

CHAPTER FIFTY

The Achaemenid Heartland: An Archaeological-Historical Perspective

Wouter F.M. Henkelman

1 Geographical, Climatic, and Chronological Setting

Though the Achaemenid heartland in a strict sense corresponds roughly to the modern Iranian province of Fārs (ancient Pārsa, Περσίς), its immediate cultural and historical context comprised parts of the provinces of Esfahān, Yāzd, Kermān and Būšehr, as well as Khūzestān, where a Neo-Elamite kingdom existed until c.540 or 520 BC. An Iranian presence was noticeable on Elam's northern and eastern borders from the 7th century BC onward and Elamite culture provided a critical impulse for the early Persians (Henkelman 2008a). When Darius I (522–486 BC) transformed Susa into a principal Achaemenid residence (c.520 BC), he confirmed Elam's special status and de facto made it part of the empire's core. In fact, the bipolarity of lowland Khūzestān and highland Fārs had characterized successive Elamite states from the 3rd millennium onward (Amiet 1979; Potts 1999; Miroschedji 2003; for other parts of Achaemenid Iran, see Boucharlat 2005).

In physical terms, the area comprises the southern Zagros range of northwest-southeast-oriented valleys, ending in larger intermontane plains (the Kūr River basin, including the Marv Dašt with Persepolis); the Būšehr province coastal plains (and further east?); and the Khūzestān alluvial plain. As the ancient coastline extended further northwestward than it does today, only higher Khūzestān is relevant here, roughly the area north of Ahwāz (Gasche 2004, 2005, 2007; Heyvaert and Baeteman 2007). A range of foothills, a crucial transition zone

A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, First Edition.

Edited by D.T. Potts.

© 2012 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published 2012 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

(c.50–75 kilometers wide), intervenes between Khūzestān and the higher Zagros valleys and is approximately defined by the Masġed-e Soleymān, Rām Hormoz, and Behbahān plains. Natural boundaries include the Persian Gulf (though the Achaemenids were by no means “land-locked”), the actual Iranian plateau in the northwest, and the western Tigris/al-Hawīza marshes.

The Achaemenid heartland comprised a great variety of climatic zones (Carter and Stolper 1984: 103–7; Potts 1999: 10–42). The Khūzestān plain alone has three – arid, semi-arid, and dry – divided by ranges of low hills (Carter and Stolper 1984: 103–7; Alizadeh 1992: 15–17; Steve et al. 2002/3: 360). Susa is on the 300 mm isohyet, at the southern edge of the upper zone stretching from the northwestern Deh Lorān plain to the Izeh valley in the east. As for the southern Zagros, contemporary tribal terminology sometimes distinguishes four altitudinal climate zones, between which conditions may differ radically: dry and warm coastal lowlands and foothills well suited for date culture (*garmsir*, up to 900–1300 meters); a fertile and populous moderate zone with grape, fruit, and vegetable cultivation (*moʿtadel*); higher and colder lands suited for summer pasture and cereal cultivation (*sardsir*, starting at 2,000–2200 meters); and an alpine zone (*sarhadd*) with summits rising to 4000 meters, fit only for summer pasture (Bobek 1968; Planhol 2000; Alizadeh 2006: 30–31). A similar “vertical” categorization is preserved in Strabo (*Geography* 15.3.1) and Arrian (*Indica* 40.2–4), who drew on descriptions of Pārsa from the late Achaemenid period. Classical sources also preserve reports of the lush scenery of the Persepolis region, attesting to the massive projects undertaken by the Achaemenids to exploit their lands (Q. Curtius, *Hist.* V.4.5–9, Diodorus 17.67.3; cf. Briant 2002: 443, 943).

In contrast to such seemingly straightforward images, quantifiable data on 1st millennium climatic conditions are scarce and contradictory (Potts 1999: 19–22; McCall 2009: 36–7). Whereas sediment samples from Lake Mīrābād (Lorestān) registered no conspicuous variations for the period (Van Zeist 1967; Stevens et al. 2006), recent pollen analysis of a core from Lake Mahārlū near Šīrāz identified drastic vegetation change c.2800 BP, probably related to intensified grazing and possibly coinciding with a period of increased drought (Djamali et al. 2009: 131–2; cf. McCall 2009: 43–4, 239–43).

The existence of the Achaemenid empire (c.550–330 BC) is not reflected sharply in the archaeological record. Ceramic horizons from the early, late and post-Achaemenid periods remain imperfectly defined. Historians and archaeologists are increasingly aware that Herodotus’ reductive image of Cyrus’ appearance from a cultural and historical void has lost all relevance as a leading (if often implicit) paradigm. A longer incubation period necessarily preceded the rise of empire. Likewise, the fall of the Achaemenids did not constitute the complete rupture that Alexander historians (ancient and modern) like it to be, but should be seen against the backdrop of a longer transition period, with continuities reaching far into the Seleucid period (Ch. II.54). Our chronological scope here is therefore broader, c.750–300 BC, and comprises the Neo-Elamite II (in

Khūzestān, c.725–520 BC)/Iron Age III (in Fārs, c.800–550 BC), Achaemenid and early post-Achaemenid periods (the last two sometimes labeled “Iron IV”).

2 Neo-Elamite Beginnings

Although the old diffusionist theory that made the Achaemenids direct heirs of a fully-formed Indo-Iranian culture still lingers, a new perspective has become firmly established in recent decades. Instead of the unhelpful and undesirable image of a take-over by culturally advanced Indo-Iranian migrants, Achaemenid or Persian culture is increasingly seen as a product of southwestern Iran. There, the “ethnogenèse des Perses” (ethnogenesis of the Persians) took shape, resulting from centuries of cohabitation, acculturation, and integration by Indo-Iranians and Elamites (Miroschedji 1985, 1990, 2003).

Persian identity, as it emerged in the 8th and 7th centuries BC (or earlier), was *inclusive* and far from limited to inherited Indo-Iranian traditions. Examples of this circumstance range from the Persepolis pantheon, in which gods of Indo-Iranian and Elamite ancestry were treated indiscriminately (Henkelman 2008a, 2011), to the extensive use of Elamite in inscriptions and as the main administrative language in the heartland (exported even to Kandahār; Henkelman 2008a: 78–9; 2010: 714 n174). In fact, from the standpoint of linguistic typology, Achaemenid Elamite presents a restructured variety of Elamite, resulting from considerable imposition of Old Iranian morphology and syntax, and attests to the widespread usage of Elamite by Iranophones (Henkelman in press a). As such, it provides a reverse parallel to the contact varieties of Indo-Iranian languages of central India, which resulted from prolonged cohabitation of speakers of Indo-Iranian and speakers of Dravidian languages and a shift of the latter to Indo-Iranian (Gumperz and Wilson 1971; Southworth 1971).

In material culture, the Arġān hoard (Behbahān region) and what is left of the Kalmākarra hoard (Saimarreh region, southern Lorestān), from the late 7th or early 6th century, unmistakably attest to Iranian-Elamite acculturation (Ch. II.39), signifying transition rather than rupture (Curtis 2005c: 125–6; Boucharlat 2005: 246–8; Henkelman 2003a; 2008a: 28–32; Álvarez-Mon 2010). A major factor must have been the persistence of the Elamite state in the post-Assyrian period, which has been argued on philological and archaeological grounds (Miroschedji 1981b, 1981c; Boucharlat 1990a; Vallat 1996; Tavernier 2004, 2006; Henkelman 2008a: 1–57). In fact, the brutal Assyrian campaigns of the 640s BC did not leave clear markers in either the stratigraphy or the material culture of Susa and central Khūzestān, hence Miroschedji’s chronological definition of Neo-Elamite II as c.725–520 (Miroschedji 1981a; cf. Henkelman 2003a: 183, 2003b: 253).

Despite a great deal of scholarly attention, the earliest Indo-Iranians, presumably agropastoralist tribes, remain elusive in the archaeological record of Iron III

southwestern Iran (c.800–550 BC). The predominantly painted Šogā and Taymūrān A wares have tentatively been linked to them (Sumner 1994, following M.B. Nicol), as has a distinctive grey ware found at Čogā Miš (northeastern Khūzestān) and about 20 sites in valleys northwest of the Marv Dašt (Alizadeh 2003b: 88, 93–97; 2006: 54, 159; 2008: 48). Apart from the problems involved in linking ethnic identities with ceramic traditions, chronological difficulties arise, however. The first two wares do not seem to post-date c.900/800 BC (or perhaps c.700); the third at least partially dates to the early Achaemenid period (Jacobs 1994; Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 10–18; Overlaet 1997: 20, 48–9; 2007: 73–75; Boucharlat 2005: 226–8, 239). The gap, perhaps more apparent than real, between the end of the Iron II horizon in Fārs (Qal‘eh, Šogā, Taymūrān) c.1000–800/700 BC, and the appearance of Achaemenid “Late Plain Ware” at 550/520 BC (or even later), is one of the gravest problems in the study of 1st millennium Iran (cf. Boucharlat 2003a; Young 2003). It is now partially being bridged by survey and excavations in the Mamasanī region in western Fārs, where Neo-Elamite wares have tentatively been identified at 11 sites, at least four of which were occupied during the Neo-Elamite II (roughly equivalent to Iron Age III) *and* the ensuing Achaemenid period (McCall 2009: 202–203, 235–238, 248; cf. 188 on Čalābād wares). Excavations at Tol-e Nūrābād revealed Neo-Elamite levels directly below the Achaemenid settlement (McCall 2009: 237; Weeks et al. 2006a). Similar continuity can be observed in the Rām Hormoz plain, at Tappeh Bormī (ancient Huhnur), Tall-e Ġazīr and perhaps other sites (Carter 1994; Carter and Wright 2003). Other surveys have not always made a distinction between Neo-Elamite I and II ceramics, but continued settlement of a dozen sites in the Miān Āb plain and the corridor between Rām Hormoz and Šūštar (Moghaddam and Miri 2003, 2007) and six sites in the Būšehr hinterland (Carter et al. 2006) from the later Elamite through the (post-)Achaemenid periods is plausible. In lowland Khūzestān, continuous occupation in the Neo-Elamite II and Achaemenid periods is attested at Susa and a limited number of other sites though, in contrast to Tol-e Nūrābād, the transition is not yet documented stratigraphically (Miroschedji 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1987a; cf. Boucharlat 1994).

Though historical conditions in the three regions just mentioned are likely to have differed from central Fārs (notably the Kūr River basin), it is significant that the dearth of Iron Age III horizons in that area emerges as an isolated phenomenon. Only the establishment of a more definitive chronology of 1st millennium ceramic sequences will determine whether it is reflective of divergent circumstances or is simply an artifact of insufficient exploration.

Whereas the spread of various Iron Age I–II grey wares in northwestern and central Iran in the later 2nd and early 1st millennium (Young 1985, 1988: 8–9) is nowadays disputed as an indicator of Indo-Iranian migrations, as is the very concept of (mass) migration (Dittmann 1990: 134–5; 2001; Azarnoush and Helwing 2005: 232–3), it is still tempting to situate the hypothetical appearance,

or rather formation, of Indo-Iranian groups in southwestern Iran at least some centuries before the emergence of the Achaemenid empire. This would conform with Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Elamite cuneiform sources (Waters 1999; Henkelman in press a) indicating that certain groups in Fārs from the late 8th to the early 6th centuries BC already referred to themselves as *Pārsa-*. This is not to say that such groups can be readily identified as “early Persians” any more than they can be equated with the elusive Indo-Iranian migrants, but rather that we are dealing with various proto-Persian formations which, when first mentioned, already appear to be integrated into a larger cultural and political matrix. At the very minimum, this suggests a period of prolonged exposure to the Elamite and other resident cultures, if not an entirely local development indeed, best described as the Persian ethnogenesis.

3 Surveys

Survey results are beginning to yield comprehensive occupation patterns for the period(s) and region under discussion. Unfortunately, they cannot be readily compared, since various (Neo-)Elamite horizons have not always been recorded separately and the definition of Achaemenid pottery has varied considerably. The excavators of Persepolis and Pasargadae dated Late Plain Ware to the late and post-Achaemenid periods (Schmidt 1957: 96, Pls. 71–74; Stronach 1974b: 243–5; 1978: 183–5), which left the early Achaemenid period basically undocumented. Sumner, Miroschedji, and others subsequently re-dated the beginning of Late Plain Ware to the later 6th century (Sumner 1986b, 1994; Miroschedji 1987a: 32–35; cf. Boucharlat and Haerinck 1991), which would accord with continuities with Iron Age III horizons from the (central and northern) Zagros. The excavations at Tol-e Nūrābād and especially Tol-e Spid seem to confirm the new dating, though additional radiocarbon dates are required to establish it with certainty (Potts et al. 2006: 12; Weeks et al. 2006a: 77–78; Petrie, Asgari Chaverdi, and Seyedin 2006: 132; Petrie, Weeks et al. 2006: 181–2; Asgari Chaverdi et al. 2010).

Contemporary with the Fārs tradition, there is a related yet different tradition (with a stronger emphasis on glazed and so-called eggshell wares), known at Susa, some sites in the surrounding plain, and central and southern Mesopotamia (Miroschedji 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1987a: 32–5; Stronach 1987b: 293–4; Boucharlat 1987b: 192–4; 2003a). Sites on the fringes of lowland Khūzestān – the northern plains of Deh Lorān and Patak (Miroschedji 1981c), Čoḡā Miš in the northeast, the eastern Zagros foothills – generally adhere to the highland tradition (see Alizadeh 2008: 48 on Čoḡā Miš; but cf. Boucharlat 2005: 239 on parallels with Susa). Both wares seem to persist into the post-Achaemenid period, although a well-dated stratigraphy is not yet available (cf. Boucharlat 2005, 2006).

Starting with Jacques de Morgan in the late 19th century, numerous surveys have been and are being undertaken in southwestern Iran (Sumner 1990b; McCall 2009: 7–17). Before World War II, a campaign of aerial photography initiated by Erich F. Schmidt in 1935–7 covered vast stretches of Lorestān and Fārs (Schmidt 1940). Around the same time, Sir Marc Aurel Stein made four extensive journeys through southern and western Iran, surveying, among other areas, the Mamasanī region, the Behbahān plain, and the Īzeh valley, the districts of Fasā and Dārāb, and the entire coast from Bandar Abbās to Būšehr (Stein 1934, 1936, 1937, 1940; cf. Kerner 1993). Although concentrating on earlier periods, Stein recorded a number of Achaemenid sites such as Qalēh-ye Kalī (also known as Ğiŋgin or Tappeh Sūrūvān) and conducted soundings at Tall-e Zohāk and Pasargadae. After the war, Louis Vanden Berghe surveyed the Marv Dašt (the Persepolis plain) and did test excavations at seven sites, resulting in a pioneering chronology of the region’s ceramic horizons (Vanden Berghe 1952, 1954; 1959: 37–45; cf. Overlaet 1997, 2007; Haerinck and Overlaet 2003).

Central Khūzestān has been surveyed more extensively than other areas (Boucharlat 1990a: 157–66; Kouchoukos and Hole 2003). Miroschedji (1981c) tentatively identified 23 sites with possible Achaemenid occupation (out of 102), whereas Wenke, working with different ceramic diagnostics over a larger area, recorded dozens of larger and smaller sites (often in clusters), covering a total of 108.2 hectares (Wenke 1975/76; see Boucharlat 2005: 239 n.14, 245–6). Interestingly, the area between the Karkheh and Dez rivers, *viz* the immediate surroundings of Susa, had few settlements. Achaemenid sites are concentrated east of the Dez (Wenke 1975/76: maps 14, 16; Miroschedji 1981c: Fig. 56). The southernmost Achaemenid site is Tall-e Tendī, not far from the Rāmšīr foothills and perhaps identical with Šullaggi in the Persepolis Fortification archive (Hansman 1978; Alizadeh 1985b; Gasche 2005; Henkelman 2008a: 43, 426; in press d).

Surveys in the Deh Lorān plain identified a few smaller Achaemenid sites and two larger towns, Tappeh Patak and Tappeh Gārān, both of which seem to have been occupied in the Neo-Elamite period and were served by a system of canals and perhaps *ganāts* (underground water channels bringing water from an aquifer). These may have been stops on the Achaemenid Royal Road (Carter 1971: 229, 231–5; Neely and Wright 2010; Miroschedji 1981c) linking Susa and Babylon (and ultimately Sardis). Patak has tentatively been identified as ancient Madaktu, an important Neo-Elamite strategic center (Miroschedji 1986; Neely and Wright 2010; but see Potts 2001c: 20–2). The survey of the Mīān Āb plain south of Šūštar has identified 11 “Neo-Elamite” (no distinction between I and II is made) and as many as 29 Achaemenid sites (Moghaddam and Miri 2003: 102–3, 105). Some of these must have been stops on the Royal Road, as seems likely for some sites in the “eastern corridor” – between the Mīān Āb and Rām Hormoz plains – where seven or eight sites with “Achaemenid-Seleucid-Parthian” occupation were identified (Moghaddam and Miri 2007). As for the Rām Hormoz plain, Achaemenid presence was documented at Tappeh Bormī, Tall-e Ğazīr, and a few

other sites, all also occupied during the Neo-Elamite II period (Carter 1971: 256–71, 274–82; 1994; Carter and Wright 2003). Tappeh Bormī, now identified as ancient Huhnur (Mofidi Nasrabadi 2005), appears in the Persepolis Fortification archive as Hunar (Henkelman 2007; Potts 2008c: 293). Survey in the Īzeh plain yielded few signs of (early) Achaemenid (or Neo-Elamite) settlement, though this could be a problem of classification (Eqbal 1979; Bayani 1979). Sites recorded in the Behbahān plain and the adjacent lower Zohreh valley include 32 (out of 102) with 1st millennium habitation, but as the survey concentrated on earlier periods, the report does not distinguish between Elamite, Achaemenid, and post-Achaemenid wares (Dittmann 1984). A survey of the Būšehr hinterland identified no fewer than 32 (post-)Achaemenid sites, including a huge, fortified area. Many of the sites cluster around Borāzġān (Carter et al. 2006).

Moving into Fārs, surveyed areas include the the Īzeh plain, the Bakhtiāri mountains, and the Mamasanī region. The first yielded few signs of (early) Achaemenid (or Neo-Elamite) settlement, though this could be a problem of classification (Eqbal 1979; Bayani 1979). Zagarell's surveys in the Bakhtiāri mountains (1982) focused on the Chalcolithic sites and yielded little evidence of Iron III and Achaemenid settlements. A more recent survey in the Fārsān plain, also in the Bakhtiāri area, identified 24 possible Achaemenid sites, including cemeteries. The occurrence of Iron Age III and Neo-Elamite wares in adjacent zones renders the region potentially important for Elamite-Iranian encounters (Khosrowzadeh 2010). The Mamasanī survey identified 15–17 (out of 51) sites with (post-)Achaemenid occupation, including two or three “pavilions” (cf. below). Most of these seem to continue Elamite settlements (McCall 2009: 250–63; Zeidi et al. 2009; Asgari Chaverdi et al. 2010). Apart from Tol-e Nūrābād, Tol-e Spīd, and Qalēh-ye Kalī, all three subject to recent excavations, notable Achaemenid sites are Tol-e Sorna and Tappeh Pahnū (cf. below).

Vanden Berghe's surveys and test soundings in the Marv Dašt were followed by a program, initiated by William Sumner in the late 1960s, that covered the entire Kūr River basin (Sumner 1972: 263–9). In a paper on the Achaemenid settlement system in this vast area, Sumner sought to establish links between archaeological sites and toponyms attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive. He listed 39 secure Achaemenid habitation sites, alongside features such as bridges, weirs, canals, and parts of the Royal Road (Sumner 1986b, 1990b; but cf. Callieri 2007: 43–4) and estimated aggregate Achaemenid settlement of 675 hectares a sedentary population of 44,000 (or less). This should be weighed against much higher figures for the early 2nd millennium (cf. Miroschedji 1990: 53–4; Boucharlat 2003a: 264; 2005: 226–8). Some sites have been described anew recently, while others, particularly in the Marv Dašt piedmont zone, have been added (Boucharlat and Feizkhah 2007; Hartnell 2010; Hartnell and Asadi 2010). Recent surveys at Pasargadae and the nearby Tang-e Bolāġi are discussed below. The final report on Alizadeh's 1995 northern Marv Dašt survey is not yet published (cf. Alizadeh 2003b).

Southern Fārs and Lārestān remain relatively unexplored, certainly with regard to signs of Achaemenid presence (cf. Boucharlat 2005: 233–4). After Stein, the valleys of Fasā and Dārāb were resurveyed by Miroschedji, but no extensive report was published (Miroschedji 1972; 1990: 52). Achaemenid material, if any, from Andrew Williamson’s survey also remains unpublished (Priestman 2003). Tal-e Zohāk (Zahhāk), near Fasā, is the most impressive Achaemenid site in the region. Achaemenid sherds and two (possibly more) column bases were found there; the mudbrick platform on top of the mound may be Achaemenid, too (Hansman 1975, 1999; Pohanka 1983; Kerner 1993: 122–5; Callieri 2007: 88–96). (Post-) Achaemenid pottery and a column base were found near Dārābgird (Morgan 2003: 333–5; Callieri 2007); ceramics were also found at Tall-e Pol-e Bizdān, also in the Dārāb district (Miroschedji 1987a: 34). Achaemenid sherds have also been reported from sites near Lake Mahārlū and Sarvestān (Kleiss 1973: 69; Stein 1936: 182; Callieri 2007: 45).

