THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

ANCIENT IRAN

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Edited by

D. T. POTTS

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Finally, it may seem like a small gesture, but I would like to dedicate this book to my family—Hildy, Hallam, Morgan, and Rowena—who bore with me throughout its gestation.

Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAASH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AACA	*After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, ed. J. Cribb and G. Herrmann. Oxford and New York: Proceedings of the British Academy 133, 2007.
AAE	*Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*
AAIAC	*Aryas, Aryens, et Iraniens en Asie Centrale*, G. Fussman, J. Kellens, H.-P. Francfort, and X. Tremblay. Paris: de Boccard, 2005.
AASFC	*Ancient Art from the Shumei Family Collection,* ed. D. Arnold. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.
AchHist	Achaemenid History (Leiden)
ACSS	*Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*
AEA	*L'archéologie de l'Empire achéménide, nouvelles recherches*, ed. P. Briant and R. Boucharlat. Paris: Persika 6, 2005.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AFP	*L'Archive des Fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches*, ed. P. Briant, W. F. M. Henkelman, and M. W. Stolper. Paris: Persika 12, 2008.
AIN	*Ancient Iran and its neighbors: Local developments and long-range interactions in the 4th millennium BC*, ed. C. A. Petrie. Oxford: British Institute of Persian Studies Archaeological Monographs Series, forthcoming.
AINX	*Archaeological investigations in northeastern Xuzestan*, ed. H. T. Wright. Ann Arbor: Technical Reports 10, Research Reports in Archaeology 5, 1979.
AIO	*Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, ed. L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck. Gent: Peeters, 1989.
AIT	Archäologie in Iran und Turan (Berlin)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AMI(T)	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)*
AMMD	*The archaeological map of the Murghab Delta: Preliminary reports 1990–95,* ed. A. Gubaev, G. Koshelenko, and M. Tosi. Rome: IsIAO Reports and Memoirs Series Minor 3, 1998.
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*

AOASH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Münster)
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	American Oriental Series
APP	*A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, ed. W. H. M. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003.
ARTA	*Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology*
A^2S	Artaxerxes II, inscription at Susa
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica* (Japan)
ASPR	American School of Prehistoric Research
Av.	Avestan
AVH	*A view from the highlands: Studies in honor of Charles Burney*, ed. Antonio Sagona. Leuven: Peeters, 2004.
AWE	*Ancient West & East*
AWI	*The archaeology of western Iran: Settlement and society from prehistory to the Islamic conquest,* ed. F. Hole. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Series in Archaeological Inquiry, 1987.
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BaM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAMI	Belgian Archaeological Mission to Iran
BAR Int Ser	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BAuA	*Bastam: Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen*, ed. W. Kleiss. Berlin: Tehraner Forschungen 4–5, 1979.
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BCHP	Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period, http://www.livius.org/babylonia.html
BCMA	*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*
BIAAM	British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BIWA	*Beiträge zur Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*, ed. R. Borger. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
BTU	*Beyond the Ubaid: Transformation and integration in the late prehistoric societies of the Middle East*, ed. R. A. Carter and G. Philip. Chicago: SAOC 63, 2010.
BU	*Biainili-Urartu*, ed. S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, and P. Zimansky. Leuven: Acta Iranica 51, 2011.
CA	*Current Anthropology*

CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CDAFI	*Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran*
CDLB	*Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin* (online)
CDLJ	*Cuneiform Digital Library Journal* (online)
CDLN	*Cuneiform Digital Library Notes* (online)
CDR	*Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en homage à Léon de Meyer,* ed. H. Gasche, M. Tanret, C. Jansen, and A. Degraeve. Gent: Peeters, 1994.
CE	*Continuity of empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf, and R. Rollinger. Padua: HANEM 5, 2003.
CHI	*Cambridge History of Iran*
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CKA	*Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*. *Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop Held in Padova, November 28–December 1, 2007,* ed. G. B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger. Padua: HANEM 11, 2010.
CLeO	Classica et Orientalia
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
CO	*Collectanea Orientalia: Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terre. Études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket*, ed. H. Gasche and B. Hrouda. Neuchâtel/Paris: Civilisations du Proche-Orient Série 1, Archéologie et environnement 3, 1996.
CP	*Classical Philology*
CRAIBL	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CTN	Cuneiform texts from Nimrud
CTU	M. Salvini, *Corpus dei Testi Urartei*, vol. 1. Roma: Documenta Asiana 8/1, 2008.
DA	*Dossiers d'Archéologie*
DB	Darius, inscription at Bisotun
DN	Darius, inscription at Naqsh-e Rustam
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DP	Darius, inscription at Persepolis
DS	Darius, inscription at Susa
EAC	*Extraction and control: Studies in honor of Matthew W. Stolper,* ed. W. F. M. Henkelman, C. E. Jones, M. Kozuh, and C. Woods. Chicago: Oriental Institute, forthcoming.
EAH	Entretiens d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
EASDLP	*Elamite and Achaemenid settlement on the Deh Luran Plain*, ed. H. T. Wright and J. A. Neely. Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology 47, 2010.

EKI	F. W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Graz: *AfO* Beiheft, 1965.
EMM	*Early mining and metallurgy on the western central Iranian plateau: Report on the first five years of research of the Joint Iranian-German research project*, ed. A. Vatandoust, H. Parzinger, and B. Helwing. Mainz: AIT 9, 2011.
EnIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
EP	*Elam and Persia,* ed. J. Álvarez-Mon and M. B. Garrison. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
ETDLP	*An early town on the Deh Luran plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad,* ed. H. T. Wright. Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology 13, 1981.
EW	*East and West*
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalischen Studien
FGrH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
FHE	*Fragmenta historiae elamicae: Mélanges offertes à M.-J. Steve*, ed. L. de Meyer, H. Gasche and F. Vallat. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.
FHK	*From handaxe to khan: Essays presented to Peder Mortensen on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, ed. K. Folsach, H. Thrane, and I. Thuesen. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004.
GB	*Gozāreshhāy-e Bāstānshenāsi/Archaeological Reports*
GJ	*Geographical Journal*
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East Monographs
HCCA 1	*History of civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. 1. The dawn of civilization: earliest times to 700 B.C.,* A. H. Dani and V. M. Masson. Paris: UNESCO, 1992.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HEL	*The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan*, 2 vols., ed. E. F. Schmidt, M. N. van Loon, and H. H. Curvers. Chicago: OIP 108, 1989.
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
ICAR	Iranian Center for Archaeological Research
ICH(T)O	Iranian Cultural Heritage (and Tourism) Organization
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IEO	*Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente greco,* F. Canali di Rossi. Bonn: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 65, 2004.
IGIAC	*Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale,* G. Rougemont, with contributions by P. Bernard. London: CII 2/1/1, 2012.
IILP	*Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. N. Sims-Williams. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
IJAH	*Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History*
ILN	*Illustrated London News*
IP	*Iran Palaeolithic/Le Paléolithique d'Iran: Proceedings of the XV World Congress UISSP, Lisbon, September 4–9, 2006*, ed. M. Otte, F. Biglari, and J. Jaubert. Oxford: BAR Int Ser 1968, 2009.

IrAnt	*Iranica Antiqua*
Ir.Bd.	Iranian or Great(er) *Bundahišn*
IRSA	*Inscriptions Royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971.
IrSt	*Iranian Studies*
IsIAO	Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente
IsMEO	Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
IW	*The Iranian world: Essays on Iranian art and archaeology presented to Ezat O. Negahban*, ed. A Alizadeh, Y. Majidzadeh, and S. M. Shahmirzadi. Tehran: Iran University Press, 1999.
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIAAA	*Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRGS	*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JWP	*Journal of World Prehistory*
ka	kiloannum (1000 years before present)
KKZ	trilingual inscription of Kartir (Kerdir) on the Kaʿba-ye Zardosht at Naqsh-e Rustam
KMKG-MRAH	Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire (Brussels)
LED	Luristan Excavation Documents
LNV	*Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses*
LPII	*The literature of pre-Islamic Iran*, ed. R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch. London: I. B. Tauris, 2009.
MAPSO	*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*, ed. D. T. Potts, K. Roustaei, C. A. Petrie, and L. R. Weeks. Oxford: BAR Int Ser 2044, 2009.
masl	meters above sea level
MASP	*Materialien zur Archäologie der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit im südlichen Babylonien und im Golfgebiet*, ed. U. Finkbeiner. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1993.
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan
MDAI	Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse

ME	*Mésopotamie et Elam,* ed. L. de Meyer and H. Gasche. Gent: MHE Occasional Publications 1, 1991.
ME	Middle Elamite
MHE	Mesopotamian History and Environment
MJP	*Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran ancien, mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*, ed. F. Vallat. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1990.
ML	*Mountains and lowlands: Essays in the archaeology of greater Mesopotamia*, ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young Jr. Malibu: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7, 1977.
MMAI	Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran
MMJ	*Metropolitan Museum Journal*
MP	Middle Persian
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
N-AG	*Neo-Assyrian Geography*, ed. M. Liverani. Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, 1995.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NE	Neo-Elamite
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NES	*Near Eastern Studies*
NP	New Persian
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OE	Old Elamite
OEANE	*The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–5.
OHR	*On the high road: The history of Godin Tepe, Iran*, ed. H. Gopnik and M. S. Rothman. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2011.
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OP	Old Persian
OPBF	Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund
Or	*Orientalia*
Pahl.	Pahlavi
PAP	*Persiens Antike Pracht: Bergbau, Handwerk, Archäologie,* ed. T. Stöllner, R. Slotta and A. Vatandoust. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau Museum, 2004.
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
Parth.	Parthian
PASARI	*Proceedings of the Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran,* ed. F. Bagherzadeh. Tehran: ICAR.

