Transient or Eternal? Cross-regional Identity Display Reconsidered: The Missing Head of the Statue of Darius I (NMI 4112)

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Abstract
The statue of Darius I found at Susa provides a striking example for petrifying an identity construction that is transient in nature. Darius I is simultaneously Persian Great King and Egyptian pharaoh. Usually, either one or the other aspect is put to the fore in the preserved media of presentation. The statue in its current headless state combines these identities and presents a new image, which follows neither regional tradition, but is understandable in either of the two (and beyond). Long-term and cross-cultural readability is also explicitly ordered in the commission inscription on the statue, hence this can be equally assumed for the missing head. Based on this hypothesis, the paper at hand reconsiders the scope of potential reconstructions of the statue and, consequently, of the secondary context of erection at the gate building of the "palace of Darius" at Susa.

Introduction

In research on contemporary constructions of identity, there is a strong tendency to focus on the situative and transient nature of identity display.[1] This concerns specific styling for different peer group constellations as much as the choice of displaying religious affiliations, regionally characteristic cultural traditions, and many other aspects that define one's perception and construction of identity in certain situations and social constellations, but not necessarily in others. However, just because (a display of) an identity construction is characteristic for and bound to a specific situation or constellation, this does not necessarily mean that it is also transient in nature. The contribution at hand discusses an example from ancient history, which deliberately petrifies a situative identity construction by displaying a political double role.

The monument in question is the statue of the Achaemenid Great King Darius I (reign: 522–486 BCE). It was unearthed in December 1971 at the gate building leading to the king's palace at Susa, one of the major residences of the Achaemenid dynasty that ruled a huge, culturally diverse empire from the 6th to the second half of the 4th century BCE.[2] The statue (now Teheran: National Museum of Iran, NMI 4112) was found in situ; it flanked the passageway on the side that faces the palace together with a companion piece, of which only the foundation trench is preserved.[3] The statue visualizes the integration of two incompatible kingship concepts, namely that of Persian Great King and Egyptian Pharaoh, each of which was characterized by a regionally centered claim of absolute rule over the (subjected and/or influenced parts of the) world. According to its inscriptions, the statue was explic-

itly ordered to display the double role of Persian Great King and Egyptian Pharaoh intelligibly beyond the scope of the ancient contemporary context. Visually, this is achieved by combining elements from both (and further) cultural traditions and by adapting some of them in a way that adheres to neither of the regionally developed cultural traditions, but is immediately understandable within both and beyond (see below). The design was developed for a prominent place of erection in the center of one of these regional cultural contexts, i.e., a temple context in Egypt, and proved to be suitable also for the core area of the other one, namely the gate building leading to the royal palace at Susa.

The contribution at hand asks how and why the statue could function not only in the original Egyptian context but also in the very different context of the royal palace at Susa, and what this implies for reconstructing the missing head. To answer these questions, I will briefly recollect the major results on the design of the preserved part of the statue, its original cultural setting in Persian period Egypt, and the state of research regarding the reconstruction of the secondary context at Susa. Based on the hypothesis that the correlation of the iconographically observable strategic design and the information on the commission order preserved in the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions of the statue are no coincidence, I will then propose four potential reconstructions of the statue head, including the most common one. These are presented in drawings and discussed in regards to their potential ancient design incentives and their likely perception by the most probable contemporary "audiences" of the display. The paper concludes with a discussion of the secondary context, i.e., the gate reconstruction, and some indications of important issues beyond the ancient evidence, which might be tackled from a diachronic perspective.

Though highly speculative in nature due to the limited evidence available, the evaluation of the statue and its hypothetical head designs highlights crucial elements of the Achaemenid cross-regional kingship concept. The outcome of the analysis is that the statue cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but in all likelihood also the head featured Egyptian elements. The situative perception of the display was presumably offset in the Persian palace context by the non-extant (or at best highly fragmentarily preserved) companion piece flanking the other side of the thoroughfare. The integrated construction of Egypto-Persian kingship visualized by NMI 4112 was possibly resolved into its two key components in the perception of the audience at Susa, with the companion piece representing the Persian (Great) King and the transferred statue his rule over Egypt (and/or the ancient world).

THE PRESERVED STATUE DESIGN: A RECOLLECTION

The statue of Darius I in its original Egyptian context has recently been discussed in detail by the author in her monograph on Egypto-Persian royal display.[4] This section briefly summarizes some of the main results of this study as it relates to the missing head and its implications for the secondary place of erection in the palace context of Susa.

The monumental statue of Darius I shows a standing figure of the king dressed in Persian court dress, royal shoes and animal protome bracelets; a Persian/Elamite dagger is tucked into the belt (FIG. 1). He probably still carries the remnants of a lotus flower in his left hand, which is placed on his breast. The object in his right hand hanging at his side is beyond recognition. The figure leans against a back-pillar and stands on a rectangular base featuring on the front and back the iconic emblem of two Nile figures performing the ritual unification of the Two Lands (i.e. Upper and Lower Egypt; *smꜣ-tꜣwj*) and on the sides a toponymic list of 24 lands and their representatives. The garment folds display a cuneiform trilingual inscription on one side and an independent hieroglyphic inscription on the other side, as well as additional Egyptian inscriptions on the belt ends and on all exposed surfaces of the statue base. The statue is broken below the shoulder, and so far, the head is missing without direct trace. Only circumstantial evidence remains, which hints at its former design: small fragments of statuary from the wider stratigraphic context of the later Persian place of erection, which may have belonged to a locally made companion piece flanking the other side of the gateway.[5] According to the inscriptions and supported by the evidence of the raw material and sculpting techniques, the statue was designed for an Egyptian temple, probably an Atum temple. The actual place cannot be ascertained; most researchers favor an original erection either at Heliopolis or Tell el-Maskhuta.[6]

