

# Legacy of the East and Legacy of Alexander

edited by Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska



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2023

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# The Archaeology of Fars from Late Achaemenid to Early Hellenistic Times

Pierfrancesco Callieri

When Josef Wiesehöfer invited me to this conference, I accepted even though it overlapped with our Iranian-Italian joint fieldwork in the Persepolis area – and this explains why I have been able to join you only today – not only because the invitation came from one of the scholars to whom Iranologists and I personally owe most, but also because I am convinced that the sources which archaeologists produce with their work, besides being addressed within the discipline in a language which cannot do without details that appear boring and obscure to non-archaeologists, must also be adapted to historical discourse, since they represent essential evidence. Without wishing to appear arrogant, I believe that particularly the subject of this conference, in which the ideological biases of ancient historiographers play an unfavourable role, can be enriched by the contribution of archaeological sources.

When in 2007 I selected the archaeology of Iran and particularly Fars during the Hellenistic period as a subject for the “Quatre leçons au Collège de France”, the period between the end of the Achaemenid empire and the rise of the Sasanian dynasty could indeed still be considered one of the ‘dark ages’ in the *archaeology* of Iran despite the masterly contribution of Josef Wiesehöfer which had thrown seminal and illuminating light on the *history* of this period.<sup>1</sup>

The narrow path which Josef Wiesehöfer had opened up with his pioneering historical exploration, became a busy road, along which several historians ventured thanks to the milestone he left behind on the main highway of ancient history of Fars. Since 1994, a considerable series of valuable studies have contributed to our understanding of the history of this period, finally acknowledging its fundamental role in the ideological continuity from the Achaemenid through the Sasanian dynasty.

As regards settlements, architecture and material culture – the objects of archaeological research –, however, the path opened up by Wiesehöfer’s chapter dedicated to this evidence had not been very frequently pursued. The only comprehensive project dedicated to it had been that of the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars directed by Alireza Askari Chaverdi and myself at Tang-e Bolaghi<sup>2</sup> and then Tall-e Takht of Pas-

1 Josef Wiesehöfer, *Die ‚dunklen Jahrhunderte‘ der Persis* (München: C.H. Beck, 1994).

2 Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Sokunatgâbhâ-ye rustâ’i az dowrehâ-ye haxâmaneshi ve farâhaxâmaneshi. Mohavvate-ye 76 va 77 Tang-e Bolâghi, Pâsârgad* (Shiraz: Dâneshgâh-e honar, 2014); Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Tang-e Bolaghi (Fars), Sites*

argadai.<sup>3</sup> However, my contribution of 2007, dedicated to comprehensive examination of the archaeology of Iran, and particularly Fars, during the Hellenistic period,<sup>4</sup> proved that this age was by no means devoid of important evidence.

In fact, most of the studies concerning this age, in which visual evidence accompanies written sources of various natures, have concentrated on the coinage of the local dynasts of Fars, which offers not only so many cues to investigations into the historical nature on the political and ideological evolution of the region but also precious elements of style and iconography useful for an understanding of the *Kunstwollen* of Post-Achaemenid Fars.

However, numismatics actually represents quite a distinct discipline from archaeology, particularly because it is largely based on coins purchased on the market of antiquities: this means a prevalingly illegal origin which, furthermore, does not offer reliable information on the original context and thus sharply contrasts with evidence produced by regular archaeological activities.

Numismatics is indeed deeply entangled in what Oscar Muscarella, a champion in the fight against illegal trade of antiquities, has called “bazar archaeology”.<sup>5</sup> One of the side effects of market provenance is the impending danger of forgeries, which are by no means a recent invention, to the extent that the more experienced scholars frequently doubt the authenticity of seemingly important new coins that have appeared on the market.<sup>6</sup> Besides, coin studies do not always comply with an adequate approach to the iconographical aspects of the types, making do with mere reading of the subject represented.<sup>7</sup>

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*TB76 And TB77: Rural Settlements of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods. Report of the archaeological rescue excavations carried out in 2005 and 2006 by the joint Iranian-Italian mission of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research and the University of Bologna, with the collaboration of ISIAO, Italy* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016).

- 3 Alireza Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Preliminary Report on the Irano-Italian Stratigraphic Study of the Toll-e Takht, Pasargad. Investigations on the Material Culture of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods in Fars” In *Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Vienna, 18–22 September 2007*, ed. Maria Macuch, Dieter Weber and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 11–28.
- 4 Pierfrancesco Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fars à l'époque hellénistique. Quatre leçons au Collège de France 8, 15, 22 et 29 mars 2007* (Paris: de Boccard, 2007).
- 5 Oscar W. Muscarella, *Archaeology, Artifacts and Antiquities of the Ancient Near East. Sites, Cultures, and Proveniences* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- 6 Such as the drachm attributed to Wahbarz with unusual iconography and legend: see most recently Rahim Shayegan, “Persianism: or Achaemenid Reminiscences in the Iranian and Iranicate World(s) of Antiquity” In *Persianism in Antiquity*, ed. Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017), 418–20, with bibliography.
- 7 On this inappropriate but advantageous basis, interpretations are proposed, such as in the case of the monument on the reverse of the second coin type of the Fratarakas: even though a detailed study which I published in 1998 in Italian and then in French in 2007 has proved that it cannot represent the Ka'be-ye Zardosht due to basic architectural differences, several scholars who have treated the subject have even recently persevered with that interpretation, neglecting basic rules of iconographic reading. Significant exceptions, with contrasting interpretations, are those of Josef Wieshöfer, “Heiligtümer und Kultplätze in der achaimenidischen Persis” In *Persische Reichspolitik und lokale Heiligtümer. Beiträge einer Tagung des Exzellenzclusters „Religion und Politik in Vormod-*

Coins are not the only archaeological evidence of the rulers of Post-Achaemenid and Arsakid Fars, however. A silver bowl with a Middle Persian inscription mentioning a sequence of rulers of the Darayanids dynasty, of unknown provenance and in a private collection, has also been published.<sup>8</sup> The figural medallion in the center and multiple registers decorated with different motifs find comparanda on several bowls attributed to the Hellenized Near East.<sup>9</sup> The style of the bull is also naturalistic, pointing to the same cultural area, and confirms the appreciation of the Hellenistic craftsmanship we can see on coinage.