PBf	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
PCPIVB	*Peoples and crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu Tepe, Iran*, ed. M. De Schauensee. Philadelphia: UMM 132 [= Hasanlu Special Studies 4], 2011.
PDS	*Le palais de Darius à Suse. Une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone*, ed. J. Perrot. Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris, 2010.
PF	siglum of Persepolis Fortification Tablets (1–2078) published in Hallock 1969
PFa	siglum of Persepolis Fortification Tablets (1–33) published in Hallock 1978
PFA	Persepolis Fortification archive
PFAT	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic tablets
PISIANR	*Proceedings of the International Symposium on Iranian Archaeology: Northwestern region*, ed. M. Azarnoush. Tehran: ICAR, 2004.
PM	*Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, ed. J.-L. Huot. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1987.
PNAS	*Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*
PPP	*Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology*
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
PPZT	*The Paleolithic prehistory of the Zagros-Taurus*, ed. D. Olszewski and H. Dibble. Philadelphia: University Museum Symposium Series 5, 1993.
PR	*Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, ed. C. Tuplin. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2007.
PSZ	*Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, ed. J. Wiesehöfer. Stuttgart: Historia-Einzelschriften 122, 1998.
PT	Persepolis Treasury Tablet
QGP	*Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches*, 3 vols., ed. U. Hackl, B. Jacobs, and D. Weber. Göttingen: NTOA, 2010.
QR	*Quaternary Research*
QSR	*Quaternary Science Reviews*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*
RAE	Royal Achaemenid Elamite
RCS	*The royal city of Susa, Ancient Near Eastern treasures in the Louvre*, ed. P. O. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
RINAP	Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RN	royal name
RO	Res Orientales

ROMAAOP	Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper
SA	*Sovetskaja Arheologija*
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SDB	*Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*
SE	*Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives: Proceedings of the International Congress held at Ghent University, 14–17 Dec. 2009*, ed. K. De Graef and J. Tavernier. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente*
ŠKZ	trilingual inscription of Shapur I on the Kaʿba-ye Zardosht at Naqsh-e Rustam
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SNS	*Sylloge nummorum sasanidorum*
SPA	*A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938 (and later reprinted editions, with P. Ackerman).
SPH	*Studies in Persian history: Essays in memory of David M. Lewis*, ed. M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt. Leiden: AchHist 11, 1998.
SPO	Studi di Preistoria Orientale
SRAA	*Silk Road Art & Archaeology*
SRPR	Sialk Reconsideration Project Report
StIr	*Studia Iranica*
StOr/*StOr*	Studia Orientalia (unitalicized: monograph; italicized: multiauthor journal issue)
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
THRRP	*Tappeh Hesar: Reports of the restudy project, 1976*, ed. R. H. Dyson Jr. and S. M. Howard. Florence: Monografie di *Mesopotamia* 2, 1989.
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient
TÜBA-AR	*Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology*
UMM	University Museum Monograph
UNHAII	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
VD	*Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, ed. R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Matthiae, R. Mayer-Opificius, and S. Thürwächter. Münster: AOAT 272, 2000.
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*
VHA	*Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*
WA	*World Archaeology*
WAP	*The world of Achaemenid Persia: History, art and society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Curtis, and St.J. Simpson. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

XP	Xerxes, inscription at Persepolis
YBYN	*Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the archaeology of Iran in honor of William M. Sumner*, ed. N. F. Miller and K. Abdi. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2003.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZOA	*Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie*

Introduction

Iran represents a cultural *massif* that, while never isolated from its neighbors, demands attention in its own right. The country's history and monuments have been objects of wonder throughout the ages, exuding an aura that can be as difficult to explain to the uninitiated as it is palpable to all who have fallen under their spell. Western students of Iranian history and archaeology are apt to trace the origins of this strong attachment to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when many European travelers, merchants, clerics, and diplomats journeyed to Iran, visited Persepolis, and published etchings and descriptions of the site and its monuments that fired the imaginations of thousands of readers (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989). Yet it would be naïve to think that this fascination with Iran's antiquity was a construct of European antiquarianism stretching back in time to Herodotus. Long before any European set foot in the ruins of Persepolis or gazed in wonder at the rock reliefs and tombs of Naqsh-e Rustam, Sasanian, Buyid, and Timurid princes, as well as more than one provincial governor of Fars, had left visible signs of their visits to and regard for Persepolis. Moreover, nineteenth-century accounts of European visitors to Iran are replete with anecdotes showing an awareness by tribesmen, government officials, and other subjects of the Qajar Empire of the antiquity of many of the monuments that dotted the landscape, long before their documentation and study by Western archaeologists and historians.

This volume aims to expose readers to some of the diversity and complexity of the cultural, archaeological, and linguistic record of pre-Islamic Iran. Whereas the *Oxford handbook of Iranian history* (2012) is very explicitly aimed at presenting readers with concise overviews of major periods in Iranian history, the present *Handbook* seeks to complement narrative history with a different set of studies. These commence (Part I) with chapters dedicated to the history of archaeological research in Iran (Mousavi); its ancient climate and environment (Jones); and its early occupation during the Pleistocene (Conard, Ghasidian, and Heydari-Guran) and early Holocene era, when the basic building blocks of a herding and farming way of life were established (Weeks).

From there we move on to a series of chapters devoted to the beginnings of more complex social formations in Iran (Part II). Often referred to as the "Chalcolithic" or "Copper-Stone Age," the period between the era of early farming communities (Neolithic) and the emergence of true cities and social complexity (Bronze Age) is one in which many of the trends that we can follow in later prehistory find their first expression. Because of Iran's size and topographic diversity, different traditions of material culture—house forms, burial patterns, pottery styles, and so on—arose in different parts of the Iranian landmass. For this reason, it is traditional in archaeological scholarship

to consider these regions individually, hence the division of this section into chapters on northern (Helwing), western (Moghaddam and Javanmardzadeh), southwestern (Moghaddam), and southern (Petrie) Iran. The same sort of geographical specificity marks the section on the Bronze Age (Part III), which includes chapters on northwestern (Summers), northeastern (Thornton), western (Potts), southwestern (Álvarez-Mon, McCall), and eastern (Pittman) Iran. The late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age witnessed the first extensive use of writing in Iran, and chapters are devoted to the earliest forms of writing, documented at Susa and half a dozen other sites across the Iranian plateau (Dahl), as well as the use of Akkadian, a Semitic language introduced from Mesopotamia that was extensively used at Susa (De Graef).

By the late second and early first millennia BC the quality and quantity of data available, both archaeological and epigraphic or linguistic, mean that additional issues invite consideration. The archaeological evidence from the different regions of Iran is still extremely important, and chapters devoted to the northwest (Danti), west (Overlaet), north (Mousavi), southwest (Álvarez-Mon), and southeast (Magee) reflect the availability of data from those regions, unlike the northeast which is poorly known (but better covered in this time period across the border in Turkmenistan). On the other hand, the involvement of western Iran in wider political and military conflicts during the early and mid-first millennium, particularly with the Assyrians (Radner, Waters), are topics of great complexity that yield insights of the sort unimaginable in studies of the earlier periods that simply lack a comparable number of sources. One by-product of the confrontation between the polities of western Iran and Assyria is the attestation of a great number of peoples and place names in cuneiform sources that can be attributed to Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Luristan, even if these can rarely be located with precision. The analysis of these names offers a window on the linguistic and, to some extent, ethnic make-up of the indigenous populations of those areas (Zadok). The same sources, moreover, contain etymologically Iranian names, raising the issue of when and whence the earliest Iranians reached the Iranian plateau (Witzel).

Quintessentially Iranian, the Achaemenid Persian dynasty that arose in the late sixth century BC is so rich in content that it demands a section of its own (Part V). Many studies of the Persian Empire review the political and military history in great detail but the emphasis here is on archaeological, iconographic, linguistic, and religious issues. The major sites of the Achaemenid heartland—Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa—are reviewed in detail (Boucharlat, Henkelman), as are the intricacies of royal Achaemenid iconography (Garrison). The evidence from the east Iranian satrapies (Genito) constitutes another large body of data that complements the traditional western focus in Achaemenid studies. The use of color on Achaemenid monuments has long been noted anecdotally but only recently has it been the object of intensive investigation (Nagel). The economic administration of the Persian heartland, as evidenced by the Persepolis Fortification archive, is highlighted (Henkelman), providing an important corpus of data that is entirely different than what we see in contemporary and later Greek sources (Brosius). The knotty problem of religion in the Achaemenid period, particularly Zoroastrianism, is another important topic (Skjærvø), while the cuneiform system

devised for the Old Persian language spoken by the Achaemenid elite is also treated (Tavernier).

Alexander's conquest famously ushered in many important changes in the lands of the former Achaemenid Empire. For Iran itself much of the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence comes from the western and southwestern parts of the country (Callieri and Askari Chaverdi). The fate of Iran under Alexander's Seleucid successors was variable and is dealt with in two chapters (Kosmin, Wiesehöfer). But the loss of Seleucid control over Iran and the arrival of the Arsacids from Parthia, to the east of the Caspian, brought about even more changes for the population of Iran. The Arsacids are known from a variety of monuments and sites (Hauser), both inside and outside the modern boundaries of Iran. The Arsacids and their contemporaries in southwestern Iran left a number of important rock reliefs (Kawami) and minted a large number of coins (Rezakhani) that constitute an important field in numismatic research. Greek speakers and the Greek language continued to play an important role in the region, particularly in western Iran (Rougemont), but Parthian, Middle Persian, and Aramaic were used as well and a variety of epigraphic sources on coins, parchments, stone stelae, and rock reliefs have survived (Haruta).

For many observers of Iranian antiquity, the Sasanian Empire of late antiquity represents another high point, every bit as complex and important as the earlier Achaemenid Empire. Sasanian Iran is examined here through a number of different lenses. These include political ideology (Shayegan) and administration (Miri); calendrical systems (Panaino); and ongoing relations with Rome and Byzantium to the west (Edwell). The material culture of Sasanian Iran is varied and chapters included here treat rock reliefs (Canepa), coinage (Schindel), textiles (Bier), architecture (Ghanimati), and luxury silver vessels (Masia-Radford). The volume concludes with an analysis of the Islamic conquest of Sasanian Iran (Morony). Many more topics could have been included in this volume but the texts published here, and their extensive bibliographies, should serve most readers as a solid foundation from which to expand their reading and investigation of ancient Iran.

One of the perils of working in a field like Iranology is the difficult problem of orthography. There are multiple systems of transliteration and one could waste an inordinate amount of time trying to harmonize the spellings of all the toponyms, ethnonyms, and anthroponyms that appear in a book of this sort. I confess here that my approach has been inconsistent and probably unsatisfactory for those of a more philological bent. Archaeologists, in particular, become fond of spelling the names of sites in a certain way, and that way is normally not philologically correct. On the other hand, historians who are not Iranologists are often just as happy to write "Shapur" as "Šābuhr" when referring to Sasanian kings by that name. And some scholars who might take pains to insert all of the correct diacritics on personal names, such as those of rulers, are quite happy to abandon these and use conventional spellings for familiar toponyms. All of this adds up to a simple admission that there is inconsistency across the chapters in this volume, which, however, a few words of explanation may ameliorate. In those chapters concerning manly archaeological topics, I have not scrupulously replaced Tappeh with Tepe or

vice versa, in the names of archaeological sites, but any multiplication of forms is flagged in the index to avoid confusion. Exceptions concern toponyms in some of the more historical chapters (e.g., Chapter 27) in which names are spelled more "correctly" with their diacritics. Similarly, in the chapters concerned with the Sasanian period (Chapters 42–51), the more correct forms of the names of the Sasanian kings are used—thus Ardašīr (not Ardashir), Šābuhr (not Shapur), Ōhrmazd (not Hormizd), Warahrān (not Bahram), Narseh, Pērōz, Kawād, Xosrow (not Khusro, Chosroes), Yazdgerd, Walāxš, Jāmāsp, Bōrānduxt, and Ādarmīgduxt—but the same rigor has not been applied to toponyms. It is hoped that this inconsistency will not prove a distraction for those who care. Imposing long vowel markers on all names and achieving orthographic consistency would have probably taken more time than the writing and editing of this book.