As for the coastal regions, a recent survey identified (post-)Achaemenid occupation at Tol-e Pīr (c.125 kilometers south-southwest of Firūzābād) and three other sites (Asgari Chaverdi and Azarnoush 2004; Asgari Chaverdi et al. 2008: 29). Architectural elements (capitals, zoomorphic capitals, a human bust) of Achaemenid inspiration have been found at Tomb-e Bot, also in the Lāmerd district. These date to the post-Achaemenid or even early Sasanian period (Asgari Chaverdi 1999/2000, 2002; Boucharlat 2005: 234–235; Callieri 2007: 138–141). An alleged Achaemenid port on the island of Qešm has been reported but never verified (Boucharlat and Salles 1981: 68).

Finally, the excavations at Tepe (Tappeh) Yahyā in Kermān should be mentioned, not only for the pottery indicating an Achaemenid occupation level, but also for the mudbrick platforms that were, presumably, constructed between 650 and 500 BC (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Magee 1999; Magee 2004: 73–5, 79–81; cf. Boucharlat 2005: 266–7).

The Achaemenid heartland emerges from all this as a region dotted with smaller and larger sites, yet significantly less densely populated than it had been in the early and middle 2nd millennium BC (Sumner 1972: 193; Miroschedji 2003: 31; Boucharlat 2005: 276–7). One area, notably the Zagros foothills east of Khūzestān proper, appears to have had a higher population density and was of crucial importance to the Neo-Elamite state, as it is here that Hidali, Huhnur, Šullaggi, and Dašer were all situated. Formerly within the administrative purview of the Elamite crown, these towns reappeared by the end of the 6th century as centers controlled from Persepolis, suggestive of a progressive, westward “Persianization” (Henkelman in press a, d). In other areas, the survival of fewer but centrally located towns may indicate a clustering of the sedentary population. In some cases, large-scale planning is obvious. This is the case around Susa, which appears to have had few settlements in the Achaemenid period (and in the preceding and following periods). With irrigation, the vast stretches of land around Susa could have fed a population of 40,000 (Adams 1962: 115). As

such, what appears to archaeology as an “empty” zone may have been a function of the regular (yet temporary) presence of the Achaemenid court (Boucharlat 1985b, 1990a).

The total number of sites recognized thus far is likely to be on the low side given the varying definitions of Achaemenid pottery and the focus of some surveys on earlier periods. The Fortification archive, which oversaw only part of the region under discussion, indicates the existence of hundreds of smaller and larger settlements. Some of the most important, such as Hidali, are yet to be located (Stolper 2004; Potts 2008c: 291; Henkelman 2008a: 499–501 and index s.v. Hidali). Tirazziš was another major town, but, despite the continuity of its name in modern Širāz, no unequivocal signs of Achaemenid settlement have been found at Qašr-e Abu Našr, the site of old Širāz (Tilia 1972: 54–55; Whitcomb 1985; Henkelman et al. 2006; Henkelman in press c).

4 Royal Residences

Strabo’s *Geography* preserves a remarkable summary on the royal residences:

They adorned the royal residence at Susa more than the others, but held in no less honour those at Persepolis and Pasargadae. The treasure, storehouses, and funeral monuments of the Persians were there, in places more strongly fortified and at the same time ancestral. And there were also other royal residences – the one in Gabae somewhere in the upper parts of Persis, and the one on the coast, near Taoce, as it is called. (Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.3.3; cf. 3.6–10, 21)

The selection of residences listed here is not fortuitous. Susa-Persepolis and Gabae-Taoce were cardinal points on the major royal roads that crossed the Achaemenid heartland: one that ran from Babylon *via* Susa and Persepolis to the east, and one that descended from Ecbatana *via* Gabae, to Taoce on the Persian Gulf. These roads and their intersection(s) define the layout and subdivision of the territory under the purview of the administration based at Persepolis (Henkelman 2008b).

Gabae (Old Persian **Gaba-*) appears in the Fortification texts as Kabaš and seems to denote both a region and town in the area of modern Esfahān (Henkelman 2008b). The remains of ancient Gabae have not been identified (Schmitt 2000b; Hansman 2006: 635–6; Planhol 2006: 618). The region and town of Taoce (mediaeval Tawwāğ/Tawwāz) are known as Tamukkan in the Fortification archive and Tah(u)makka in Neo-Babylonian documents. They correspond to a cluster of Achaemenid sites at and near modern Borāzğān, inland from Būšehr. Best known is a site immediately south of Borāzğān, where a hypostyle hall, reminiscent of the Pasargadae palaces, and a number of other constructions were excavated by Ali Akbar Sarfaraz (Sarfaraz 1971; Boucharlat 2005: 236). Another

hypostyle hall (24.40 × 20.50 meters) was found c.12 kilometers north of Borāzġān, at Sang-e Sīāh. Here too, black and white column bases were excavated, as were capitals and mudbrick walls covered with green plaster. A third such structure is being excavated at Bardak-e Sīāh, northwest of Borāzġān, where bas-reliefs and a cuneiform inscription have been reported (Yaghmae 2010). Achaemenid structures have also been found at Tall-e Kandaq near Borāzġān (Rahbar 1999c: 228). As for the Būšehr peninsula, no Achaemenid remains were discovered in Pézard's brief excavations at Tappeh Sabzābād (ancient Liyan) (Pézard 1914: 1) and Achaemenid occupation at Rešahr is uncertain (Callieri 2007: 46–48).

Classical sources sometimes mention additional βασιλεια, royal residences, such as the one in Gedrosia, in the district of Pura (Arrian, *Anab.* 6.24.1; cf. Henkelman 2010: 705–6) but none of these has been discovered yet.

Pasargadae and the Tang-e Bolāġi

Pasargadae, Greek Πασαργάδαι (modern Mašhad-e Morġāb), renders Old Persian *Pāθragadā- (Tavernier 2007: 392), the name of the oldest Achaemenid residence (Stronach 1985a; Boucharlat 2004; Stronach and Gopnik 2009). Founded by Cyrus (c.550–530 BC), it retained special, dynastic significance for the later Achaemenids. Funerary sacrifices at Cyrus' tomb were still performed in the later 4th century (Arrian, *Anab.* 6.29.4, 7; Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.7; Henkelman 2003c) and the royal investiture took place at a local temple (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 3.2, cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983; Briant 2002: 523–4, 667, 998; Brosius 2006; Henkelman 2011: 109, 111). The Persepolis Fortification tablets regularly refer to *Batrakataš* and suggest the presence of an extensive treasury (depot and craft center; Henkelman 2008a: 431; cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 3.18.10). Pasargadae sits at 1,900 meters above sea level in the southern Dašt-e Morġāb plain, close to the Pulvār river. It is connected to Persepolis via the defiles of the Tang-e Bolāġi (c.50 kilometers). After Ker Porter, Flandin and Coste, Lord Curzon, the Dieulafoys and Ernst Herzfeld, among others, had documented the visible remains and identified the site as ancient Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 1–5; 2005; Boucharlat 2004: 352–3), soundings and small-scale excavations were initiated by Herzfeld in 1923 and 1928 (Herzfeld 1926: 241–3; 1929–30a; Krefter 1979). Subsequent soundings by Ali Sami followed in 1949–55 (Sami 1956), and major excavations were undertaken by David Stronach in 1961–3 (Stronach 1963, 1964, 1965, 1978). More recently, Rémy Boucharlat has directed a geomagnetic survey of the site (Boucharlat 2002, 2003b; Boucharlat and Benech 2002), which revealed more extensive occupation of the c.300 hectare site than was previously assumed. The results of Pierfrancesco Callieri's soundings on the Tall-e Takht have not yet been published (2007: 38–9, 100–1).

Most construction at Pasargadae appears to have started before the introduction of the toothed chisel in Iran (presumably from mainland Greece). Where toothed chisel marks are present, a date late in the reign of Cyrus, or later, is assumed (Nylander 1966b, 1991). Pasargadaean architecture and sculpture adapt, transform and synthesize western Iranian, Elamite, Assyrian, Ionian, and other cultural traditions. Pasargadaean art is therefore no less truly “Persian” than that of Persepolis or Susa. Stone working and construction techniques (masons’ marks, anathyrosis joints, dovetail clamps) are a different point and betray the presence of Ionian and Lydian workmen (Nylander 1970, 2006; Boardman 2000). The involvement of these craftsmen in the realization of a Persian design reflects, in both a territorial and cultural sense, the imperial leap taken by Cyrus. An eye-catching characteristic of early Achaemenid architecture at Pasargadae (and elsewhere) is the contrast of black and white elements, especially in the column plinths. Blocks of both colors were quarried at Tunb-e Karam near Sivand (Sami 1956: 42–6).

Pasargadae can be divided in four sectors. In the northeast, an imposing stone platform (c.80 × 100 meters), with two monumental staircases and an outer wall built of fine ashlar blocks, crowns the Tall-e Takht (“throne hill”). Construction remained in its initial phase under Cyrus; mudbrick superstructures (courtyards, storerooms, a columned hall) were erected under Darius I and remained partly in use in the post-Achaemenid period, until c.280 BC. Judging from the structures and small finds, the Takht’s functions may have included that of “treasury” or storehouse (Stronach 1978: 8–23, 146–59, 178–86, 208–75; 1985a: 853–4; Root 1999). Directly north of the Takht lay a vast mudbrick enclosure with towers covering c.20 hectares, the “Outer Fortification.” Geomagnetic survey revealed a series of small mudbrick buildings, making it “the most densely built area on the site” (Boucharlat 2001: 118; Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 26–9).

The buildings in Pasargadae’s official, central area combine stone architectural elements with mudbrick walls. They are set, with parallel orientation, in extensive, landscaped surroundings (Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 16–24). A free-standing gate (Gate R) with eight columns, up to 16 meters high, controlled the main access (Stronach 1978: 44–55). Of its eight door-jamb reliefs, one remains; it depicts a four-winged figure with an Egyptianizing crown and Elamite royal robe (see Root 1979: 46–9; 2011; Henkelman 2003a: 192–3; Garrison 2009: 11–12; Álvarez-Mon 2009b; cf. Canal 1976, Caubet 2007: 110 no. 46). The northern and southern doors may have been flanked by human-headed, winged bulls (Calmeyer 1981).

From Gate R, one crossed the bridge over a canal deriving from the Pulvār river and reached Palace S. This structure, probably not a real residence, comprised a columned hall (c.32 × 22 meters) with doors opening onto four columned porticoes. Double zoomorphic (lion, bull, horse) column capitals (Calmeyer 1981; Krefter 1979: 15–16), a characteristic feature of Achaemenid architecture, probably faced inward and outward (Seidl 2003). The composite

creatures on the partly preserved door-jamb reliefs betray (indirect) Assyrian influence (Kawami 1972; Stronach 1978: 56–77; cf. Calmeyer 1994b).

In the area northeast of Palace S a system of stone water channels, sluices, and basins irrigated what Stronach considered a precursor of the traditional Persian *čahārbāg*, or fourfold garden (Stronach 1989, 1990, 1994; but see Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 16). Along with two smaller “pavilions” (A and B), a third structure, Palace P, bordered the garden (Stronach 1978: 78–106). This comprised a hall (c.31 × 22 meters) with 30 columns opening onto two porticoes of unequal width, the southernmost of which overlooked the garden and had a platform presumably intended for a throne. Door-jamb reliefs (with metal inlays) in Palace P are of uncertain date (late Cyrus or early Darius?); they depict the king with a follower (Root 1979: 49–58; Calmeyer 1981). Only fragments remain of the bright wall and column frescoes in the hall (Herzfeld 1929/30a: 13; Sami 1956: 58; Stronach 1978: 85–87). A jar hoard comprising spoons and jewelry was found buried near pavilion B (Stronach 1978: 168–77, 200–7).

The “Zendān-e Soleymān,” a 12 meter high tower at the northern edge of the central sector, has an exterior staircase giving access to a single, elevated room, and may have been enclosed by a wall. Among many interpretations, a connection with royal investiture is plausible though difficult to corroborate (Stronach 1978: 117–37; 1985a: 848–52; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983; Seidl 1994; Boucharlat 2003b; Potts 2007). Directly behind the tower, geomagnetic survey revealed a 45 × 40 meter, buttressed and probably stone-built structure (Boucharlat 2003b). A better preserved twin tower is located at Naqš-e Rostam (cf. below).

The third sector (the “sacred precinct”) in the north is adjacent to a small stream that drains into the Pulvār. Two monumental limestone plinths, one with a staircase, are generally dated to the early Achaemenid period and may be related to sacrificial feasts held at the site (Stronach 1978: 138–45; Henkelman 2008a: 385–92, 427–34; 2011). A low, stepped terrace, is probably late or post-Achaemenid (Stronach 1978: 138–145), rather than the base of an Achaemenid temple (Herzfeld 1929–30a: 8–10). The antiquity of a low stone enclosure is doubtful (Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 30–33).

At the southwestern end of the site, in the fourth sector, a gable-roofed “house” set on a 13 × 12 meter stepped platform is generally identified as Cyrus’ tomb (Stronach 1978: 24–43). A large stone rosette was carved at the apex of the roof front (Stronach 1971; von Gall 1979). In the 13th century the tomb became an Islamic sanctuary (Qabr-e Mādar-e Soleymān), reusing columns from the palaces; it was drastically restored to its former state in 1971 (Kleiss 1979b; Calmeyer 1994a: 15).

Various inscriptions on reliefs, pillars, and a stone tablet were found at Pasargadae; most mention Cyrus (Schmitt 2009: 35–6), one Xerxes (Stronach 1978: 152), and one perhaps Darius (Borger and Hinz 1959; Schmitt 2009: 99–100). The Cyrus inscriptions introduce the king as an Achaemenid; most scholars

assume that Darius commissioned them to create a connection between the empire's founder and his own dynastic line (Briant 2002: 90–2, 111, 889; Strohach 1997b, 2001).

In 2004–7 dam construction occasioned a survey and salvage excavations in the gorge and valley of Tang-e Bolāgi, southwest of Pasargadae (Fazeli [Nashli] 2009; Atai and Boucharlat 2009). Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid remains are attested at seven sites, including a cave (Adachi and Zeidi 2009), a small rural settlement (Asgari Chaverdi and Callieri 2006; 2009: 3–27), a buttressed building (farmstead? Helwing and Seyedin 2009), a complex surrounded by a massive wall (way station? Asadi and Kaim 2009), a fortified structure (Asgari Chaverdi and Callieri 2009: 27–32), and a small (25 × 19 meter) stone “pavilion” (Atai and Boucharlat 2009). Also investigated was a system of partially rock-cut, canals (Atai and Boucharlat 2009). Most sites yielded Achaemenid pottery, especially fragments of large storage jars and “pilgrim” flasks. The Tang-e Bolāgi project brought to light unique evidence for the development of rural areas by the Achaemenid administration; as such, it provides a tantalizing complement to the information on regional economic structures from the Persepolis Fortification archive.

Persepolis and the Marv Dašt

Persepolis (modern Takht-e Ğamšid or Čehel Minār; *Περσέπολις*, Old Persian *Pārsa*) has been regularly visited since antiquity (Shahbazi 1977; Arndt 1984; Drijvers et al. 1991; Mousavi 2002; Invernizzi 2005). Among the first European travelers to see it was the Franciscan Odoric de Pordenone, in 1382 (Le Long et al. 2010). Views of the ruins were drawn by Cornelis de Bruijn in 1704/5 (1711; Drijvers and MacDonald 1995; Jurriaans-Helle 1998), Carsten Niebuhr in 1765 (1772), and Eugène Flandin and Pascal-Xavier Coste in 1851–4 (Maupoix and Coulon 1998; Calmard 2001). In 1878 they were photographed by Franz Stolze (Stolze and Andreas 1882; cf. Dieulafoy 1884–9). While many visitors left their names on the Gate of All Nations (Simpson 2005), some also took away sculpture fragments. At least 110 pieces of Persepolitan sculpture are currently in museums outside Iran (Roaf 1987; Mitchell 2000; Curtis and Tallis 2005: 68–85; Nagel 2010: 237–51).

Stolze and Andreas (1882) and Herbert Weld Blundell (1893) did small-scale soundings at Persepolis, but major excavations only started in 1931, under Ernst E. Herzfeld (Mousavi 2002; Dusinger 2005b). While no comprehensive report on the 1931–5 excavations exists (see Herzfeld 1929–30b, 1934; 1941: 221–74), Herzfeld's successor, Erich F. Schmidt, produced three monumental volumes on the 1935–9 campaigns (1953, 1957, 1970; also 1939; cf. Balcer 1991). Subsequent excavations were conducted by Ali Sami (1941–61) and Akbar Tadjvidi (1968–73) (Sami 1967; cf. Mousavi 1990, 2002; Tadjvidi 1970,

1973, 1976). Extensive restoration, limited excavation, and detailed studies were undertaken by Cesare Carbone and Giuseppe and Ann Britt Tilia between 1964 and 1972 (Zander 1968: 1–127; Tilia 1968, 1969, 1972, 1978). Friedrich Krefter, Herzfeld's deputy, drew reconstructions of all the main buildings (Krefter 1971; Trümpelmann 1988). New research after 2002 included geomagnetic surveys to the north and south of the platform, revealing additional stone structures. Some 600 meters of water channels under the platform were mapped, an operation that produced great numbers of (post-)Achaemenid sherds (Asgari Chaverdi 2008; Talebian 2010). Like Pasargadae, Persepolis is a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Persepolis can be divided into three sectors: the mountain fortification, the terrace (or Takht) and the plain surrounding the terrace (Roaf 2004; Shahbazi 2004, 2009). The c.450 × 300 meter terrace was created partly by leveling the natural rocky outcrop known as Šāhi Kūh (“Mt. Royal,” part of the Kūh-e Rahmat range), and partly by construction using tightly fitting blocks, in polygonal or “cyclopaean” technique, to erect massive walls rising up to 18 meters above the plain (Tilia 1978: 3–27; quarries: Pugliese Carratelli 1966; Tilia 1968; Calmeyer 1990a; Kleiss 1993a). On the west side, a monumental double staircase with a crenelated parapet provides the main access. This leads to the “Gate of All Nations,” so identified in an inscription of Xerxes. Flanked in front by colossal bulls (perhaps referred to by Diodorus 17.71.6) and at the rear by human-headed winged bulls, the gate was set back from the terrace edge, perhaps between mudbrick walls. Its interior, secured by giant wooden doors with gilt decoration, was supported by four columns almost 17 meters high. The exterior was decorated with glazed bricks (Schmidt 1953: 64–8; Krefter 1968; Tilia 1972: 37–40).

In the original layout, one approached the throne hall from a southern staircase, via a terrace flanked by Darius' Palace and the Central Building. After this access had been closed and a new, northwestern one, just described, constructed under Darius or Xerxes (486–465 BC), the southwestern sector remained recognizable as all its buildings stand on separate socles (with sculptured staircases), raising them above the remainder of the terrace (Kleiss 2000; Roaf 1983: 150–9; Jacobs 1997).

The throne or audience hall is, perhaps erroneously, referred to by the Old Persian term *apadāna* on analogy with its counterpart at Susa (cf. below). Traces of an earlier floor plan indicate a building of smaller proportions begun early in Darius' reign. The decision to enlarge the interior to a 60 × 60 meter rectangular hall necessitated an extension of the terrace 18 meters to the west (Tilia 1972: 127–65; 1978: 11–27; Jacobs 1997; Kleiss 2000). In two corners of this building Krefter found foundation deposits containing inscribed, gold and silver “tablets”; Cypriot, Lydian, and Greek coins; and pieces of amber (Krefter 1971: 52–4; cf. Root 1988; Jacobs 1997: 287–91; Nimchuk 2010). Inscriptions on the building's exterior confirm its completion under Xerxes.

The interior throne hall, with its six rows of six columns crowned with double bull capitals, standing 19 meters high, must have overwhelmed any visitor. The four mudbrick corner towers had interior staircases, sometimes believed to have led to private royal quarters; they were decorated on the outside with friezes of glazed tiles. The tower entrances were flanked by statues of mastiffs and ibexes. Between the towers, three giant, columned porticoes opened to the west, north, and east. The doors between the porticoes and the interior (two on the north, one on the west and east) were decorated with gold overlay. In the south, storage rooms and a columned porch connecting Darius' palace intervene between the corner towers. Rainwater from the roof drained through bitumen-coated conduits in the towers into a network of canals cut into the bedrock. The entire building is set on the same 3 meter high socle, accessible by two double staircases with the same (yet stylistically slightly different) sculptures in mirror image (Schmidt 1953: 69–106; 1957: 69–70; Sami 1967: 95; Krefter 1971: 45–54; Stronach 1987a; Huff 2010).