As Alireza Askari Chaverdi and I proposed in the chapter of the *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* dedicated to Media, Khuzestan and Fars between the end of the Achaemenid period and the rise of the Sasanians,<sup>10</sup> the first phase of the five centuries which separate the Achaemenid and the Sasanian periods, lasting from the arrival of the Macedonian army until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, can be defined as either Post-Achaemenid or Hellenistic, depending on the prevailing cultural orientation of the objects concerned.

On the Iranian plateau, the Achaemenid heritage was strong, surviving the end of Achaemenid rule.

At the same time the Seleukids continued the policy of interest in Asia that had characterised Alexander's kingdom, with the foundation of colonies and establishments which contributed to the diffusion of Hellenistic culture, lasting into the three first centuries of the Arsakid empire. As, on the whole, the evidence for the Graeco-Macedonian presence on the plateau varies from region to region, it will be more appropriate to define as Hellenistic those items which constitute direct expression of the new power and culture and as Post-Achaemenid those which are still deeply bound up with the local tradition and the heritage of the Great Kings of the Persian Empire, even though in an age of Hellenistic political rule: furthermore, the difficulty in distinguishing the mate-

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erne und Moderne" vom 24.–26. Februar 2016 in Münster, ed. Reinhard Achenbach (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 12; Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, "The Frataraka Coins of Persia: Bridging the gap between Achaemenid and Sasanian Persia" In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, art and society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John Curtis and St. John Simpson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 390; Ernie Haerincq and Bruno Overlaet, "Altar Shrines and Fire Altars? Architectural Representations on Frataraka Coinage," *IA* 43 (2008): 207–33.

8 Prods O. Skjærvø, "The Joy of the Cup: A Pre-Sasanian Middle Persian Inscription on a Silver Bowl," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 11 (1997): 93–104; Prods O. Skjærvø, "331. Coupe portant une inscription en moyen perse" In *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. Osmund Bopéarachchi, C. Landes and Christine Sachs (Lattes: Association Imago, Musée de Lattes, 2003), 378; Rahim Shayegan, "Nugae Epigraphicae," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s. 19 (2005), *Iranian and Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Prods Oktor Skjærvø*: 169–79; Judith Lerner, review of Callieri 2007, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 18, 2004 (2008): 186; Shayegan, "Persianism," 423.

9 Michael Pfommer, *Metalwork from the Hellenized East. Catalogue of the Collections*. (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1993), 22.

10 Pierfrancesco Callieri and Alireza Askari Chaverdi, "Media, Khuzestan and Fars between the End of the Achaemenid Period and the Rise of the Sasanians" In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, ed. Daniel T. Potts, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 691.

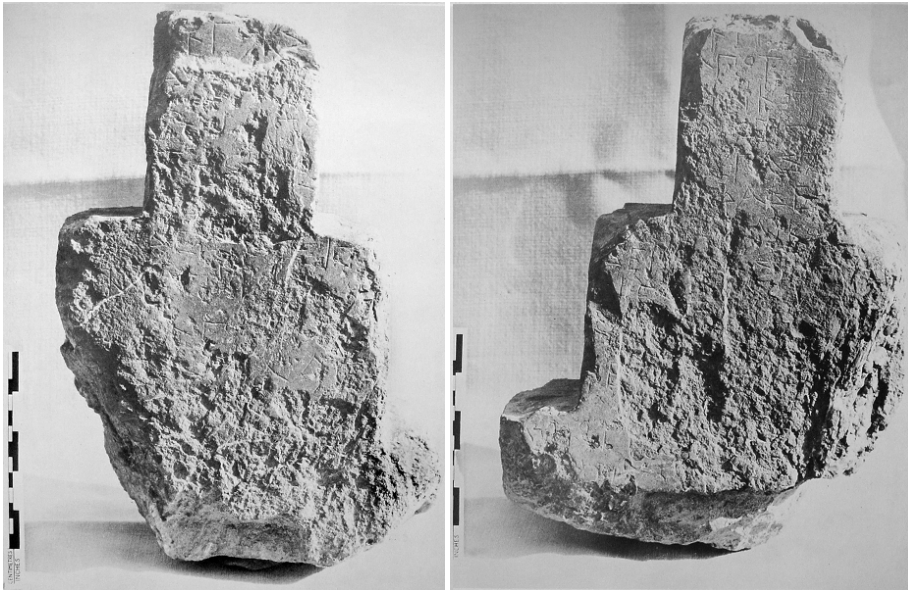


Fig. 1: The two milestones from Persepolis (above) and Pasargadai (below) (courtesy of the author, CC BY-NC-ND).

rial culture of the Late Achaemenid and of the Post-Achaemenid periods also suggested the cautious wording of the title of this contribution.

Even though no important settlements of the Seleucid period have yet been identified – the locations of the main Greek foundations recorded in the sources, Antioch-in-Persis, Laodicea-in-Persis and Seleucia-on-the Persian Gulf, are uncertain<sup>11</sup> – evidence of a Greek presence is not lacking.

Use of the Greek language is attested by inscriptions belonging to two distinct classes: the two milestones from Pasargadai<sup>12</sup> and Persepolis,<sup>13</sup> which reflect the existence of a well-organized road system and thus of the involvement of Graeco-Macedonians in territorial control (fig. 1); and the inscriptions from the so-called “temple of the Fratarakas”, a monumental complex brought to light in 1932 by E. Herzfeld c. 200 m to

11 Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fârs*, 24–8; Geoger Rougemont, “Que sait-on d'Antioche de Perside ?”, *Studi Ellenistici* XXX (2016): 197–215.

12 David M. Lewis, “The Seleucid Inscription” In *Pasargadae*, ed. D. Stronach (Oxford: University Press, 1978), 160–61.

13 Ahmad Kabiri, “Kashf-e masâfatnemâ ‘sang-e kilometr’ dar Marvdasht,” *Asar* 22–23 (1993/1994): 196–200. Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Une borne routière grecque de la région de Persépolis,” *CRAI* (1993/1994): 65–73.



Fig. 2: Four of the five inscriptions from the so-called 'temple of the Fratarakas' (right: after Rougemont 1999; left: courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, CC BY-NC-ND).

the north-northwest of the main terrace of Persepolis (fig. 2). These inscriptions, finally published by G. Rougemont,<sup>14</sup> consist of the names of five Olympian divinities in the genitive case typical of inscriptions on altars – *Dios Megistou*, *Heliou*, *Athenas Basileias*, *Artemidos*, *Apollonos* – incised on five thick limestone slabs (c. 30 × 10 × 10 cm) that are in fact re-used Achaemenid architectural pieces.

