding to wing B of the Apadana at Persepolis.⁷⁷ We do not know if the Persepolis version in its entirety was ever copied faithfully for an audience hall at one of the heavily frequented administrative capitals of the empire.⁷⁸ Neither do we know if such a motif, after its formulation at Persepolis, might have been appropriated by satraps in the mid-fifth century for their palaces in the western reaches of the empire.⁷⁹ The traces of painting from Susa alert us to the fact that provincial palaces in the Persian era, like those of the Assyrian empire (e.g., Til Barsip), may have been richly decorated with interior frescoes of truly monumental conception, but they are perhaps less likely to have been elaborately embellished with exterior scenes in stone relief or brick. The tombs excavated near Elmalı in Anatolia provide tantalizing glimpses of the kind of tradition in monumental painting which would have produced such palatial decorations—a tradition which was responsive at once both to Greek and to Persian cultural preferences.⁸⁰

Finally, the paintings preserved inside the shields of the Persians on the Alexander Sarcophagus remind us that monumental sculptural motifs can be copied in

⁷² This type of process was postulated by R.E.M. Wheeler to explain the Persian influence on the official art of Asoka in India after the fall of the Achaemenid empire: *Flames over Persepolis* (London 1968).

⁷³ E.g., the motif of the king lifted on high by the subject peoples: Root 131–61. At Persepolis a reduced version of the Apadana motif was later employed in somewhat different format in Palace H. Here, two wings of gift-bearing delegates take the place of the differentiated wings on the Apadana; the motif of the original central panel (the audience scene) seems to have been placed up inside the building as an orthostat relief. See Root 108–10 and fig. 16 for a tentative reconstruction. Isolated features of the format were employed in the Throne Hall (the audience motif on doorjambs) and the western replacement stairway of the Palace of Darius (gift bearers, commissioned by Artaxerxes III). See Root figs. 7 and 15.

⁷⁴ U. Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon," *AMIran* 9 (1976) 125–30. The Bisutun text actually states that copies in local languages were made for dissemination throughout the empire. The knowledge that the symbolic pictorial representation was also copied is important for us here, as it is one more bit of evidence suggesting the widespread availability of propagandistic imperial motifs. I have stressed elsewhere (Root 160) the significance of the fact that at least one representational motif of the Achaemenid iconographic repertoire was translated for purposes of provincial propaganda as a text would be, in this case into an Egyptian visual syntax for the statue of Darius which was found in Susa, but which was made in Egypt and originally intended to stand there. I suspect that this kind of artistic translation of important representational images was an established feature of imperial policy. It is interesting to speculate on the possibility that official Achaemenid imperial monuments made for Asia Minor might have been deliberately reworked in a Greek mode which would render the imagery more immediately comprehensible to the local populace. Although decorating a private tomb rather than an official commission of the

empire, the friezes on the 4th c. Nereid Monument at Xanthos showing "tribute" bearers and the surrender of a city give some idea of how official stylistic reworkings of the Apadana motif might have looked: G.M.A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine* (Ann Arbor 1975) fig. 66, for the frieze block preserving "tribute bearers"; W.A.P. Childs, *The City Reliefs of Lycia* (Princeton 1978) 12–13, 22–31, for detailed discussion of the monument.

⁷⁵ Reliefs of guards and servants carrying foodstuffs are well known: see E. Porada, *Ancient Iran* (London 1965) pl. 42, for one of the guard figures in moulded and glazed brick; and A. Labrousse and R. Boucharlat, "La fouille du palais du chaour à Suse en 1970 et 1971," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 2 (1972) pl. 34, for several fragments of ascending servant figures in stone relief.

⁷⁶ J.V. Canby, "A Note on Some Susa Bricks," *AMIran* 12 (1979) 315–20.

⁷⁷ Labrousse and Boucharlat (supra n. 75) 83, fig. 42.

⁷⁸ Ecbatana has not been excavated. Finds from Babylon are poorly preserved and not numerous. Those from Susa are also problematical. Unlike those of Persepolis, they give us only an incomplete picture of what that important city looked like in Achaemenid times. See entries under each site in L. Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden 1979).

⁷⁹ For summaries of our limited archaeological documentation of satrapal palaces, see Hanfmann (supra n. 74) 15–19, and E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster 1973) esp. 54–60. The friezes of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (supra n. 74) certainly suggest the likelihood that such edifices were decorated with Hellenized versions of Achaemenid sculptural motifs.