Other buildings begun under Darius include the Central Building, the Treasury, and the king's palace (Old Persian *tačara*). The palace has a rectangular floor plan (40 × 30 meters) comprising a central hall with adjoining smaller rooms. The southern portico overlooks a courtyard and was accessed via a sculptured staircase. Another staircase was added by Artaxerxes III (359/8–338 BC) on the west side. Like most Persepolitan buildings, the doorframes, windows, niches, column bases, and other structural elements of the palace were made of stone and mostly sculpted. Columns were made of plastered wood and walls of mudbrick. As in the Treasury, lime plaster with a red ochre coating covered the floors (Schmidt 1953: 217–29; Root 1979: 76–86).

The Central Building (also called the Tripylon or Council Hall) had an estimated height of 11–12 meters (Krefter 1971: 39) and comprised a four-columned interior with three, 9 meter high sculpted doorways, two columned porticoes, subsidiary rooms, and passages. All its columns were crowned by human-headed bulls. An elaborately sculpted staircase gave access to the northern portico; a smaller staircase led from the courtyard abutting the southern portico to subsidiary rooms. The building was finished under Xerxes or Artaxerxes I (Schmidt 1953: 107–22; Root 1979: 95–100).

The Treasury was built, without a socle, on the southeastern terrace. It was altered and expanded twice, finally measuring 134 × 78 meters. The building consists of four large columned halls, two courtyards, and a great number of passages and subsidiary rooms; it had only two entrances and no windows. Much evidence for the use of color was found: red, blue, and white plaster on the wooden columns, greenish-grey plaster on most walls, painted decorations on some doorways, and durable lime plaster with red ochre coating on all floors. Arrow-shaped slots and niches with multiple rabbet frames decorated the exterior walls (later lowered by the excavators to a uniform height). Part of the building had a second story (Schmidt 1953: 138–200, 285–7; Matson 1953: 285–7; Roaf

1998). Two audience reliefs – originally from the throne hall staircases – and (animal) statues adorned the smaller courtyard; elsewhere in the building a Greek statue was found. Small finds included inscribed wall pegs; items of Elamite, Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian origin; personal ornaments; inscribed tableware; coins; weaponry (thousands of spearheads); tools; and an archive of clay tablets (Schmidt 1957; see below).

The Hall of 100 Columns, Xerxes' palace, and the "Harem" are among the buildings added at a later date. The first was begun by Xerxes and finished by Artaxerxes I (465–425/4 BC). Covering 68 × 68 meters, one is tempted to see it as the throne hall's counterpart. Yet, the building was lower (by 13 meters), not set on a socle, and its interior hall is surrounded by passages on three sides; the eight sculpted entrances from the passages and the northern portico did not have doors. A ceremonial gate on the northern courtyard remained unfinished (Schmidt 1953: 124–37; Krefter 1971: 57–9; Tilia 1972: 46–52; Root 1979: 105–8). Of the functions proposed for the building (e.g., Schmidt 1953; Trümpelmann 1983), an interpretation of the courtyard and hall as dining spaces for the royal guards would link the complex to the "Table of the King," an institution that fed thousands dependent on the royal household (Henkelman 2010).

Already as crown prince, Xerxes may have begun constructing his own palace, referred to in inscriptions by the Old Persian term *hadiš*. A novel element is that the socle extends in front of the building, adding a large raised courtyard accessed by two sculpted staircases. The eastern staircase had a small gate building, the western one was flanked by bull sculptures. The *hadiš* comprised a columned hall flanked by smaller rooms, a northern portico, and a southern, panoramic terrace (Schmidt 1953: 77, 230–44; 1957: 70; Calmeyer 1995–6). It is clear that, along with the throne hall, the Hall of 100 Columns, and the Treasury, the *hadiš* suffered most from the targeted burning of Persepolis ordered by Alexander (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993).

An L-shaped building divided into 22 units, each one a small columned hall with one or two subsidiary rooms, is known, on dubious grounds, as the "Harem." It was partly rebuilt by Krefter, served as a dig house and now houses the Persepolis museum. It includes a large hall with sculpted doorframes. All columned halls seem to have had three-stepped niches constructed in the green-plastered walls (Schmidt 1953: 3, 245–64; Krefter 1971: 22–8, 77–8; Tilia 1972: 58–9). In the "Harem" (as in Darius' palace), a number of Achaemenid and later graffiti are preserved (Razmjou 2005c; Callieri 2007: 133–5).

In the southwestern corner of the terrace, a palace begun under Xerxes and finished by Artaxerxes I replaced an older building. Though mostly destroyed by post-Achaemenid construction, a stairway façade depicting delegations of subject nations could be reconstructed (Tilia 1972: 243–316; Calmeyer 1990b: 15–16). In the same section (and further northward), the terrace wall was crowned by a horned parapet (Tilia 1969), perhaps an echo of the importance of horns in Elamite (religious) architecture, and possibly echoed in post-Achaemenid

iconography (Callieri 2007: 115–24). Artaxerxes III built a palace directly north of Xerxes' palace (Schmidt 1953: 274–5; Calmeyer 1990b: 12–13).

Xerxes is to be credited with the expansion and development of the vast sculptural program initiated under Darius. Staircases and socle façades, doorways, and other stone elements were covered with thousands of figures, illustrating a vision of royalty and empire. The repertoire includes the royal audience, the king either with attendants or enthroned, the royal hero combating mythical beasts, royal guards, Persian nobles, the lion and bull motif (the supposed meaning of which has been discussed *ad nauseam*), and a panorama of distinctively dressed, subject peoples carrying gifts that may have inspired the Parthenon frieze (Root 1985). The imperial panorama is notably depicted on the throne hall staircases (Walser 1966; Roaf 1974; 1983: 47–64, 114–20; Root 1979: 86–95, 227–84; Calmeyer 1982, 1983, 1987a). Later Achaemenids, notably Artaxerxes I and III, continued the sculptural program. Persepolitan sculpture offers an unmatched opportunity for the study of the creative process and historical development of Achaemenid art (Root 1990; Calmeyer 1987b, 1990b), as well as sculpting techniques and the organization of labor (Roaf 1980, 1983, 1990; but cf. Root 1986; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1992). Together with the royal inscriptions, it is the basis of discussions of Achaemenid kingship, also in comparison to its manifestations outside the empire's core (Root 1979; Jacobs 2002).

Achaemenid art tends to represent a timeless and unchanging state of affairs, an idealized *pax achaemenidica* (Root 1979; cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999; Briant 2002: 204–25; Kuhrt 2010). There are no portraits, just images of *the* king of kings (Root 1979: 117–18, 310; Calmeyer 1988; cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989). The replacement of the audience scenes (showing king and crown prince) from the throne hall staircases by images of royal guards (Tilia 1972: 175–208; Root 1979: 91–5; Roaf 1983: 144–5) is therefore unlikely to have been occasioned by dynastic unrest or other historical circumstances. Also, the reliefs appear to be unfinished (Tilia 1978: 57; Porada 1979; Henkelman 1995–6: 280–1).

Reflecting the empire of many tongues and nations extolled in the royal inscriptions, Persepolitan art is willfully synthetic. As at Pasargadae, it transcends its eclectic origins by subtly appropriating and transforming motifs and forms into a coherent vision (Root 1979; Nylander 1979). An additional aspect may be illustrated by the motif of a ruler carried on a platform. Whereas such processions existed in Elam (and perhaps in the Achaemenid heartland) and the motif was known in Elamite art, it gained a new dimension in Achaemenid art. The platform is now carried by delegates of the empire's nations, stressing collaboration and unity. Or, in Peter Calmeyer's arresting words, “Es entstand, scheinbar mühelos, das Kennzeichen aller großen Kunst: symbolische Form” (“What emerged, seemingly without effort, was the hallmark of all great art: symbolic form”) (Calmeyer 1973: 147).

In the 1930s Herzfeld could still observe bright colors on newly excavated reliefs (Herzfeld 1941: 255; Krefter 1979: 19; 1989; cf. Weld Blundell 1893:

556–8). Today, only traces (and finely incised sketch patterns) of pigment remain on most reliefs and on the façade of Darius' tomb. The colors used included light and dark blue, red, green, white, and perhaps gold. Wooden columns were plastered with painted gypsum (Schmidt 1939: 54; 1953: 160–1; 1970: 83–4; Roos 1970; Tilia 1972: 245–6; 1978: 31–69; Nagel 2010). Inlays and appliqué of gold and Egyptian blue adorned many reliefs (Herzfeld 1941: 255–6; Sami 1967: 95; Tilia 1978: 58–66; Henkelman 1995–6). Glazed brick, ubiquitous at Susa, was less important at Persepolis, though it was notably used on the corner towers of the throne hall, for friezes with some of Xerxes' inscriptions.

Numerous display and foundation inscriptions, often in multiple copies, in Elamite, Akkadian, and Old Persian, have been found at Persepolis (Roaf 2004: 400–1; Shahbazi 1985; Lecoq 1997; Schmitt 2000a). These were commissioned by Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I and III, and tend to present a timeless state of affairs. They are of prime importance for revealing royal ideology but are a feeble basis for historical reconstruction. Variation largely depended on the choice of medium and location. Among the architectural terms, the description of the residence as a fortress on a throne/podium is noteworthy (Grillot 1987: 67–9).

A strong fortification wall (with arrow slots, vaulted interior rooms, and corridors, with stairs to a second floor), where the Fortification archive was discovered (cf. below), protected the terrace on its northern side, where the mountain slope had not (yet) been leveled (Krefter 1971: 85–89; Kleiss 1992b). It was an extension of the mountain fortification, Persepolis' second sector. This defensive system, with 25 towers (reaching 15 meters in height) connected by walls with vaulted corridors, enclosed a lozenge-shaped area (500 × 400 meters), divided in two, on the slope of the Küh-e Rahmat. The lower part included two royal tombs. Where the fortification runs parallel to the eastern terrace it incorporates a moat (which diverted rain water from the mountain) and garrison quarters. In the higher part of the citadel, great amounts of surface ceramics were found (Weld Blundell 1893: 552–5; Schmidt 1953: 199–213; Tadjvidi 1970; Huff 1990: 148; Kleiss 1992b).

The third sector is that of the plain surrounding the terrace. In the west, two additional defensive walls were previously visible (Weld Blundell 1893: 547–56; Schmidt 1939: 7–15; 1953: 202–11; Sami 1967: 14; Krefter 1971: 85–9; Tadjvidi 1973, 1976; Kleiss 1992b; Mousavi 1992; cf. Diodorus 17.71.3–6). In the south and southwest various constructions were excavated, including a hypostyle building similar to the throne hall. Remains of plastered wooden columns were found in situ. Walls surrounding a courtyard were crowned with crenelated parapets, access staircases flanked by animal statues. As a whole, the southern complex almost doubles the surface of representative constructions on the terrace (Herzfeld 1929–30b: 32; Schmidt 1953: 48–9, 55; Sami 1967: 89–91; Vanden Berghe 1959: Pl. 45b; Tadjvidi 1976; Mousavi 1999b: 148–151; 2002: 237; Callieri 2007: 17). North of the terrace, the *fratarakā* (the title used by a post-

Achaemenid dynasty in Fārs) complex is generally dated to the early Seleucid period, but may continue an Achaemenid layout (Schmidt 1953: 50–1, 55–6; Boucharlat 1984: 130–2; Stronach 1985b: 613–17; Wiesehöfer 1994: 70–9; Roaf 1998: 70–2; Boucharlat 2006: 452–3; Callieri 2007: 51–64). Geomagnetic survey there has not revealed additional buildings (Boucharlat and Gondet in press).

At Naqš-e Rostam, c.6 kilometers northwest of Persepolis, the rock-cut tombs of four Achaemenids are found (see below) as well as the *Ka'ba-ye Zardošt*, a twin of the Pasargadae tower. Soundings indicated that this tower too was surrounded by several structures (Schmidt 1970: 18–65; Boucharlat 2003b: 92–8). Although the fortifications in front of the tombs seem to be Arsacid or Sasanian in date, an Achaemenid citadel may have been located on the mountain of Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970: 58; Kleiss 1976).

Between Naqš-e Rostam and the Persepolis terrace lies a site known as Dašt-e Gohar. It includes the stepped basis of a “house” tomb (cf. below) and, probably associated with this, a porticoed hypostyle hall of Pasargadaean inspiration but probably later date (Tilia 1974; 1978: 73–80; Kleiss 1980; Bessac and Boucharlat 2010).

Two sites located 1 and 5 kilometers west of Persepolis are known as “Persepolis West” and Bāg-e Firūzī. The former is a 25 hectare site with a dense covering of Achaemenid ceramics on the surface; the second is a cluster of mounds with Achaemenid pottery, glazed brick fragments, and architectural and sculptural remains (Sumner 1986b: 8–9; Tilia 1974: 203–4, 1978: 80–5; Boucharlat 2007; Boucharlat and Feizkhah 2007; Asgari Chaverdi and Callieri forthcoming). Sumner tentatively suggested that the two sites should be seen as parts of the same agglomeration. Some 20 other Achaemenid sites have been recorded in the Marv Dašt, but at greater distance from Persepolis, leaving empty a zone of 15–20 kilometers around Persepolis itself (Tilia 1978: 85–7; Sumner 1986b; Boucharlat 2003a: 263–5).

Two important archives were found at Persepolis (Briant et al. 2008; Henkelman 2008a: 65–179; Azzoni et al. in press). One, consisting of 747 clay tablets and fragments and 199 sealings, was found in the Treasury (Room 33; Schmidt 1939: 33–43; 1957: 4–41). Most tablets are sealed and inscribed in Elamite, though one is written in Babylonian. The Fortification archive, found in two bricked-up spaces in the northeastern terrace fortification, comprises at least 7,000 legible Elamite tablets, 5,000 anepigraphic but sealed tablets, some 1,000 Aramaic texts on clay tablets, and a handful of texts in other languages. The seal impressions constitute a rich iconographic corpus (Root 1996, 1997, 2008; Garrison 2000, 2008, 2009, 2010; Garrison and Root 2001, forthcoming a, b; Dusinberre 2008). In addition, 52 sealed bullae and anepigraphic tablets and three cylinder seals were found in the mountain fortifications (Tadjvidi 1970, 1973, 1976; Rahimifar 2005; cf. Schmidt 1953: 209). In the Treasury, 269 green chert mortars, pestles, and plates were also found, about two-thirds of which bore Aramaic inscriptions in ink (Schmidt 1957: 53–6). The texts are probably not

ritual texts (*pace* Bowman 1970), but inventory notes (Bernard 1972b; Naveh and Shaked 1973; Delaunay 1974; Hinz 1975; Stolper 2001; Briant 2002: 428–33, 940–1).

The Fortification and Treasury archives help to elucidate the function of Persepolis. They document a large institutional economy in Achaemenid Fārs, with Persepolis as its bureaucratic and administrative center. They also show the regular presence of the king and court at Persepolis, apparently mainly in the autumn (Henkelman 2011: 110–12). The old and often repeated thesis (found as early as Bruijn 1711: 217, probably from local legend; cf. Shahbazi 1977; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991) that Persepolis was built for the celebration of *Nō Rūz* (Iranian New Year, on March 21, the vernal equinox and first day of spring) is contradicted by evidence suggesting that the king was usually in Susa at that time (Waerzeggers 2010: 801–4). In general, the idea that Persepolis was a “ritual city” remains unsupported; the tablets document funerary sacrifices and sacrificial feasts near Persepolis, but not sacrifices taking place on the terrace.

Susa

Exploration of Susa (modern Šuš-e Dāniāl; Σοῦσα, ancient *Šušān*) began in 1850–4 under William Kennett Loftus, who identified the site, mapped it, opened trenches on the Acropole, Apadana, and Ville Royale mounds, and uncovered parts of the throne hall (Loftus 1856; 1857: 314–433; Curtis 1993). Two campaigns by Marcel and Jane Dieulafoy in 1885–6 marked the beginning of nearly a century of French explorations at Susa. The finds included a first complete series of glazed brick reliefs (Dieulafoy 1890–2), displayed in the Louvre since 1888. In 1895 the Iranian Imperial government sold exclusive excavation rights to France. Although the monopoly was abolished in 1927, the Délégation en Perse (later Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran) continued its activities in Susa and Khūzestān until 1979 (Mecquenem 1980; Mousavi 1996; Chevalier 1997, 2010; Steve et al. 2002/3: 375–403; Gasche 2009; Perrot 2010a). Most finds (including epigraphic and numismatic materials) are published in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (1900–) and *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* (1971–87; cf. Vanden Berghe 1959: 91–8).

The mission’s first director, Jacques de Morgan (1897–1912), concentrated on the Acropole Mound (Morgan 1898, 1900c, 1905a, 1905c) and constructed the “Château” (a fort used as an excavation house) as a defense against attacks from belligerent tribes. Roland (le comte) de Mecquenem followed suit (1912–14, 1920–39) with the excavation of the Donjon (“dungeon”) and much of the palace of Darius (Pillet 1914; Mecquenem 1943, 1947; Chevalier 2010: 94–110). From 1946 to 1967, Roman Ghirshman opened trenches on the north-western Ville Royale, Apadana, Ville des Artisans, and parts of the fortifications (Ghirshman 1947, 1954, 1968b; Steve and Gasche 1990). The last French direc-

tor (1968–79), Jean Perrot, conducted and supervised excavations and geomagnetic surveys in all sectors, with particular attention to the throne hall and palace of Darius (Perrot 1981, 2010c; Hesse 2010). Despite extensive (and sometimes excessive) earlier work, the Perrot campaigns are the prime source of knowledge about Achaemenid Susa.

The Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization commissioned new excavations at Susa in 1982; from 1994 onward they were directed by Mir-Abedin Kaboli, whose prime focus was the western side of the Apadana mound (Kaboli 2000; Razmjou 2002: 103).

Unlike Pasargadae and Persepolis, Susa was not a new foundation of the Persian kings, but an old Elamite city. Pre-Achaemenid Persians from Fārs were already in contact with Susa, but actual Achaemenid presence is not evident at the site before 521 BC (Darius I). It cannot be excluded that a Neo-Elamite (vassal) king ruled Susa and its surroundings until that date (*pace* Vallat 2006b; cf. Waters 2000: 85; Tavernier 2004: 22–9; Henkelman 2008a: 13–14, 56–7, 362–3). At any rate, the city was completely redesigned after the ascent of Darius (Steve et al. 2002/3: 485–95; Boucharlat 2009). Susa's recognition as official Achaemenid residence in Babylonian and Elamite documents provides an approximate *terminus ante quem* of 500 BC for the most important Achaemenid constructions there (Briant 2010: 28–9).

Early in Darius' reign, a residential palace (3.8 hectares) and monumental throne hall (109 × 109 meters) were erected on the Apadana Mound (Ladiray 2010; Perrot 2010d), perhaps on the location of the Neo-Elamite palace (Vallat 1999b). After leveling and transforming the Elamite mound into a regular platform, gravel foundations were laid to a depth of 10 meters, a technique of possible Elamite origin (Boucharlat 1994: 225; Ladiray 2010: 161–3).

The palatial complex is centered on three courtyards, interconnected by gated passages. Each was surrounded by series of spaces, including a columned room (added by Artaxerxes II), rooms for guards and official purposes, and two suites of spaces intended for storage or the chancellery. A hypothesized second floor (Amiet 1994, 2010b) is considered unlikely by the excavator (Perrot 2010d: 231). Notable spaces are two sets of twin, oblong halls which may have been vaulted (Gasche 2010; Perrot 2010d: 224–8); those south of the western court functioned as monumental ante-chambers to the royal apartments. The larger, eastern courtyard (and possibly the other courtyards too) had walls adorned with glazed brick reliefs and perhaps painted decoration (Ghirshman 1947: 446; Perrot 2010d). Red ocher flooring, also known at Persepolis and Achaemenid Babylon, is attested in most rooms in the residence (Haerincq 1973: 112–14; Schmidt 1953: 31–2). An intricate drainage system was constructed underneath the complex (Ladiray 2010: 164–6).