<sup>14</sup> A critical edition of the five inscriptions appeared in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*: Georges Rougemont, *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale, avec des contributions de Paul Bernard* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2012), 125–29. See also Antigoni Zournatzi, "Parseh (Persepolis): Limestone plaques inscribed with names of Greek divinities" In *Mapping Ancient Cultural Encounters: Greeks in Iran ca. 550 BC – ca. AD 650*. Online edition, preliminary draft release, 2016, Available at <http://iranohellenica.eie.gr/content/catalogue/parseh-persepolis/documents/frataraka-temple/162224640>.

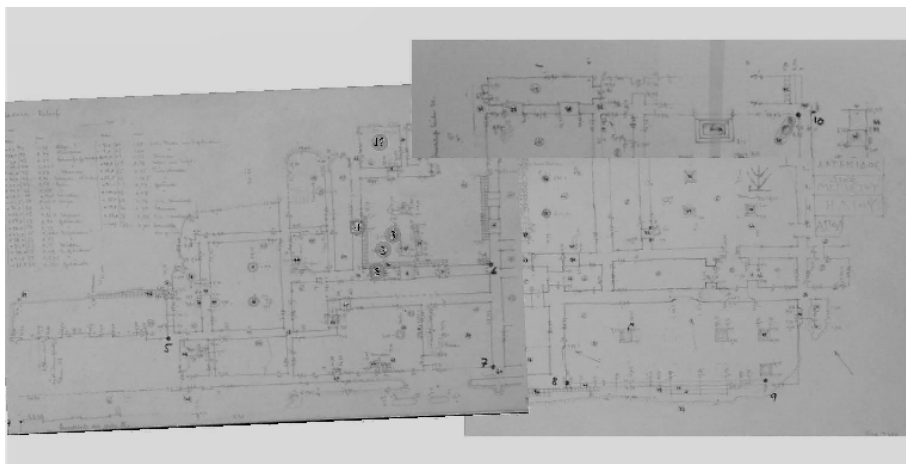


Fig. 3: Herzfeld's sketch map showing the find spots. (assembled by Luca Maria Olivieri from three folios of one of Herzfeld's notebooks, Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Repository: © Freer/Sackler Gallery of Art Archives Repository: [https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?damspath=/Public\\_Sets/FS/FSA/FSA\\_A.06\\_02.07.19.000.jpg](https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?damspath=/Public_Sets/FS/FSA/FSA_A.06_02.07.19.000.jpg), CC BY-NC-ND).

After stating at the Wrocław congress that the location of the inscriptions was not known, I thought it appropriate to check whether the Herzfeld documents made available online by the Smithsonian Institution had included any new data on our monument. Among the documents put online in 2019, with great joy, I identified in one of the notebooks three pages containing the plan of the 'temple of the Fratarakas' and drawings of four of the five inscriptions. Thanks to the collaboration of my colleague Prof. Luca Maria Olivieri, who assembled the drawings on the three pages in a single drawing (fig. 3), and Mrs. Tatjana Schenke Olivieri, who read for me the difficult Gothic cursive legends of Herzfeld, it was possible to identify on the map the exact find spots, marked by numbers corresponding to the numbering next to the drawings, which in fig. 3 we highlighted in a circle.

A first and quick reflection is that four of the slabs (nos. 2 to 5) were found in the southern part of the North-western complex, i.e. in the courtyard no. 14; the slab with the inscription no. 1 was also apparently found in room no. 16 which opens on the west side of courtyard no. 14. But certainly more important is the fact that at least the four mentioned slabs were not found *in situ*: no. 2 and no. 3 were found on a base slab ("*an Basenplatte hochliegend*"), while no. 4 and no. 5 were found on a threshold ("*an Türschwelle*"), actually on the two thresholds leading respectively from the courtyard

to the elongated rooms no. 17 and no. 21. This demonstrates that when that portion of the building was built the inscriptions were no longer functional: this fact may suggest that this portion, having walls thinner than the Northern section where room no. 5 is located, could belong to a different phase, perhaps later. This evidence in turn also reinforces J. Wiesehöfer's suggestion that the inscriptions could have been prepared for the ceremony led by Peukestas in 316 BCE, placed in an open space large enough to allow for the presence of the various circles of participants mentioned in our sources. But this archival discovery gives rise to the need of a new comprehensive reflection on the whole monument, to which a special work will be soon dedicated.

Given that a complete presentation of the archaeological evidence of Fars for this period was provided in my monograph of 2007, I have decided to start this contribution with a broad outline of the main issues of an archaeological nature which represent an indispensable complement to the sources on which historians tend to focus in particular in their research. In this regard, I wish to acknowledge the pioneering farsightedness of Josef Wiesehöfer for having included archaeological sources in his seminal work of 1994.

The class of artefacts which is most useful for archaeological investigations is assuredly ceramics. Unfortunately, the ceramic assemblage which must be used as a standard for dating the Iron Age IV sites of Fars in surface surveys and stratigraphic excavations has for decades been known to us only very superficially: the ceramics of the Early Achaemenid, Mature Achaemenid, Late Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods were largely undistinguished, labelled with the term 'Late Plain Ware'. The extensive excavations carried out at Persepolis belonged to an era of primitive methodology, when ceramic ware was studied only in whole vessels, while potsherds were discarded. The British excavations at the Tall-e Takht of Pasargadai, however, though carried out in an age in which ceramic studies had developed tremendously, and which could have produced a fundamental ceramic sequence if they had been carried out with a stratigraphic method and if the ceramics had been recovered and properly studied, amounted to a missed opportunity. Non-archaeologists can liken these excavations to an important newly discovered manuscript which is mostly burnt due to the inept behaviour of the first discoverer. Archaeologists had to wait for the study of the pottery from the Persepolis fortifications carried out by M.T. Atayi<sup>15</sup> and the material deriving from the Iranian-Italian activities in the areas of Tang-e Bolaghi, Pasargadai and Persepolis as from 2005 in order to outline the first elements to address the apparent predominant continuity of pottery production during the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods and start discerning Achaemenid from Post-Achaemenid pottery.