⁸⁰ M.J. Mellink, "Notes on Anatolian Wall Painting," *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara 1974) 537–47, and "The Anatolian Exchange: Phrygian and Lycian Wall Painting," *AJA* 87 (1983) 245.

sketches and drawings and may thus be disseminated for reapplication in entirely new situations.⁸¹ The two motifs depicted on these shields are the royal hero in combat and the king giving audience to a bowing official—this latter being the motif (in reduced form) of the original central panels of the Apadana facades. If von Graeve is correct in his hypothesis that the Alexander Sarcophagus is the product of a Rhodian workshop, the potential significance of the shield paintings increases. They would then imply that these images (which we currently can document with absolute certainty in monumental form only on the reliefs of the palaces at Persepolis) had at some point become part of the active vocabulary of motifs considered typically Persian—a vocabulary used by Greek artists within an important Greek (as opposed even to Anatolian or Ionian) setting. The very fact that these particular motifs were selected as decorations for the shields of the Persians suggests, furthermore, that the motifs may have been understood by the Greek artists to symbolize characteristic and well known Persian monuments—

monuments such as the Apadana at Persepolis, which stood as emblems of the glory of empire.

To the Athenians who planned the Parthenon frieze the sculpture was meant to convey something powerful and energizing: the harmonious ordering of a society guided by positivistic ideas and far-reaching aspirations. Part of the contemporary impact of its representational imagery derived from its calculated emulation of the programmatic imperial visions of Darius. These visions gave new life, new metaphorical potency, to an eminently Athenian festival drama at a time when the Great Panathenaia itself had become a ceremonial display of imperial covenants as well as a liturgical enactment of duties to Athena Polias.

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⁸¹ V. von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt* (Berlin 1970) 106–109.



FIG. 1a. Athens, Akropolis, Parthenon frieze, west: slabs I-IV. (After Brommer, *Parthenonfries* pl. 7)



FIG. 1b. Athens, Akropolis, Parthenon frieze, north: slabs XXIX and XXXIX-XLI. (After Brommer, *Parthenonfries* pl. 51)

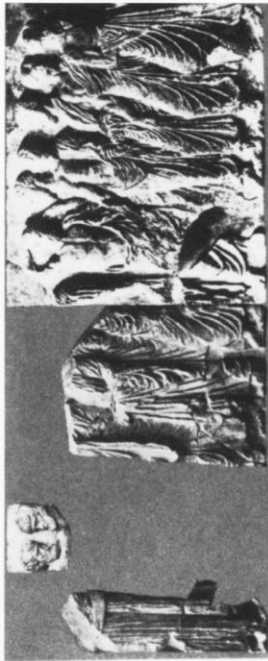


FIG. 2. Athens, Akropolis, Parthenon frieze, north: slabs I-III, VI, IX-X. (After Brommer, *Parthenonfries* pl. 49)