Though the term *apadāna* occurs in Achaemenid inscriptions at Susa, its etymology and identification with square hypostyle throne halls are uncertain (Schmitt 1987; Lecoq 1997: 115–16; Razmjou 2010: 231–3) and the term is

best avoided. Like its Persepolitan equivalent, the throne hall had 36 (6 × 6), 19 meter high columns covering a space measuring 58 × 58 meters; three grand porticoes were flanked by corner towers. Whereas the palace area is variously considered to be of Assyro-Babylonian or Elamite inspiration (Ghirshman 1965b; Roaf 1973; Amiet 1973, 2010b; Gasche 2010), hypostyle throne halls have long been linked to an architectural tradition attested in the Iron Age II–III central and northern Zagros (e.g. at Ḥasanlū, Bābā Ğān, Nūš-e Ğān, Godin). Discoveries on the eastern Arabian peninsula (Muweilah, Rumeilah, and elsewhere), seem to suggest a broader tradition, existing by the 8th century BC or earlier (Boucharlat and Lombard 2001; Magee et al. 2002; Magee 2003, 2008; Stronach and Roaf 2007: 188–90; Muscarella 2008b; Gopnik 2010). The extensive use of round and square baked-brick columns on Susa’s southwestern Acropole in the later 2nd millennium BC should also be considered – even though there is a woeful lack of published material on this – especially given their size (up to 70 centimeters in diameter), foundation footings (0.54 meters deep), placement in a paved space, and inscriptions mentioning the *hiyan*, “palace, court” (Morgan 1898: 46–51; 1905b; Mecquenem 1911: 73; cf. Heim 1992: 124–5; Malbran-Labat 1995: 79–81).

The Apadana complex was completed by Xerxes, damaged by fire under Artaxerxes I and restored by Artaxerxes II (Nylander 1975; Perrot 2010b: 222–322). Unlike its counterpart at Persepolis, the Susa throne hall (and residence) was not destroyed during the Macedonian invasion, but decayed slowly. Darius’ statue (below) even remained visible until the Islamic period (Ghirshman 1947: 446; Boucharlat 1990b, 2006).

A free-standing “propylaeum” (porch, gatehouse) on the northwestern edge of the Ville Royale, built by Darius I and Xerxes (Perrot et al. 1999), marked the principal access route from the east. After the Propylaeum the road turned left, crossed a ravine by a broad causeway, and reached the Gate of Darius. This gate gave access to the eastern esplanade of the Apadana mound (Perrot and Ladiray 1974; Boucharlat 1987: 145–52; Ladiray 2010: 184–95). A headless, 2.5 meter tall granite statue of Darius, originally made to be set up in Egypt (presumably at Heliopolis), was found on its west side (Ch. II.44). The statue has inscriptions in Egyptian, Elamite, Old Persian, and Akkadian, and images of subject peoples (Kervran 1972; Yoyotte 1972, 2010; Stronach 1974a; Roaf 1974; Vallat 1974; Trichet and Vallat 1990; Calmeyer 1991; Razmjou 2002). Additional sculptural fragments belong to two or three statues of the king, and possibly one of the royal hero (Root 1979: 68–72, 110–16; Lushey 1983; Muscarella 1992). The existence of a second gate has been postulated at the foot of the western slope of the Apadana mound; it would be connected to a staircase decorated with friezes of glazed bricks similar to some Persepolis reliefs (Kaboli 2000; cf. Perrot 2010c: 141, 143 n18).

The Apadana Mound, Ville Royale, and Acropole (total c.400 hectares), were surrounded by a plastered mudbrick *glacis* (artificial earthen slope) with salients

(projections), but apparently not by a wall (Ghirshman 1965a: 6; 1968b: 14–17; Perrot 1981: 80–1; 2010c: 135–7; Steve and Gasche 1990: 28–31; Boucharlat 1997a: 57, 67). The 10–12 meter high *glacis*, built over an Elamite wall (Ghirshman 1965a: 6, Figs. 22–23), may be the older “fortification” that Darius says he restored (Steve 1987: 56–63; Schmitt 2009: 123–7).

Apart from the Apadana complex and the *glacis*, indications of Achaemenid presence are scarce within the enclosed area of c.100 hectares (Boucharlat 1997a, 2001). No residential quarters were found in the Ville Royale excavations and geophysical survey. Nevertheless, this mound was leveled in the Achaemenid period and undoubtedly formed part of Darius’ urban design. Notably, its central part may have been purposely emptied (Perrot 1981: 90–91; Miroschedji 1987a: 40; Boucharlat 1990a: 150, 153). The only architectural remains are a ramp and gate at the eastern edge (Perrot 1981: 81–2; Ladiray 2010: 178–9), and the foundation of, perhaps, another causeway (Steve and Gasche 1990: 30–1).

The Donjon in the southern Ville Royale yielded Achaemenid stone reliefs, column bases, ivories, and other finds (Allotte de la Fuÿe et al. 1934: 222–36; Mecquenem 1943: 70–137; Amiet 1972a, 2010a), apparently in secondary, Seleucid, or later context. The presence of Achaemenid structures here remains debated (Martinez-Sève 1996: 174–5; Boucharlat 2000: 145–7; 2006: 447–8; 2010: 380–3; Amiet 2001: 241–4; Steve et al. 2002/3: 486–7).

The Acropole is the probable location of the Achaemenid citadel (Morgan 1898, 1900a; Perrot 1981: 81, 91; Boucharlat 2001: 119–20; 2010: 374–7). Early excavations revealed parts of the citadel’s outer walls, column bases, a bronze lion weight (121 kilograms), and other objects. On the south side of the Acropole, near a Neo-Elamite temple, Morgan found two Achaemenid bronze “bath-tub” coffins. The first was empty, but the second, originally located in a vaulted tomb (hence continuing a Neo-Elamite tradition), contained a silver bowl with lotus decoration, gold bracelets, necklaces, and earrings with inlays of (semi-)precious stones, and alabaster vessels. The find is dated by coins to the late 5th century (Morgan 1905a; Amiet 1988: 134–7; Elayi and Elayi 1992; Tallon 1992; Razmjou 2005b; Frank 2010; cf. Boucharlat 1994: 219, 226). Fragments of inscribed royal tableware, made of stone and (in Elamite fashion) hardened bitumen, were found on the Acropole and elsewhere (Amiet 1990, 2010a; vitreous materials: Caubet and Daucé 2010: 343–6).

East of the enclosed area, the vast Ville des Artisans has yielded few Achaemenid remains. Ghirshman excavated a “village perse-achéménide” (1954), which, however, largely pre-dates the Achaemenid period. The small settlement was (re-)occupied in the late Achaemenid period (Steve 1986: 8–9; Miroschedji 1987a: 38–9; 1987b: 149–50).

Almost 13,000 glazed and molded (un)glazed bricks were recovered on the Apadana mound and elsewhere. They once formed decorative friezes of floral designs, archers (the “Susian” guards), lions, lion-griffins, winged bulls, sphinxes, lion-and-bull, and servants/tribute-bearers bringing food. The highly siliceous

mixture of bricks and glazing materials continues an Elamite tradition (Dieulafoy 1890–2: 263–321; Mecquenem 1947: 47–86; Haerinck 1973: 118–27; Caubet and Muscarella 1992; Caubet 2007: 130–7; 2010; Maras 2010; Caubet and Daucé 2010). Though glazed reliefs were known at Persepolis (and stone reliefs in Susa), it is clear that vitreous materials were more important at Susa.

Building inscriptions from Susa, inscribed (and stamped) on a wide range of media, mention various constructions, not all of which can be identified. Few are found in situ. The texts date to the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, Darius II (425/4–405/4 BC), and Artaxerxes II and III (Steve 1987; Lecoq 1997; Schmitt 2009; Vallat 2010; cf. Steve et al. 2002/3: 493–4; Boucharlat 2000: 142–4). The best known of these is Darius’ “Susa Charter,” actually a family of inscriptions describing the materials assembled in the palatial complex and the nations that collaborated in its construction. Minor variations have often been used as the basis for a reconstruction of building history, but this seems ill-advised (Grillot 1990; Henkelman 2003d).

The apparent emptiness of major parts of Susa (and other residences) does not necessarily indicate a reduced population. Apart from the possible incompleteness of the archaeological record (cf. Briant 2002: 257–8), a crucial point is that the Achaemenid court was itinerant (Briant 1988; 2002: 186–92; Henkelman 2010). Classical sources describe the spectacular royal tent, set up amidst a vast camp wherever the court halted. The leveling of the Ville Royale Mound and its inclusion within the protected area could suggest a royal residence conceived as combination of representative stone buildings and extensive residential camp (Boucharlat 1997b, 2001, 2007).

One or two of three Elamite tablets found in Ghirshman’s Ville des Artisans excavations may be early Achaemenid (Ghirshman 1954: 79–82; Paper 1954; a Babylonian business document dates to an Artaxerxes (Ghirshman 1954: 83–5; Rutten 1954). Two more tablets from unknown locations at Susa are in the format of the Persepolis Fortification tablets (Scheil 1911: 89, 101; 1939: 109 [no. 468]; Jones and Stolper 1986: 247–53). There are also a few Achaemenid sealed bullae or dockets (Amiet 1972b/I: 284–7). Occasional doubts about Susa’s administrative status are unwarranted: the few surviving tablets and bullae unquestionably reflect an extensive bureaucracy, like that of Persepolis (Stolper and André-Salvini 1992: 273; Garrison 1996; Henkelman 2008a: 78–79, 111–15; Briant 2010), that probably controlled an extensive agricultural zone around Susa, treasuries and storehouses built by successive Achaemenid kings (Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.3.21) and teams of workers sent to “Elam” from other parts of the empire. Also, Susa was an important destination for traveling officials and Babylonian businessmen (Joannès 1990; 2005: 193–6; Stolper 1992; Briant 2010; Waerzeggers 2010). Note also the Aramaic (votive?) graffiti from the Donjon (Amiet 2001: 243–4).

About 350 meters west of the main site, across the Šāhūr/Šāvūr River, Artaxerxes II constructed a 3 hectare palatial complex, perhaps as an additional palace

in a landscaped environment or “paradise” (cf. Schmitt 1999: 80–5) rather than a temporary replacement of the damaged throne hall. The enclosed complex comprises several buildings flanking a vast, empty space (garden?). Most prominent is a hypostyle hall with four porticoes and an interior measuring 37 × 35 meters, reminiscent of the larger Susa throne hall. Some of its bricks had inclusions of mercury, perhaps a foundation deposit. A smaller building on a socle may have been a palace. Original flooring, figurative wall and column painting, sculptured orthostats, and glazed bricks were excavated at various locations (Labrousse and Boucharlat 1972; Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979; Hesse 1979; Boucharlat 1997a: 61–2, Figs. 14–15; 2010: 384–409). An Achaemenid stone staircase was found, in secondary context, about 800 meters north of the Šāhūr complex (Boucharlat and Shahidi 1987; Boucharlat 2000: 148–9).

The so-called *āyadana* building – now largely lost – was found by Dieulafoy (Dieulafoy 1890–2: 410–19) about 4 kilometers northeast of Susa. It included Achaemenid column bases in secondary (Seleucid or Parthian) context. Even if there was an older building at the site, the religious function implied in Dieulafoy’s designation (*āyadana*, “place of worship”) remains unfounded (Boucharlat 1984: 127–30; 2010: 410–22; Stronach 1985b: 619–22; Steve et al. 2002/3: 500). An isolated column base was found between Susa and Haft Tappeh (Kleiss 1975).

5 Tombs, Burials

Deceased Achaemenids were probably embalmed and put to rest in stone sarcophagi, either in house-shaped monuments or in rock-cut tombs (Jacobs 2010). Both varieties persisted throughout the Achaemenid period. Foremost in the first category is Cyrus’ gable-roofed “house” tomb at Pasargadae. The dimensions of its stepped substructure are repeated in a stepped platform located 5 kilometers north of Persepolis, known as the Takht-e Rostam (Kleiss 1971). Recent investigations suggest that this monument was (provisionally) finished, may have carried a superstructure, and probably dates to Darius’ reign. The common attribution to Cambyses lacks substance; reported finds of bones and jewelry remain unpublished (Bessac and Boucharlat 2010; Henkelman in press e). A smaller, gable-roofed “house” tomb on a stepped platform, known as Gūr-e Dokhtar, at Bozpār (c.50 kilometers east-southeast of Borāzġān), may date to the late or post-Achaemenid period (Nylander 1966a: 144–5; Stronach 1978: 300–2; von Gall 1979: 277–8; Vanden Berghe 1990; Boucharlat 2005: 236). The design of the “house” superstructure is sometimes connected to Lydian and Phrygian tombs (Stronach 1978: 40–3; Hanfmann 1983: 57; Ratté 1992: 158), the stepped platform to Elamite ziggurats (Herzfeld 1941: 215; Ghirshman 1963: 135; Stronach 1997a: 41–2).

Darius I was the first Achaemenid king to order a rock-cut tomb in the cliff of Naqš-e Rostam; the choice of location may have been informed by an Elamite relief there and open-air sanctuary (Henkelman 2008a: 44, 58). The tomb façade is cruciform: the upper section depicts the king carried on a platform, the central section a palace façade (inspired by Darius' *tačara*) with stone doors, while the lower part is empty (Calmeyer 2009; Krefter 1968; Seidl 1999, 2003). This design was repeated three times at Naqš-e Rostam and twice on the mountain east of the Persepolis terrace, where stepped terraces replace the lower façade section (Schmidt 1970). Tomb I has an inscription of Darius I (Schmitt 2000a: 23–49; later Aramaic inscription, Frye 1982); Tomb V at Persepolis has one by an Artaxerxes, perhaps Artaxerxes III (R. Schmitt cited in Calmeyer 2009: 35–41). The assignment of the remaining tombs is debated. The same is true for an eighth, unfinished tomb south of Persepolis, previously assigned to the last Achaemenid, Darius III (Calmeyer and Kleiss 1975; Briant 2003: 39–52, 510–13). The number of rock-hewn sarcophagi inside the tombs varies from two to nine (total: 26).

The dynastic monuments of Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis may have inspired a number of (private) rock-cut tombs in the region, including those at Akhūr-e Rostam and Kūh-e Ayyūb. Their date is debated (Vanden Berghe 1953; 1959: 45, Pls. 61b–d, 62a–f; von Gall 1974: 143; Kleiss 1976: 136–9; Huff 1988: 155–9, 1991; Wiesehöfer 1994: 86–9). At Qadamgāh (50 kilometers southeast of Persepolis), a three-layered terrace approaching a rock façade is cut into the mountain slope. Tentatively dated, by the stone masonry techniques used, to the Achaemenid period, the monument shares some traits with the royal tombs at Persepolis. The façade, with two series of (unfinished) shallow niches, is very different, however. Qadamgāh is variously interpreted as a funerary monument or open-air sanctuary (Boucharlat 1979; Kleiss 1993b; Wiesehöfer 1994: 82–3; Bessac 2007).

Other Achaemenid or later rock tombs are found in western Fārs, such as those 14 kilometers southeast of Behbahān (Kleiss 1978) or that of Dā o Dokhtar, near Fahliyān. The façade of the latter is inspired by Achaemenid funerary monuments, but may be post-Achaemenid (von Gall 1993; Stronach 1978: 304; Huff 1988: 155; Wiesehöfer 1994: 85–6; Callieri 2007: 142–4). Most (but not all) cairns in Fārs and Kermān also post-date the Achaemenid period (Boucharlat 1989).

Some of the 31 burials (in earthenware coffins and in simple pits; orientation: north-northwest) in the Persepolis spring cemetery may date to the later Achaemenid period (Schmidt 1957: 117–23; Haerinck 1984: 304; Wiesehöfer 1994: 83–4). Otherwise, no cemeteries of possible Achaemenid date have been excavated. An oval pit grave in the Tang-e Bolāgi is radiocarbon dated to c.370–350 BC (Asgari Chaverdi and Callieri 2009). Single jar burials and simple graves of uncertain date were recorded in the southern Ville Royale (Mecquenem 1930: 86–7; 1938: 326; Miroschedji 1987a: 15; Boucharlat 1990a: 155). The bathtub coffins from the Susa Acropole continue a tradition attested in Neo-Elamite Iran

at Arġān, Rām Hormoz, and elsewhere (Álvarez-Mon 2010: 23–9; Henkelman in press a).

Achaemenid religious beliefs are much debated. Reports in classical sources are often taken to reflect Zoroastrianism, including the practice of exposure of the dead, commonly understood as Zoroastrian funerary orthodoxy. Archaeological evidence is limited to a few inhumations. There are no well-dated *dakhmas*, *astōdāns*, or other material indications of the practice of excarnation (Boucharlat 2005: 279–81). Rather, secondary inhumation may already have been practiced at Susa in the 5th millennium BC, pre-dating Zoroastrianism by at least three millennia (Hole 1990 [assuming fractional inhumation]; Potts 1999: 47).

Strictly religious monuments are rare in Achaemenid southwestern Iran (Boucharlat 2005: 281–2; for Dahan-e Ġolāmān in Sīstān, see Gnoli 1993; Genito 2010). Apart from the stone plinths in the Pasargadae “sacred precinct,” the tomb of Cyrus is the only place where religious activity may confidently be assumed to have occurred, given the funerary sacrifices mentioned in Classical sources. The Fortification archive mentions funerary sacrifices at the tombs of Cambyses, Hystaspes, and others (Henkelman 2003c); other such sacrifices may be assumed to have taken place at the Takht-e Rustam tomb and the funerary complexes of Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis. A stone terrace at Zargaran (Kūh-e Ayyūb) may or may not have had a cultic purpose (Kleiss 1993c); a stone “shrine” on top of the Naqš-e Rostam cliff is of uncertain date and may be part of a fortification (Schmidt 1970: 10; Kleiss 1976: 145–6). The function of the towers of Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam is unknown. Despite all this, *āyadanā*, “places of cult/veneration,” mentioned in Darius’ Bisotun inscription, refers to concrete structures (temples or open-air sanctuaries), as appears from the Elamite and Akkadian versions. Temples or sanctuaries (Elamite *ziyan*) are occasionally mentioned in the Fortification tablets, as they are in the Greek sources (Henkelman 2008a: 469–73, 547–9; see above on the so-called *āyadana* complex near Susa). A post-Achaemenid (Elymaean?) date is preferable for the terraces of Masġed-e Solaymān and Bard-e Nešānda (see Haerinck 1984: 302; Schippmann 1988; Boucharlat 2005: 238).

6 “Pavilion” Sites

A number of smaller sites defined by Achaemenid column bases and sometimes other structural stone elements have come to light in recent decades. On analogy with Pavilions A–B at Pasargadae, such structures are commonly known as “pavilions.” Simultaneously, they are often interpreted as way stations. These characterizations are certainly too limited, if only because some of the pavilions are not situated along a royal road (Boucharlat 2005: 272–4).

The best-known pavilions are those of Tang-e Bolāġi and Qalēh-ye Kalī. Both structures have gravel foundations, a technique attested at Achaemenid Susa. The

first structure, located on the banks of the Pulvār river, is relatively small. It has two porticoes and a number of irregular spaces; interior walls were covered with green plaster (Atari and Boucharlat 2009). A concentration of Achaemenid pottery, an oven, rectangular platforms made from fragments of large storage jars, and small finds including arrow heads, ivory fragments, and a pair of frit eyes are all indications of a workshop area near the structure. The pavilion of Qalēh-ye Kalī (also Ġnġīn or Tappeh Sūrūvān), in the Mamasanī region, was briefly investigated in 1959 (Atarachi and Horiuchi 1963; cf. Boucharlat 2005: 235–6) and excavated in 2007–9 (Potts et al. 2007, 2009; Potts 2008c: 276–280, 295). A stone-paved portico bordered by a stone parapet was accessible via three stone staircases; three monumental, bell-shaped column-bases, found in situ, are nearly comparable in size (basal diameter: 1.25 meters) to those in the Hall of 100 Columns at Persepolis. A large, rectangular mudbrick structure stood north of the portico; it may have been crowned by stepped stone merlons. There are indications of other buildings, perhaps one with another, smaller portico. Small finds include fragments of stone tableware comparable to that found at Persepolis, and a glass bowl. The site also yielded numerous fragments of large storage jars and three millstones. The small finds thus suggest elite contexts as well as local food production and storage. A second occupation phase occurred in the post-Achaemenid period.

Four plain column bases were discovered at Tappeh Pahnū (Mamasanī); in the same ploughed field, Achaemenid sherds were found (Asgari Chaverdi et al. 2010: 292–3). A third Mamasanī pavilion site may be Tol-e Gachġāran-e Ka Khodada, near Nūrābād, where Achaemenid column bases and capitals were found (Asgari Chaverdi et al. 2010: 293, 295; Potts et al. 2006: 4; 2009: 212, 215). At Tall-e Malyān (ancient Anshan) in central Fārs two probable Achaemenid column bases have been reported (Boucharlat 2005: 231; Abdi 2001a: 93 [cf. 97 n7 on another site]). More Achaemenid column bases have been found at sites in the Persepolis plain (Sumner 1986b). In none of these cases can a floor plan be reconstructed.

More pavilions are located in southern Fārs and the coastal regions. Best known are the abovementioned columned halls at Borāzġān, Sang-e Siāh, and Bardak-e Siāh. To these, Tall-e Hakavān in the Farneškān district north of Fīrūzābād should be added. The site, briefly excavated in the late 1950s, yielded distinctive black and white limestone architectural elements, a sculptured lion and relief fragments of (early-)Achaemenid date (Razmjou 2005a). Stone courses on the surface indicate a series of buildings, also of Achaemenid date, the largest of which measured 9.40 × 8.32 meters.