The main archaeological survey undertaken was that on the Marvdasht plain or Kur River Basin by W.M. Sumner, particularly important because it was carried out before major levelling and earthmoving during the 1970s drastically altered the surface of the

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15 Mohammad Taqi Atayi, "Gozâresh-e fanni-ye motâ'le'e-ye sofâlhâ-ye barâ-ye Takht-e Jamshid," *Pârâ (Parse-Pasargadae Research Foundation Publications)* 1/1 (2004): 16–30.



plain.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, the ceramic assemblage used by Sumner as a standard for the identification of Achaemenid sites, the ‘Late Plain Ware’ ceramics, was taken from an excavation dump near the ‘temple of the Fratarakas’ excavated by Herzfeld,<sup>17</sup> a monument very likely to be dated to the Post-Achaemenid period, as we will soon see. Thus, Sumner based the Achaemenid attribution of his sites on comparanda which could just as easily be Post-Achaemenid. In fact, he also based his datings of sites on isolated stone architecture characterized by style and technique similar to those of clearly Achaemenid sites.<sup>18</sup>

As for the Persepolis plain, the Iranian-Italian mission has brought to light evidence of the settlement of Parsa located by the Iranian-French geophysical surveys. A remarkable continuity between the Late Achaemenid and the Post-Achaemenid periods has been recorded in the occupation at both Area A, where the trench in the site of the Achaemenid beaten earth wall which encloses the large garden of Area C has a Post-Achaemenid phase,<sup>19</sup> and Area B, where the kiln and the adjacent dump pits also reach into a Post-Achaemenid phase.<sup>20</sup> However, only two of the eleven trenches excavated produced a continuous sequence reaching into the Post-Achaemenid period with sufficient material for statistic elaborations.

On the Persepolis Terrace the traces of the fire linked by historical sources to the action of Alexander are irregularly located but abundant in some of the palatial buildings, and are the object of a research being carried within the activities of the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission.<sup>21</sup> The period after the fire was mainly preserved in the southwestern corner of the imperial citadel at the time of the Chicago excavations of the 1930s. Schmidt found the remains of a Post-Achaemenid building on the site of the so-called Palace H, in which materials from destroyed Achaemenid palaces were recycled.<sup>22</sup> Subsequent study and restoration by G. and A.B. Tilia<sup>23</sup> confirmed that the building

16 William M. Sumner, “Achaemenid Settlement in the Persepolis Plain,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986): 3–31.

17 Sumner, “Achaemenid Settlement,” 3, fig. 1.

18 Sumner, “Achaemenid Settlement,” 4.

19 Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Persepolis West (Fars, Iran): Report on the field work carried out by the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in 2008–2009* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017), 37–38.

20 Askari and Callieri, *Persepolis West*, 48, 67, 293.

21 Maria Letizia Amadori, Ileana De Giuseppe and Hamid Fadaei, “New studies on the Persepolis Fire”, in preparation.

22 Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis. I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions*, (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1953), 43, 279–80.

23 Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. 1 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1972), 255–58, 315–16; Ann Britt Tilia, “Recent Discoveries at Persepolis,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977): 74–76; Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. 2 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, after 1978) 258, 315; cf. Wiesehöfer, *Die „dunklen Jahrhunderte“*, 68–79; Rémy Bouchard, “Le destin des résidences et sites perses d’Iran dans la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.” In *La transition entre l’empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.)*. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la “Chaire d’histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l’empire d’Alexandre” et le “Réseau international d’études et de recherches achéménides” (GDR 2538

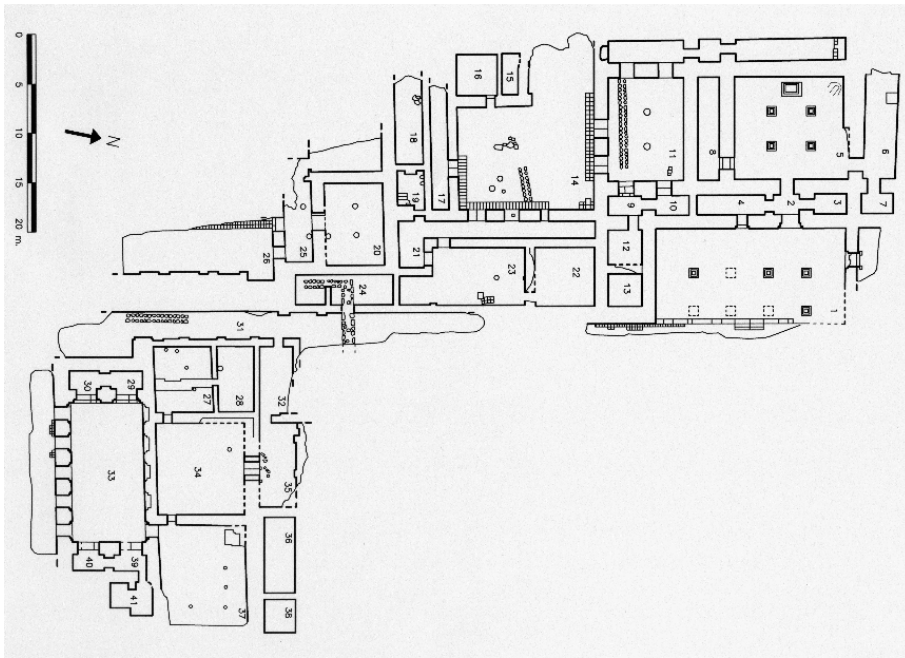


Fig. 4: Persepolis, the so-called 'temple of the Fratarakas' (drawing by A. Bizzarro, after Callieri 2007, fig. 26, CC BY-NC-ND).

included a podium, visible today in the unexcavated hillock, to which access was gained via a stairway that had been brought from the destroyed palace of Artaxerxes III (so-called Palace G).

The traces of this new occupation are all the more relevant when we remember that the excavators of the 1930s were not particularly concerned with the stratigraphy of the deposits overlying the imposing remains of Achaemenid date, and destroyed a precious series of occupation surfaces and collapsed mudbrick walls which no doubt would have enabled us to establish a secure sequence for these now isolated architectural episodes, leaving very little documentation of their work. Both A.B. Tilia<sup>24</sup> and A.S. Shahbazi<sup>25</sup> attributed the Post-Achaemenid occupation of Persepolis to the Fratarakas, but P. Ber-

CNRS), 22–23 novembre 2004, ed. Pierre Briant and Francis Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 443–70.

<sup>24</sup> Tilia, *Studies and Restorations* I, 315.

<sup>25</sup> Alireza Shapur Shahbazi, "From Parsa to Takht-e Jamšid," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.F. 10 (1977): 200.