More or less all indications for interpreting the display have to be deduced from the monument itself. No sketchbooks, letters, diaries, administrative notes, or iconographical models are preserved, which might allow more complex insights into the design process. Even the commission order
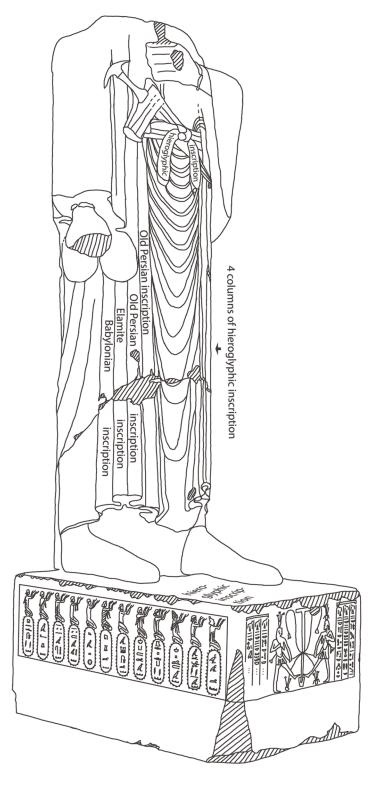
FIGURE 1: Preserved part of the statue of Darius I, found in Susa. Drawing by the author (Wasmuth 2015, 210 fig. 1; Wasmuth 2017, 104 fig. 18).

mentioned above and discussed below is solely testified on the statue itself. However, a detailed iconographical and epigraphic analysis of the statue in the context of the further Egypto-Persian evidence from Egypt (and Persia) reveals that it is part of an extensive program aimed at visualizing and disseminating the different political roles of the Great King as ruler over Egypt. The monuments developed for Darius I in Egypt include his representation as Persian Great King, as Egyptian pharaoh, as Egyptian god, and—as in the case of the statue—as an integrated Egypto-Persian king.[7]

For this, the statue combines, or even consistently integrates, elements from Egyptian and Persian, but also other, cultural traditions. The most prominent Egyptian features are the raw material, the sculpting technique, the statue type with back-pillar and standing/walking posture, the *sm3-t3wj*, most of the inscriptions (on the belt ends, on one side of the garment, on top and on all four sides of the statue base), and the original place of erection. Distinctly Persian features are the garment, including the footwear of Darius, and the cuneiform trilingual inscription on the other side of the garment. Egypto-Persian features (i.e., combining Egyptian and Persian elements to something which is neither, but understandable in both cultural traditions) are the basic statue type (posture plus gesture) and the design of the toponymic list. The king is showcased in a statue type, which—at the time—was associated in Egypt with the highest elite except the king (especially the "God's Wives of Amun") and beyond Egypt explicitly with royal display (Assyrian statues, Persian relief display). This integrative design is taken to the next level in the toponymic list. The choice of represented toponyms roots in the Persian *dahyāva* lists, though rendered in hieroglyphs and showing some adaptions to the Egyptian context. The iconography draws on the Egyptian

toponymic lists, which combine the conquered town name in a fortification cartouche with a bound stereotypical Asian, Nubian, or Libyan representative "growing" out of the name-ring. The stylistic rendering of the representatives is essentially Egyptian, their depiction as "free" men kneeling on top of their toponyms and the regional characteristics displayed in the garments (plus some of the facial features) reflect the *dahyāva*-list depictions. The integration culminates in the gesture of the toponym representatives, which is used in neither list tradition, but translates the Persian design into an Egyptian gesture with similar notions in Egypt and Persia, i.e., a combination of presenting, receiving and supporting.

The consistency of the design adaptations strongly advocates a strategic design developed for the specific monument in question. This makes it even more surprising and revealing that it worked also in a completely different imperial context, i.e. the royal palace in the territorial heartland of the dynasty.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATUE AT ITS SETTING AT SUSA: THE STATE OF RESEARCH

Based on the highly fragmentary evidence for a number of further statues in the same gate complex, Heinz Luschey suggested a reconstruction of four to six statues flanking the inner and outer entrance of the gate building in front of the palace including a local copy and a pair of slightly larger statues.[8] He does not depict a reconstruction of the statue under discussion in his 1983 article, but only of the local copy. Nevertheless, the drawing of this copy clearly indicates the design he had in mind for his reconstruction. In his estimate, the Egypto-Persian statue fragment found at Susa (see above, including FIG. 1) was crowned by a head depicting Darius as Persian: in Persian style, with his characteristic beard and hairstyle as well as a high crenelated crown[9] (for a similar design, though with higher crown, see FIG. 2a). While Luschey clearly sets out his argumentation for a bearded face, the specific choice of crown remains uncommented.

A similar reconstruction is provided by Shahrokh Razmjou, though with a plain head band above which the calotte is visible; no argumentation is given, only an assertion that his reconstruction shows "the original form of the statue."[10] Such a reconstruction is possible in principle, but there is no easy parallel to be found for royal usage of this headdress outside the scenic context of animal

combat,[11] which can be excluded from the preserved remains of the statue. As Wouter Henkelman has convincingly argued, in all other visualizations of the king in monumental relief a crenelated crown is to be reconstructed—implemented either by relief carving, paint, or attachments in metal or organic materials.[12]

Another potential reconstruction draws on the early depiction of Darius I with crenelated headband, above which the upper part of the calotte with the hairline is visible. This crown design is worn by Darius in the rock relief of Bisutun (in Kermanshah province in Western Iran), which commemorates his consolidation of the empire. In case of this model, the line of argument does not draw on the similarity of display, but on the testified evidence for wider circulation of the Bisutun inscription:

> Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, this (is) the form of writing, which I have made, besides in Aryan. Both on clay tablets and on parchment it has been placed. Besides, I also made the signature (?); besides, I also made the lineage. And it was written down and read aloud before me. Afterwards, I sent off this form of writing everywhere into the countries. The people strove (to use it? abide by it?).[13]

However, the instruction to spread the message indicates only textual transmission via clay tablets and parchments. To which extent a circulation also of the accompanying image is to be assumed cannot be decided. The solely written evidence from Elephantine argues against a wide-range spread of the visual display to the outskirts of the empire, while there is some supporting evidence from the center.[14] Therefore, a reconstruction with a low crenelated headband is not followed up here for a statue designed to be set up in Egypt.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATUE RECONSIDERED

Though a reconstruction with Persian style head and crown was deemed most likely by the author for a long time, this conviction was severely challenged by a combination of three stimuli for re-considering the statue:

(1) a more detailed reflection on potential models for the memorial coins depicting Artaxerxes III in court-dress and with Egyptian double-crown;[15]

(2) a re-consideration of the statue itself in the contexts of fitting in/standing out;[16]

(3) and the introduction of 'petrification' as a methodological approach to ancient societies.[17]