Sydney
June 2012

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TURKEY
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
UZBEKISTAN
Mughan steppe
TURKMENISTAN
Maku
Khoy
Tabriz
Ardabil
Astara
Lake Van
Lake Almalou
Talesh mountains
Caspian Sea
Lake Urmia
Solduz plain
Gilan
Deylaman
Gorgan
Ja'arm
Takab
Qazvin
Alborz mountains
Mazandaran
Damghan
Savojbulaq
Tehran
Mt Demavand
Lake Zeribar
Kurdistan
Shahryar plain
Varamin plain
Hamadan
Qom
Khorasan
Kermanshah
Kangavar
Namak Lake
Dasht-e Kavir desert
Malayer
Nehavand
Hatsin
Kashan
Ilam
IRAN
Khorammabad
Lake Mirabad
Khorkheh river
Dezful river
Isfahan
Tigris
Dezful
Shahr-e Kord
Shushtar
Zagros mountains
Susiana
Malamir
Kavir-e Abarkuh
Dasht-e Lut desert
Sistan Lake
Hamun Lake
AFGHANISTAN
Karun river
Ram Hormuz
Euphrates
Behbehan
Yasuj
Helmand river
IRAQ
Jarrahi river
Gachsaran
Kerman
Mamasani
Tashk Lake
Fars
Bakhtegan Lake
KUWAIT
Borazjan
Lake Maharlou
Niriz
Sistan
PAKISTAN
Bushehr
Fasa
Darab
Jiroft
SUADI ARABIA
Hamun-e Jaz Murian
Galehdar
Persian Gulf
Hormuzgan
BAHRAIN
Baluchistan
QATAR
Gwadar
Gulf of Oman
U.A.E.
OMAN
Arabian Sea