At the Sasanian city of Fīrūzābād a number of different column drums, presumably Achaemenid, were found in secondary context. They may have belonged to structures at or near the site, but could have been brought there from further afield (Mostafavi 1967; Huff 1999: 634). The column bases found at Tall-e Zohāk and nearby Dārābgird may also stem from secondary context, but could

originate from local structures, given the presence of Achaemenid pottery. The structural elements found at Tomb-e Bot near Lāmerd are probably post-Achaemenid. Outside Fārs, Achaemenid column bases have been found in the vicinity of Susa (cf. above) and further away, in northwestern Iran (see Boucharlat 2005: 252–4).

The Persepolis Fortification archive provides evidence for the development of Tamukkan/Taoce, where Strabo located a royal residence (Henkelman 2008b). This should already cast some doubt on the reductive label “pavilion.” The monumental structures found in the Borāzġān region served as markers of royal control and prestige, but were doubtless also part of an administrative network controlling the strategically important coastal region.

Also documented in the Fortification archive are the movements of the courts of the king and the royal women Irdabama and Irtaštuna through the Achaemenid heartland (Henkelman 2010: 727–31). Periodic “local” tours served to make Achaemenid kingship tangible (just as the movements throughout the empire did on a larger scale), but probably also had more practical purposes, such as the settlement of disputes, confirmation of rights, etc. (Briant 2002: 191–5). Similarly, the tours undertaken by Darius’ highest representative in Fārs and director of the Persepolis economy, Parnakka, obviously served administrative purposes. Elite structures like the one at Qalēh-ye Kalī may well have played a role in the royal and official itineraries. The large storage jars found there and at the Tang-e Bolāġi site may be connected with the large quantities of food and drink stored at royal halting places in preparation for the “table of the king.” At the same time, as in Borāzġān, the pavilion sites may be seen as nuclei in the administrative and political grid.

7 Other Remains of Achaemenid Infrastructure

Kleiss’ surveys north of Pasargadae revealed an impressive network of dams and sluices designed to protect the residence (Kleiss 1992a; Boucharlat and Feizkhah 2007: 19). The micro-region provides ample testimony to Achaemenid agricultural policy and efforts to manage available surface water. Other such remains include the two-arched sluice of Band-e Dokhtar near Dorūdzan (60 kilometers northwest of Persepolis), at the head of a canal that can be traced for c.50 kilometers (Nicol 1970: 249–65; Tilia 1972: 69–70, 1997; Sumner 1986b: 13–14). A causeway dam, again with sluice gates, at Bard Burīdeh (II), controlled a reservoir and a canal (Berger 1937; Nicol 1970: 269–81; Kleiss 1983: 106–7; Sumner 1986b: 14–16). Partially rock-cut canals in the Tang-e Bolāġi are part of yet another irrigation system (Kleiss 1991; Atai and Boucharlat 2009). Canals, dams, reservoirs, and associated constructions have also been documented in the surroundings of Persepolis (Kleiss 1976, 1992a, 1994; Boucharlat and Feizkhah 2007; Boucharlat and Gondet in press). Thanks to such irrigation efforts, vast

territories could be claimed for cultivation – a circumstance reflected by the enormous harvests documented in the Fortification archive. One important clarification is in place here, however: although the *ganāt* technique appears to have been known and used by the Achaemenid rulers, there is as yet no unequivocal archaeological evidence for it in southwestern Iran (Briant 2001a).

The road system was a second major infrastructural element, not only as a communication network, but also as an artery opening up the hinterlands of the Persepolis economy. Whereas the courses of the various roads remain disputed (Potts 2008c), the Fortification archive in tandem with other written evidence and physical remains help to reconstruct their functioning. A stretch of the Royal Road west of Naqš-e Rostam, including two way stations 26 kilometers apart, was described by Kleiss (1981; Sumner 1986b: 17) and another such structure may be recognized among the Tang-e Bolāgi structures (Asadi and Kaim 2009). More way stations, though perhaps not all of Achaemenid date, have been identified in western Fārs and Khūzestān (Yaghmaee 2006). Stone-paved sections of the Royal Road are found at various locations (Nicol 1970: 278; Sumner 1986b: 17; Callieri 1995).

Boucharlat (2005: 245–6) has made the interesting suggestion that the (unexcavated) “fortified sites” recorded during R.J. Wenke’s survey in central Khūzestān (1975–6) may in fact be part of the state infrastructure relating to transport routes and centralized agricultural activities. The Fortification tablets indeed document numerous granaries, storage and administrative centers, plantations, bird farms, and livestock stations. Archaeological correlates are still rare: apart from the farmstead (?) and other structures in the Tang-e Bolāgi, the Circular Structure at Čōgā Miš (interior diameter: 7.5 meters) is the most important find. Plausibly dated to, and certainly used in, the Achaemenid period, it may have served as a central granary; it is comparable in shape to Persian-period granaries in southern Palestine (Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 11–12). An Achaemenid-Elamite clay tablet, a cylinder seal, and a sealing (on what seems to be a Persepolis-type, anepigraphic tablet) from Čōgā Miš are additional glimpses of a local branch of the Achaemenid administration in the heartland (Jones and Stolper 1986: 248; Delougaz and Kantor 1996: 10, 17–18).

The fortified structure excavated in the Tang-e Bolāgi (Asgari Chaverdi and Callieri 2009: 27–32) may perhaps be compared to what the Fortification tablets call a *halmarraš*, a “fortress” that simultaneously functioned as storage center. A second type of fortified structure is represented by the fortifications and citadels of Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa. Yet other strongholds may have guarded stretches of the Royal Road, such as, perhaps, a site at the foot of the Kūh-e Ayyūb (30 kilometers northwest of Persepolis; Kleiss 1993c). Tall-e Zohāk (see above) is likely to have been an important regional stronghold. It would be a good candidate for the location of Paišiyāvādā/Naširma, documented in the Bisotun inscription and the Fortification archive. At the modern towns of Fūrg and Tarūm (southeast of Dārāb), thought to continue the early Achaemenid

strongholds of Parga and Tāravā, no signs of Achaemenid occupation have thus far been found (Henkelman 2010: 704–13; in press b).

8 Transition

Like its beginning, the end of the Achaemenid period is not reflected sharply in the archaeological record. Overall, the little we know of the period of transition (c.350–300 BC) suggests continuity and gradual change, rather than rupture (Boucharlat 2006; Callieri 2007). Emblematic of this phenomenon is painted festoon ware, which seems to start in the late Achaemenid and continue into the Parthian period (Stronach 1974b: 241–3; Haerincx 1984: 303–4; Dyson 1999). Parts of the palatial complexes of Susa and Persepolis were used and modified in the Seleucid period. At Pasargadae, the Tall-e Takht has yielded relatively abundant Seleucid (and later) material; an early Hellenistic or Roman sculpture was found near Borāzġān (Rahbar 1999c; Callieri 2007: 105–8). The beginning of the Seleucid period rarely manifests itself clearly at any of these sites, however (Miroschedji 1987a: 35–43; Boucharlat 1987b: 195, 233–4; 1990b; Wiesehöfer 1994: 64–100). At Susa, an exception could be a rare dark glazed ware, also known in Mesopotamia, which may imitate Greek examples (Boucharlat 1987b: 187; 2006: 445–6). At Persepolis, a series of five Greek inscriptions on stone slabs found north of the terrace, mentioning the names of five divinities, are sometimes dated to the late 4th century. If they are indeed connected to the sacrificial banquet organized by Peucestes in 316 BC (Wiesehöfer 1994: 72–3; Callieri 2007: 50–67), they would, however, also be part of a continued Achaemenid (and Elamite) tradition (Henkelman 2011).

In the past decades two other transitions have taken place. The first involves intensified agriculture and land use, which pose a serious threat to smaller sites in the Achaemenid heartland. This could obliterate the least investigated aspect of Achaemenid archaeology: life beyond the residences, where the realities of continuity and transformation may have left a much clearer footprint. At the same time, Achaemenid archaeology has experienced a period of renewal, as the number of recent Iranian and foreign surveys and excavations amply testifies. Current work on the comprehensive publication of the Fortification archive happily coincides with new excavations like those in the Mamasanī and Tang-e Bolāġi areas. The future of the Achaemenid heartland could be bright.

GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

The rich survey by Boucharlat (2005) is currently the most up-to-date overview of the archaeology of Achaemenid Iran. For the preceding Iron III and earlier periods see

the important report by Azarnoush and Helwing (2005). Synopses of current excavations are regularly published in the journal *Iran*. Entries on ancient Iran are found in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (also online) and the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, including surveys on Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa. Among site-oriented publications, the recent volume on Darius' palace at Susa should be mentioned (Perrot 2010b).

The standard reference for the history and culture of the Achaemenid Empire is Pierre Briant's 1996 synthesis (English translation: Briant 2002). Concise overviews are given in Wieschöfer (1996) and Kuhrt (1995: 647–701). Kuhrt (2007) also includes a very helpful sourcebook. Allen's (2005) introduction to the Achaemenid Empire stands out among publications aimed at a wider audience. Among recent exhibitions catalogues, those from Vienna (Seipel 2000), London (Curtis and Tallis 2005), and Bochum (Stöllner et al. 2004) may be mentioned. A virtual "Achaemenid Museum" (MAVI), a sub-site of www.achemenet.com, aims to digitize Achaemenid monuments and objects in museum collections. Scholarly literature on pre-Islamic Iran and the Achaemenid Empire (archaeological and historical) is vast but well inventoried in a range of bibliographies. See the annual "Archäologische Bibliographie" by Peter Calmeyer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (1974–2004) and the review abstracts in *Abstracta Iranica* (1978–; also online). Periodic archaeological bibliographic surveys have been published by Louis Vanden Berghe and his successors (Vanden Berghe 1979; Vanden Berghe and Haerinck 1981, 1987; Haerinck and Stevens 1996, 2005). More than 14,000 titles (up to 1991) on the Achaemenid Empire are listed in the vast bibliography Weber and Wieschöfer (1996). Briant's synthesis (see above) includes notes with critical biography; updates are found in Briant (1997 and 2001a).

Bibliography

- Abdi, K. (2001), 'Malyan 1999', *Iran* 39: 73-98.
- Adachi, T., and Zeidi, M. (2009), 'Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid Remains from TB 75 and the General Survey of the Tang-i Bulaghi', *ARTA* 2009.002.
- Adams, R.M. (1962), 'Agriculture and Urban Life in Early Southwestern Iran', *Science* 136: 109-122.
- Alizadeh, A. (1985), 'Elymaean Occupation of Lower Khuzestan during the Seleucid and Parthian Periods: a Proposal', *Iranica Antiqua* 20: 75-95.
- Alizadeh, A. (1992), *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns and Cultures in Susiana, Southwestern Iran*. Ann Arbor.
- Alizadeh, A. (2003), 'Some Observations Based on the Nomadic Character of Fars Prehistoric Cultural Development, in Miller and Abdi, eds., 82-97.
- Alizadeh, A. (2006), *The Origins of State Organizations in Prehistoric Highland Fars, Southern Iran: Excavations at Tall-e Bakun*. Chicago.
- Alizadeh, A. (2008), *Chogha Mish*, vol. 2: *The Development of a Prehistoric Regional Center in Lowland Susiana, Southwestern Iran; Final Report on the Last Six Seasons of Excavations, 1972-1978*. Chicago.
- Alizadeh, A., Majidzadeh, Y., and Malek Shahmirzadi, S., eds. (1999), *The Iranian World. Essays on Iranian Art and Archaeology Presented to Ezat O. Negahban*. Tehran.
- Allen, L. (2005), *The Persian empire : a history*. London.
- Allotte de la Fuÿe, F.M., Belaiew, N.T., Mecquenem, R. de, and Unvala, J.-M. (1934), *Archéologie, métrologie et numismatique susiennes*. Paris.
- Álvarez-Mon, J. (2010), *The Arjān Tomb: At the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires*. Leuven.
- Álvarez-Mon, J., and Garrison, M.B., eds. (2010), *Elam and Persia*. Winona Lake.
- Amiet, P. (1972a), 'Les ivoires achéménides de Suse', *Syria* 49: 167-191, 319-337.
- Amiet, P. (1972b), *Glyptique susienne: Des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides. Cachets, sceaux-cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913 à 1967*, 2 vols. Paris.
- Amiet, P. (1973), 'Quelques observations sur le palais de Darius à Suse', *Syria* 51: 65-73.
- Amiet, P. (1979), 'Alternance et dualité: essai d'interprétation de l'histoire élamite', *Akkadica* 15: 2-24.
- Amiet, P. (1988), *Suse. 6000 ans d'histoire*. Paris.
- Amiet, P. (1990), 'Quelques épaves de la vaisselle royale perse de Suse', in Vallat, ed., 213-224.
- Amiet, P. (1994), 'Un Étage au Palais de Darius à Suse?', in Dietrich and Lorez, eds., 1-5.
- Amiet, P. (2001), 'La sculpture susienne à l'époque de l'empire parthe', *Iranica Antiqua* 36: 238-291.
- Amiet, P. (2010a), 'L'art mobilier à Suse à l'époque perse', in Perrot, ed., 350-363.
- Amiet, P. (2010b), 'Le palais de Darius à Suse: problèmes et hypothèses', *ARTA* 2010.001.
- [Anonymus] (1981), *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 11. Cambridge.
- [Anonymus] (2007), *The 9th Annual Symposium on Iranian Archaeology*, vol. 2. Tehrān.
- Arndt, H. (1984), *Persepolis*. Stuttgart.
- Asadi, A., and Kaim, B. (2009), 'The Achaemenid building at site 64 in Tang-e Bulaghi', *ARTA* 2009.003.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A. (1999/2000 [2001]), 'Fārs after Darius III: Discoveries at an ancient site in Lāmerd, Fārs', *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History* 13.2/14.1: 66-72, 6.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A. (2002), 'Recent Post-Achaemenid Finds from Southern Fars, Iran', *Iran* 40: 277-8.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A. (2006/07 [2008]), 'Excavations at the Persepolis Drainage System', *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History* 21.1: 65-72.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Azarnoush, M. (2004), 'Archaeological Survey in the Hinterland of the Persian Gulf: Lamerd and Mohr Districts, Fars', *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History* 18.2: 3-18.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Callieri, P. (2006), 'A Rural Settlement of the Achaemenid Period in Fars', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1: 65-70.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Callieri, P. (2009), 'Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Remains at TB 76 and TB 77', *ARTA* 2009.004.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A., Khosrowzadeh, A., McCall, B., Petrie, C.A., Potts, D.T., Roustaei, K., Seyedin, M., Weeks, L.,

- and Zaidi, M. (2010), 'Achaemenid Evidence for Achaemenid Settlement within the Mamasani Valleys, Western Fars, Iran', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 287-97.
- Asgari Chavedi, A., Petrie, C.A., and Taylor, H. (2008), 'Early Villages on the Persian Gulf Littoral: Revisiting Tol-e Pir an the Galehdār Valley', *Iran* 46: 21-42.
- Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Callieri, P. [forthcoming], 'The activities of the Irano-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission at Persepolis West (Fars, Iran). First results of the studies on the pottery of Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid age', in *Proceedings of the Workshop 'Territorial System and Ideology in the Achaemenid State: Persepolis and its Settlements.'*
- Atai, M.T., and Boucharlat, R. (2009), 'An Achaemenid pavilion and other remains in Tang-i Bulaghi', *ARTA* 2009.005.
- Atarachi, K., and Horiuchi, K. 1963, *Fahlian I. The excavations at Tape Suruvan, 1959*. Tokyo.
- Azarnoush, M., and Helwing, B. (2005), 'Recent archaeological research in Iran – Prehistory to Iron Age', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 37: 189-246.
- Azzoni, A., Dusinberre, E., Garrison, M.B., Henkelman, W.F.M., Jones, C.E., and Stolper, M.W. [forthcoming], 'Persepolis Administrative Archives', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [online version].
- Bagherzadeh, F. (1351/1972), *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Symposium of Archaeological Research in Iran*. Tehran.
- Bagherzadeh, F. (1974), *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*. Tehran.
- Bagherzadeh, F., ed. (1975), *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*. Tehran.
- Bailey, H.W., Bivar, A.D.H., Duchesne-Guillemin, J., and Hinnells, J.R., eds. (1985), *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, 2 vols. Leiden.
- Baker, H., and Jursa, M., eds. (2005), *Approaching the Babylonian Economy: Proceedings of the START Project Symposium Held in Vienna, 1-3 July 2004*. Münster.
- Balcer, J.M. (1991), 'Erich Friedrich Schmidt, 13 September 1897 - 3 October 1964', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers, eds., 147-172.
- Bayani, M.I. (1979), 'The Elamite Periods on the Izeh Plain, in Wright, ed., 99-105.
- Berger, K. (1937), 'Bericht über unbekanntes achaemenidische Ruinen in der Ebene von Persepolis', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8: 1-3.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1952), 'Archaeologische opzoekingen in de Marv Dasht vlakte (Irān)', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 12: 211-220.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1953), 'Monuments récemment découverts en Iran Méridional', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10: 5-8.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1954), 'Archaeologische navorsingen in de omstreken Van Persepolis', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 13: 394-408.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1959), *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien*. Leiden.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1979), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien*. Leiden.
- Berghe, L. vanden (1990), 'Bozpa'r', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4: 429-30.
- Berghe, L. vanden, and Haerinck, E. (1981), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien: supplément 1 (1978-1980)*. Leiden
- Berghe, L. vanden, and Haerinck, E. (1987), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien: supplément 2 (1981-1985)*. Leuven.
- Bernard, P. (1972), 'Les mortiers et pilons inscrits de Persépolis', *Studia Iranica* 1: 165-176.
- Bessac, J.C. (2007), 'Étude technique et interprétations du monument rupestre de Qadamgah (Fars)', *Iranica Antiqua* 42: 185-206.
- Bessac, J.C., and Boucharlat, R. (2010), 'Le monument de Takht-e Rustam, près de Persépolis dit 'tombeau inachevé de Cambyse.' Note technique et reconsidérations', *ARTA* 2010.003.
- Boardman, J. (2000), *Persia and the West. An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art*. London.
- Boardman, J., Hammond, N.G.L., Lewis, D.W., and Ostwald, M., eds. (1988), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525-479 BC*. Cambridge.
- Bobek, H. (1968), 'Vegetation', in Fischer, ed., 280-293.