Fig. 5: 'Temple of the Fratarakas', the rectangular, two-stepped moulded base in room no. 5 (photo Callieri, CC BY-NC-ND).

nard has hypothesised that hitherto Persepolis had probably been the seat of the Seleucid satraps of Persis.<sup>26</sup>

To the north of the Persepolis Terrace, the so-called "temple of the Fratarakas" (fig. 4), already mentioned, brings us back to the Post-Achaemenid period. Rather than a fire temple, as advanced by Herzfeld,<sup>27</sup> or one of the temples built by Artaxerxes II for a statue of Anahita as indicated by D. Stronach<sup>28</sup> the building was probably one of those temples for cult images that spread in Iran during the Hellenistic period.

Indeed, the rectangular, two-stepped moulded base (fig. 5) situated in the center of the rear wall in the square hall with four symmetrical column bases<sup>29</sup> bears traces of a socket for the tenon of a stone statue<sup>30</sup> and is therefore not the base of a fire altar, as suggested by Herzfeld and others.<sup>31</sup>

26 Paul Bernard, "Remarques additionnelles [à Callieri 1995]," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1995): 84.

27 Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London: British Academy, 1935), 46–47; Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 275, 286.

28 David Stronach, "On the Evolution of the Early Iranian Fire Temple" In *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*. Vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 616.

29 Wolfram Kleiss, "Bemerkungen zu achamenidischen Feueraltären," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 14 (1981): 61–64.

30 Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Some notes on the so-called Temple of the Fratarakas at Persepolis" In *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno*, ed. Maria Vittoria Fontana and Bruno Genito (Napoli: Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2003), 153–65.

31 Boris Anatolevič Litvinskij and Igor Rubenovič Pičikjan. *Ellinističeskij xram Oksa v Baktrii (Južnyj Tadžikistan)*. I. *Raskopki, Arxitektura. Religioznaja žizn'* (Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, 2000), 230–31.

Limited excavations carried out by the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research in the early 2000s brought to light the lower part of a marble statue (fig. 6) with representation of the feet of a standing figure in a naturalistic style,<sup>32</sup> which confirmed the interpretation advanced for the moulded base.

As for its chronology, the three-stepped column bases in the square room (fig. 7), of a Post-Achaemenid type, together with the dimensions of the baked bricks, differing from those used in the terrace and the Hellenistic date of the comparanda for the moulded base,<sup>33</sup> all suggest that the monument was built in the Hellenistic period and that the presence of some Achaemenid bases in it does not represent valid evidence for its attribution to the Achaemenid period as once thought<sup>34</sup> and still maintained,<sup>35</sup> but rather represents a case of re-use. The five Greek inscriptions – if found specifically in this section of the complex – seem to point to an Early Hellenistic date.

On the other hand, the general stylistic character of the priestly figure with the bar-som bundle on one of the extant door jambs of the so-called South-east complex, considered later than the North-west complex,<sup>36</sup> is far from the style of both Achaemenid sculpture and the Hellenistic tradition, appearing rather to be the product of a local tradition followed by second-rate craftsmen.

The surrounding context has been the object of geophysical surveys which produced evidence of a nearby large architectural complex of possible Achaemenid age of which the temple shares the orientation,<sup>37</sup> but only new archaeological study of the monument



Fig. 6: The lower part of a marble statue found in the 'temple of the Fratarakas' (photo Callieri, kind courtesy of Persepolis World Heritage Site, CC BY-NC-ND).

32 Dr Naser Chegini, personal communication.

33 Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fârs*, 61–63.

34 Géza De Francovich, "Problems of Achaemenid Architecture," *EÖW XVI/3–4* (1966): 207; Kleiss, "Bemerkungen," 61–64; Stronach, "On the Evolution," 605–27.

35 Shahrokh Razmjou and Michael Roaf, "Temples and Sacred Places in Persepolis" In *Tempel im Alten Orient. 7. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 11.-13. Oktober 2009, München*, ed. Kai Kaniuth et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 413–15.

36 Paul Bernard, "Quatrième campagne de fouilles à Ai Khanoum (Bactriane)," *CRAI* (1969): 337.

37 Sébastien Gondet, Kouros Mohammadkhani and Alireza Askari Chaverdi, "A newly discovered building complex north of the 'Frataraka' Complex. Consequences for the spatial definition of the Persepolis-Parsa Royal Area," *Arta 2018.003*, available at [http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/arta/ARTA\\_2018.003-Gondet-Mohammadkhani-Askari.pdf](http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/arta/ARTA_2018.003-Gondet-Mohammadkhani-Askari.pdf).

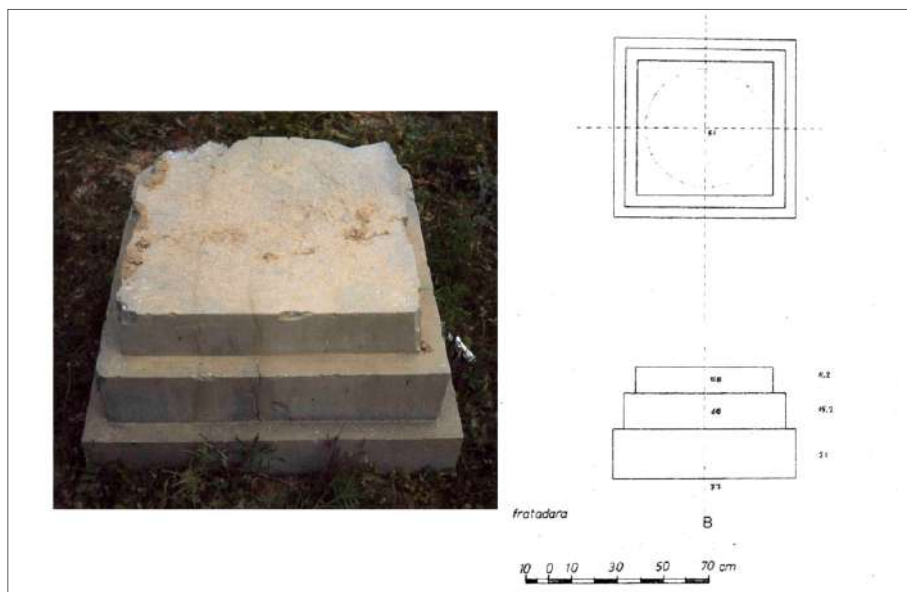


Fig. 7 (above): One of the three-stepped column bases in the square room no. 5 of the 'temple of the Fratarakas' (photo Callieri, drawing G. Tilia, CC BY-NC-ND).

and the documentation on Herzfeld's excavation, if extant, can eventually shed more light on the matter.

Further north, are the so-called "Persepolis Spring cemetery", a necropolis with terracotta sarcophagi dated to the Late and Post-Achaemenid period<sup>38</sup> and the Sasanian and Early Islamic town of Estakhr.