Mughan steppe
Maku
Bastam
Khoy
Haftavan Tepe
Tabriz
Yanik Tepe
Giljar Tepe
Kordlar Tepe
Lake Almalou
Geoy Tepe
Lake Urmia
Qalatgah Tepe Hasanlu
Dinkha Tepe
Hajji Firuz Tepe
Soldúz plain
Dalma Tepe
Agrab Tepe
Qalaichi Tepe
Zendan-e Suleiman
Tokab
Ziwiye
Lake Zeribar
Kurdistan
Zagheh
Astara
Ardabil
Talesh mountains
Caspian Sea
Gilan
Deylaman
Kaluraz
Ghalekuti
Marlik
Zeyd Rud
Belt Caves (Hotu Caves)
Alborz mountains
Mazandaran
Qazvin
Tepe Ebrahimabad
Tepe Ozbaki
Khorvin
Mt Damavand
Chahar Boneh
Sagzabad
Tepe Ghabristan
Savajbulaq
Tehran
Qeytariyeh
Cheshmeh Ali
Tepe Pardis
Shahriyar plain
Varamin plain
Hamadan
Qara Tappe Qomrud
Qom
Dasht-e Kavir desert
Kangavar
Kermanshah
Harsin
Malayer
Nehavand
Namak Lake
Pish-e Kuh
Mt Alvand
Mahidasht
Hulailan
Kashan
Deh Hosein
Tepe Siaik
Arisman
Ilam
Khorramabad
Saimarreh river
Pushť-e Kuh
Kabir Kuh
Khorkheh river
Lake Mirabad
Mehran plain
Deh Loran plain
Isfahan
Dez river
Dezful
Shahr-e Kord
Zagros mountains
Tigris
Shushtar
Kul-e Farah
Malamir
Susiana
Tal-e Ghazir
Qaleh Rostam
Kavir-e Abarkuh
Ram Hormuz
Euphrates
Karun river
Tepe Bormi
Lama
Arjan
Yasuj
Behbehan
Jarrahi river
Gachsaran
Tol-e Spid
Kurangun
Tol-e Nurabad
Mamasani
Tal-e Taimuran
Darvazeh Tepe
Lake Maharlou
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Bushehr
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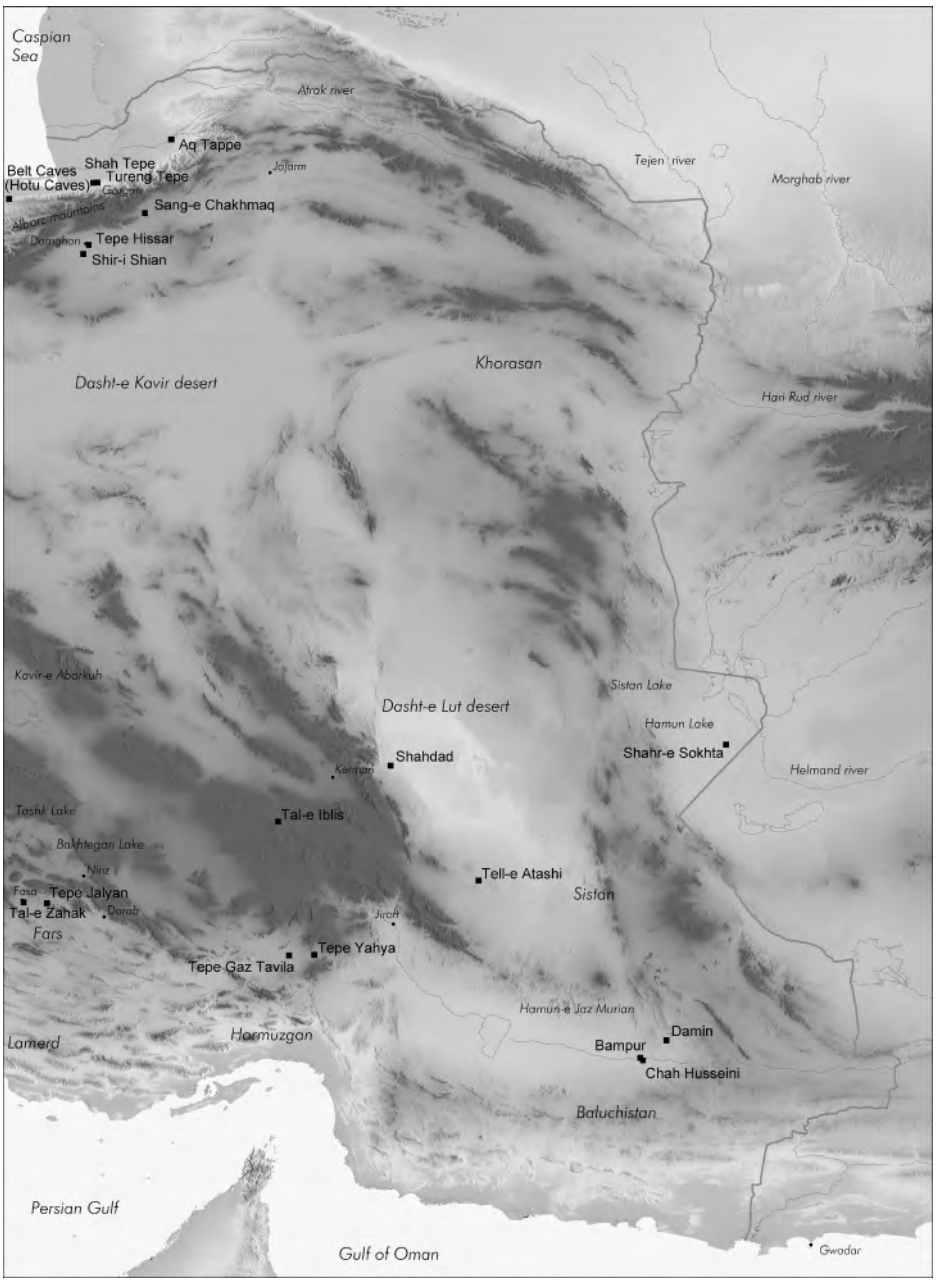
Tal-e Zahak
Tepe Jalyan
Persian Gulf
Galehdar
Lamerd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Alborz mountains
Damghan
Tepe Hissar
Shir-i Shian
Khorasan
Dasht-e Kavir desert
Hari Rud river
Kavir-e Abarkuh
Sistan Lake
Dasht-e Lut desert
Hamun Lake
Shahdad
Kerman
Shahr-e Sokhta
Helmand river
Tashk Lake
Tal-e Iblis
Bakhtegan Lake
Ninz
Tell-e Atashi
Sistan
Fasa
Tepe Jalyan
Tal-e Zahak
Darab
Jiroft
Fars
Tepe Yahya
Tepe Gaz Tavila
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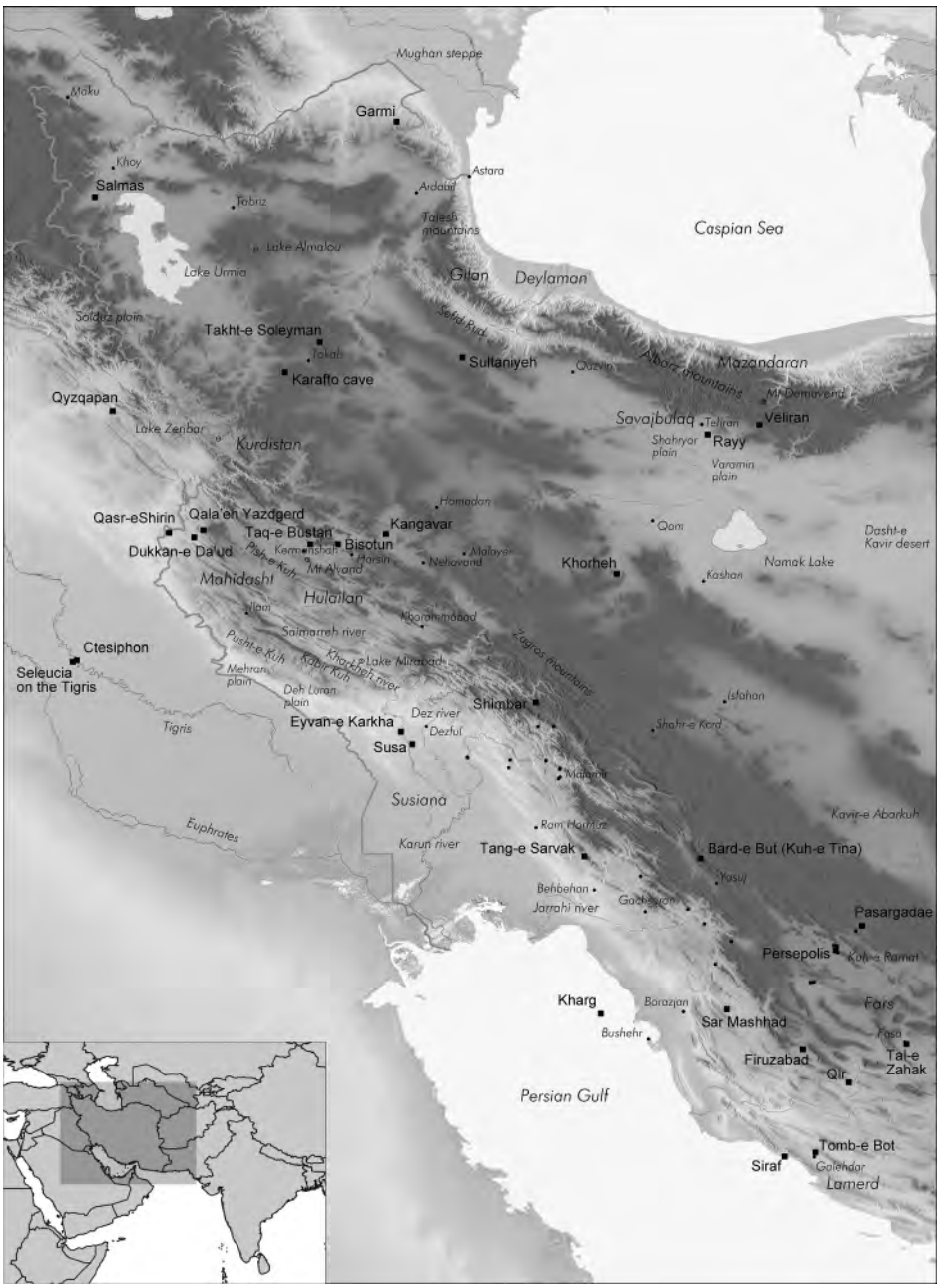
Bampur
Chah Husseini
Baluchistan
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Oman
Gwadar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Deylaman
Soldiz plain
Takht-e Soleyman
Takab
Sefid Rud
Sultaniyeh
Qazvin
Alborz mountains
Mazandaran
Karafto cave
Qyzqapan
Mt Damavand
Lake Zeribar
Kurdistan
Savajbulaq
Tehran
Veliran
Shahryar plain
Rayy
Varamin plain
Hamadan
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Qala'eh Yazdgerd
Kangavar
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Taq-e Bustan
Bisotun
Dukkan-e Da'ud
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Nehavand
Malayer
Khorheh
Namak Lake
Pish-e Kuh
Mt Alvand
Kashan
Mahidasht
Hulailan
Ilam
Khoramabad
Salmarreh river
Ctesiphon
Pusht-e Kuh
Zagros mountains
Seleucia on the Tigris
Mehran plain
Kabir Kuh
Khorkheh river
Lake Miankuh
Deh Loran plain
Isfahan
Shimbar
Dez river
Tigris
Eyvan-e Karkha
Dezful
Shahr-e Kord
Susa
Malamir
Susiana
Kavir-e Abarkuh
Euphrates
Ram Hormiz