- Borger, R., and Hinz, W. (1959), 'Eine Dareios-Inschrift aus Pasargadae', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 109: 117-127.
- Boucharlat, R. (1979), 'Le monument rupestre de Qadamgah (Fars): essai d'interprétation', *Iranica Antiqua* 14: 153-166.
- Boucharlat, R. (1984), 'Monuments religieux de la Perse achéménide. État de questions', in Roux, ed., 119-135.
- Boucharlat, R. (1985), 'Suse, marché agricole ou relais du grand commerce. Suse et la Susiane à l'époque des grands empires', *Paléorient* 11: 71-81.
- Boucharlat, R. (1987), 'Les niveaux post-achéménides à Suse, secteur nord', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 15: 145-311.
- Boucharlat, R. (1989), 'Cairns and pseudo-cairns du Fars. L'utilisation des tombes de surface au 1^{er} millénaire de notre ère', in De Meyer and Haerincx, eds., 675-712.
- Boucharlat, R. (1990a), 'Suse et la Susiane à l'époque achéménide: données archéologiques', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds., 149-175.
- Boucharlat, R. (1990b), 'La fin des palais achéménides de Suse: une mort naturelle', in Vallat, ed., 225-233.
- Boucharlat, R. (1994), 'Continuités à Suse au I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt and Root, eds., 217-228.
- Boucharlat, R. (1997a), 'Susa under Achaemenid Rule', in Curtis, ed., 54-67.
- Boucharlat, R. (1997b), 'Camp royal et résidences achéménides', in Boussac, ed., 217-228.
- Boucharlat, R. (2000), 'Les autres palais achéménides de Suse', in Dittmann et al., eds., 141-154.
- Boucharlat, R. (2001), 'The Palace and the Royal Achaemenid City: Two Case Studies – Pasargadae and Susa', in: Nielsen, ed., 113-123.
- Boucharlat, R. (2002), 'Pasargadae', *Iran* 40: 279-282.
- Boucharlat, R. (2003a), 'The Persepolis Area in the Achaemenid Period: Some Reconsiderations', in Miller and Abdi, eds., 260-265.
- Boucharlat, R. (2003b), 'Le Zendan de Pasargades: de la tour 'solitaire' à un ensemble architectural. Données archéologiques récentes', in Henkelman and Kuhrt, eds., 79-99.
- Boucharlat, R. (2004), 'Pasargadae', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10: 351-363.
- Boucharlat, R. (2005), 'Iran', in Briant and Boucharlat, eds., 221-92.
- Boucharlat, R. (2006), 'Le destin des résidences et sites perses d'Iran dans la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle avant J.-C.', in Briant and Joannès, eds., 443-470.
- Boucharlat, R. (2007), 'Achaemenid residences and elusive imperial cities', in Rollinger, Luther and Wiesehöfer, eds., 454-471.
- Boucharlat, R. (2009), 'Susa, III. The Achaemenid Period', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [online edition, www.iranica.com/articles/susa; accessed 08-12-2010].
- Boucharlat, R. (2010), 'Autres travaux de Darius et successeurs', in Perrot, ed., 374-419
- Boucharlat, R., and Benech, C. (2002), 'Organisation et aménagement de l'espace à Pasargades: Reconnaissances archéologiques de surface, 1999-2002', *ARTA* 2002.001.
- Boucharlat, R., and Feizkhah, M. (2007), 'Joint Iranian-French Expedition in Marvdasht Plain, Fars. A Report of the Autumn 2005-Spring 2006 Seasons', in [Anonymus], ed., 7-25.
- Boucharlat, R., and Gondet, S. [forthcoming], 'Parsa and the Persepolis plain: field research 2005-2008', in A. Rossi, ed., *Proceedings Viterbo*.
- Boucharlat, R., and Haerincx, E. (1992), 'Ceramics, XI: The Achaemenid Period', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 5: 302-304.
- Boucharlat, R., and Labousse, A. (1979), 'Le palais d'Artaxerxès II sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 10 : 21-136.
- Boucharlat, R., and Lombard, P. (2001), 'Le bâtiment de Rumeilah (oasis d'al Ain). Remarques sur les salles à poteaux de l'âge du Fer en Péninsule d'Oman', *Iranica Antiqua* 36: 213-238.
- Boucharlat, R., and Salles, J.-F. (1981), 'The history and archaeology of the Gulf from the fifth century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. A review of the evidence, in [Anonymus], ed., 65-94.
- Boucharlat, R., and Salles, J.-F., eds. (1984), *Arabie orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran méridional de l'âge du fer au*

- début de la période islamique. Paris.
- Boucharlat, R., and Shahidi, H. (1987), 'Fragments architecturaux de type achéménide: découvertes fortuites dans la ville de Shoush 1976-1979', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 15: 313-327.
- Boussac, M.-F., and Invernizzi, A. eds. (1996), *Archives et Sceaux du monde hellénistique*. Paris.
- Boussac, M.-F., ed. (1997), *Recherches récentes sur l'Empire achéménide*. Lyon.
- Bowman, R.A. (1970), *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. Chicago.
- Briant, P. (1988), 'Le nomadisme du Grand Roi', *Iranica Antiqua* 23: 253-273.
- Briant, P. (1997), 'Bulletin d'histoire achéménide, in: Boussac, ed., 5-127.
- Briant, P. (2001), *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide*, vol. 2: 1997-2000. Paris.
- Briant, P., ed. (2001), *Irrigation et drainage dans l'Antiquité, qanâts et canalisations souterraines en Iran, en Égypte et en Grèce*. Paris.
- Briant, P. (2002), *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake [translated from *Histoire de l'empire perse, de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Paris 1996. Leiden 1996].
- Briant, P. (2003), *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre*. Paris.
- Briant, P. (2010), 'Suse et l'Élam dans l'empire achéménide', in Perrot, ed., 22-48.
- Briant, P., and Boucharlat, R., eds. (2005), *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches*. Paris.
- Briant, P., Henkelman, W.F.M., and Stolper, M.W., eds. (2008), *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis. État des questions et perspectives de recherches*. Paris.
- Briant, P., and Joannès, F. (2006), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*. Paris.
- Brosius, M. (2006), 'Investiture', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 13: 180-182.
- Bruijn, C. de (1711), *Cornelis de Bruins Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie*, etc. Amsterdam [English edition C. le Brun (1720), *Voyage to the Levant and Travels into Moscovy, Persia, and the East Indies*, 3 vols. London].
- Callieri, P. (1995), 'Une borne routière grecque de la région de Persépolis', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139: 65-95.
- Callieri, P., ed. (2006), *Architetti, capomastri, artigiani: l'organizzazione dei cantieri e delle produzioni artistiche nell'Asia ellenistica. Studi offerti a Domenico Faccenna nel suo ottantesimo compleanno*. Roma.
- Callieri, P. (2007), *L'archéologie du Fârs à l'époque hellénistique*. Paris.
- Calmard, J. (2001), 'Flandin and Coste', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 10: 35-39.
- Calmeyer, P. (1973), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 6: 135-152.
- Calmeyer, P. (1981), 'Figürliche Fragmente aus Pasargadae nach Zeichnungen E. Herzfelds', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 14: 27-44.
- Calmeyer, P. (1982), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, VIII. Die "Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches" – I', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15: 105-187.
- Calmeyer, P. (1983), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, VIII. Die "Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches" – II', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15: 141-222.
- Calmeyer, P. (1987a), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive, VIII. Die "Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches" – Nachträge und Korrekturen', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 20: 129-146.
- Calmeyer, P. (1987b), 'Art in Iran, III: Achaemenian Art and Architecture', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 569-580.
- Calmeyer, P. (1988), 'Aufreihung – Duplik – Kopie – Umbildung', in Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, eds., 101-119.
- Calmeyer, P. (1990a), 'Madjdabad', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23: 185-190.
- Calmeyer, P. (1990b), 'Das Persepolis der Spätzeit', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds., 7-36.
- Calmeyer, P. (1991), 'Ägyptischer Stil und reichsachaimenidische Inhalte auf dem Sockel der Dareios-Statue aus Susa/Heliopolis', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds., 285-303.
- Calmeyer, P. (1994a), 'Metamorphosen iranischer Denkmäler', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27: 1-27.
- Calmeyer, P. (1994b), 'Babylonische und assyrische Elemente in der achaimenidische Kunst', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt and Root, eds., 131-147.
- Calmeyer, P. (1995/96), 'Drie Arten persepolitischer Rundplastik', 295-303.
- Calmeyer, P. (2009), *Die Reliefs der Gräber V und VI in Persepolis*. Mainz.
- Canal, D. (1976), 'Note sur un fragment de carreau décoré', *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*

6: 83-91.

- Carlsen, J., *et al.*, eds. (1993), *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth*. Roma.
- Carter, E. (1971), *Elam in the Second Millennium B.C.: The Archaeological Evidence* (diss. Chicago). Chicago.
- Carter, E. (1994), 'Bridging the Gap between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt and Root, eds., 65-95.
- Carter, E., and Stolper, M.W. (1984), *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*. Berkeley – London.
- Carter, E., and Wright, H. (2003), 'Archaeological Survey on the Western Ram Hormuz Plain, 1969', in Miller and Abdi, eds., 60-82.
- Carter, R.A., Challis, K., Priestman, S.M.N., and Tofighian, H. (2006), 'The Bushehr Hinterland: results of the first season of the Iranian-British archaeological survey of Bushehr Province, November-December 2004', *Iran* 44: 63-103.
- Caubet, A. (2007), *Faiences et matières vitreuses de l'Orient ancien*. Paris
- Caubet, A. (2010), 'From Susa to Egypt: Vitreous Materials from the Achaemenid Period', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 409-416.
- Caubet, A., and Daucé, N. (2010), 'Les arts du feu', in Perrot, ed., 322-347.
- Caubet, A., and Muscarella, O. (1992), 'Achaemenid Brick Decoration', in Harper, Aruz and Tallon, eds., 223-241.
- Chevalier, N., ed. (1997), *Une mission en Perse, 1897-1912*. Paris.
- Chevalier, N. (2010), 'Les découvreurs du Palais de Suse', in Perrot, ed., 74-115.
- Dietrich, M., and Loretz, O., eds. (1994), *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius*. Münster.
- Curtis, J. (1993), "William Kennett Loftus and His Excavations at Susa," *Iranica Antiqua* 28: 1-55.
- Curtis, J., ed. (1997), *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 539-331 BC*. London.
- Curtis, J. (2005), 'Iron Age Iran and the Transition to the Achaemenid Period', in Sarkhosh Curtis and Steward, eds., 112-131.
- Curtis, J., and Tallis, N., eds. (2004), *Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia*. London.
- Curtis, J., and Simpson, St J., eds. (2010), *The World of Achaemenid Persia. History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, London.
- Delaunay, J.A. (1974), 'À propos des 'Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis' de R.A. Bowman', in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., 193-217.
- Delmar Morgan, E., ed. (1893), *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, 2 vols. London.
- Delougaz, P., and Kantor, H.J. (1996), *Chogha Mish*, vol. 1: *The First Five Seasons of Excavations 1961-1971*, vol. 1. Chicago.
- Demarée, R.J., and Veenhof, K.R., eds. (2003), *Zij schreven Geschiedenis. Historische documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten (2500 - 100 v. Chr.)*. Leiden – Leuven.
- Dieulafoy, M. (1884-85), *L'art antique de la Perse. Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides*, 3 vols. Paris.
- Dieulafoy, M. (1890-92), *L'Acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1884, 1885, 1886 sous les auspices du Musée du Louvre*, 4 vols. Paris [reprinted 1883, in a single volume].
- Dittmann, R. (1984), *Eine Randebene des Zagros in der Frühzeit. Ergebnisse des Behbahan-Zühreh Surveys*. Berlin.
- Dittmann, R. (1990), 'Eisenzeit I und II in West- und Nordwest-Iran zeitgleich zum Karum-Zeit Anatoliens?', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23: 105-138.
- Dittmann, R. (2001), 'Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten im archäologischen Befund: Reflexionen von Migrationen?', in Eichmann and Parzinger, eds., 291-299.
- Dittmann, R., Hrouda, B., Löw, U., Matthiae, P., Mayer-Opificius, R., and Thürwächter, S., eds., *Variatio Delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*. Münster.
- Djamali, M., De Beaulieu, J.-L., Miller, N.F., Andrieu-Ponel, V., Ponel, Ph., Lak, R., Sadeddin, N., Akhiani, H., and Fazeli, H. (2009), 'Vegetation history of the SE section of the Zagros Mountains during the last five millennia; a pollen record from the Maharlou Lake, Fars Province, Iran', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 18: 123-36.
- Drijvers, J.W., de Hond, J., and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., eds. (1997), "*Ik hadde de nieuwsgierigheid*": *De reizen door het Nabije Oosten van Cornelis de Bruijn (ca.1652-1727)*. Leiden – Leuven.

- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (1974), *Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse*, vol. 2. Téhéran – Liège – Leiden.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J., ed. (1975), *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, 3 vols. Leiden.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. (2005), 'Herzfeld in Persepolis', in Gunter and Hauser, eds., 137-180.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. (2008), 'Seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Aramaic tablets: preliminary observations', in Briant, Henkelman and Stolper, eds., 239-252.
- Dyson, R.H. Jr. (1999), 'Triangle-Festoon Ware Reconsidered', *Iranica Antiqua* 34: 115-144.
- Eder, W., and Renger, J., eds. (2006), *Chronologies of the Ancient World. Names, Dates and Dynasties*. Leiden.
- Eichmann, R., and Parzinger, H., eds (2001), *Migration und Kulturtransfer: Der Wandel vorder- und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch von 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*. Bonn.
- Elayi, J., and Elayi, A.G. (1992), 'Nouvelle datation d'une tombe achéménide de Suse', *Studia Iranica* 21: 265-270.
- Eqbal, H. (1979), 'The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods on the Izeh Plain, in Wright, ed., 114-123.
- Fazeli Nashli, H. (2009), 'The Achaemenid/Post Achaemenid remains in Tang-i Bulaghi near Pasargadae: a report on the salvage excavations conducted by five joint teams in 2004-2007', *ARTA* 2009.001.
- Fischer, W.B., ed. (1968), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 1: *The Land of Iran*. Cambridge.
- Flandin, E., and Coste, P.-X. (1851-1854), *Voyage en Perse*, 8 vols. Paris (second edition).
- Frank, C. (2010), 'La Tombe d'Acropole', in Perrot, ed., 364-371.
- Frye, R. (1982), 'The 'Aramaic' inscription on the tomb of Darius', *Iranica Antiqua* 17: 85-90.
- Gall, H. von (1974), 'Neue Beobachtungen zu den sog. medischen Feldgräbern', in Bagherzadeh, ed., 139-154
- Gall, H. von (1979), 'Bermerkungen zum Kyrosgrab in Pasargadae und zu verwandten Denkmälern', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 12: 271-279.
- Gall, H. von (1993), 'Dā o Doktar', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 6: 529-30.
- Ganji, M.H. (1968), 'Climate,' in Fischer, ed., 212-249.
- Garrison, M.B. (1996), 'A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078)', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55: 15-35.
- Garrison, M.B. (2000), 'Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art: Subject Matter, Social Function, Audience and Diffusion', in Uehlinger, ed., 115-163.
- Garrison, M.B. (2008), 'The unscribed tablets from the Fortification archive: a preliminary analysis', in Briant, Henkelman and Stolper, eds., 149-238.
- Garrison, M.B. (2009), 'Visual Representation of Deities and Demons in Early Achaemenid Iran: Old Problems, New Directions' [www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublication.php; accessed 08/12/2010; to be printed in Uehlinger and Graf, eds].
- Garrison, M.B., and Root, M.C. (1998), *Persepolis Seal Studies. An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1-2087*. Leiden [updates on www.achemenet.com].
- Garrison, M.B., and Root, M.C. (2001), *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, part 1: *Images of Heroic Encounter*, 2 vols. Chicago.
- Garrison, M.B., and Root, M.C. [forthcoming 1], *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, part 2: *Images of Human Activity*. Chicago.
- Garrison, M.B., and Root, M.C. [forthcoming 2], *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, part 3: *Images of Animals, Geometric and Abstract Designs*. Chicago.
- Gasche, H., ed. (2004), 'The Persian Gulf Shorelines and the Karkheh, Karun, and Jarrahi Rivers: A Geo-Archaeological Approach', *Akkadica* 125: 141-215.
- Gasche, H., ed. (2005), 'The Persian Gulf Shorelines and the Karkheh, Karun, and Jarrahi Rivers: A Geo-Archaeological Approach (2)', *Akkadica* 126: 1-43.
- Gasche, H., ed. (2007), 'The Persian Gulf Shorelines and the Karkheh, Karun, and Jarrahi Rivers: A Geo-Archaeological Approach (3)', *Akkadica* 128: 1-72.
- Gasche, H. (2009), 'Susa, I. Excavations', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [online edition; www.iranica.com/articles/susa-i-excavations; accessed 08-12-2010].

- Gasche, H. (2010), 'Les palais achéménides de Babylone', in Perrot, ed., 446-63.
- Gasche, H., and Hrouda, B., eds. (1996), *Collectanea Orientalia. Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terre. Études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket*. Neuchâtel – Paris.
- Genito, B. (2010), 'The Achaemenid Empire as Seen as from its Eastern Periphery: the Case of Dahan-i Ghulaman in Sistan Forty Years Later, a Preliminary Revision of Data', in Matthiae et al., eds., vol. 1, 77-92.
- Gershevitch, I., ed. (1985), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2: *The Median and Achaemenid Periods*. Cambridge.
- Ghirshman R. (1947), 'Une saison de fouilles à Suse', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 91.3: 444-449.
- Ghirshman, R. (1954), *Village Perse-Achéménide*. Paris.
- Ghirshman, R. (1963), *Perse: Proto-Iraniens, Mèdes, Achéménides*. Paris.
- Ghirshman, R. (1965a), 'Suse du temps des *Sukkalmah*. Campagne de Fouilles 1963-1964', *Arts Asiatiques* 11: 3-7.
- Ghirshman, R. (1965b), 'L'architecture élamite et ses traditions', *Iranica Antiqua* 5: 93-102.
- Ghirshman, R. (1968), 'Suse au tournant du IIIe au IIe millénaire avant notre ère. Travaux de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran - hiver 1966-1967, rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 17: 3-44.
- Gnoli, G. (1993), 'Dahan-e Gōlāmān', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 6: 582-585.
- Gopnik, H. (2010), 'Why Columned Halls?', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 195-206.
- Grillot, F. (1987), *Éléments de grammaire élamite*. Paris.
- Grillot, F. (1990), 'Les textes de fondation du palais de Suse', *Journal Asiatique* 278: 213-222.
- Gumperz, J., and Wilson, R. (1971), 'Linguistic Hybridization and the "special case" of pidgins and creoles', in Hymes, ed., 151-167.
- Gunter, A.C., ed. (1990), *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*. Washington.
- Gunter, A.C., and Hauser, S., eds. (2005), *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies 1900-1950*. Leiden – Boston.
- Haerinck, E. (1973), 'Le palais achéménide de Babylone', *Iranica Antiqua* 10: 108-132.
- Haerinck, E. (1984), 'L'Iran méridional, des Achéménides jusqu'à l'avènement de l'Islam. Bilan des recherches', in Boucharlat and Salles, eds., 299-306.
- Haerinck, E., and Overlaet, B. (2003), 'Soundings at Tall-i Qaleh (Hasanabad), Fars Province, Iran', in: Miller and Abdi, eds., 192-200.
- Haerinck, E., and Stevens, K.G. (1996), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien: supplément 3 (1986-1995)*. Leuven.
- Haerinck, E., and Stevens, K.G. (2005), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien: supplément 4 (1996-2003)*. Leuven.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. (1983), *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958-1975*. Cambridge (Ma).
- Hansman, J. (1975), 'An Achaemenian Stronghold', in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., vol. 3, 289-309.
- Hansman, J. (1978), 'Seleucia and the three Dauraks', *Iran* 16: 154-161.
- Hansman, J. (1999), 'Fasā II. Tall-e Zāhḥāk', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 9: 389-91.
- Hansman, J. (2006), 'Isfahan IV, Pre-Islamic Period', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 13: 635-8.
- Harper, P.O., Aruz, J., and Tallon, F., eds. (1992), *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*. New York.
- Hartnell, T. (2010), 'Persepolis in Regional Context', *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 205: 15-19.
- Hartnell, T., and Asadi, A. (2010), 'An Archaeological Survey of Water Management in the Hinterland of Persepolis', in Matthiae et al., eds., vol. 2, 219-232.
- Heim, S. (1992), 'Royal and Religious Structures and Their Decoration', in Harper, Aruz and Tallon, eds., 123-127.
- Helwing, B. & Seyedin, M. (2009), 'The Achaemenid period occupation at Tang-i Bulaghi site 73', *ARTA* 2009.0006.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (1995/96), 'The Royal Achaemenid Crown', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 28: 275-293.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2003a), 'Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite period', in: Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger, eds., 181-231, pls. 9-15.

- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2003b), 'Defining "Neo-Elamite History"', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 60: 251-263.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2003c), 'An Elamite Memorial: the *šumar* of Cambyses and Hystaspes', in Henkelman and Kuhrt, eds., 101-172.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2003d), "'Dit paleis dat ik in Susa bouwde." Bouwinscriptie(s) van koning Dareios I (DSf, DSz, DSaa)', in Demarée and Veenhof, eds., 373-386.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2007), 'Ruhurater', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 11.5/6: 449.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2008a), *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*. Leiden.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2008b), From Gabae to Taoce: the geography of the central administrative province, in Briant, Stolper and Henkelman, eds., 303-316.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2010), "'Consumed before the King." The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of his satrap, Karkiš', in Jacobs and Rollinger, eds., 667-775.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2011), 'Parnakka's Feast: *šip* in Pārsa and Elam', in Álvarez-Mon and Garrison, eds., 89-166.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (forthcoming 1), 'Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite, a Case of Mistaken Identity,' in Rollinger and Truschnegg, eds.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (forthcoming 2), 'Tāravā', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (forthcoming 3), 'Tirazziš', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (forthcoming 4), 'Irdabama's Perspective: Šullaggi between Elam and Persia'.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (forthcoming 5), 'Takht-e Rustam', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.
- Henkelman, W.F.M., Jones, C.E., and Stolper, M.W. (2006), 'Achaemenid Elamite Administrative Tablets, 2: The Qaṣr-i Abu Naṣr Tablet', *ARTA* 2006.003.
- Henkelman, W.F.M., and Kuhrt, A., eds. (2003), *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*. Leiden.
- Herzfeld, E.E. (1926), 'Reisebericht', *ZDMG* 80: 225-284.
- Herzfeld, E.E. (1929/30a), 'Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Pasargadae 1928', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1: 4-16.
- Herzfeld, E.E. (1929/30b), 'Rapport sur l'État Actuel des Ruines de Persépolis et Propositions pour leur conservation', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1: 17-40.
- [Herzfeld, E.E.] (1934), 'Recent Discoveries at Persepolis', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1934: 226-232.
- Herzfeld, E.E. (1941), *Iran in the Ancient East*. London – New York.
- Hesse, A. (1979), 'Reconnaissance d'ensemble du Palais du Chaour par la méthode des résistivités électriques', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 10: 137-144.
- Hesse, A. (2010), 'La prospection électrique des radiers achéménides', in Perrot, ed., 146-159.
- Heyvaert, V.A., and Baeteman, C. (2007), 'Holocene sedimentary evolution and palaeocoastlines of the Lower Khuzestan plain (southwest Iran)', *Marine Geology* 242: 83-108.
- Hinz, W. (1975), 'Zu den Mörsern und Stösseln aus Persepolis', in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., vol. 1, 371-385.
- Hole, F. (1990), 'Cemetery or Mass Grave? Reflexions on Susa I', in Vallat, ed., 1-14.
- Huff, D. (1988), 'Zum Problem zoroastrischer Grabanlagen in Fars, I. Gräber', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 21: 145-176.
- Huff, D. (1990), 'Fertigteile im iranischen Gewölbekbau', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23: 145-160.
- Huff, D. (1991), 'Observations at minor Monuments in the Persepolis Area', in De Meyer and Gasche, eds., 197-200.
- Huff, D. (1999), 'Fīrūzābād', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 9: 633-636.
- Huff, D. (2010), 'Überlegungen zu Funktion, Genese und Nachfolge des Apadana', in Jacobs and Rollinger, eds., 311-374.
- Huot, J.-L., Yon, M., and Calvet, Y., eds. (1985), *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*. Paris.
- Hymes, D., ed. (1971), *Pidginization and creolization of languages, Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968*. Cambridge.
- Invernizzi, A. (2005), *Il Genio Vagante: Babilonia, Ctesifonte, Persepoli in racconti di viaggio e testimonianze dei*

secoli XII-XVIII. Alessandria.