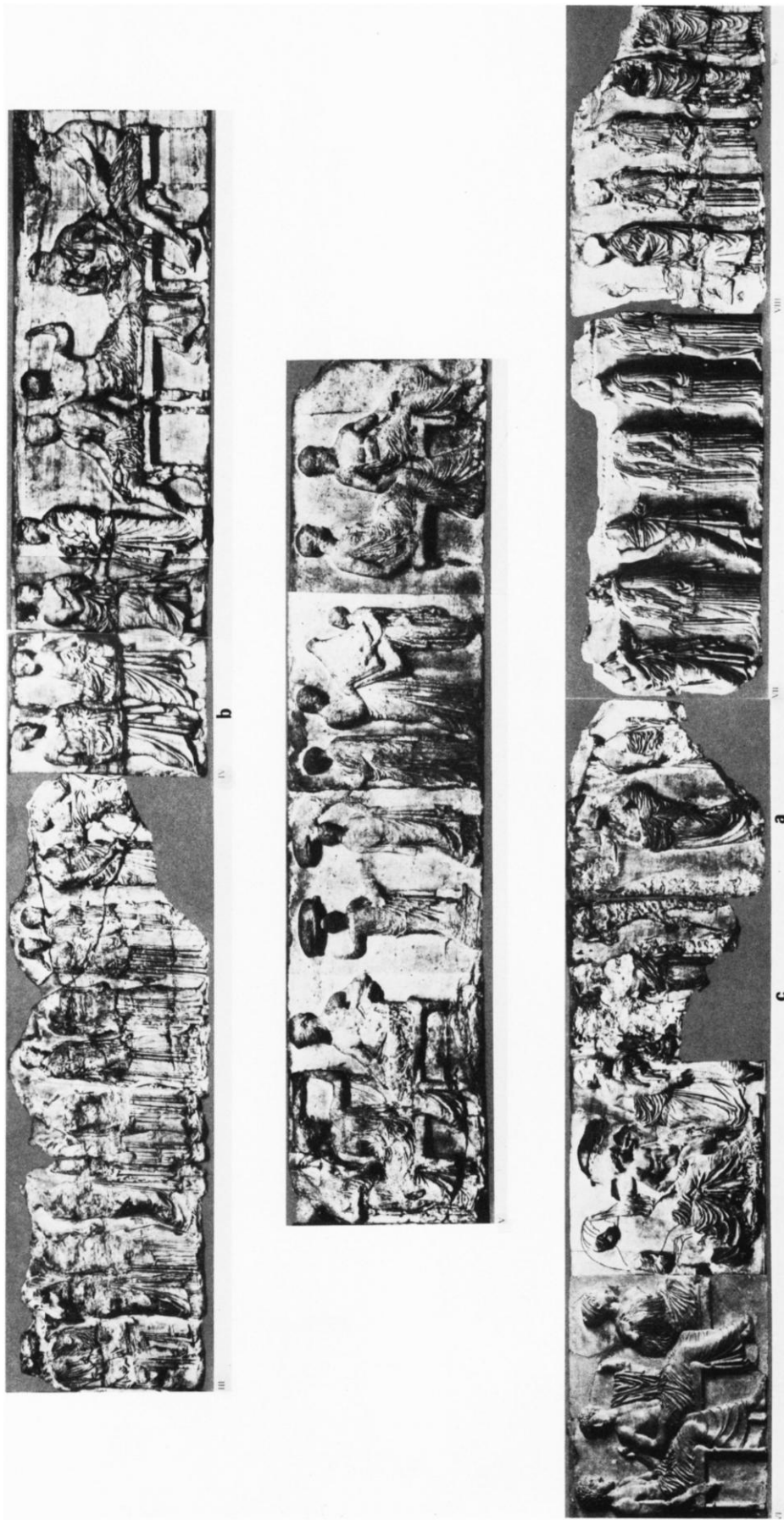


FIG. 3. Athens, Akropolis, Parthenon frieze, east: slabs III-VIII. (After Brommer, *Parthenonfries* pl. 165)



FIG. 4. Persepolis, Apadana north stair: original central panel. (After Root, *King and Kingship* pl. 17)