Karun river
Tang-e Sarvak
Bard-e But (Kuh-e Tina)
Yasuj
Behbehan
Jarrahi river
Gachsaran
Pasargadae
Persepolis
Kuh-e Rahmat
Kharg
Borazjan
Fars
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Qir
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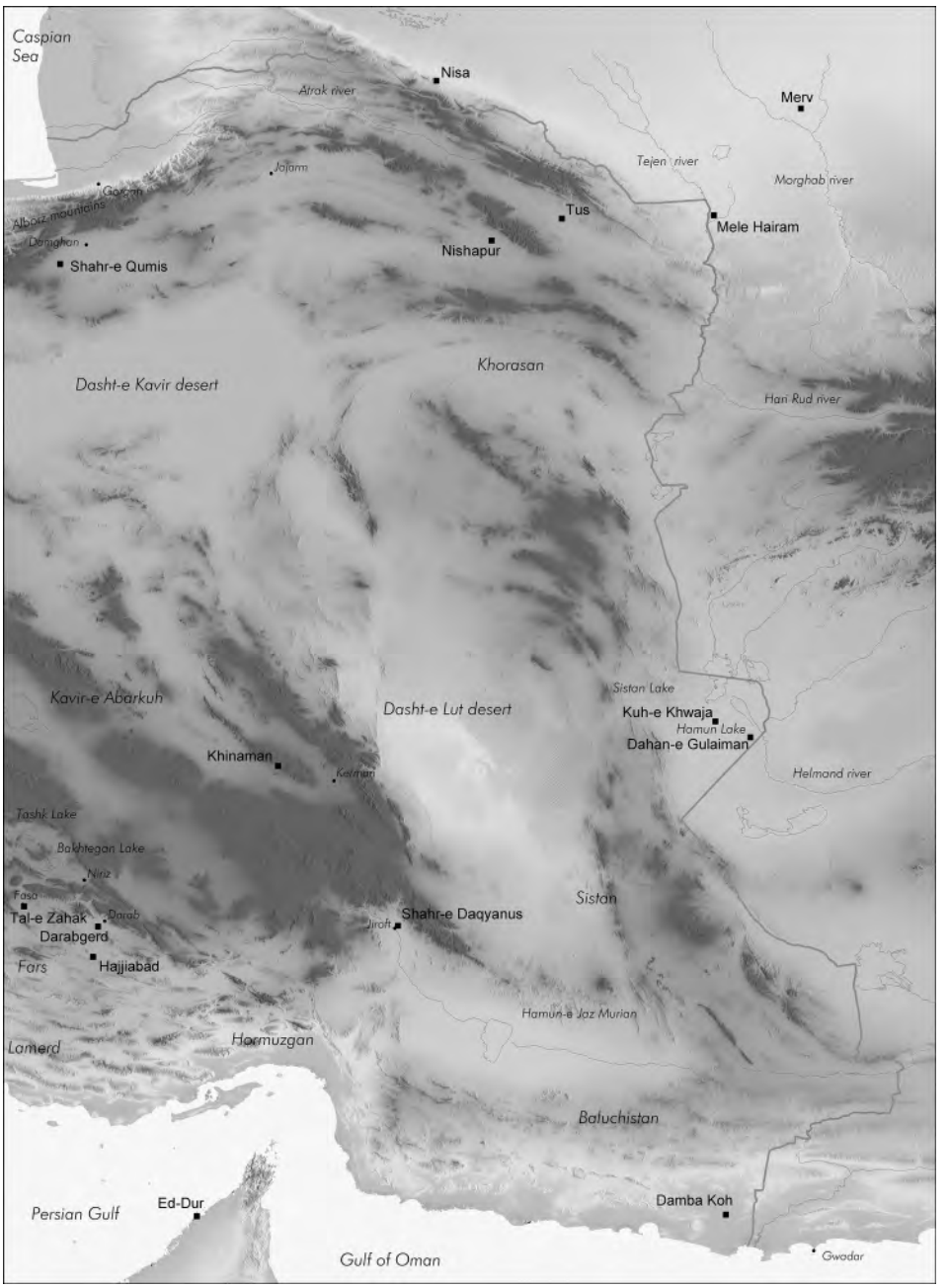
Tomb-e Bot
Siraf
Galehdar
Lamerd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Shahr-e Qumis
Khorasan
Dasht-e Kavir desert
Hari Rud river
Kavir-e Abarkuh
Dasht-e Lut desert
Sistan Lake
Kuh-e Khwaja
Hamun Lake
Dahan-e Gulaiman
Khinaman
Kerman
Helmand river
Tashk Lake
Bakhtegan Lake
Niriz
Sistan
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Darab
Shahr-e Daqyanus
Jiroft
Darabgerd
Fars
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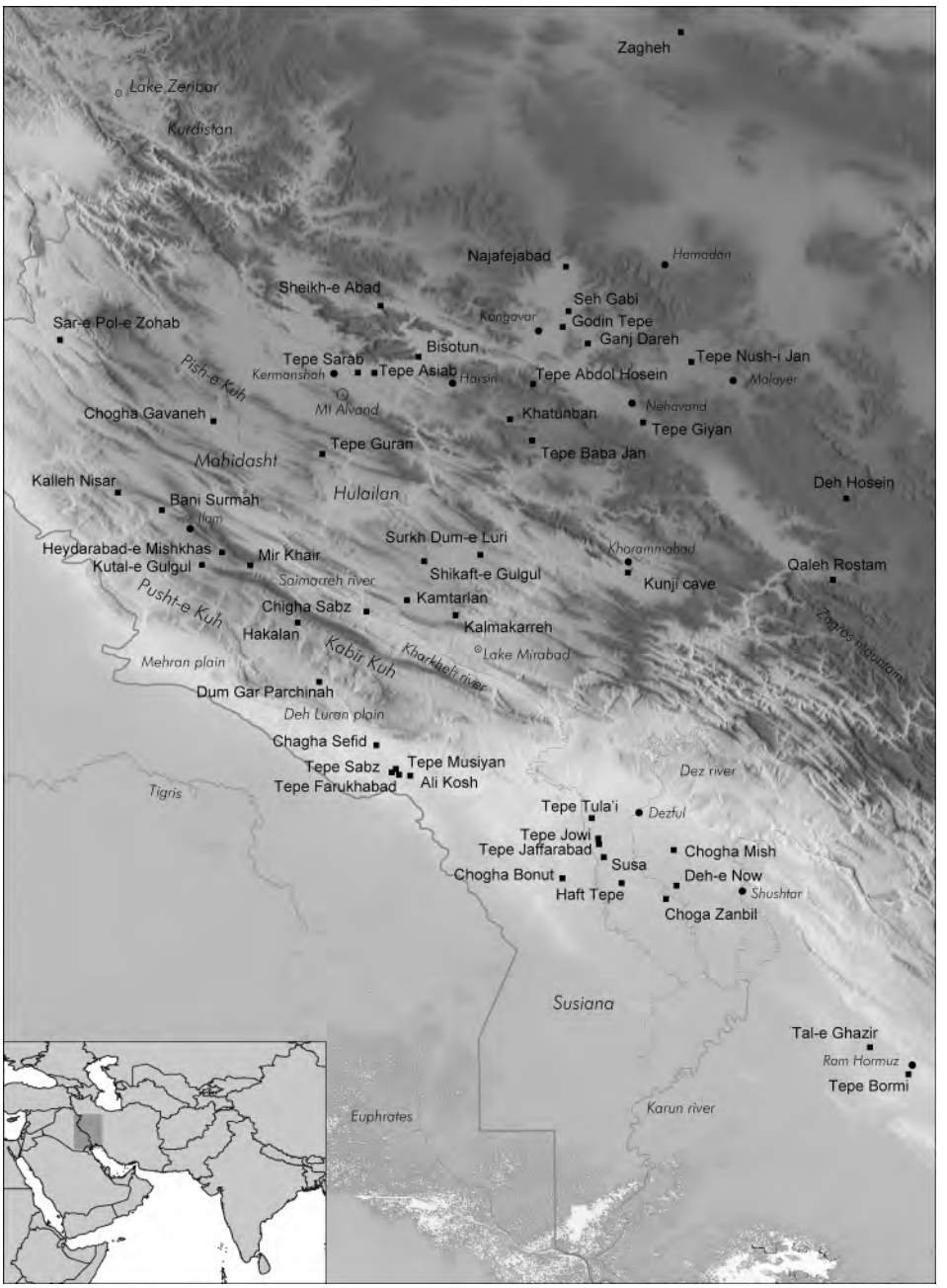
Baluchistan
Persian Gulf
Ed-Dur
Damba Koh
Gulf of Oman
Gwadar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Hamadan
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Seh Gabi
Kangavar
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Ganj Dareh
Bisotun
Tepe Nush-i Jan
Tepe Sarab
Kermanshah
Tepe Asiab
Harsin
Tepe Abdol Hosein
Malayer
Pish-e Kuh
Mt Alvand
Nehavand
Chogha Gavaneh
Khatunban
Tepe Giyan
Tepe Guran
Tepe Baba Jan
Mahidasht
Kalleh Nisar
Hulailan
Deh Hosein
Bani Surmah
Ilam
Surkh Dum-e Luri
Heydarabad-e Mishkhas
Mir Khair
Khorramabad
Qaleh Rostam
Kutal-e Gulgul
Shikaft-e Gulgul
Kunji cave
Saimareh river
Pusht-e Kuh
Kamtarlan
Chigha Sabz
Zagros Mountains
Kalmakarreh
Hakalan
Kabir Kuh
Lake Mirabad
Mehran plain
Kharkheh river
Dum Gar Parchinah
Deh Luran plain
Chagha Sefid
Tepe Musiyan
Tepe Sabz
Dez river
Ali Kosh
Tepe Farukhabad
Tigris
Tepe Tula'i
Dezful
Tepe Jowi
Tepe Jaffarabad
Chogha Mish
Susa
Chogha Bonut
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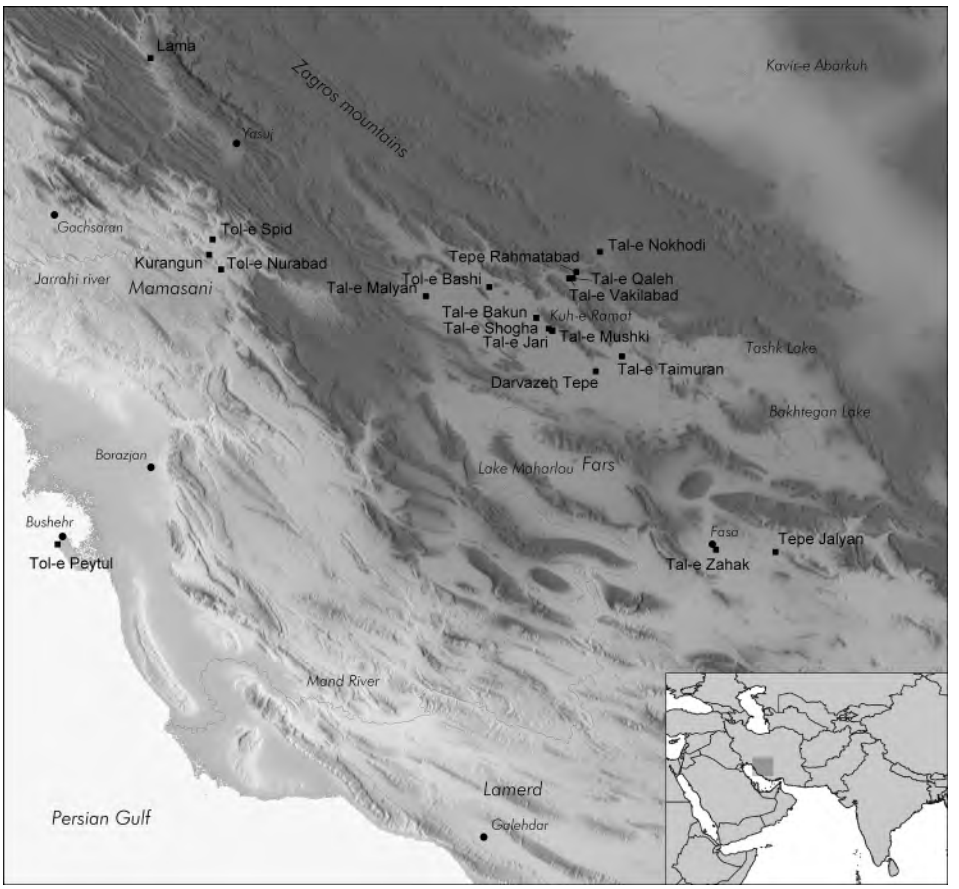
Tepe Bormi
Euphrates
Karun river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Mamasani
Tal-e Malyan
Tol-e Bashi
Tepe Rahmatabad
Tal-e Nokhodi
Tal-e Qaleh
Tal-e Vakilabad
Tal-e Bakun
Kuh-e Ramat
Tal-e Shogha
Tal-e Jari
Tal-e Mushki
Tashk Lake
Tal-e Taimuran
Darvazeh Tepe
Bakhtegan Lake
Borazjan
Lake Maharlou
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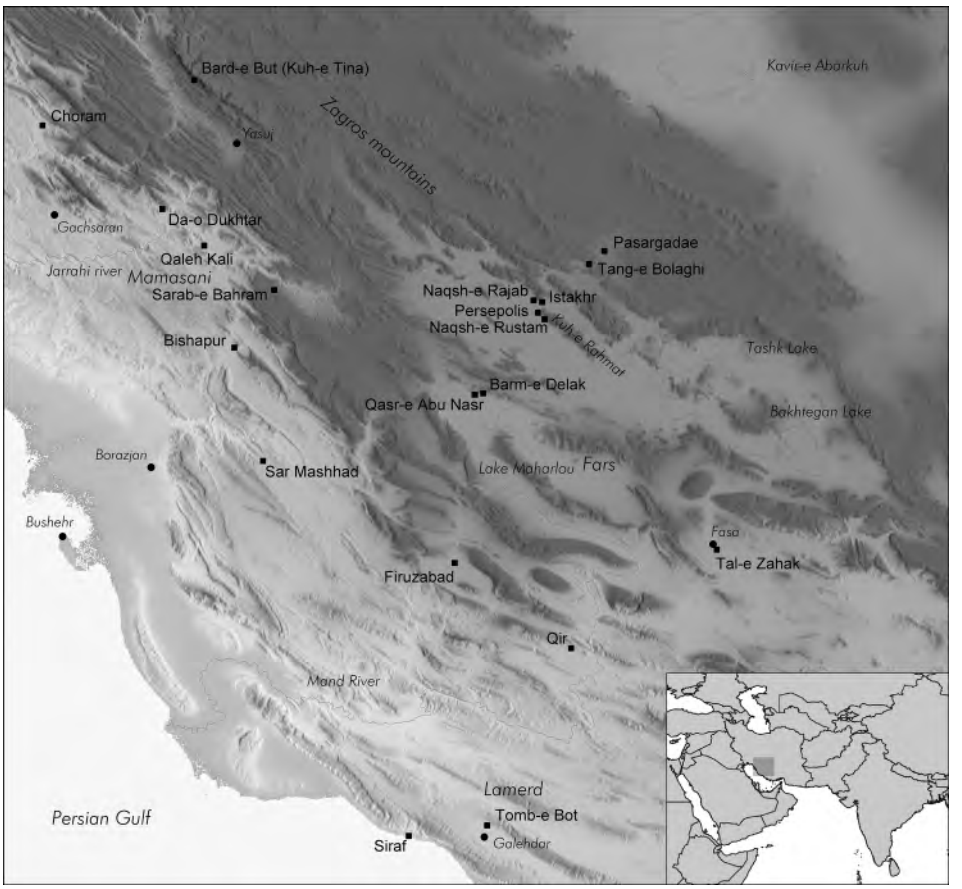
Mand River
Lamerd
Persian Gulf
Golehdar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Choram
Yasuj
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Da-o Dukhtar
Pasargadae
Qaleh Kali
Jarrahi river
Mamasani
Tang-e Bolaghi
Sarab-e Bahram
Naqsh-e Rajab
Istakhr
Persepolis
Naqsh-e Rustam
Kuh-e Rahmat
Bishapur
Tashk Lake
Barm-e Delak
Qasr-e Abu Nasr
Bakhtegan Lake
Borazjan
Sar Mashhad
Lake Maharlou
Fars
Bushehr
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Tal-e Zahak
Firuzabad
Qir
Mand River
Lamerd
Persian Gulf
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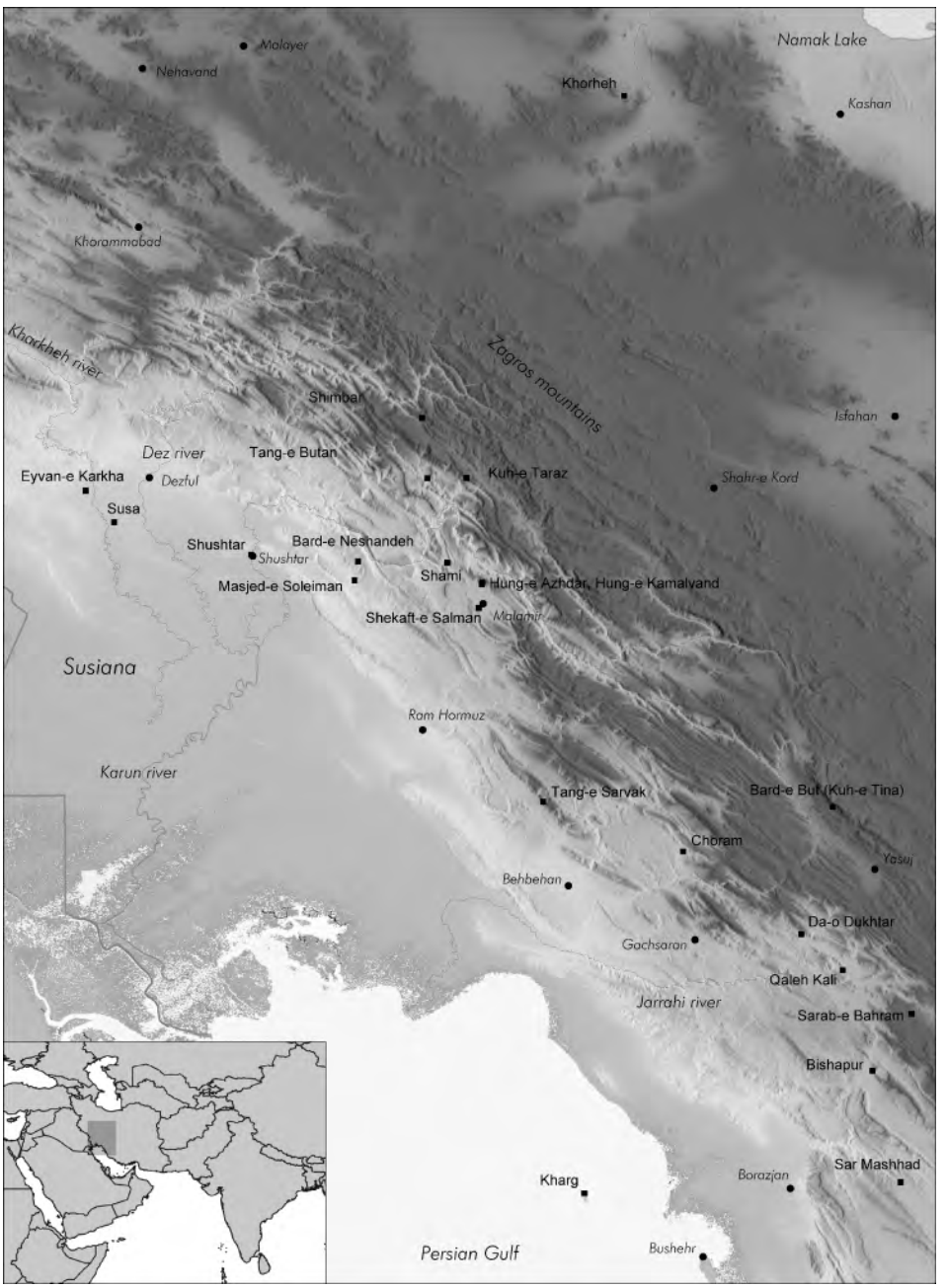
Siraf
Galehdar