- Jacobs, B. (1997), 'Eine Planänderung an den Apadāna-Treppen und ihre Konsequenzen für die Datierung der Planungs- und Bebauungsphasen von Persepolis', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 29: 281-302.
- Jacobs, B. (2002), 'Achämenidische Kunst – Kunst im Achämenidenreich. Zur Rolle der achämenidischen Großplastik als Mittel der herrscherlichen Selbstdarstellung und der Verbreitung politischer Botschaften im Reich', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 34: 345-395.
- Jacobs, B. (2010), 'From Gabled Hut to Rock-Cut Tomb: A Religious and Cultural Break between Cyrus and Darius?', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 91-101.
- Jacobs, B., and Rollinger, R., eds. (2010), *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court*, Wiesbaden.
- Jacobs, L.K. (1994), 'Darvāza Tepe', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7: 71-2.
- Joannès, F. (1990), 'Textes babyloniens de Suse d'époque achéménide', in Vallat, ed., 173-180.
- Joannès, J. (2005), 'Les relations entre Babylonie et Iran au debut de la période achéménide: quelques remarques', in Baker and Jursa, eds., 183-196.
- Jones, C.E., and Stolper, M.W. (1986), 'Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale', in: De Meyer, Gasche and Vallat, eds., 243-254.
- Jurriaans-Helle, G., ed. (1998) *Cornelis de Bruijn: Reizen van Rome naar Jeruzalem en van Moskou naar Batavia / Voyages from Rome to Jerusalem and from Moscow to Batavia*. Amsterdam.
- Kaboli, M.-A. (2000), 'The Apadana Gateway at Susa', *Iran* 38: 161-162.
- Kawami, T.S. (1972), 'A Possible Source for the Sculptures of the Audience Hall, Pasargadae', *Iran* 10: 146-148.
- Kerner, S. (1993), *Vakilabad-Keramik*. Berlin.
- Kevran, M. (1972), 'Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse. Le contexte archéologique', *Journal Asiatique* 260: 235-239.
- Khosrowzadeh, A. (2010), 'Preliminary Results of the 1st Season of Archaeological Survey of Farsan, Bakhtiari Region, Iran', in Matthiae et. al., eds., vol. 2, 317-337.
- Kleiss, W. (1971), 'Der Takht-i Rustam bei Persepolis und das Kyros-Grab in Pasargadae', *Archäologische Anzeiger* 86: 157-162.
- Kleiss, W. (1973), 'Bericht über Erkundungsfahrten in Iran im Jahre 1972', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 6: 7-80.
- Kleiss, W. (1975), 'Fundnotizen zu einigen Säulenbasen aus West-Iran', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8: 75-79.
- Kleiss, W. (1976), 'Beobachtungen in der Umgebung von Persepolis un Naqš-i Rustam', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 9: 131-150.
- Kleiss, W. (1978), 'Felsgräber südöstlich Behbahan', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 11: 87-89.
- Kleiss, W. (1979), 'Madar-e Suleiman, Das Grab des Kyros als islamisches Heiligtum', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 12: 281-287.
- Kleiss, W. (1980), 'Zur Entwicklung der achaemenidischen Palastarchitektur', *Iranica Antiqua* 15: 199-211.
- Kleiss, W. (1981), 'Ein Abschnitt der Achaemenidischen Königsstrasse von Pasargadae und Persepolis nach Susa, bei Naqsh-i Rustam', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 14: 45-53.
- Kleiss, W. (1983), 'Brückenkonstruktionen in Iran', *Architectura* 13: 105-112.
- Kleiss, W. (1991), 'Wasserschutzdämme und Kanalbauten in der Umgebung von Pasargadae', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 24: 23-30.
- Kleiss, W. (1992a), 'Dammbauten aus achaemenidischer und aus Sasanidischer Zeit in der Provinz Fars', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 25: 131-145.
- Kleiss, W. (1992b), 'Beobachtungen auf dem Burgberg von Persepolis', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 25: 155-67.
- Kleiss, W. (1993a), 'Flächensteinbrüche und Einzelsteinbrüche in der Umgebung von Persepolis und Naqsh-i Rustam', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 26: 91-103.
- Kleiss, W. (1993b), 'Bermerkungen zur Felsanlage Qadamgah am Kuh-i Rahmat südöstlich von Persepolis', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 26: 161-4.

- Kleiss, W. (1993c), 'Achaemenidische Befestigungen und Anlagen in der westlichen Umgebung von Persepolis am Kuh-e Ayub', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 43: 331-338.
- Kleiss, W. (1994), 'Istakhr und Umgebung: archäologische Beobachtungen und Befunde', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 27: 165-189.
- Kleiss, W. (2000), 'Zur Planung von Persepolis', in Dittmann et al., eds., 355-368.
- Kleiss, W., and Calmeyer, P. (1975), 'Das unvollendete Achaemenidische Felsgrab bei Persepolis', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8: 81-98.
- Koch, H., and Mackenzie, D.N., eds. (1983), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*. Berlin.
- Kochoukos, N., and Hole, F. (2003), 'Changing Estimates of Susiana Prehistoric Settlement', in Miller and Abdi, eds., 52-59.
- Kopcke, G., and Moore, M.B., eds. (1979), *Studies in classical art and archaeology : a tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*. Locust Valley.
- Krämer, W., and Buchner, E., eds. (1981), *150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1829-1979. Festveranstaltungen und internationales Kolloquium 17.-22. April 1979 in Berlin*. Mainz.
- Krefter, F. (1968), 'Achaemenidische Palast- und Grabtüren', 99-113.
- Krefter, F. (1971), *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*. Berlin.
- Krefter, F. (1979), 'Mit Ernst Herzfeld in Pasargadae und Persepolis, 1928 und 1931-1934', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 12: 13-25.
- Krefter, F. (1989), 'Persepolis in Farbe', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 22: 131-132.
- Kuhrt, A. (1995), *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC*, vol. 2. London – New York.
- Kuhrt, A. (2007), *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*, 2 vols. London.
- Kuhrt, A., and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M., eds. (1988), *Method and Theory. Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop*. Leiden.
- Labrousse, A., and Boucharlat, R. (1972), 'La fouille du Palais du Chaour à Suse en 1970 et 1971', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 2: 61-167.
- Ladiray, D. (2010), 'Les données archéologiques', in Perrot, ed., 160-221.
- Lanfranchi, G.B., Roaf, M., and Rollinger, R., eds. (2003), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. Padova.
- Larsen, M.T., ed. (1979), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium of Ancient Empires*. Copenhagen.
- Lecoq, P. (1997), *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Paris.
- Le Long, J., Andreose, A., and Ménard, Ph. (2010), *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone : Iteneraire de la Peregrinacion et du voyaige (1351)*. Genève.
- Loftus, W.K. (1856), 'On the excavations undertaken at the ruins of Susa in 1851-2', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 5: 422-453.
- Loftus, W.K. (1857), *Travels and researches in Chaldaeia and Susiana with an account of excavations at Warka, the 'Erech' of Nimrod, and Shush, 'Shushan the Palace' of Esther, in 1849-52*. London.
- Luschey, H. (1983), 'Die Darius-Statuen aus Susa und ihre Rekonstruktion', in Koch and MacKenzie, eds., 191-206.
- Magee, P. (2003), 'Columned Halls, Power and Legitimation in the Southeast Arabian Iron Age', in Potts et al., eds., 181-191.
- Magee, P. (2008), 'Perceptions on the Morphology and Style of Artefacts vs the Carbon Cycle: A Response to O.W. Muscarella's Dating of Muweilah', *Ancient West and East* 7: 203-217.
- Magee, P. (2004), *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967-1975: The Iron Age Settlement*. Cambridge Ma.
- Magee, P., Thompson, E., MacKay, A., Kottaras, P., and Weeks, L. (2002), 'Further evidence of desert settlement complexity: report on the 2001 excavations at the Iron Age site of Muweilah, Emirate of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 13: 133-156.
- Magnussen, B., Renzetti, S., Vian, P., and Voicu, S.J., eds. (1997), *Ultra Terminum Vagari. Scritti in onore di Carl Nylander*. Roma.
- Malbran-Labat, F. (1995), *Les inscriptions royales de Suse. Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite*. Paris.

- Maras, S. (2010), 'A Reassessment of Brick Motifs and Brick-Building Techniques at Achaemenid Susa', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 207-219.
- Martinez-Sève, L. (1996), 'Une statuette romaine trouvée à Suse et la chronologie du Donjon', in Gasche and Hrouda, eds., 171-80.
- Matthiae, P., Pinnock, F., Nigro, L., and Marchetti, N., eds. (2010), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 5 May – 10 May 2009, »Sapienza«, Università di Roma*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden.
- Maupoix, M., and Coulon, G., eds. (1998), *Regards sur la ... Perse antique*. Paris.
- McCall, B.K. (2009), *The Mamasani Archaeological Survey: Epipalaeolithic to Elamite settlement patterns in the Mamasani district of the Zagros Mountains, Fars Province, Iran* (diss. University of Sydney). Sydney.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1911), 'Constructions élamites du Tell de l'Acropole de Suse', in Soutzo *et al.*, 65-78.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1930), 'Les derniers résultats des fouilles de Suse', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 6: 73-88.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1938), 'Achaemenid Architecture, B: The Achaemenid and Later Remains at Susa', in Pope and Ackerman, eds., 321-329.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1943), 'Fouilles de Suse, 1933-1939', in Mecquenem *et al.*, eds., 3-161.
- Mecquenem, R. de, Contenau, G., Pfister, R., and Belaïew, N. (1943), *Archéologie Susienne*. Paris.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1947), 'Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse', in Mecquenem, Le Breton and Rutten, eds., 3-119.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1980), 'Les fouilleurs de Suse', *Iranica Antiqua* 15: 1-48.
- Mecquenem, R. de, Le Breton, L., and Rutten, M., eds. (1947), *Archéologie susienne*. Paris.
- Meyer, L. de, and Gasche, H., eds. (1991), *Mésopotamie et Élam. Actes de la XXXVIème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Gand, 10-14 juillet 1989*. Ghent.
- Meyer, L. de, Gasche, H., and Vallat, F., eds. (1986), *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae. Mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*. Paris.
- Meyer, L., and Haerincq, E., eds. (1989), *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*. Gent.
- Miller, N.F., and Abdi, K., eds. (2003), *Yeki bud, yeki nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*. Los Angeles.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1972), 'Prospections archéologiques dans les vallées de Fasa et de Darab (rapport préliminaire)', in Bagherzadeh, ed., 1-13.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1981a), 'Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975-1977)', *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 9-136.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1981b), 'Observations dans les couches néo-élamites au nord-ouest du tell de la Ville Royale à Suse', *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 143-167.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1981c), 'Prospections archéologiques au Khuzistan en 1977', *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 12: 169-192.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1985), 'La fin du royaume d'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'Empire perse', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75: 265-306.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1986), 'La localisation de Madaktu et l'organisation politique de l'Élam à l'époque néo-élamite', in De Meyer, Gasche, and Vallat, eds., 209-225.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1987a), 'Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975-1977), II. Niveaux d'époques achéménide, séleucide, parthe et islamique', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 15: 11-136.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1987b), 'Observations dans les couches néo-élamites au nord-ouest du Tell de la Ville Royale à Suse', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 15: 143-167.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1990), 'La fin de l'Élam: essai d'analyse et d'interprétation', *Iranica Antiqua* 25: 47-95.
- Miroschedji, P. de (2003), 'Susa and the Highlands: Major Trends in the History of Elamite Civilization', in: Miller and Abdi, eds., 16-38.
- Mitchell, T.C. (2000), 'The Persepolis Sculptures in the British Museum', *Iran* 38: 49-56.

- Mofidi Nasrabadi, B. (2005), 'Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran)', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 95: 161-171.
- Moghaddam, A., and Miri, N. (2003), 'Archaeological Research in the Mianab Plain of Lowland Susiana, South-Western Iran', *Iran* 41: 99-137.
- Moghaddam, A., and Miri, N. (2007), 'Archaeological Surveys in the "Eastern Corridor", South-Western Iran', *Iran* 45: 23-55.
- Morgan, P.H. (2003), 'Some Remarks on a Preliminary Survey in Eastern Fars', *Iran* 2003: 323-338.
- Morgan, J. de (1898), *Compte rendu sommaire des travaux archéologiques exécutés du 3 novembre 1897 au 1^{er} juin 1898*. Paris.
- Morgan, J. de (1900), 'Travaux en tranchées', in De Morgan, ed., 88-99.
- Morgan, J. de, ed. (1900), *Recherches archéologiques, première série: Fouilles à Suse en 1897-1898 et 1898-1899*. Paris.
- Morgan, J. de (1905a), 'Découverte d'une sépulture achéménide à Suse', in De Morgan, ed., 29-58.
- Morgan, J. de (1905b), 'Constructions élamites', in De Morgan, ed., 196-198.
- Morgan, J. de, ed. (1905), *Recherches archéologiques, troisième série*. Paris.
- Mostafavi, M.T. (1967), 'The Achaemenid Royal Road. Post Stations between Susa and Persepolis', in: Pope and Ackerman, eds., 3008-10.
- Mousavi, A. (1990), 'Obituary: Professor Ali Sâmi (1910-1989)', *Iranica Antiqua* 25: 189-193.
- Mousavi, A. (1992), 'Parsa, a Stronghold for Darius. A Preliminary Study of the Defense System of Persepolis', *East and West* 42: 203-226.
- Mousavi, A. (1996), 'Early Archaeological Adventures and Methodological Problems in Iranian Archaeology: The Evidence from Susa', *Iranica Antiqua* 31: 1-17.
- Mousavi, A. (1999), 'La ville de Parsa: quelques remarques sur la topographie et le système défensif de Persépolis', *Iranica Antiqua* 34: 145-155.
- Mousavi, A. (2002), 'Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh', *Ars Orientalis* 32: 209-251.
- Nagel, A. (2010), *Colors, Gilding and Painted Motifs in Persepolis: Approaching the Polychromy of Achaemenid Persian Architectural Sculpture, c. 520-330 BCE* (diss. Michigan), Ann Arbor.
- Muscarella, O.W. (1992), 'Achaemenid Art and Architecture at Susa', in Harper, Aruz and Tallon, eds., 216-222.
- Muscarella, O.W. (2008), 'The Iranian Iron III Chronology at Muweilah in the Emirate of Sharjah', *Ancient West and East* 7: 189-202.
- Naveh, J., and Shaked, S. (1973), 'Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents?', *Orientalia* 42: 445-457.
- Neely, J.A., and Wright, H.T., eds. (2010), *Elamite and Achaemenid Settlement on the Deh Lurân Plain. Towns and Villages of the Early Empires in Southwestern Iran*. Ann Arbor.
- Nicol, M.B. (1970), 'Rescue Excavations at Dorūdzan', *East and West* 20: 245-284.
- Niebuhr, C. (1772), *Beschreibung von Arabien aus eigenen Beobachtungen und im Lande selbst gesammelten Nachrichten*, vol. 1. Kopenhagen [reprint Graz 1968].
- Nielsen, I., ed. (2001), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC. Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West*. Aarhus.
- Nimchuk, C.L. (2010), 'Empire Encapsulated: The Persepolis Apadana Foundation Deposits', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 221-229.
- Nylander, C. (1966a), 'Clamps and chronology (Achaemenid Problems II)', *Iranica Antiqua* 6: 130-146.
- Nylander, C. (1966b), 'The Toothed Chisel in Pasargadae: Further Notes on Old Persian Stonecutting', *American Journal of Archaeology* 70: 373-376.
- Nylander, C. (1970), *Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian Architecture*. Uppsala.
- Nylander, C. (1975), 'Anatolians in Susa – and Persepolis', in Duchesne-Guillemin, ed., vol. 3, 317-323.
- Nylander, C. (1979), 'Achaemenid Imperial Art', in Larsen, ed., 345-359.
- Nylander, C. (1991), 'The Toothed Chisel', *Archeologia Classica* 43: 1037-1052.
- Nylander, C. (2006), 'Stones for Kings: Stone-working in Ancient Iran', in Callieri, ed., 121-136.

- Overlaet, B. (1997), 'A Report on the 1952 and 1954/55 Soundings at Tall-i Taimuran (Fars), Iran: A File-Excavation at the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels', *Iranica Antiqua* 32: 1-51.
- Overlaet, B. (2007), 'Soundings at Tall-Kamin (Kur River Basin), Fars, Iran', *Iranica Antiqua* 42: 61-103.
- Perrot, J. (1981), 'L'architecture militaire et palatiale des Achéménides à Suse', in Krämer and Buchner, eds., 79-94.
- Perrot, J. (2010a), 'Convention relative à la concession des antiquités de la Perse', in Perrot, ed., 72-73.
- Perrot, J. (2010b), 'Le programme franco-iranien (1969-1979)', in Perrot, ed., 120-145.
- Perrot, J. (2010c), 'Restauration, reconstitution', in Perrot, ed., 224-255.
- Perrot, J., ed. (2010), *Le Palais de Darius à Suse. Une résidence royale entre Persépolis et Babylone*. Paris.
- Perrot, J., and Ladiray, D. (1974), 'La porte de Darius à Suse', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4: 43-56.
- Perrot, J., Ladiray, D., and Vallat, F., 'The Popylaeum of the Palace of Darius at Susa', in Alizadeh, Majidzadeh and Malek Shahmirzadi, eds., 158-177, 220.
- Petrie, C.A., Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Seyedin, M. (2006), 'Excavations at Tol-e Spid', in Potts and Roustaei, eds., 89-134.
- Petrie, C.A., Weeks, L.R., Potts, D.T., and Roustaei, K. (2006), 'Perspectives on the Cultural Sequence of Mamasani', in Potts and Roustaei, eds., 169-196.
- Pézard, M. (1914), *Mission à Bender-Bouchir*. Paris.
- Pillet, M.L. (1914), *Le palais de Darius I^{er} à Suse, V^e siècle av. J.C.*. Paris.
- Planhol, X. de (2000), 'garmsīr and sardsīr', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 10: 316-317.
- Planhol, X. de (2006), 'Isfahan II, Historical Geography: An Overview since Ancient Times', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 13: 617-22.
- Pohanka, R. (1983), 'Zu einigen Architekturstücken von Tell-e Zohak bei Fasa, Südiran', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse)* 120: 255-265.
- Pope, A.U., and Ackerman, P. (1938), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 1: *Pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sāsānian Periods*. London – New York.
- Pope, A.U., and Ackerman, P., eds. (1967), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 14: *New Studies: Proceedings, the IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, April 24 - May 3, 1960*, part A. Tehran: 3008-10
- Porada, E. (1979), 'Some Thoughts on the Audience Reliefs of Persepolis', in Kopcke and Moore, eds., 37-43.
- Potts, D.T. (1999), *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. Cambridge.
- Potts, D.T. (2007), 'Foundation houses, fire altars, and the *Frataraka*: interpreting the iconography of some post-Achaemenid Persian coins', *Iranica Antiqua* 42: 271-300.
- Potts, D.T. (2008), 'The Persepolis Fortification texts and the Royal Road: another look at the Fahliyan area,' in Briant, Henkelman and Stolper, eds., 275-301.
- Potts, D.T., Al Naboodah, H., and Hellyer, P., eds. (2003), *Archaeology of the United Arab Emirates. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of the U.A.E*. London.
- Potts, D.T., Asgari Chaverdi, A., Petrie, C.A., Dusting, A., Farhadi, F., McRae, I.K., Shikhi, S., Wong, E.H., Lashkari, A., and Javanmard Zadeh, A. (2007), 'The Mamasani Archaeological Project, Stage Two: Excavations at Qaleh Kali (Tappeh Servan/Jinjun [MS 46])', *Iran* 45: 287-300.
- Potts, D.T., Asgari Chaverdi, A., McRae, I.K., Alamdari, K., Dusting, A., Jaffari, J., Ellicott, T.M., Setoudeh, A., Lashkari, A., Ameli Rad, Sh., and Yazdani, A. (2009), 'Further Excavations at Qaleh Kali (MS 46) by the Joint ICAR-University of Sydney Mamasani Expedition. Results of the 2008 Season', *Iranica Antiqua* 44: 207-282.
- Potts, D.T., and Roustaei, K., eds. (1385/2006), *The Mamasani Archaeological Project, Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR - University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran*. Tehran.
- Potts, D.T., Roustaei, K., Weeks, L.R., and Petrie, C.A. (2006), 'The Mamasani District and the Archaeology of Southwestern Iran', in Potts and Roustaei, eds., 1-16.
- Priestman, S.M.N. (2003), 'The Williamson Collection Project: Sasanian and Islamic Survey Ceramics from Southern Iran, Current Research', *Iran* 41: 345-348.