As already indicated above and also clearly stated by Luschey, the evidence for the suggested reconstruction of the statue with Persian head and crown is largely circumstantial. It is based on the conceptual idea that Darius had to be depicted as Persian and that some of the additional fragments found in the vicinity of the statue belong to a local copy. This is not necessarily the case. The local statue may be only similar, i.e., iconographically complementing the original statue transferred from Egypt, or the other statue fragments may belong to a different setting altogether: there is no way of knowing their date or specific context of erection.[18] In addition, the few and relatively small fragments do allow also other modes of reconstruction than the one put up as "local copy" of the Darius statue (see below).[19]

For deciding, which further reconstructions come into play, the rather unusual statue inscriptions have to be reconsidered. In addition, the likely perception of the reconstructed images within the ancient context needs to be discussed despite the lack of specific information: there are no explicit sources available on the ancient contemporary understanding or the motivations behind the specific design, whether by the king himself, a single member of his inner circle, a group of political and "artistic" advisors, the craftsperson(s), or the public having access to the statue in its place of original or secondary (or tertiary etc.) erection. Hence, we are effectively reduced to the two (sets of) inscriptions regarding the statue erection and design on the statue itself and our modern perception of what might have been the ancient viewpoint.

Comments on the display are included in the cuneiform trilingual inscription in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite on the right-hand folds of the garment (DSab) and the hieroglyphic inscription in Egyptian on top of the statue base (DSeg3):[20]

> *DSab:* … This is the statue made of stone, which Darius the king ordered to be made in Egypt that he who sees it in the future will know that the Persian man held Egypt in possession / conquered Egypt (Old Persian + Babylonian / Elamite) …

> *DSeg3:* … Image/statue that displays the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, which his Majesty has made to erect a monument of himself, to commemorate his *ka* at the side of his father Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, and of Re-Harakhte, for the length of eternity that he may reward him with all life and dominion(?), all health and all joy like Ra![21]

Implications of the Cuneiform Inscription DSab

If the cuneiform trilingual inscription DSab is taken literally, it is to be questioned whether a reconstruction with Persian head and crown really displays what the statue's cuneiform inscriptions claim, even without drawing on the hieroglyphic evidence. The key elements to be evaluated in combination with each other are:

(1) The depicted king is a Persian.
(2) The conquered place is Egypt.
(3) These issues have to come across without regard to time and place (respectively cultural background).

The first two criteria are rather straightforward: "the Persian man held Egypt in possession / conquered Egypt." However, the questions remain regarding what characterizes "the Persian man" and whose perception of what defines Persian identity is to be taken into account. Similar issues concern the question of what exactly is meant by "Egypt." Though an important issue for the wider timeframe and its changing territorial and cultural characteristics, it is of minor relevance for the topic at hand. What is of major relevance is that the commission order stipulates that the display has to visualize that Egypt was held in possession, not merely captured.

The aspect, which is least taken into account, is possibly the most important one for the question of reconstructing the head: the statue is explicitly specified to be made in a way that it remains readable. This effectively means that the messages 1) and 2) have to come across without regard of time and place. The latter is an issue of major relevance in the Achaemenid empire and is explicitly instrumentalized as visual, textual, and social imperial policy. This is best illustrated by the inclusion of architectural, pictorial, and stylistic elements from throughout the empire in the palace design of Persepolis (and other places), the scope of iconographical designs featuring the inhabitants and

their places of living in the (pictorial) *dahyāva* lists of Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rustam, and the "tribute" bearer processions in Persepolis.[22] Similarly, the administrative policies cater to the multilingual communities of individual townships like Persepolis, Susa, or Memphis and the wider community of the empire.[23] As the timespan of the future is not specified and the statue and its multilingual inscriptions (i.e., the cuneiform trilingue in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian and the Egyptian inscriptions) are created for a (semi-)public place of erection in Egypt, it is to be supposed that the audience is meant to include a wide set of origins and (cross-)cultural traditions.

Without certain recurrence to legibility of the inscriptions, which would have severely reduced the scope of audience at the time of creation and original erection, the commission order is likely to have been implemented visually. This is exactly what a detailed analysis of the iconographical design of the preserved part of the statue reveals (see above). Arguably, understanding its underlying design process and incentives works so well, because the statue was deliberately fashioned to continue being understandable.

Nevertheless, the visual display of a statue strongly depends on the head, which is not preserved. Neither do we have any certain indications for the time of removal of the statue to Persia,[24] of the date and context of the intentional or circumstantial beheading,[25] or the second statue of the pair supposed to have been erected flanking the palace gates at Susa.[26] We cannot even exclude a different head design for the original context in Egypt and the later one in Susa.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTION DSEG3

Less straightforward is the implication of the Egyptian inscription DSeg3 on top of the statue base. Especially due to the lack of knowledge of the statue's specific original place of erection, it is difficult to judge the intended impact of the statue. It may have been created solely for the Egyptian-speaking context in its original setting or for a wider public, including the Persian "ethno-classe dominante" and any other members of the culturally diverse society of Egypt at the time.[27] In any case, the hieroglyphic inscription states that the king is (to be) depicted as Egyptian pharaoh—evidenced by the epithets "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands"—for the length of eternity.

Whether the Egyptian wording "for the length of eternity" just echoes a standard phrase or deliberately takes up the emphasis of ongoing readability specified in the cuneiform inscription is beyond ascertaining.

A second element of interest here concerns the commemoration of his (i.e., the king's) *ka* besides the gods Atum and Re-Harakhte, which is of special relevance for the original place of erection and general conceptual issues regarding ancient identity constructions. While the mention of the two gods has received substantial, though inconclusive, discussion regarding the original place of erection (they are too omnipresent to pin it down to one specific town or temple),[28] the identity-related question of what defines Darius' *ka* in the display is hardly broached. The combination of the main intention and the format of this contribution does not allow a detailed analysis here, either. Nevertheless, it is to be highlighted that the question is of importance and difficult to answer. One key issue is the question, whether the phrase refers to the *ka* of the person Darius or specifically to his "royal *ka*."[29] In case of the latter, the issue might be rather straightforward: the phrase "image/statue that displays the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, which his Majesty has made to erect a monument of himself, to commemorate his *ka* at the side of his father Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, and of Re-Horakhty, for the length of eternity…" might simply refer to the royal statue itself as a temple statue for the royal cult alongside that of Atum and Re-Horakhty, possibly in front of the entrance pylon, parallel to the monumental statues in front of Luxor temple.[30]

In case of the former, i.e., the display of the *ka* of the royal person Darius I, the issue breaks down to the question of what is the most significant element of expressing (royal) identity: the face, the hairstyle including the beard, the dress, the insignia, the posture and gesture, or a combination of various elements. On a more general level, this discussion opens up the questions of a) what defined royal cross-regional identity in visual display, b) to which extent was a conflict between the personal and the socio-political identity of the royal figure perceived and depicted, c) which display requirements had to be fulfilled, and d) whether the image(s) displayed in Egypt and in Susa were the same.