Malayer
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Isfahan
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Tang-e Butan
Eyvan-e Karkha
Dezful
Kuh-e Taraz
Shahr-e Kord
Susa
Shushtar
Shushtar
Bard-e Neshandeh
Shami
Masjed-e Soleiman
Hung-e Azhdar, Hung-e Kamalvand
Shekaft-e Salman
Malamir
Susiana
Ram Hormuz
Karun river
Tang-e Sarvak
Bard-e Buf (Kuh-e Tina)
Choram
Yasuj
Behbehan
Da-o Dukhtar
Gachsaran
Qaleh Kali
Jarrahi river
Sarab-e Bahram
Bishapur
Kharg
Borazjan
Sar Mashhad
Persian Gulf
Bushehr

CHAPTER 31

EASTERN IRAN IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

BRUNO GENITO

Introduction

It is well known that archaeological evidence of the Achaemenid period in eastern Iran is limited. This is as true of excavated material remains as it is of direct and indirect written sources, which tend to be both rare and contradictory (cf. Boucharlat 2005 on the Iranian plateau; Francfort 2005 on Central Asia; cf. Vogelsang 1992 with regard to the importance of the eastern provinces and the scarcity of archaeological documentation compared to historical data). We must also remember that the territorial extent of the Achaemenid Empire is ambiguous and in this regard the cultural background of the different provinces, as well as relationships between center and periphery, were crucial factors affecting the visibility of the Achaemenid Empire in its easternost regions (Briant and Herrenschmidt 1989).

Similarly, the geographic definition of "eastern Iran" requires clarification as well because, as a geomorphological unit, the term "Iranian plateau" is not restricted to the borders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, but extends far beyond them toward the west and the east. In reality, the plateau can be considered as extending roughly from an imaginary line joining the Gulf of Alexandretta and Trebizond, to the Pamirs, that is, for about 3500 km. In the east the border is marked by the separation between the mountains of Afghanistan and the Indus depression; in the south, by the Indian Ocean coasts and the eastern shores of Persian Gulf; in the west by the outer chains of the Zagros Mountains extending from the Persian Gulf into the heart of Armenia; and to the north by the Caucasus and the Alborz Mountains, pressing up toward the coast of the Caspian depression, and eastward toward western Turkestan and the Pamirs. The area included within these limits comprises roughly 3,000,000 km^2, about 1,600,000 km^2 of which belong to the Islamic Republic of Iran and 635,000 km^2 to Afghanistan, with small portions lying in Iraq, Armenia, and the Cis-Caucasian region, Turkey, and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The geographical issue, in fact, is fundamental to an understanding of the complex political nature and territorial integration of the Empire across its enormous extent (cf. Jacobs 2011 for the most up-to-date analysis of the historical questions of the provinces/satrapies). Moreover, based on lists of "lands" in the Achaemenid inscriptions and Herodotus, eastern Achaemenid Iran can be considered as including Parthava, Drangiana, and Maka, Gedrosia and Carmania having been recognized as territorially autonomous regions only in post-Achaemenid times. More broadly, "eastern Iran" may be understood as including areas located in Central Asia and adjacent territories, such as Margiana (Merv oasis in south Turkmenistan, never listed as an autonomous province), Areia, Arachosia, and Bactriana. Even more easterly regions included Gandhara, Sogdiana, Choresmia, and Hinduš. The identification of each of the areas mentioned in the Achaemenid and Greek sources with precise, present-day geographical units, is notoriously difficult. Their variable positions in the lists of provinces and regions, and the sequence of individual groups of people on the Achaemenid reliefs, defy easy interpretation and ethnogeographical attribution. In addition, many of the so-called Achaemenid remains in eastern Iran are beset by dubious chronology and cultural affiliation rendering their interpretation difficult (cf. Genito 1988d: 157, fig. 1, where the author scrutinizes issues related to the ethnic, chronological, and political/dynastic interpretation of the material evidence). Thus at least four different aspects of interpretation should be considered when considering the evidence of the Achaemenid Empire in the east (Abdullaev and Genito 2011: 11):

1. the dynastic—identifiable by inscriptions, coins, and seals;
2. the ethnic—possibly detectable on both physical anthropological and cultural grounds;
3. the political/imperial—recognizable both in macroscopic architectural and art historical remains and in the material traces of settlement patterns and economic investments, e.g. to secure the water supply;
4. the chronological—interpretable in the differing horizons connected to the period of Achaemenid politico-dynastic dominion in the area.

Most of eastern Iran has always been a frontier zone, both in relation to the steppe regions to the north and the desert and mountainous areas to the east. The recognition of an Achaemenid horizon in this area is more often based on chronological contemporaneity with the Achaemenid Empire and location within the assumed confines of one of the Achaemenid satrapies, than on the presence of unequivocally Achaemenid material culture.

Iran

Parthava

Primarily located in present-day Turkmenistan, along the lower slopes of the Kopet Dagh mountain range, Parthava was originally a relatively small area, less than 200 km

long and perhaps 40 km wide. According to the sources (cf. Isidore of Charax: Weißbach 1916: 2064–8; Miller 1855: 244–56; Schoff 1914) Parthava comprised two different subregions; the first, more arid one, in Turkmenistan, and the second in Iran (Mansā ur Gorgāni 1971). Although arid, the northern slopes of the Kopet Dagh and adjacent plains have supported communities practicing irrigation agriculture for thousands of years (Ehlers 1970, 1971). The southern slopes of the Kopet Dagh have more vegetation and the plains at their base are the proper Parthian homeland, extending southward and including much of the upper, fertile Atrek River valley, and the Kuhistan Hills, beyond the Kopet Dagh (Arne 1935). These areas today correspond to the Golestan and northern Khorasan provinces in Iran.

Parthava appears as Varkāna in the inscription of Darius I at Bisotun. In the Achaemenid lists of lands it appears variously as the 3rd (DSe 21–30; DNa 22–30), 5th (Darius Statue), 6th (XPh 19–28), 13th (DB I 14–17; DSaa 18–31), or 14th province (DPe 10–18). In Herodotus' army list (*Hist.* 7.61–96) the Paricanians appear after the Gandharians and before the Caspians, while in the "tribute list" (*Hist.* 3.90–94) the Paricanians belong to the 17th district and the Parthians to the 16th district. Paricania may be associated with Hyrcania, between the Hyrcanian Ocean (Caspian Sea) to the north and the Alborz Mountains to the south and west. Zadracarta, the capital of the satrapy, has been identified by some scholars with Sari city, in Mazandaran, or Qala Khandan, the ancient part of Gorgan city (Ehlers 2002).

In northern Parthia (southern Turkmenistan) sites such as El'ken (Kačuris 1967) and Ulug Depe (Boucharlat et al. 2005) have Iron Age occupation and may be considered regional centers (Košelenko 1985: 184–5), while smaller sites thrived as well (Pilipko 1986). Tureng Tepe (Deshayes 1967, 1968, 1969, 1973), an important site located 18 km from the modern city of Gorgan, at the edge of fertile foothills of the Alborz and the Turkmen steppe, consists of a main *tepe*, 30 m high, and a series of lower mounds. According to the chronology proposed in the long sequence of occupation at the site, extending from the fifth millennium BC to the Mongol period, the Achaemenid remains comprise level VA, and may be assigned to Iron Age IV (Boucharlat and Lecomte 1987: 11). The ceramics, mainly red wares, display forms (Deshayes 1976: fig. 10; Cleuziou 1985: figs. 18, 24) similar to those documented at Pasargadae while the Achaemenid-period architecture evinces a marked change from the preceding period, as square mudbricks (35 × 35 cm) replaced rectangular ones (Deshayes 1976: 306; 1979: 33; Cleuziou 1985: 182). Located between the Iranian plateau and southern Central Asia, Tureng Tepe is clearly related to the Iron Age II–IV cultures on the Iranian plateau. At the same time it clearly had ties to Iron Age II in archaic Dehistan (southwestern Turkmenistan), which itself represents a local development from the Bronze Age in that region.

Located 10 km south of Gonbad-e Qavus, Yarim Tepe contains Iron Age and later remains (Crawford 1963) ranging from at least 1100/1000 BC to 200 AD. Architecturally, the most remarkable feature is a massive mudbrick wall crowning the site. Some 16 km northeast of Gonbad-e Qavus is a cluster of sixteen tombs dating to the first millennium BC that were excavated in 2000. Among the ceramics recorded were Iron Age types and some "potsherds of the Achaemenid period" (Shahmirzadi and Nokandeh 2001: 3, figs. 20–21, pls. 15–16).