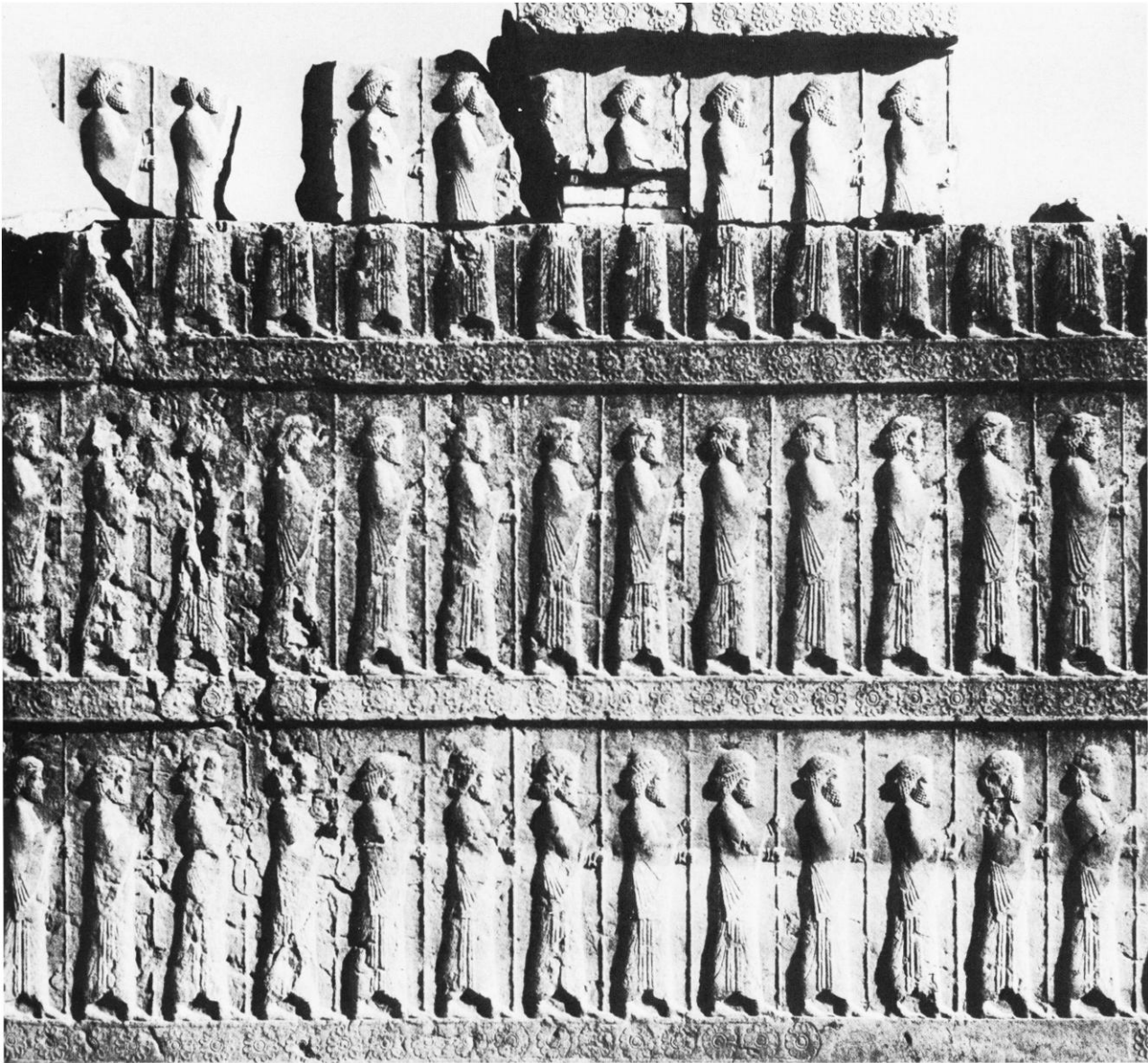


FIG. 5. Persepolis, Apadana north stair: nobles on wing A. (After Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1 pl. 58 left)



FIG. 6. Persepolis, Apadana north stair: delegate group from wing B. (After Schmidt, *Persepolis* 1 pl. 35A)



FIG. 7. Stele of Gudea, Neo-Sumerian period. (Adapted from A. Moortgat, *Art of Mesopotamia* pls. 189–90)

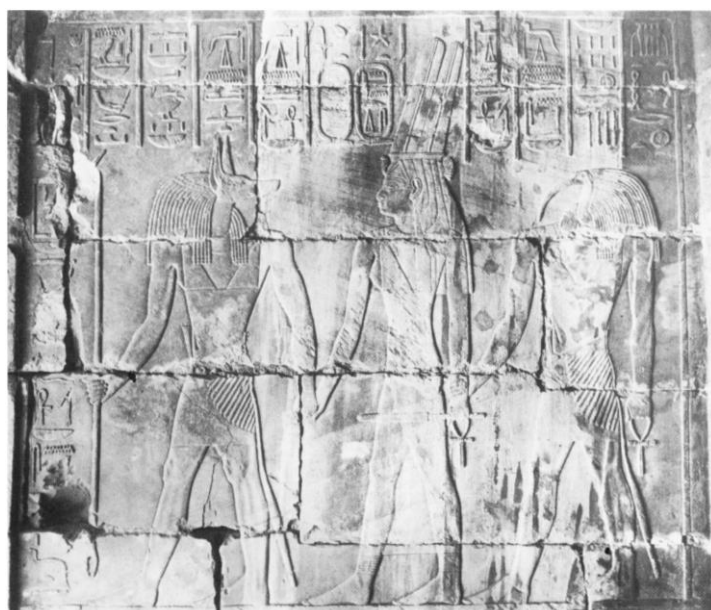


FIG. 8. Medinet Habu, relief from the Tomb Chapel of Amenirdis, Saite period. (Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)