If the head had been preserved, the statue of Darius would provide highly important information. In its current headless state and due to the lack of

detailed design guidelines in general and specifically for the petrified implementation of the situative concept cross-regional royal identity, these questions have to remain open.

A Set of Reconstruction Suggestions for the Statue

Though the state of preservation does not allow any certain reconstruction, the available evidence on Darius as Persian Great King and Egyptian Pharaoh allows a much wider scope of potential statue designs than usually assumed. While a further separation of face, hairstyle, and beard is currently not well supported, both the Persian and the Egyptian monumental display show Darius I with different headdresses on basically the same two head designs—a Persian and an Egyptian one.[31] Consequently, at least four different designs merit closer examination: a Persian head with Persian crown (Fig. 2a; i.e., the prevalent reconstruction), an Egyptian head with Egyptian crown (Fig. 2b), an Egyptian head with Persian crown (Fig. 2c), and a Persian head with Egyptian crown (Fig. 2d).

As indicated above, the default Persian royal headgear is a cylindrical crown with crenellations of slightly varying height. In absence of any conflicting evidence, this can therefore be safely assumed as the most likely option for a Persian crown of the statue. The Egyptian counterpart is less unequivocal. However, the traditional double-crown, which combines the crowns of "the Two Lands," i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt, is probably the one most widely associated with Egyptian kingship throughout the Achaemenid empire and the Mediterranean and West Asian area of connectivity. It also visualizes the epithets "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands" most prominently and directly. It is therefore the most likely Egyptian option.

The reconstruction suggestions draw on prominent contemporary models from Persia and Egypt. The image of the Persian head is taken from the Persepolis audience relief, to which the crenelated top depicted on the facade of tomb V at Persepolis is added.[32] The choice was made because gesture and posture of the king seated on the throne with a flower and a staff in his hands are the closest available analogy to the statue design.[33] The Egyptian head is modeled on an image from the wall reliefs at Hibis temple in Khargeh oasis, which displays Darius (I) as Egyptian pharaoh wearing the traditional double-crown.[34] As the ancient Egyptian two-dimensional renderings of three-dimensional objects do not correspond with our modern historiographical ones, the double-crown is replaced by a drawing of such a crown from a royal statue.[35] The back-pillars are modeled on the scope of private and royal statue designs from the Late Period of Egypt.[36]

Persian Head with Persian Crown

The first suggestion adds a Persian head and Persian royal crown to the preserved statue fragment (Fig. 2a). Such a design prominently meets requirement 1 that the depicted figure is a Persian king. Despite the Egypt(o-Pers)ian iconography and hieroglyphic writing on the belt endings, on some of the dress folds, and on the statue base the overall impression is that of a Persian.[37] For requirement 2 (conquered place is Egypt) this may be questioned, especially when taking into account requirement 3 that this information has to remain understandable for eternity. As Egypt is included in the toponymic list and the cuneiform inscription specifies the issue, the literal claim is certainly satisfied, at least for the specific wording of the Elamite inscription. The predominantly Persian depiction emphasizes Darius' role as Persian Great King while acknowledging Egypt as part of the ancient world—displayed on the base according to Persian and Egyptian official perceptions (though only partially according to their display conventions; see above). However, the combination of conquering and subsequently ruling, i.e., holding, Egypt specified in the Old Persian and Babylonian inscriptions is not put to the fore. As a result, a chronologically and culturally wider public may not have understood the statue as visualizing the inscription's claim of a continual hold over Egypt. For successfully depicting the double role of Persian Great King and Egyptian Pharaoh, the head would need to express the Egyptian aspect more explicitly.

Egyptian Head with Egyptian Crown

Whether the equivalent holds true for the second suggestion, i.e., a reconstruction with Egyptian head and Egyptian crown (Fig. 2b), is a matter of perception. For the primary place of erection—an Egyptian temple context—such a design would quite profoundly satisfy all three requirements. Head and crown clearly indicate Darius' role and identity as
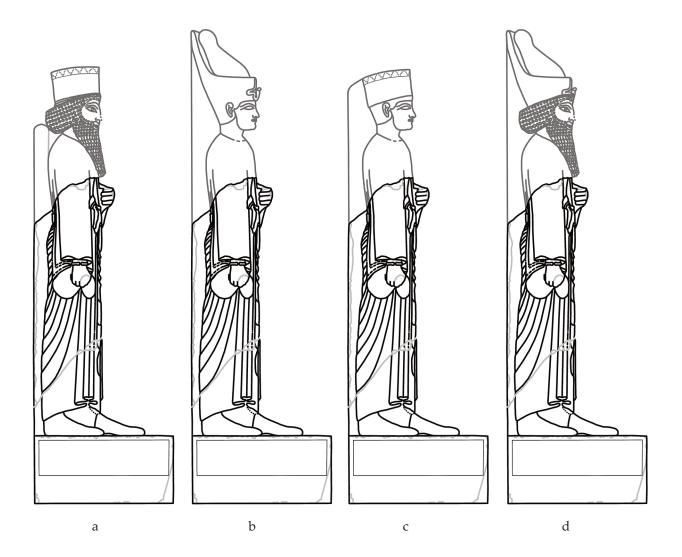
FIGURE 2: The statue of Darius I reconstructed with **a)** a Persian head and Persian crown, **b)** an Egyptian head and Egyptian crown, **c)** an Egyptian head and Persian crown, **d)** a Persian head and Egyptian crown. Reconstructions and drawings by the author; key sources for the reconstructions of the Persian head and crown: Persepolis audience scene (Matthiae 1999: 213), of the crenellations: facade relief of Persepolis tomb V (Henkelman 1995–1996: pl. 19,3), of the Egyptian head and uraeus: Hibis temple scene depicting Darius as Egyptian pharaoh wearing the double-crown (Davies 1953: pl. 74B), of rendering of the double-crown in statuary; statue of Amasis in Copenhagen (Myśliwiec 1988: pl. LXIVc), of the various potential back-pillar constructions: private and royal statu(ett)es of the Late Period (see Bothmer et al. 1960).