Archaeological research in northeastern Khorasan has been very limited. Explorations were conducted by the University of Turin in the Atrek valley between 1976 and 1978 (Venco Ricciardi 1980, 1981a, 1981b). Three sites have Iron Age material similar to that found in the Yaz Depe horizon in southern Central Asia (Hlopina and Hlopin 1976: 200–203), not to Iranian assemblages. In the Achaemenid period (Yaz III), a total of seventeen sites, some with earlier occupation, were recorded. These are modest in size and rarely cluster (Venco Ricciardi 1980: 60–62; 1981a: 98–9). Pottery consists mostly of carinated, cylindrical-conical vessels, a widespread type in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and eastern Iran dating back to Yaz II. Technically, the material differs from that of the earlier Iron Age (Yaz I–II): the pottery is wheel turned, smoothed, and unpainted (Venco Ricciardi 1980: fig. E; Cornelio 1981).

A survey conducted in 1978 (Kohl and Heskel 1980) in the Dargaz (Darreh Gaz) valley recorded thirty-six sites, the most important of which was Yarim Tepe, covering 8 ha. Following occupation in the Bronze Age, "substantial occupation was suggested for the Achaemenid period" in this region (Kohl 1996).

Drangiana

The modern Iranian province of Sistan and Baluchistan borders Khorasan province and Afghanistan to the north; Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east; the Gulf of Oman to the south; Kerman province to the west; and Hormuzgan province to the southwest. The first historical reference both to the territory around the Hamun Lake and to the Helmand River is found at Bisotun (DB I 16; Kent 1950: 116–35; Schmitt 1991; Lecoq 1997: 83–96, 187–217). In the Achaemenid inscriptions it appears variously as the 5th (XPh, 19–28), 8th (DSe, 21–30; DNa, 22–30), 9th (Darius Statue), 14th (DB I 14–17; DSaa 18–31), or 15th province (DPe 10–18). According to Herodotus' tribute list (*Hist.* 3.90–94) Drangiana was inhabited by Sarangians and other peoples, forming part of the 14th district, while in his army list (*Hist.* 7.61–96) the peoples inhabiting the area are said to have been the Sarangians, together with the Utians and Sagartians. These are listed after the Mycii (Maka) and before the Bactrians.

Nevertheless, despite its frequent attestation in the sources, the geographical limits of Drangiana in the Achaemenid period remain obscure. Of particular importance are references to Zarin, the capital of Achaemenid Drangiana, in Ctesias' *Persica*; Isidore of Charax's *Parthian Stations*; and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Daffinà 1967; Gnoli 1967: 45, n. 1; 1993: 584; König 1972; Gilmore 1888). Yet it is doubtful whether the administrative center of the region, though retaining the same name, remained in the same location over time and indeed it seems more likely that, because of changes in the ecosystem of the region—frequently attested in later periods, for example, in reference to the city of Zaranj, capital of the province during the Islamic period (Gnoli 1967: 104, n. 1)—it moved more than once.

The results of the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission at Dahan-e Ghulaman, for example, suggested that the site should be identified not with the

Zarin of Isidore of Charax, but rather, in view of the date of the site, with the Zarin of Ctesias (Scerrato 1962, 1966a, 1966b: 11; 1970, 1972, 1974, 1979; Gnoli 1967: 103–7). Dahan-e Ghulaman is still one of the most important settlements of the Achaemenid era in Iran. The plan of a building interpreted as a religious structure suggests it may have been a Zoroastrian or even pre-Zoroastraian fire temple (Genito 1986, 1987, 1990, 2010a, 2010b, forthcoming a–c). An Iranian team has conducted further investations at the site, confirming its importance (Sajjadi and Saber-Moghaddam 2004; Sajjadi 2007).

Although the foundation of the upper terrace of Nad-e Ali in Afghan Sistan has been dated to the Bronze Age (Besenval and Francfort 1994), it is not impossible that it still retained a cultic function in the Iron Age, as shown by the dates of materials found in its upper part (Ghirshman 1939–42; Dales 1977).

Karmania

Karmania denoted a region east of Persis, corresponding roughly to modern Kerman province (Hinz and Koch 1987: 525ff.). It appears in the foundation tablet of Darius' palace at Susa (DSf 9) as the source of *Dalbergia sissoo* wood (the *jaḡ* tree, also brought from Gandhara). In the Persepolis Fortification Tablets Karmania is frequently mentioned in connection with travelers to Susa. The OP ethnic name is possibly reflected in the Elamite version, which occurs in unpublished tablets (Hinz and Koch 1987: 526ff.), and in Greek Karmánioi (Lat. Carmāniī) (cf. Francfort 1988; Genito 1996).

Maka

As Gnoli showed (1987: 512–18), Gedrosia denoted a geographical area within which were populations who deemed themselves *Arya*, without any political or administrative implications. Several scholars have argued that the Persian satrapy Maka (DB I 17; cf. DSaa 18–31, DPe 10–18, DS3 21–30, DNa 22–30, Darius Statue, XPh 19–28; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.90–94, 7.61–96) was identical to Gedrosia, emphasizing the similarity of the name Maka and modern Makran (Holdich 1896; Pozdena 1975), the southeasternmost coastal region of Iran and southwestern Pakistan. However, it is more likely that Maka is to be sought in modern Oman, the northern part of which was called Maketa in antiquity (Potts 1985). In southeastern Iran and Baluchistan there is a general lack of water, and this situation, judging from the Alexander's difficult crossing of Gedrosia, cannot have been much different in ancient times. It is therefore not surprising that Gedrosia is never mentioned in the Achaemenid sources and that its capital, Pura, cannot be located with certainty, though it is clear from the Alexander biographies that it lay west of the main Gedrosian deserts (Stein 1931, 1943). It should therefore be placed in Persian Baluchistan, possibly in the Bampūr oasis (Potts 1989; Vogelsang 2000).

Central Asia

As used here, the term Central Asia denotes the modern states of Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and part of Kazakhstan. As far as the Achaemenid period is concerned, one fundamental point must be emphasized: it is very difficult to recognize an Achaemenid horizon in the Central Asian Iron Age which comprises a 1500-year-long unit of archaeological time extending from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, and sometimes even beyond (Košelenko 1985), to the end of the Kušan period in the third and fourth centuries AD (Francfort 2005).

The political-economic domination of the Achaemenid empire represented the first period of imperial political unity in Central Asia and one might have expected a large quantity of material remains belonging to military, administrative, and economic centers and large towns. Instead, these are almost completely absent. Moreover, Achaemenid epigraphic remains in Central Asia are very scarce, consisting of a fragment of an Achaemenid Elamite tablet from Kandahar (Helms 1997); an alabastron of Artaxerxes in Bactria inscribed in cuneiform and hieroglyphs (Schmitt 2001); newly discovered Aramaic letters from Bactria (Shaked 2004; Naveh and Shaked 2012); and an Aramaic ostracon found in the main temple of Aï Khanoum in a context dated to the late third century BC (Rapin 1992: 95–114).

Margiana

Drained by the river Murghab which originated in the mountains of Afghanistan and reached Merv oasis in modern-day Turkmenistan (Gubaev, Košelenko and Novikov 1990), Marguš was included in one of the other eastern satrapies of the empire (Genito 1998d). Margiana must have been conquered by Cyrus the Great because he fought against the Massagetae, a nomadic tribe living beyond Margiana. According to Darius' inscription at Bisotun, in March 522 BC, following the Magian revolt by Gaumata further to the east, the oasis of Margiana revolted as well. The leader of the Margian insurrection was one Frâda. The satrap of Bactria, Dâdarši, advanced against the rebels, whom he defeated on December 28, 521 BC, after a march of 300 km through the Karakum desert. In the Bisotun inscription, which was engraved immediately after these events, Dâdarši's victory is presented as if it was just as important as the victories over the rebels in Babylonia or Media. The Aramaic version of the text, although severely damaged, even mentions 55,423 Margians killed and 6972 taken captive, almost certainly an exaggeration (Struve 1949a. 1949b).

Apart from the excavations carried out at the beginning of the twentieth century by Raphael Pumpelly, the first archaeological research in the region of the lower Murghab dates to 1946 when the so-called JuTAKE (Južno-Turkmenistanskoj arheologičeskoj kompleksnoj ekspedicii—Archaeological Complex Expedition in South Turkmenistan)

was established and undertook its first excavations in the Murghab delta under the direction of M. E. Masson. The most important sites, grouped by oasis, are: for the Iron Age, Takhirbaj, Uč-Depe, Ajrak, Aravali Depe, and Taip and for the Achaemenid period, Erk Kala. For Iron Age chronology Uč-Depe, partially investigated in the 1950s, provided, together with Yaz Depe further south, the first sequence of Iron Age through Achaemenid ceramic types in Margiana, and the following periodization: Yaz I (900–700 BC), Yaz II (700–500 BC), Yaz III (500–350 BC). Numerous sites have been identified in the Takhirbaj oasis, including Takhirbaj 1, a settlement mound, perhaps a fortress, with extensive living areas. Citadels of the Achaemenian period include Erk Kala (Usmanova 1969a, 1969b; Filanovič 1973, 1974; Košelenko 1985: 228–9) and Gyaur-Kala (Filanovič 1974; Usmanova et al. 1985: 226–42), and other Yaz III sites like Starij Kishman (Genito 2010c). Alignments of sites dated ceramically to the Achaemenid period have been discovered by surveys in the desertified delta (Genito 1998a, 1998b: fig. 1; 1998c, 2003), while some sections of the so-called Wall of Antiochus (Bader et al. 1998) are dated to the Achaemenid period. The function of this as a perimeter wall of the oasis is certainly more convincing than that of a primarily defensive structure, as the sources state.

The circular plan of Merv has definitely a defensive origin, perhaps arising from the fact that this made it more easily defensible than a rectangular town, and also perhaps because this would allow the interior space to be enclosed in multiple, concentric walls, less extensive than that required to encompass the equivalent rectangular area. Some trial-trenches have provided partial clarification of the walls. Occupation in the center on the highest part of the site dates, on ceramic grounds, to the Yaz I–III (900–350 BC) horizon.

Areia

Areia corresponded to the Hari Rud valley in northwestern Afghanistan. In the Achaemenid inscriptions it appears as the 4th (DSe, 21–30; Darius Statue), 7th (XPh, 19–28), 15th (DB I 14–17; DSaa, 18–31), or 16th (DPe 10–18) province. In Herodotus' taxation list (*Hist.* 3.89ff.), the Areians are listed together with the Parthians, Choresmians, and Sogdians, and according to him, the Areians were dressed in the Bactrian fashion. In his army list (7.61–96), the Aryans are mentioned after the Parthians and before the Choresmians.