The idea that references to "Persepolis" in the Hellenistic sources relating to events after the Persepolis fire in fact refer to Estakhr, which was supposed to have been founded in the Seleukid period, dates to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and is still widely accepted.<sup>39</sup>

38 Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis. I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953), 56; Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis. II. Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1957): 123; R. Boucharlat, "Le destin des résidences et sites perses d'Iran dans la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C." In *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.)*. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la "Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre" et le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides" (GDR 2538 CNRS), 22–23 novembre 2004, ed. P. Briant and F. Joannès (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 454–55.

39 W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1883), 32–33; Ch. Brunner, "Geographical and Administrative Divisions: Settlements and Economy" In *The*

However, excavations by Herzfeld and Schmidt failed to bring to light any pre-Sasanian finds at the site apart from several re-used Achaemenid architectural elements, a few Frataraka coins and a fragmentary stone vessel. As for the limestone capitals and bases, which Herzfeld considered a local variant of Hellenistic orders,<sup>40</sup> P. Bernard has convincingly suggested that these attest to the persistence of Hellenistic reminiscences in the Sasanian period.<sup>41</sup>

The tradition of Middle Persian sources suggests that the foundation of Estakhr dates to the time of the Frataraka dynasty,<sup>42</sup> and some scholars have also suggested that Estakhr was the seat of the Frataraka kings<sup>43</sup> and the location of their mint.<sup>44</sup>

I will not enter into discussion on the Aramaic inscription on the façade of Darius I's tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, which was dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE by W.B. Henning<sup>45</sup> but to the late Ach-



Fig. 8: Tang-e Bolaghi, site TB76, the Post-Achaemenid phase (Phase 2) of occupation in a house in the main trench (TB76-3) (© Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars. CC BY-NC-ND).

*Cambridge History of Iran*. 3(2). *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 751.

40 Herzfeld, *Iran*, 276–79; cf. L. Bier, “A Sculpted Building Block from Estakhr,” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 16 (1983): 307.

41 Paul Bernard, “Trois notes d’archéologie iranienne,” *JA* CCLXII (1974): 284–88.

42 Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Persepolis in the Post-Achaemenid Period: some Reflections on the Origins of Estakhr,” *Bastanpazhubi-Persian Journal of Iranian Studies (Archaeology)*, 2/4 (2007): 8–14; Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Persepolis in the Post-Achaemenian Period: Some Reflections on the Origins of Istakhr” In *Istakhr (Iran), 2011–2016. Historical and Archaeological Essays*, ed. Maria Vittoria Fontana (Roma: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2018), 27–46.

43 Marie-Louise Chaumont, “Pāpak, Roi de Staxr, et sa cour,” *JA* CCXLVII (1959): 175–91; Adrian David H. Bivar, In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VIII, s.v. *Eštākr. i. History and Archaeology* (Costa Mesa, 1998), 643.

44 Erich F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis and Other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1939), 105.

45 Walther Bruno Henning, “Mitteliranisch” In *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I.4.1. *Linguistik* (Leiden-Köln, 1958), 24; Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis. III. The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1970), 12.

aemenid period by R.N. Frye.<sup>46</sup> A new study of this fundamental evidence is dramatically necessary and could benefit of the progress in documentation of badly preserved texts.

Between Persepolis and Pasargadai lies the valley of Tang-e Bolaghi. In the framework of an international program of rescue excavations, a joint Iranian-Italian team in 2005–2006 investigated a small, rural settlement (TB 76) where occupation began in the Achaemenid period and continued through the Post-Achaemenid period with no evident interruption in the sequence. In particular, the last phase (Phase 2) of occupation in a house in the main trench (TB76–3) built of mud and stones above stone-block foundations (fig. 8) is certainly Post-Achaemenid.<sup>47</sup>

If we move to Pasargadai, on the Tall-e Takht, the imposing Achaemenid platform on a hilltop which Darius I apparently transformed into a citadel, the extensive British excavations of the 1960s demonstrated substantial continuity in occupation between the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE and a vast episode of diffuse destruction across the site, apparently unrelated to the Macedonian conquest: Stronach underlined that no disruption was evidenced in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, in agreement with sources illustrating the peaceful arrival of Alexander in Pasargadai, and associated this ‘large conflagration’ with the uprising of the local rulers of Fars against the Seleukids, which he dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE in conformity with the then common opinion.<sup>48</sup>

Excavation of a trial trench on the north side of the Tall-e Takht (fig. 9), carried out in 2006 and 2007 by the Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission, has revealed a much more complex sequence with nine stratigraphic phases,<sup>49</sup> confirming the need for thor-

46 Richard Nelson Frye, “The ‘Aramaic’ Inscription on the Tomb of Darius,” *IA XVII* (1982): 85–90.

47 Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, “A Rural Settlement of the Achaemenid Period in Fars,” *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1 (2006): 65–70; Alireza Askari Chaverdi Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Achaemenid and Post Achaemenid Remains at Sites TB76 and TB77” In *Tang-i Bulaghi Reports*, ed. Rémy Boucharlat and Hassan Fazeli Nashli (ARTA 2009.004) (2009) 1–35; Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Sokunatgâbhâ-ye rustâ’i az dowrehâ-ye haxâmaneshi ve farâbhaxâmaneshi. Mohavvate-ye 76 va 77 Tang-e Bolâghi, Pâsârgad* (Shiraz: Dâne-shgâh-e Honar, 2014); Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Tang-e Bolaghi (Fars), Sites TB76 And TB77: Rural Settlements of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods. Report of the archaeological rescue excavations carried out in 2005 and 2006 by the joint Iranian-Italian mission of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research and the University of Bologna, with the collaboration of IsIAO, Italy* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016).

48 Davis Stronach, *Pasargadae. A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies* (Oxford: University Press, 1978), 146.

49 Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Preliminary Report on the Stratigraphic Study of the Toll-e Takht, Pasargadae. Investigations on the Material Culture of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods” In *Archaeological Reports 7. On the Occasion of the 9th Annual Symposium on Iranian Archaeology*, vol. 1 (Teheran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, 2007), 5–23; Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Preliminary Report on the Irano-Italian Stratigraphic Study of the Toll-e Takht, Pasargad. Investigations on the Material Culture of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods in Fars” In *Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Vienna, 18–22 September 2007*, ed. Maria Macuch, Dieter Weber and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 11–28.

Fig. 9: General view of Trench PTT 1 on the north side of the Tall-e Takht, Pasargadai (© Iranian-Italian Joint Archaeological Mission in Fars, CC BY-NC-ND).