Egyptian pharaoh, the dress and paraphernalia obviously proclaim his Persian identity. As the dress was widely known—spread via coins, seals, reliefs, etc., and probably most prominently via the satrapal courts—one may safely assume that the association held true throughout the Achaemenid Empire.

Nevertheless, it is to be questioned, whether the focus is too Egyptian for a Persian public, especially if Darius' cross-regional identity was perceived as rooting in his person and less in his role or the manner of his representation. Could a clean-shaven head with Egyptian crown effectively display that "the Persian man has conquered Egypt" in a Persian heartland setting? Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to pursue this question in any depth. Similarly, it remains unfathomable whether the issue even came up during the production process, i.e., whether the statue was originally ever meant for a Persian audience (see above).

A possible scenario is an original design with Egyptian head and crown for an Egyptian context (see Fig. 2b) and a complementation with a second similar statue, albeit with Persian head and crown (i.e., similar to Fig. 2a) for the later Persian palace context in Susa (see Fig. 4a). In such a scenario, the slightly larger dimension of the complementing statue might have signaled that the role of Persian Great King was the primary one.

One might also consider a potential change of head after/for transfer to Susa, i.e. an ancient beheading and replacement with a head adhering to Persian heartland conventions. Though possible in principle, the nature of the break does not favor such an interpretation. The quality of available craftsmanship should have allowed a much more confined mutilation of only the parts affected by the design change, i.e., keeping the upper back intact.

EGYPTIAN HEAD WITH PERSIAN CROWN
FIG. 2c presents a reconstruction with Egyptian head and Persian crown. Though the image components are taken from contemporary Egyptian and Persian relief contexts, it is doubtful whether such an image was decoded as such by a contemporary Egyptian or Persian audience. The high crenelated crown without hairdo and beard may or may not have been directly associated by a non-Persian audience as specifically depicting the Great King. Similarly, the clean-shaven face not necessarily evoked the identification as Egyptian in a Persian audience, but possibly or even probably that of a non-bearded

member of the court, and therefore explicitly not the king.[38]

Despite these uncertainties, a case might be argued for the original Egyptian setting. As can be witnessed for the 8th and 7th century display of Kushite kings as pharaohs of the Egyptian 25th Dynasty, it was possible to showcase the pharaoh with foreign insignia and dress in an Egyptian context. See, e.g., the incorporation of the so-called Kushite cap-crown and other elements of Kushite royal dress and paraphernalia into the royal iconographical canon.[39] In addition, the available evidence testifies that in Egypt Darius I could be cast in the images of Great King, of pharaoh, of Egyptian god, and of a ruler fulfilling the double role of both kingship concepts.[40]

However, though a depiction of the king's face in his role as Egyptian pharaoh, i.e., clean-shaven, was obviously acceptable when the display was designed within Egyptian iconographical conventions,[41] this does not necessarily hold true for the mixed display developed for his statue NMI 4112.

PERSIAN HEAD WITH EGYPTIAN CROWN
The last suggestion to be discussed combines the elements the other way around, i.e., with Persian head and Egyptian crown (FIG. 2d). In this image, the figure of a man with Persian-style facial design including beard and hair-do, Persian dress, and Persian royal paraphernalia prominently proclaims the Persian man. The Egyptian double-crown expresses his role as Egyptian pharaoh based on the act of an official Egyptian coronation, i.e. the agreement to cater for the conceptual needs of this Egyptian social construct, which required a legitimate ruler, who—at least nominally—fulfilled his major roles within the Egyptian religious and political sphere.[42]

As a result, the display suggested in FIG. 2d prominently and convincingly fulfills all three requirements set out in the cuneiform trilingual inscription: (1) the depicted king is a Persian, (2) the conquered place is Egypt, visualized by the inclusion of Egypt in the toponymic list and by the double-crown worn by the king, and (3) these issues come across without regard to time and cultural background throughout the contemporary "world." Such a statue design forcefully commemorates the enduring hold over Egypt by displaying the integration of this political and cultural entity and its kingship concept into the Achaemenid empire

FIGURE 3: The memorial coin of Artaxerxes III from Susa, minted at Myriandros around 340 BCE. Drawing by the author (Wasmuth 2015, 226 fig. 4; Wasmuth 2017, 201 fig. 50).

and rulership design. It even accounts for the ambiguity and potential separation of the person and the office-holder, the Persian "man" (not "king") in his role of Great King *and* Pharaoh respectively as ruler over Egypt.

The commemorative force of such an integrated image was clearly perceived in the 4th century BCE. This is testified by a series of coins that commemorate the re-inclusion of Egypt into the Achaemenid empire under Artaxerxes III (FIG. 3). They display the king (?) in Persian dress and Egyptian double-crown, while he is seated on a Phoenician throne and holds a Cilician staff, i.e., in his role as ruler of the ancient world.[43] If the here suggested reconstruction of the statue is correct, the representation of Darius I as Egypto-Persian ruler, which was still prominently visible in front of the palace gate building at Susa (still in situ in 1971 CE), would have provided a perfect model for the coin images.

THE STATUE'S SECONDARY ERECTION CONTEXT RECONSIDERED

As already indicated, the scope of design options for the statue impacts also the reconstruction of its secondary place of erection. Based on the available direct (i.e., the in situ find of the lower part of the statue) and the circumstantial evidence (further fragments from corresponding or similar slightly bigger statues; foundation trenches for further statues), at least three different scenarios need to be considered:

(1) The statue, which was designed for an Egyptian context, was transferred to Susa and displayed together with a local copy of the same or highly similar design.

(2) The statue was transferred and complemented by a statue of different design.

(3) The statue design was changed for the second place of erection. The local "copy" either followed the secondary design or differed from it to an unknown degree.

As there are so many hypothetical variables in the reconstruction, all three gateway reconstructions are possible. However, the latter one—and hence the one that maintains the prevalent reconstruction of NMI 4112 with Persian head and crown—is much less likely than the others. According to the results

above, this is only feasible if the statue was originally designed with an Egyptian head, was beheaded for its Susian context, and was subsequently given a Persian head. Though this cannot be completely ruled out, it conflicts with the evidence of the existing break. Given the high level of craftsmanship required for creating the head and the complementing local copy, a much less conspicuous break, along with fittings for ensuring a secure joint, is to be expected.