The present town of Herat (Afghanistan), presumably the capital of the region, dates back to ancient times but its exact age remains unknown. In Achaemenid times, the surrounding district was known as OP *Haraiva* and in Classical sources the region was called Areia. In the *Avesta* (*Yašt* 10.14; *Vidēvdāt* 1.9), the district is mentioned as *Harōiva*. The name of the district and its main town are most probably derived from that of the Hari Rud (Old Iranian **Harayu*), the main river in the region, which traverses the district and passes just south of modern Herat (Vogelsang 2003). Herat dominates the productive part of ancient Areia, which was, and basically still is, a rather narrow stretch of land extending for *c.*150 km along both banks of the river. The city and district of

Areia/Herat occupied an important strategic place along the age-old caravan routes that crossed the Iranian plateau. In the texts Areia is grouped with Zranka (modern Sistān) to the south, Parthava (Parthia) to the northwest, and Bāxtriš (Bactria) to the northeast.

Representatives from Areia are depicted in reliefs at the royal Achaemenid tombs of Naqsh-e Rustam and Persepolis. They wear Scythian-style dress and a twisted turban around the head. This costume is also worn by the representatives from nearby Sistān (to the south) and Arachosia (to the southeast) and is reminiscent of the dress worn by the representatives from almost all of the northern lands strongly influenced by the Eurasian steppe cultures. On the Darius statue at Susa (Kervran et al. 1972), the representative from Areia is also shown wearing a long coat around the shoulders with empty sleeves, a type of coat known from Classical sources (Gk. *kandys*) and sometimes also worn by the Persians and the Medes, whose origin should be sought among the nomadic Scythians of Central Asia (Gervers-Molnár 1973). Herodotus (*Hist*. 7.61ff.) says that Areians served in Xerxes' army against Greece, around 480 BC.

Arachosia

Arachosia is the Latinized form of the Greek name of an Achaemenid (and later Seleucid) satrapy in the eastern part of the empire, corresponding to the middle Helmand valley in southwestern Afghanistan. It appears in the *Avesta* (*Vidēvdāt* 1.12) in the indigenous form Harax^{v}aitī. In Old Persian inscriptions the region is referred to as *Harahuvatiš*. Arachosia was named after the name of a river that runs through it, in Greek Arachōtós, today known as Arghandabad. In the Achaemenid inscriptions Arachosia appears as the 3rd (XPh, 19–28), 8th (Darius Statue), 9th (DSe, 21–30; DNa, 22–30), 21st (DPe 10–18), or 22nd (DB I 14–17; DSaa, 18–31) province. The inhabitants of Arachosia were called *Pactians*, a name which survives today in the form of Pakhtuns/Pashtun (Vogelsang 2002).

Isidore of Charax and Ptolemy (Ptolemy 6.20.4–5) provide a list of cities in Arachosia, among them an Alexandria on the Arachothos river, a tributary of the Helmand (see Allchin and Hammond 1978; Ball 1982), identified with modern Kandahar, the name of which would derive from Alexandria, reflecting Alexander the Great's refoundation of the city on his eastern campaign. Isidore, Strabo (*Geog.* 11.8.9), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 6.61) also refer to the city as "metropolis of Arachosia." In his list, Ptolemy also refers to a city named Arachotus or Arachoti, which was the earlier capital of the land. Pliny the Elder and Stephen of Byzantium mention that its original name was Cophen (Κωφήν). The famous Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan Tsang refers to the name as *Kaofu*. This city has been identified with Zhob, which lies just east of Kandahar (Vogelsang 1987).

Although centered on Zhob and Kandahar, the extent of Arachosia remains unclear. According to Ptolemy (Ptolemy 6.20.1; cf Strabo, *Geog.* 15.2.9), Arachosia was bordered by Drangiana in the west, Bactria in the north, the Indus River in the east, and Gedrosia in the south. Strabo (*Geog.* 11.10.1), too, suggests that Arachosia extended eastwards as

far as the Indus River. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 6.92) speaks of Dexendrusi in the south. Ptolemy (Ptolemy 6.20.3) mentions several tribes of Arachosia by name, including the Pargyetae and, to the south, the Sidri, Rhoplutae, and Eoritae. Despite attempts to connect Eoritae with "Arattas" of the *Mahabharata* or with the modern Aroras, who populated this region and migrated to India after partition, the identity of these tribes is unknown, and even Ptolemy's orthography is disputed ("Pargyetae" is given in some manuscripts as "Parsyetae" or "Aparytae").

Arachosia is first referred to in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets. It appears again in the Old Persian, Akkadian, and elamite inscriptions of Darius I and Xerxes I, among the lists of the subject peoples and countries noted above. It is also identified as the source of the ivory used in Darius' palace at Susa. In his Bisotun inscription (DB III 54–76), Darius says that a Persian was three times defeated by the Achaemenid governor of Arachosia, Vivana, who thereby ensured that the province remained under Darius' control. Chronologically speaking, the next reference to Arachosia appears in Quintus Curtius who recorded that, under Darius III, the Arachosians and Drangians were under the command of a governor who, together with the army of the Bactrian governor, contrived a plot against Alexander (Curtius Rufus 8.13.3).

Arachosia represents a transitional region on the Indo-Iranian and Central Asia border. The Achaemenid ceramic forms found at Kandahar are more like, if still distinct from, those at sites in Iran than those of the northern Yaz tradition (McNicoll 1978; Vogelsang 1985; McNicoll and Ball 1996; Helms 1997). This might suggest that areas south of the Hindu Kush, because of their proximity to the Achaemenid heartland, were better integrated into the empire than areas to the north of the Hindu Kush. The distribution area of Yaz II and III ceramics was approximately the same as that of the painted ceramics of Yaz I, repeating the distribution of the material culture of the Bronze Age Oxus Civilization, which occupied the same territory thousand of years earlier.

Bactriana

Bactriana corresponds to northeastern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan. In the Achaemenid inscriptions it appears as the 5th (DSe 21–30; DNa 22–30), 6th (Darius Statue), 8th (XPh 19–28), and 17th (DB I 14–17; DSaa 18–31; DPe 10–18) province. In Herodotus' tribute list (3.90–94) the Bactrians are mentioned in the 12th district. In Herodotus' army list (7.61–96) they are mentioned after the Sarangians and before the Sacae Amyrgians. The region was subjugated by Cyrus the Great, and from then on formed one of the satrapies of the empire.

The main center is Balkh, in the province and river of the same name, not far from Mazar-e Sharif, in a fertile agricultural region. It was a holy city of Zoroastrianism, and under the name Bactria it became the capital of Bactriana. In northern Bactria, sites with occupation dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC are distributed in the valleys of Surkhan Darya, Mirshade, Bandykhan Saj, Sherabad Darya and Ulanbulak Saj, whose fortifications were built in the eighth to seventh or sixth century (Košelenko

1985: 188). Apart from Balkh, large or significant Achaemenid sites have also been found as Kutlug-Tepe, At-Chapa, and Altyn-Dilyar (Kruglikova and Sarianidi 1976: 16, fig. 13; cf. Sarianidi 1985). In northern Bactria Achaemenid remains have been identified by Rtveladze (Rtveladze 1975, 1987) who documented and mapped and described five groups of oasis and other sites along the Surkhan Darya, including the major fortified sites of Kyzyl Tepe, Tepe Bandykhan, Talashkan Tepe I (Rtveladze and Pidaev 1993), and Kyzyl'ča 6 (Sagdullaev 1987b).

Altyn 10 in Afghan Bactriana presents two buildings whose plans may be compared with those of Persian palaces (Sarianidi 1977: 121–8; 1985), in the first case with columns, and in the second with an anteroom and a corridor surrounding the central court. On the eastern Bactria plains of Dasht-i Qala, Taloqan and Bangui are remains of buildings with columns related to monumental Achaemenid architecture.

The Oxus treasure in the British Museum includes antiquities that have been identified as Achaemenid (Dalton 1964; Barnett 1968; Artamonov 1973; Kuz'mina 1977, 1979, 2002; Zejmal 1979; Boardman 2003; Muscarella 1987; Litvinskij and Pičikjan 2000: 13–36; *Treasures of ancient Bactria* 2002: 200–229; Litvinskij 2002). Mir Zakah 2 is an important Bactrian treasure that has sometimes been called "Oxus treasure 2" (Pičikjan 1992, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). Consisting of votive objects dated to between the sixth and the second centuries BC (*Treasures of ancient Bactria* 2002), it includes statuettes of officiants holding a barsom bundle, numerous plates of gold engraved with representations of male and female priests, often dressed in Persian or Scythian fashion, and a galloping Persian horseman, wielding a spear. Achaemenid-style gold vessels are numerous and include phiales, bowls, a lion's head from a situla, a deer protome from a rhyton a lion protome, and torques and bracelets. Obvious similarities to the Oxus treasure, Takht-e Sangin and Aï Khanoum have been noted (Bernard and Francfort 1978).

Takht-e Sangin, a sanctuary located on the Oxus and dedicated to the deity of the river, has traces of Achaemenid contact, though the architecture is later. Here one recalls a plate bearing the image of a man leading a camel (Pičikjan 1992: 32–5, fig. 143.17) and the famous ivory *akinakes* scabbard adorned with a lion preparing to devour a deer (Pičikjan 1992: 42–8, fig. 146). A rhyton with a lion protome does not look purely Afchaemenid, despite a high dating in the fifth or fourth century (Pičikjan 1992: 48–9; Litvinskij and Pičikjan 1994).

Although a Hellenistic foundation, Aï Khanoum has yielded Achaemenid pottery in the heroôn of Kineas, in a context of reuse (Bernard 1973) and finds elsewhere in the city suggest some Achaemenid activity there (Bernard 1985, 1990). These include bronze plaques with rosettes and palmettes (Francfort 1984: 58–9, n. 29, pl. 22.21); several Greco-Persian intaglios (Francfort 1984: 78–9, pls. 12 and 35.26; Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: 55, no. 1002, and pl. 18.17, XIV.11); a stone rhyton adorned with a bull or a ram (Francfort 1984: 26–7, pl. 14.15); fragments of a painting of lions *en passant* similar to Persepolis and Pazyryk examples (Francfort 1984: 32–4, no. 19.20, pl. 15.16); and a fragment of a typically Achaemenid cylinder seal (Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: 72, no. 1247).

Other eastern provinces

The remaining eastern provinces, such as Sogdiana, Choresmia, Gandhara, and Hindush are excluded here due to their distance from the Iranian core of the empire.

Further reading

The eastern Iranian provinces of the Achaemenid Empire are treated in Vogelsang (1992) and in the survey of Briant (2002). For detailed issues regarding all of the eastern provinces the relevant entries in *EnIr* are invaluable.

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