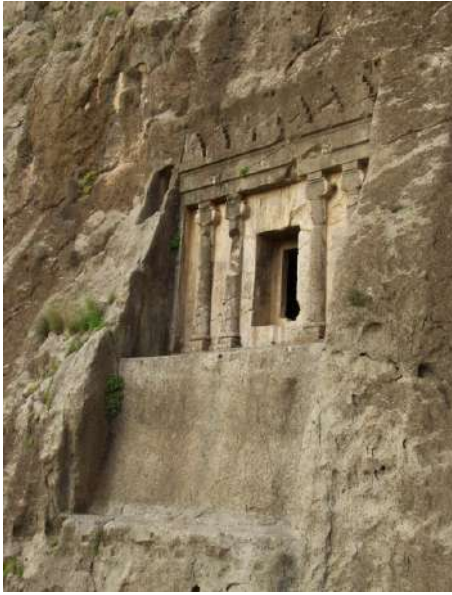


Fig. 10: The rock-cut tomb of Da' o Dokhtar (photo courtesy A. Askari Chaverdi, CC BY-NC-ND).

ough review of the sequence proposed by the British excavators, particularly as regards the pottery, already pointed out in 1980 by L. Levine.<sup>50</sup> A large-scale fire indicated by a considerable amount of ash recovered in Phase 8, is likely to correspond to the 'conflagration' of which Stronach found evidence throughout the excavation. However, whereas Stronach attributed the fire to events occurring at the end of Seleukid rule,<sup>51</sup> the date of the episode we recorded, instead, falls squarely within the Achaemenid period, given that Phase 8 is dated with C14 to c. 410–380 BCE. For Phase 7, the most likely duration is from 380 to 250 BCE, corresponding to the time span from the late Achaemenid to the mid-Seleukid period. In this case, the passage from the Achaemenids to the Macedonians would not be characterised by any destruction, as also suggested by Stronach.

For Phase 6, the most likely duration is between 250 and 200 BCE, corresponding to the late Seleukid period.

Strikingly, the end of the Phase corresponds to one of the dates proposed for the beginning of the Fratarakas coinage.

In western Fars, the Iranian-Australian investigations in the Mamasani district have revealed several stratigraphic sequences in which the Achaemenid phase is followed by a Post-Achaemenid phase which is not always easy to define given problems of pottery chronology similar to those encountered in central Fars.<sup>52</sup> In the same area, excavations

50 Cf. Lou Levine, "Review of D. Stronach, *Pasargadae*, Cambridge 1978," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100 (1980): 68–69; Boucharlat, "Le destin des résidences," 460.

51 Stronach, *Pasargadae*, 146.

52 Daniel T. Potts and Kourosh Roustaei, *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: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, 2006), 12. Phases B5 and B4 at Tol-e Nurabad have been dated to the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid period, while Phases B2-B1 are considered Post-Achaemenid, based on the presence of a turquoise-glazed vessel base which can be compared to Parthian ceramics from Khuzestan (Potts and Roustaei, *The Mamasani*, 77). At Tol-e Spid the Post-Achaemenid Phase 3 is dated C14 to between 370 to 50 BCE (Potts and Roustaei, *The Mamasani*, 77; Alireza Askari Chaverdi et al., "Archaeological Evidence for Achaemenid Settlement within the Mamasani Valleys, Western Fars, Iran" In *The World of Achaemenid Persia*:

of an Achaemenid building at Qaleh Kali (Jinjun) have revealed occupation dated by C14 to the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods.<sup>53</sup> The multiple architectural phases at the site date to between the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> to mid-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>54</sup>

Another important monument that can probably be assigned to the aristocracy of Fars during the Seleucid or early Arsakid period is the rock-cut tomb of Da'o Dokhtar, also in the Mamasani district (fig. 10). Typologically this tomb belongs to the widespread group of so-called 'Median rock-cut tombs' and therefore differs from the Achaemenid tombs. The tomb has been assigned to the early Post-Achaemenid period based on the fact that the intercolumniations occur in pairs.<sup>55</sup> Iconographic reference to the Achaemenid tombs is explicit, and the grafting of Hellenistic architectural elements such as the Ionian order onto a Persian typology accords well with the date proposed by H. von Gall. The presence in an area different from central Fars of a monument of evident dynastic character, is a subject worth of further investigations by historians, particularly for the understanding of the organisation of Fars during the Seleucid, Fratarakid and Darayanid periods,<sup>56</sup> with the possible existence of more than one dynasty.

In eastern Fars the major evidence of Post-Achaemenid period occupation is represented by Tal-e Zahhak (fig. 11), near Fasa, where in 1934 Stein discovered the marble head (c. 11 cm high) of a female Greek goddess (Aphrodite?). This has been dated



Fig. 11: Tal-e Zahhak (Fasa), general view (photo P. Callieri, CC BY-NC-ND).

*History, art and society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John Curtis and St. John Simpson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 290. Surface surveys in the area have shown that 12 sites of Achaemenid date continued to be occupied during the Post-Achaemenid period (Askari Chaverdi et al., "Archaeological Evidence", 292).

53 Daniel T. Potts et al., "The Mamasani Archaeological Project, stage two: Excavations at Qaleh Kali (Tappeh Servan/Jinjun)," *Iran* 45 (2007): 287–300; Daniel T. Potts et al., "Further Excavations at Qaleh Kali (MS 46) by the Joint ICAR-University of Sydney Mamasani Expedition: Results of the 2008 season," *IA* 44 (2009): 207–82.

54 Ian K. McRae, Amanda Dusting and Daniel T. Potts, personal communication.

55 Hubertus von Gall, In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VI (Costa Mesa, 1993), 529–30, *s.v.* *Dā o Doktor*. See also Stronach, *Pasargadae*, 304; Askari et al., "Archaeological Evidence," 293.