Depending on whether the (highly likely) Egyptian crown of the original design was set on an Egyptian or a Persian head for the primary place of erection, two different scenarios can be argued. Without further independent evidence for the head design of either the preserved "original" or the local
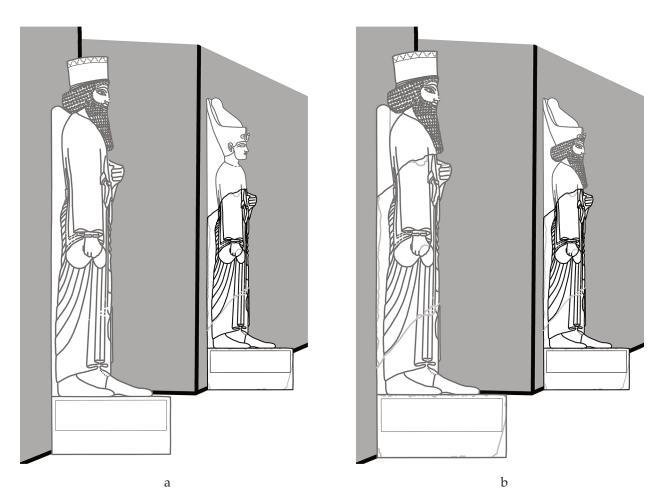

a   b

FIGURE 4: Reconstruction of the outer doorway of the gate-building facing the palace of Darius I at Susa. According to the commission order and the preserved design, the statue probably wore an Egyptian double-crown in its original Egyptian temple context, either on an Egyptian **(a)** or an Egypto-Persian head **(b)**. The preserved fragmentary circumstantial evidence from Susa favors a locally made counter piece of similar design and height, though with Persian head and crown and slightly different proportions of the statue's body to compensate for the lower crown of the "copy" (assuming statue base and head proportions were kept). Drawings by the author based on Fig. 2.

"copy," they remain equally possible, though the second one fits both contexts slightly more satisfactorily.

Fɪɢ. 4a shows the variant with Egyptian head and crown for the preserved "Egyptian" statue (see Fɪɢ. 2b). It is based on the idea that the original design might have been too uncanny for a Persian display, analogous to the prevalent perception within Persia-centered studies of the Achaemenid empire (see above). Instead of changing the head, the statue would have been kept intact, but compensated with a companion piece that prominently featured a Persian head and crown (see Fɪɢ. 2a). Such an idea goes well together with the observation that the (body of the) local "copy," according to the proportions of the statue fragments that might have belonged to it, was bigger than the (body of the) "original," stressing the a priori of the display as Persian Great King.

Fɪɢ. 4b presents the alternative reconstruction, which fits the three requirements from the textual commission order in correlation with the iconographical implementation of the preserved part of the statue best (see Fɪɢ. 2d). In addition, the image with Persian head and Egyptian double-crown is perfectly convincing within the primary Egyptian and secondary Persian setting of the statue. This could easily explain the transfer, i.e., the wish to preserve such a masterpiece of royal display, which embodies the scope of integration of local and especially of the ostensibly everlasting Egyptian kingship concept into the Achaemenid royal display.[44] For reasons of symmetry, a direct copy seems the most adequate reconstruction. However, in view of the supposedly bigger version of the local copy (if indeed the case, slightly altered proportions due to the different expertise of the sculptors cannot be excluded), one might also consider a complementing statue with Persian head and crown design (see Fɪɢ. 2a, 4a–b). In this case, enlarging the lower part of the statue probably compensated the lesser Persian crown height, as no conceptual issues with the displayed image are to be expected.

Conclusions

As has been highlighted above, the overall impression and details of the statue of Darius are designed to be understood within the Persian and Egyptian cultural traditions. The chosen elements were strategically adapted in a way that adhered to neither cultural tradition in lieu of producing an image with a similar meaning in both cultural settings (and beyond). This observation from the visual display correlates well with the explicit commission order on the statue: to visualize that (1) the depicted king is a Persian, (2) the conquered place is Egypt, and (3) that these issues have to come across without regard to time and cultural background. Hence, it is most probably the direct result of its implementation and should therefore also apply to the missing head, especially since the dress and the footwear are not Egyptian.

Due to the lack of specific information on the original place of erection, the details of the design criteria, the ancient perception of such royal (cross-regional) identity display, and especially the tension between displaying the ruler and the office, it is not possible to ascertain any definite reconstruction option. However, taking the commission order seriously and combining it with the evidenced socio-cultural functioning of the statue in an Egyptian temple (primary setting) and a Persian palace context (secondary setting), some reconstruction suggestions prove more likely than others. As a result, the prevailing reconstruction with Persian head and crown (e.g., Fɪɢ. 2a) is to be deprecated for the original statue, as it does not fully fulfill the design requirements specified in the cuneiform trilingual DSab in an Egyptian temple setting. The same holds true for the version combining an Egyptian head and a Persian crown (Fɪɢ. 2c). In contrast, both designs with Egyptian crown—either on an Egyptian (Fɪɢ. 2b) or a Persian head (Fɪɢ. 2d)—meet all commission criteria as well as the available circumstantial evidence from Susa. This is especially the case for an accompanying local "copy" with Persian head and crown (see Fɪɢ. 4) of the same monument size, and therefore slightly enlarged body proportions due to the different crown heights.

Accordingly, the currently available evidence favors a gateway design, which complements NMI 4112 with a Persian head and Egyptian double-crown and with a companion piece of similar design and height, but with Persian crown and slightly enlarged body proportions (Fɪɢ. 4b). This combination ideally fulfills the requirements of the commission order for the original Egyptian context, accounts for all of the available circumstantial evidence from Susa (further statue fragments; coin design), and caters to the different focus in the Persian heartland, where the local cultural tradition displays the Great King with crenelated cylindrical

crown (or head band) to visualize the function of the Persian king as ruler of the world in addition to being ruler of Egypt. Furthermore, either gateway reconstruction (Figs. 4a, b), but especially the statue reconstruction with Persian head and Egyptian crown (Figs. 2d, 4b), provides an excellent model for the memorial coins of Artaxerxes III (Fig. 3).

Nevertheless, two major issues regarding the topic at hand remain elusive (for lack of evidence and research). Which identity perceptions underlie the statue NMI 4112, and who was responsible for its design? This is even more unfortunate, as the visual display clearly indicates that the creator(s) of the statue intentionally petrified an inherently situative construction of identity, i.e., the two political roles of Persian Great King and Egyptian pharaoh respectively an integrated Egypto-Persian kingship. As evidenced by the different scopes of displaying the king and the empire within both, the Persian heartland and Egypt (or other "provinces" such as Babylonia or the Transeuphratène), different aspects of the kingship construction could be emphasized in the visual display.