- Pugliese Carratelli, G. (1966), 'Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East', *East and West* 16: 31-36.
- Rahbar, M. (1999), 'A Greek Marble Statue from Borazjan, Fars, in Alizadeh, Majidzadeh and Malek Shahmirzadi, eds., 192-207, 228.
- Rahimifar, M. (2005), 'Mo'arafi-ye barkhī az barčāsabhā-ye geli-ye Takht-e Ġamšīd', *Bāstān Šenāsī* 1: 72-76, 10.
- Ratté, C. (1993), 'The 'Pyramid Tomb' at Sardis', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 42: 135-161.
- Razmjou, S. (2002), 'Assessing the Damage: Notes on the Life and Demise of the Statue of Darius from Susa', *Ars Orientalis* 32: 81-104.
- Razmjou, S. (2005a), 'Notes on a Forgotten Achaemenid Site at Farmeshgan, Iran', in Briant and Boucharlat, eds., 293-312.
- Razmjou, S. (2005b), 'Religion and burial customs', in Curtis and Tallis, eds., 150-180.
- Razmjou, S. (2005c), 'Ernst Herzfeld and the Study of Graffiti at Persepolis', in Gunter and Hauser, eds., 315-341.
- Roaf, M. (1973), 'The Diffusion of the *Salles à Quatre Saillants*', *Iraq* 35: 83-91.
- Roaf, M. (1974), 'The subject peoples on the base of the statue of Darius', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4: 73-160.
- Roaf, M. (1980), 'Texts about the sculptures and sculptors at Persepolis', *Iran* 18: 65-74.
- Roaf, M. (1983), *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis = Iran* 21. London.
- Roaf, M. (1987), 'Checklist of Persepolis Reliefs not at the Site', *Iran* 25: 155-158.
- Roaf, M. (1990), 'Sculptors and Designers at Persepolis', in Gunter, ed., 105-114.
- Roaf, M. (1998), 'Multiple Rabbits on Doors in Iron Age Assyria and Western Iran', *Iranica Antiqua* 33: 57-80.
- Roaf, M. (2004), 'Persepolis', *Reallexicon der Assyriologie* 10: 393-412.
- Rollinger, R., Luther, A., and Wiesehöfer, J., eds. (2007), *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der alten Welt*. Frankfurt a.M.
- Rollinger, R., and Truschneegg, B., eds. (forthcoming), *Herodot und das Perserreich*.
- Roos, P. (1970), 'An Achaemenian Sketch Slab and the Ornaments of the Royal Dress at Persepolis', *East and West* 20: 51-59.
- Root, M.C. (1979), *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art. Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*. Leiden.
- Root, M.C. (1985), 'The Parthenon Frieze and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis: Reassessing a Programmatic Relationship', *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 103-120.
- Root, M.C. (1988), 'Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Archaic Greek Coinage', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 148: 1-12.
- Root, M.C. (1990), 'Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis', in Gunter, ed., 115-139.
- Root, M.C. (1996), 'The Persepolis Fortification Tablets. Archival Issues and the Problem of Stamp Versus Cylinder Seals', in Boussac and Invernizzi, eds., 3-27.
- Root, M.C. (1997), 'Cultural Pluralisms on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets', in Boussac, ed., 229-252.
- Root, M.C. (1999), 'The Cylinder Seal from Pasargadae: of Wings and Wheels, Date and Fate', *Iranica Antiqua* 34: 157-190.
- Root, M.C. (2008), 'The legible image: how did seals and sealing matter in Persepolis?', in Briant, Henkelman and Stolper, eds., 87-147.
- Root, M.C. (2011), 'Elam in the Imperial Imagination: From Nineveh to Persepolis', in Álvarez-Mon and Garrison, eds., 419-474.
- Root, M.C., and Abdi, K. [in preparation], *Harmonious Hegemony: Visual Valences of Persian Kingship and Empire The Iranian Excavations of Persepolis by Akbar Tadjvidi: An Annotated Translation Expanded Documentation*. Leiden.
- Roux, G., ed., (1984), *Temples et sanctuaires: séminaire de recherche 1981-1983*. Lyon.
- Sami, A. (1967), *Persepolis (Takht-i-Jamshid)*. Shiraz [fifth edition; first edition Shiraz 1954].
- Sami, A. (1956), *Pasargadae : the oldest imperial capital of Iran*. Shiraz.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M. (1983), 'The Zendan and the Ka'bah', in Koch and Mackenzie, eds., 145-151.

- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M. (1989), 'The personality of Xerxes, King of Kings', in De Meyer and Haerinck, eds., 549-561.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M. (1991), 'Nowruz in Persepolis', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers, eds., 173-201.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M. (1993), 'Alexander and Persepolis', in Carlsen *et al.*, eds., 177-188.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M. (1999), 'The Persian King and History', in: Shuttleworth-Kraus, ed., 91-112.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M., and Drijvers, J.W., eds. (1991), *Through Travellers' Eyes: European Travellers on the Iranian Monuments*. Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M., and Kuhrt, A. (1990), *Centre and Periphery. Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*. Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M., and Kuhrt, A. (1991), *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop*. Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H.W.A.M., Kuhrt, A., and Root, M.C., eds. (1994), *Continuity and Change: Proceedings of the last Achaemenid History Workshop, April 6-8, 1990 – Ann Arbor, Michigan*. Leiden.
- Sarfaraz, A.A. (1971), 'Un pavillon de l'époque de Cyrus le Grand à Borazdjan', *Bāstān-Šenāsī va Honar-e Īrān* 7-8: 22-25.
- Sarkhosh Curtis, V., and Steward, S., eds. (2005), *Birth of the Persian Empire*, vol. 1. London – New York.
- Scheil, V. (1911), *Textes élamites-anzanites, quatrième série*. Paris.
- Scheil, V. (1939), *Mélanges épigraphiques*. Paris.
- Schippmann, K. (1988), 'Bard-e Nešānda', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 3: 761-762.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1939), *The Treasury of Persepolis and Other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians*. Chicago.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1940), *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*. Chicago.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1953), *Persepolis*, vol. 1: *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Chicago.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1957), *Persepolis*, vol. 2: *Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Chicago.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1970), *Persepolis*, vol. 3: *The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. Chicago.
- Schmitt, R. (1987), 'Apadāna, I: Term', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 145-146.
- Schmitt, R. (1999), *Beiträge zu altpersischen Inschriften*. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitt, R. (2000a), *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*. London.
- Schmitt, R. (2000b), 'Gabae', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 10: 235.
- Schmitt, R. (2009), *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden. Editio minor mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden.
- Seidl, U. (1994), 'Achaemenidische Entlehnungen aus der urartäischen Kultur', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt and Root, eds., 107-129.
- Seidl, U. (1999), 'Naqš-i Rostam', *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9: 165-168.
- Seidl, U. (2003), 'Wie waren die achaimenidischen Doppelprotomen-Kapitelle ausgerichtet', in Henkelman and Kuhrt, eds., 67-77.
- Seipel, W., ed. (2000), *7000 Jahre persische Kunst. Meisterwerke aus dem Iranischen Nationalmuseum in Teheran*. Milano.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (1977), 'From Pārsa to Taxt-e Jamšīd', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 10: 197-207.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (1985), *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Persepolis Platform*. London.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (2004), *The authoritative Guide to Persepolis*, Tehran.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (2009), 'Persepolis', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [online edition, www.iranica.com/articles/persepolis; accessed 08-12-2010].
- Shuttleworth-Kraus, C., ed., (1999), *The Limits of Historiography, Genre & Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*. Leiden.
- Simpson, St J. (2005), Making their mark: Foreign travellers at Persepolis, *ARTA* 2005.001.
- Soutzo, M.-C., Pézard, G. Bondoux, G., Mecquenem, R. de, Pézard, M., Gautier, J.-E., and Toscanne, P. (1911), *Recherches archéologiques, quatrième série*. Paris.
- Stein, Sir (M.) A. (1934), 'Archaeological Reconnaissances in Southern Persia', *The Geographical Journal* 83: 119-

- Stein, Sir (M.) A. (1936), 'An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis', *Iraq* 3: 111-225.
- Stein, Sir (M.) A. (1937), *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Īrān*. London
- Stein, Sir (M.) A. (1940), *Old Routes of Western Īrān*. London.
- Steve, M.-J. (1986), 'La fin de l'Élam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre', *Studia Iranica* 15: 7-21.
- Steve, M.-J. (1987), *Ville Royale de Suse 7: Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques. Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane*. Nice.
- Steve, M.-J., and Gasche, H. (1990), 'Le Tell de l'Apadana avant les Achéménides. Contribution à la topographie de Suse', in Vallat, ed., 15-60.
- Steve, M.-J., Vallat, F., and Gasche, H. (2002/03), 'Suse, a. Le cadre géographique, b. La topographie de Suse; c. Les noms de Suse, d. Le cadre stratigraphique et chronologique, e. La découverte de Suse, f. Suse dans l'histoire', *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* fasc. 73-74: 359-529.
- Stevens, L.R., Ito, E., Schwalb, A., Wright, H.E. Jr. (2006), 'Timing of atmospheric precipitation in the Zagros Mountains inferred from a multi-proxy record from Lake Mirabad, Iran', *Quaternary Research* 66: 494-500.
- Stöllner, Th., Slotta, R., and Vatandoust, A., eds. (2004), *Persiens Antike Pracht: Bergbau – Handwerk – Archäologie*, 2 vols. Bochum.
- Stolper, M.W. (1992), 'The Murašû Texts from Susa', *Revue Assyriologique* 86: 69-77.
- Stolper, M.W. (2001), 'Ganzabara', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 10: 286-289.
- Stolper, M.W. (2004), 'Hidali', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 12: 308-309.
- Stolper, M.W., and André-Salvini, B. (1992), 'Cuneiform Texts from Susa', in Harper, Aruz and Tallon, eds., 253-278.
- Stolze, F., and Andreas, F.C. (1882), *Die achaemenidischen und sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften von Persepolis, Istakhr, Pasargadae, Shâhpûr*, 2 vols. Berlin.
- Stronach, D. (1963), 'Excavations at Pasargadae: First Preliminary Report', *Iran* 1: 19-42.
- Stronach, D. (1964), 'Excavations at Pasargadae: Second Preliminary Report', *Iran* 2: 21-39.
- Stronach, D. (1965), 'Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report', *Iran* 3: 9-40.
- Stronach, D. (1971), 'A Circular Symbol on the Tomb of Cyrus', 155-158.
- Stronach, D. (1974a), 'La statue de Darius le Grand découverte à Suse', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4: 61-72.
- Stronach, D. (1974b), 'Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration to Fars', *Iraq* 36: 239-248.
- Stronach, D. (1976), 'Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian Migration to Fars', *Iraq* 36: 239-248.
- Stronach, D. (1978), *Pasargadae. A report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*. Oxford.
- Stronach, D. (1985a), 'Pasargadae', in Gershevitch, ed., 838-855.
- Stronach, D. (1985b), 'On the Evolution of the early Iranian Fire Temple', in Bailey *et al.*, eds., vol. 2, 605-627.
- Stronach, D. (1987a), 'Apadāna, II. Building', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 146-148.
- Stronach, D. (1987b), 'Archeology, II. Median and Achaemenid', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 288-296.
- Stronach, D. (1989), 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy', in De Meyer and Haerinck, eds., 475-502.
- Stronach, D. (1990), 'Gardens as Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium BC', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4: 171-180.
- Stronach, D. (1994), 'Parterres and stone watercourses at Pasargadae: Notes on the Achaemenid Contribution to Garden Design', *Journal of Garden History* 14: 3-12.
- Stronach, D. (1997a), 'Anshan and Persia: Early Achaemenid History, Art and Architecture on the Iranian Plateau, in: Curtis, ed., 35-53.
- Stronach, D. (1997b), 'Darius at Pasargadae: a Neglected Source for the History of Achaemenid Persia', in Bousnac, ed., 351-363.
- Stronach, D. (2001), 'Of Cyrus, Darius and Alexander: A New Look at the 'Epigraphs' of Cyrus the Great', in Dittmann *et al.*, eds., 681-702.
- Stronach, D. (2005), 'Ernst Herzfeld and Pasargadae', in Gunter and Hauser, eds., 103-135.

- Stronach, D., and Gopnik, H. (2009), 'Pasargadae', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [online edition, www.iranica.com/articles/pasargadae; accessed 08-12-2010].
- Stronach, D., and Roaf, M. (2007), *Nush-i Jan*, vol. 1: *The Major Buildings of the Median Settlement*. Leuven – Paris – Dudley.
- Southworth, F.C. (1971), 'Detecting prior creolization: an analysis of the historical origins of Marathi', in Hymes, ed., 255–273.
- Sumner, W.M. (1986), 'Achaemenid Settlement in the Persepolis Plain', *American Journal of Archaeology* 90: 3-31.
- Sumner, W.M. (1990), 'Full-Coverage Regional Archaeological Survey in the Near East: An Example from Iran', in: S.K. Fish & S.A. Kowalewski (eds.), *The Archaeology of Regions. A Case for Full-Coverage Survey*, London: 87-115.
- Sumner, W.M. (1994), 'Archaeological Measures of Cultural Continuity and the Arrival of the Persians in Fars', Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt and Root, eds., 97-105.
- Sumner, W.M. (1972), *Cultural Development in the Kur River Basin, Iran. An Archaeological Analysis of Settlement Patterns* (diss. University of Pennsylvania), Ann Arbor.
- Tadjvidi, A. (1970), 'Persepolis', *Iran* 8: 186-187.
- Tadjvidi, A. (1973), 'Persepolis', *Iran* 11: 200-201.
- Tadjvidi, A. (1976 [1355]), *Dānestānīhā-ye novīn darbāreh-ye honar va bāstānshenāsi-ye ašr-e hakhāmaneshi bar bonyād-e kāvošhā-ye panj sāleh-ye Takht-e Ğamšīd* [New Knowledge about Achaemenid Art and Archaeology Based on Five Years of Excavations at Persepolis]. Tehran.
- Talebian, M.H. (2010), 'A Review of Research and Restoration Activities at Parsa-Pasargadae: Analysis, Evaluation and Future Perspectives', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 299-307.
- Tallon, F. (1992), 'The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole', in Harper, Aruz and Tallon, eds., 242-252.
- Tavenier, J. (2004), 'Some Thoughts on Neo-Elamite Chronology', *ARTA* 2004.003.
- Tavenier, J. (2006), 'Elam: Neo-Elamite Period (ca. 1000–530 B.C.)', in Eder and Renger, eds., 22-24.
- Tavernier, J. (2007), *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.). Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. Leuven – Paris – Dudley.
- Tilia, A.B. (1968), 'A Study of the Methods of Working and Restoring Stone and on the Parts Left Unfinished in Achaemenian Architecture and Sculpture', *East and West* 18: 67-95.
- Tilia, A.B. (1969), 'Reconstruction of the Parapet on the Terrace Wall at Persepolis, South and West of Palace H', *East and West* 19: 9-43.
- Tilia, A.B. (1972), *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. Rome.
- Tilia, A.B. (1974), 'Discovery of an Achaemenian Palace near Takht-i Rustam to the North of the Terrace of Persepolis', *Iran* 12: 200-4.
- Tilia, A.B. (1978), *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, vol. 2. Rome.
- Tilia, G. (1997), 'Ponte-Diga sul Fiume Kor – Fārs Iran', in Magnusson *et al.*, eds., 331-338.
- Trichet, J., and Vallat, F. (1990), 'L'origine égyptienne de la statue de Darius', in Vallat, ed., 205-8.
- Trümpelmann, L. (1983), 'Zu den Gebäuden von Persepolis und ihrer Funktion', in Koch and MacKenzie, eds., 225-237.
- Trümpelmann, L. (1988), *Persepolis. Ein Weltwunder der Antike*. Mainz.
- Uehlinger, C., ed. (2000), *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)*. Fribourg – Göttingen.
- Uehlinger, C., and Graf, F., eds. [forthcoming], *Iconography of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, vol. 1: *Pre-Hellenistic Periods, Introductory Essays*. Leiden.
- Vallat, F. (1974), 'La triple inscription cunéiforme de la statue de Darius I^{er} (DSab)', *Revue d'Assyriologie* 68: 157-166.
- Vallat, F., ed. (1990), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*. Paris.
- Vallat, F. (1996), 'Nouvelle analyse des inscriptions néo-élamites', Gasche and Hrouda, eds., 385-395.
- Vallat, F. (1999), 'Le palais élamite de Suse', *Akkadica* 112: 34-43.
- Vallat, F. (2006), 'Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, Šutur-Nahhunte et la chronologie néo-élamite', *Akkadica* 127: 59-62.

- Vallat, F. (2010), 'Les principales inscriptions achéménides à Suse', in Perrot, ed., 300-317.
- Waerzeggers, C. (2010), 'Babylonians in Susa. The Travels of Babylonian Businessmen to Susa Reconsidered', in Jacobs and Rollinger, eds., 777-813.
- Walser, G. (1966), *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Historische Studien über den sogenannten Tributzug an der Apadanatreppe*. Berlin.
- Waters, M.W. (1999), 'The Earliest Persians in Southwestern Iran: The Textual Evidence', *Iranian Studies* 32.1: 99-107.
- Waters, M.W. (2000), *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*. Helsinki.
- Weber, U., and Wiesehöfer, J. (1996), *Das Reich der Achaimeniden: eine Bibliographie*. Berlin.
- Weeks, L.R., et al. (2006), 'Excavations at Tol-e Nurabad', in Potts and Roustaei, eds., 31-88.
- Weld Blundell, H. (1893), 'Persepolis', in Delmar Morgan, ed., vol. 2, 537-559.
- Wenke, R.J. (1975/76), 'Imperial Investments and Agricultural Developments in Parthian and Sasanian Khuzestan: 150 BC to AD 640', *Mesopotamia* 10/11: 31-221.
- Whitcomb, D. (1985), *Before the Roses and the Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz*. New York.
- Wiesehöfer, J. (1994), *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fārs in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330-140 v.Chr.)*. München.
- Wiesehöfer, J. (1996), *Ancient Persia, from 550 BC to 650 AD*. London [translation from *Das antike Persien: Von 550 v.Chr. bis 650 n.Chr.* München – Zürich 1994].
- Wright, H.T., ed. (1979), *Archaeological Investigations in Northeastern Xuzestan, 1976*. Ann Arbor.
- Yaghmaee, E. (2006 [1385]), 'Čand manzelgāh-e rāh-e šāhī-ye hakhāmanešī: az Nūrābād-e Mamasanī tā Arġān-e Behbahān', *Bāstānpazhuhi* 2: 32-49.
- Yaghmaee, E. (2010), 'Excavations in Dashtesan (Borazjan, Iran)', in Curtis and Simpson, eds., 317.
- Young, T.C. (1985), 'Early Iron Age Iran revisited: preliminary suggestions for the re-analysis of old constucts', in Huot, Yon and Calvet, eds., 61-78.
- Young, T.C. (1988), 'The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid empire to the death of Cyrus', in Boardman et al., eds., 1-52.
- Young, T.C. (2003), 'Parsua, Parsa, and Potsherds', in: Miller and Abdi, eds., 242-8.
- Yoyotte, J. (1972), 'Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques: Darius et l'Égypte', *Journal Asiatique* 260: 253-266.
- Yoyotte, J. (2010), 'La statue égyptienne de Darius', in Perrot, ed., 256-299.
- Zagarell, A. (1982), 'The First Millennium in the Bakhtiari Mountains', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15: 31-52.
- Zander, G., ed. (1968), *Travaux de restauration de monuments historiques en Iran*. Rome.
- Zeidi, M., McCall, B., and Khosrowzadeh, A. (2006), 'Survey of Dasht-e Rostem-e Yek and Dasht-e Rostam-e Do', in Potts and Roustaei, eds., 147-168.