56 Shayegan, "Persianism," 422.



Fig. 12: Qir-Karzin: a relief representing a life-sized bowman (photo Callieri, CC BY-NC-ND).

stylistically to between the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and attributed to a workshop in Asia Minor.<sup>57</sup> Although never excavated, the site surface survey has revealed ceramics of the Achaemenid period<sup>58</sup> as well as fragments of rounded-rim bowls of a less refined ware which Hansman took as an indication of probable ‘Hellenistic occupation’.<sup>59</sup>

From Tal-e Zahhak we also have a series of bell-shaped, stone column bases of Achaemenid type, datable to the Achaemenid and/or Post-Achaemenid periods, as well as another group of bases with a thick torus, in some cases standing above a square plinth and in some cases with decoration.<sup>60</sup> The origin of this type of barrel-shaped torus seems to be the thick torus that was widespread throughout the Hellenized East, as far as Baktria,<sup>61</sup> itself derived from the elegant torus of

Achaemenid architecture. These are similar to the toruses of bases discovered in Media, dated to the Late or Post-Achaemenid period and much more similar to Greek models.<sup>62</sup>

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- 57 Aurel Stein, “An Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis,” *Iraq* III/2 (1936): 140–41; Malcom A.R. Colledge, “*L'impero dei Parti*,” (Italian translation of *The Parthians*, 1967) (Rome: Newton Compton, 1979), 225; Daniel Schlumberger, “Parthian Art” In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3(2). *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, ed. Yarshater (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 1037, pl. 57.
- 58 Stein, “An Archaeological Tour,” 140; Pierre de Miroschedji, “Prospections archéologiques dans les vallées de Fasa et de Darab” In *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Symposium of Archaeological Research in Iran, Tehran 1972*, ed. Firouz Bagherzadeh (Tehran: Vezarat-e Farhang o Honar, 1973), 1–7; John Hansman, In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IX (New York, 1999), 389–91, s.v. *Fāsā. ii. Tall-e Zābhāk*.
- 59 John Hansman, “An Achaemenian Stronghold” In *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg. I* (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège: Peeters, 1975), 299, fig. 3a.1–2; Hansman, *Fāsā. ii. Tall-e Zābhāk*, 391.
- 60 Reinhard Pohanka, “Zu einigen Architekturstücken von Tell-e Zohak bei Fasa, Südiran,” (Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission, nr. 14), In *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse* 120.7 (1983): 255–65; Rémy Boucharlat, “Iran” In *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide, nouvelles recherches*, ed. Pierre Briant and Rémy Boucharlat (Paris: de Boccard, 2005), 234; Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, 88–90, 94–96.
- 61 Paul Bernard, “Chapiteaux corinthiens hellénistiques d'Asie Centrale découverts à Ai Khanoum,” *Syria* XLV (1968): 132, 138, fig. 8; John Boardman, *Persia and the West. An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 206.
- 62 Dietrich Huff, “Säulenbasen aus Deh Bozan und Taq-i Bustan,” *IA* XXIV (1989): 295; Callieri, *L'archéologie du Fārs*, 89–90.

As for Darabgerd three stone column bases, the shapes of which are derived from the bell-shaped bases of Achaemenid type but with a decorated or undecorated cyma reversa profile, could date to the Seleukid or the Sasanian period.<sup>63</sup>

Moving to southern Fars, on an isolated rock boulder near Qir-Karzin is a relief representing a life-sized bowman in profile, facing right, in the act of shooting an arrow (fig. 12).<sup>64</sup> Although badly eroded, it is possible to recognize several iconographic elements of Achaemenid type in the clothing and weaponry, but with peculiarities which led L. Vanden Berghe to date the relief to the Post-Achaemenid period. Despite its flatness, the rendering of the figure is much more statuesque than other reliefs of the same period and the figure is shown in profile, with none of the frontality typical of the later Arsakid period. Consequently a Hellenistic date, sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE or earlier, has been proposed by D. Huff.<sup>65</sup>

In any attempt to weigh up the evidence, it must be borne in mind that the fragmentary archaeological evidence appears nevertheless to be the tip of an iceberg which has not yet been brought to light, and that after the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire Fars was certainly not deserted.

A few issues resulting from critical evaluation of the available archaeological evidence, limited as it may be, should be considered in study of the historical development. Some regard the consequences of the Macedonian invasion, others the subsequent developments within the local environment. The material culture, and particularly the ceramic production, shows a predominant continuity from the Achaemenid through the Post-Achaemenid periods, and we have only recently begun to understand the evolution of ceramic forms and variants. These limited preliminary successes show nevertheless that it will be possible to reach a good understanding of the distinction of between the two periods when more material from reliable stratigraphic contexts is obtained. In this regard, the need is felt for excavations in a multi-period site with a reliable stratigraphic sequence and abundant pottery finds. At any rate, the historical significance of this continuity in craft production should not be overlooked.

Architectural elements in stone also maintain Achaemenid types but show a decline in technical level which had already started in the Late Achaemenid period; on the other hand, Hellenistic architectural features are introduced in the region.

Even though the figural evidence attests to the main persistence of iconographic motifs linked to the Achaemenid tradition, such as are visible in the coin types of the Fratarakas or in the reliefs at the “temple of the Fratarakas” and other contexts, and of Iranian architectural types such as the rock-cut tombs of Da’ o dokhtar, Hellenistic features are not confined only to the presence of Graeco-Macedonian settlers confirmed by the surviving Greek inscriptions, but penetrate into the local aristocratic milieu, whose

63 Peter H. Morgan, “Some Remarks on a Preliminary Survey in Eastern Fars,” *Iran* XLI (2003): 334.

64 Dietrich Huff, “Das Felsrelief von Qir,” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 17 (1984): 221–47;

Louis Vanden Berghe, “Le relief rupestre de Gardanah Galumushk (Qir),” *IA* 21 (1986): 141–55.

65 Huff, “Das Felsrelief von Qir”, 246–47.

*Kunstwollen* shows an appreciation of Hellenism which has to be studied in its apparent contradiction with the prevalent Persian traits of their ideology.

As for the territory, on the basis of the existing evidence, the hypothesis that the human settlement in Fars during the Post-Achaemenid period became predominantly nomadic, as put forward by R. Boucharlat,<sup>66</sup> must be reconsidered. The system of land exploitation by the Achaemenid court illustrated by the Persepolis tablets, of which the site TB76 of Tang-e Bolaghi represent actual evidence, doesn't seem to have been disrupted, at least in Tang-e Bolaghi.

Thus, to conclude, in order to comply with the subject of this Melammu conference, in the light of the evidence from both a dynastic site – Pasargadai – and a rural settlement – Tang-e Bolaghi TB76 - the preliminary answer which P. Briant gave to the question which he raised in his seminal study of 1982, « la destruction des palais entraîna-t-elle la destruction de tout le système ? », <sup>67</sup> can be confirmed: indeed, the combination of the archaeological sources suggests that the social and economic organisation of Fars with Alexander was not destroyed<sup>68</sup> and that the region maintained an important role also in the following centuries.

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