If (either of) the reconstruction(s) of the gateway design at Susa is correct, this is exemplarily shown by the shift of setting of the statue. While the statue represented an integrated Egypto-Persian kingship for the original place of erection in a major temple in Egypt, it required complementation for the Persian palace (gateway) context. For this, the integrated kingship construction possibly got broken up into a design that implemented on the one hand the display of the ruler as Persian Great King (newly created companion piece) and on the other hand as king of Egypt or ruler of the world including Egypt (NMI 4112).

In addition to the display of the cross-regional double role, the commission order may reflect the conscious differentiation of the king as person and as office holder. Depending on the (missing) head design, this might have allowed assessment of what was perceived as essential for depicting "the Persian man" (DSab) in the outskirts of the empire. Potentially related is the statement in the Egyptian inscription on the top of the statue base, which describes the function of the statue as "commemorat(ing) his (i.e., Darius') *ka*" (DSeg3). On a basic level, this might simply refer to the commissioning of a royal *ka*-statue to be placed in the outer parts of the temple. As the *ka* is one

component of the Egyptian complex construction of personhood, it might also refer to a specific aspect of Darius' personal identity, though to which one and in which way is currently beyond assessment.

The other major unresolved issue concerns the authorship of the statue. Many different scenarios can be devised for this, as there is ample evidence for craftspeople of varying expertise drawn from throughout the empire, for individual and groups of advisers, and for Darius I himself influencing decisions on his representation.[45] However, no specific primary evidence is known regarding how decisions in the design process, especially for highly innovative display like the statue, were reached. For highlighting the potential complexity of the issue and for opening up further circumstantial evidence, a diachronic approach might prove rewarding, at least for the question of why and how different political roles—and especially cross-regional ones—are (nowadays) implemented in official means of display.[46] Who decides on the specific combination of representative elements and based on which procedure? Is it the king, politician, public figure him- or herself or a (a group of) special advisor(s)? Do the advisors have their "knowledge" first or second hand? What are the aspects communicated non-verbally in more or less obvious characteristics of the outfit? How does the individual attitude of the displayed figure affect the scope of and the effectiveness respectively suitability of the display? Is the procedure essentially different in case of the creation of enduring commemorative monuments or for transient meetings? How (much) does the photographic capture and, hence, the conservation of transient displays change the (attitude towards the) attire?

None of the answers to any of these questions necessarily apply to the specific contexts, in and for which the statue of Darius was created and erected, even if consistent patterns emerge throughout history. Too much of the ancient contemporary evidence is missing to allow a detailed comparison. Nevertheless, a diachronic (or even only modern-day) cross-cultural analysis of how regional and cross-regional double roles are visualized in royal attire and presentation formats will provide important new angles on how and why such a monument of cross-regional kingship display could have been created and perceived by its audience.

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Notes

1 Prevalent, e.g., in the symposium on "The Politics of Dress and Identity in Eastern Mediterranean Societies, Past and Present" (Amsterdam, 24–26/03/2016).

2 See especially Monique Kervran et al. 1972; Perrot et al. 1974; Perrot 2013, 139–295; Wasmuth 2017, 101–124, 156–186.

3 For a concise introduction into the localization including photographic and drawn documentation see especially Perrot 2013, 108–111, 115 (fig. 100), 169 (figs. 168–169), 172–175 (figs. 174–179).

4 See Wasmuth 2017, especially 101–124, 156–186, 253–261; also Yoyotte 2013; Kervran et al. 1972; Perrot et al. 1974.

5 Even more circumstantial is the display on a series of memorial coins from the time of reconquering Egypt under Artaxerxes III nearly two centuries later (c. 343 BCE), which may have been modeled on the statue design or that of its counterparts in Susa (see below).

6 See especially Bresciani 1998; following her: Yoyotte 2013, 256; arguing against a certain identification of the original place of erection: Wasmuth 2017, 102.

7 See also Wasmuth 2015, which showcases the later reception of the Egypto-Persian designs developed for Darius I within the Achaemenid royal sphere and additional strategies of the later Achaemenid kings to disseminate the integration of Egyptian kingship concepts into the Persian kingship construction throughout the empire. Jennifer Finn (2011) has argued that the cross-cultural iconographical and textual display primarily addressed a cosmic audience. (I would like to thank reviewer 2 for bringing this paper to my notice.) However, she only marginally discusses the evidence from Egypt (Posener 1936; Wasmuth 2017) and from the multilingula alabaster vessels created and disseminated under Artaxerxes I–III (Schmitt 2011; Wasmuth 2015), which suggest a different outlook. They are obviously designed to be understood at least also, if not primarily, by the culturally diverse contemporary human audience.

8 Luschey reconstructs one of the larger statues like the preserved statue respectively its local copy and the other as "royal hero" with a lion in the left arm (discussed in detail in Luschey 1983, especially 193–199; see also Luschey 1979). These two larger statues are difficult to reconcile with the stratigraphic evidence of elongated foundation trenches (see Perrot et al. 1974, 187, 197; Perrot 2013, 169).

9 See Luschey 1979, 214 (Abb. 5); Luschey 1983, 197 (Abb. 4).

10 See Curtis and Tallis 2005, 99. Note the problematic phrasing: it can never be more than a sophisticated suggestion of what might have been.

11 See Schmidt 1953.

12 Henkelman 1995–1996, especially 276–286, 291–293.

13 DB IV 88–92; cited from Kuhrt 2007, 149. See also the text editions of the Old Persian (Schmitt 1991), the Elamite (Grillot-Susini et al. 1993), and the Babylonian version (Malbran-Labat 1994).

14 For the Elephantine evidence see Greenfield and Porten 1982, especially 16; for the stela fragments from Babylon see Seidl 1999, especially 111.

15 See Wasmuth 2015, 224–232; Wasmuth 2017, 200–206; Allotte de la Fuÿe 1928.

16 See the symposium on "The Politics of Dress and Identity in Eastern Mediterranean Societies, Past and Present" (Amsterdam, 24–26 March 2016).

17 See the workshop on "Petrification Processes in (Pre-)History" (Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeology, Vilnius, 02/09/2016).

18 For the preserved statue fragments, which may at some point have belonged to a statue ensemble including Teheran 4112, see especially Luschey 1979 and 1983; see also, e.g., Ghirshman 1964, 140; Curtis and Tallis 2005, 100; Perrot 2013, 222–224.

19 As stressed by Luschey (1983, 195–199), all currently known, locally made fragments are of slightly bigger dimensions and more plastic style than the largely preserved statue, except perhaps the beard and mouth fragment. The latter he assumes to be of the same proportions than the preserved statue part, though the head proportions of this statue are unknown and difficult to judge due to the statue design, which follows none of the regionally developed cultural traditions, but a unique combination of several of them (see above). According to Luschey, the foot fragment is of distinctly different craftsmanship and statue type (Luschey 1983, 195); it therefore belongs to a different statue of unknown date and place of erection. Iconographically, all other pieces could be part of the companion piece created at Susa for the statue's secondary display or to different statues. As the fragments are very small and stylistically divergent from the 'original', and as the local 'copy' possibly and even probably featured a different inscription, the reconstruction of a different statue design (Luschey 1983, 199 fig. 5) is not inevitable. A comparative material analysis of the fragments should be able to clarify, whether they can belong to the same monument or whether that must be ruled out.

20 For the introduction of reference abbreviations for the Egyptian inscriptions complementing the common references for Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian royal inscriptions see Wasmuth 2017, 100. For a discussion of the inscriptions see Wasmuth 2017, 110–122.

21 Translation by the author. Note that there are two obvious mistakes regarding the translation of column 5 in Wasmuth 2017, 118 ("Er belohne ihn mit allem Leben und Heil [*wȝs – Herrschaft(?)*, not *wḏȝ*], aller Gesundheit und aller Herzensfreude wie Re {ewiglich}."). On "*wȝs –

Herrschaft," see especially Gardiner 1950, especially 12.

22 See especially Wasmuth 2017, 29–97, 156–186, 257–260; see also Walser 1966; Roaf 1974; Calmeyer 1982, 1983, 1987; Hachmann 1995.

23 See, e.g., Tavernier 2008. On the factual introduction of Egyptian as a fourth imperial language via the multilingual alabaster vessels see Wasmuth 2015, 203–237, especially 218–224; Wasmuth 2017, 207–214. See also the evidence for a large Egyptian community in the Persis (especially Henkelman 2017; Wasmuth 2017, 77–99) and for the integration of Demotic alongside, e.g., Phrygian, Greek, and Babylonian into the predominantly Elamite and Aramaic administrative system of Persepolis (Azzoni et al. 2019, especially 3–5, 18).

24 The date of removal under Xerxes I (Vallat 1974, 168; Yoyotte 2013, 257–259), though feasible (see Wasmuth 2017, 102–103) is based on conjecture.

25 To my knowledge not discussed so far in any detail. On the issue of the upper break having been exposed for some time and not coinciding with the lower break due to earth pressure see Perrot 2013, 176–177.

26 Only the existence, not the type, of the second statue can be reconstructed with any certainty: see the drawing and photo of the corresponding foundation trenches in front of the gateway (Perrot 2013, 172–173).

27 See, e.g., Vittmann 2003; Winnicki 2009.

28 See above, note 6.

29 For an introduction to the complex concept of the Egyptian *ka* including references to major Egyptological works discussing it see, e.g., Kessler 2009.

30 See especially Bell 1986 for a discussion of such figures as royal *ka* statues.

31 For images in the Persian tradition see especially Schmidt 1953; Henkelman 1995/1996; Wasmuth 2017, 150, 194, 195, 215, pl. III. An exception is the Bisotun relief, which renders also the beards and hairstyle in an Assyrianized version (see especially Roaf 1989, especially 35). However, this applies to the head as the whole as well as the crown and therefore does not affect the argument at hand.

32   See Matthiae 1999, 213; Henkelman 1995–1996, pl. 19,3.

33   See Wasmuth 2017, 105–107 for a discussion of the preserved statue design and especially the potential models combined into displaying his cross-regional royal identity.

34   See Davies 1953, pl. 74B.

35   The statue of Amasis in Copenhagen; see Myśliwiec 1988, pl. LXIVc.

36   See Bothmer et al. 1960.

37   For a discussion of the different cross-cultural elements united in the statue of Darius, see especially Wasmuth 2017, 122–124, 254–255. For the toponymic list see Wasmuth 2017, 156–186; see also Yoyotte 2013, 241–279; Roaf 1974, 73–160.

38   On the non-bearded attendants of the king in the Persepolis reliefs see, e.g., Kuhrt 2007, 592; Waters 2017, 21–22.

39   See Yoyotte 2013, 266. A detailed study discussing the iconographical elements and scenic display of the Kushite kings of the 25th Dynasty is currently in preparation by Barbara Hufft, Basel (ongoing PhD thesis).

40   See Wasmuth 2017, 148–155, 186–200, 215–218, 260 (Persian Great King); 221–244, 250–252, 260–261 (Egyptian pharaoh); 245–249, 261 (Egyptian god); 98–148, 155–156, 200–214, 253–257 (Egypto-Persian ruler).

41   See, prominently, the Hibis temple (Davies 1953) and the bronze door attachment from Karnak, which oscillated between royal and divine display (Wasmuth 2017, 247–248).

42   On the kingship design and especially legitimation requirements and strategies in the so-called Late Period of Egypt see especially Blöbaum 2006.

43   See Wasmuth 2015, 224–232; Wasmuth 2017, 200–206; also Allotte de la Füye 1928; for a high resolution photo see Levante 1993, pl. 16 no. 422.

44   Specifically on this issue, see Wasmuth 2015.

45   See, e.g., Roaf 1980; Henkelman 2017, 273–299; Wasmuth 2017, 66, 76–84, 257–260. On the special function of Udjahorresnet in this context, cf. Ruzicka 2012, 19; Wasmuth forthcoming.

46   See, e.g., the wardrobe designed for Queen Elizabeth II (and other members of the royal house) to express her double function as the Queen of the United Kingdom and of the Commonwealth realms ("Fashioning a Reign: 90 Years of Style from The Queen's wardrobe" by the Royal Collection Trust (Palace of Hollyroodhouse: 21/04–16/10/2016, Buckingham Palace: 23/07–02/10/2016, Windsor Castle: 17/09/2016–08/01/2017; Craw 2016). A scientific catalogue or other scientific means of discussing the aspect of cross-regional diplomacy within the commonwealth accompanying the exhibitions is unfortunately lacking.