

Introduction

SILVIA BALATTI

This volume contains the papers presented at the colloquium held on July 4–6, 2018, at Kiel University in the framework of the Paleopersepolis project. Paleopersepolis is an international and interdisciplinary research project based at the universities of Aix-Marseille, Regensburg and Kiel and jointly funded by the *Agence Nationale de la Recherche* (ANR) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for the years 2014–2020. It aims at reconstructing human–climate–ecosystem interactions and analysing socio-environmental issues in the Persepolis basin and the surrounding areas of south-western Iran. The project is particularly interested in the time of the main Ancient Near Eastern empires, i. e. the time from the Neo-Elamite to the Early Islamic period (c. 750 BCE – 950 CE). Its special focus is on the Achaemenid and Sasanian periods (550–330 BCE and 224–651 CE), when the region of Persepolis became the core area of two of the Iran-based Ancient Near Eastern empires. During these two phases, the imperial court and institutions had their centres in south-western Iran and started to directly control and exploit the local resources of the region known in antiquity as Pārsa (or Persis, to the Greeks), approximately corresponding to the modern-day province of Fars. Both dynasties mention and represent this territory and its peoples in their official documentation. The Achaemenids and the Sasanians also markedly transformed the landscape of Fars to conform it to their imperial purposes and world-views, not least to underline their respective dynasty’s primacy and to anchor it in their homeland. The prominent role played by this region in antiquity and in the general history of Iran remained alive in the collective memory of the periods that followed, up to the present day. Traces of the ancient royal and imperial presence in Fars are well visible in the landscape. It suffices in this context to think of the ruins of the main royal residences of Persepolis and Pasargadae for the Achaemenid period, and of those of Ardashir-Xwarrah and Bishapur, as well as the monument at Sarvestan, for the Sasanian and Early Islamic periods. After the nomination proposal ‘Sassanid Archaeological Landscape of Fars Region’ was accepted by the UNESCO agency in 2018 – we still remember Alireza Askari Chaverdi and Pierfrancesco Callieri excitedly announcing this great news during our colloquium – the Sasanian cultural places also appear on the list of World Heritage sites. Traces of the greatness and prominent position of Fars in

antiquity are also clearly detectable in less spectacular but equally important societal and ecological archives: in ancient administrative documents (regrettably available only for the Middle Elamite and Achaemenid periods); in geoarchaeological records and local natural archives; as well as in the 'western' accounts of Greek and Roman authors – historians, geographers, technicians, biographers, poets – and the 'eastern' accounts of medieval Iranian and Arab authors. This wealth of diverse sources offers us the extraordinary opportunity to study ancient Fars from an interdisciplinary perspective – a new angle that even transcends the limits of our disciplinary categories, to include the humanities as well as the natural and technological sciences.

Although numerous sources are available for the time and region under investigation, scholars and experts in different fields of research basically still move within the limits of their own disciplines (or related disciplines) and schools of thoughts, with scarce knowledge about their colleagues' work, methodologies and scientific insights. While archaeology occupies an advantageous position in this respect, intrinsically including distinctive approaches and methods of both the natural and the social sciences, communication is especially lacking between historians, linguists and philologists, on the one side, and palaeo-environmentalists and geoscientists, on the other. Ancient historians and philologists face environmental issues whenever they deal with economic, social, linguistic and cultural matters, and palaeo-ecologists and geoscientists need to insert their environmental data into a historical context when they study Holocene interactions among organisms, climate history and human influence. Nevertheless, the understanding of the data of others (when contemplated) often remains partial and inexact. This leads to misunderstandings and imprecise interpretations, which are largely undetectable, since the data and results mainly circulate within the limits of one single discipline or of neighbouring disciplines at most (*e.g.* in specialised scientific journals and communities). Improving communication between diverse disciplines seems to be the only effective way to remedy these problems and allow both wider circulation of data and scientific insights and the development of new research perspectives.

Closer collaboration and integrated work among scholars from the social and natural sciences, however desirable it may be, is certainly not a simple undertaking. Methods and data presentation are different, and this can be bewildering for non-experts, who need to learn to decode results in scientific publications that take a basic knowledge of specialised materials, methods and terminology for granted. The main challenge remains chronology, since the natural and the historical sciences work within different chronological scales. It suffices to consider that the current – and relatively short – geological epoch, the Holocene, includes almost the entire investigable history of modern humans from approximately 9000 BCE to the present. Undoubtedly, the use of different time scales dramatically challenges our ability to accurately link human and environmental dynamics. This is a serious limitation that hinders many integrated studies. It can be overcome, however, for certain research questions and in certain situations

(especially when there are many archives and a large quantity of data available). In general, the principle applies that it is very difficult to connect human and environmental dynamics with regard to a given historical event or a short period of time, for example, a battle or the reign of a certain king. It is easier to observe societal and environmental trends that develop in certain historical periods. Only by being aware of the insights provided by other disciplines can we formulate useful research questions and receive appropriate answers for the development of integrated studies of the past.

When observing not only the difficulties, but also the enormous potential, of interdisciplinary collaboration of this type during the work of the team of the Paleopersepolis project, the ancient historians at Kiel decided to organise an interdisciplinary colloquium. For it, they invited archaeologists, geoarchaeologists, historians, linguists, philologists and palaeo-ecologists with a research focus on ancient and medieval Iran. The main aim of this meeting was to discuss the environmental, geographical and socio-cultural peculiarities and developments in ancient south-western Iran in front of a multidisciplinary audience. A special focus was placed on methodology, not least the understanding of the potential and limitations of the different kinds of archives and the identification of each discipline's possible contribution to the writing of an integrated socio-environmental history of ancient Fars. The texts presented in this volume are the result of our intensive dialogue; the many internal references to the works of the other authors testify to that dialogue.

Although no comprehensive volume on environmental and societal issues in ancient Fars has so far been published, there are single studies dedicated to an investigation of the region's specific natural resources and their management, as well as to social-environmental interactions. Among these, the contributions on the Persian 'paradises' that have analysed different features of these well-known parks and plantations, which dotted the landscape of the Achaemenid Empire, deserve particular mention. Among the first historical studies on this topic, we ought to mention the pioneering works of Wolfgang Fauth (1979) and Pierre Briant (1982), who first treated Achaemenid royal ideology with respect to gardens and plantations and rightfully referred to the Achaemenid Great King as *roi jardinier*. These were followed by an important study of Christopher Tuplin's – 'Parks and Gardens in the Achaemenid Empire' (1996) – which still remains the fundamental reference on the Achaemenid *paradeisoï* – now followed by the same author's useful update 'Paradise Revisited', included in the 2018 volume edited by Sébastien Gondet and Ernie Haerincx in honour of Rémy Boucharlat, and the article by Josef Wiesehöfer (this volume). Specific studies on plantations in the Persepolis Fortification Archive have been published by Alexander Uchitel (1997), Wouter Henkelman (this volume), and Wouter Henkelman with Matthew Stolper (forthcoming). From an archaeological perspective, the ancient site of Pasargadae, where the best-studied Achaemenid residence associated with a paradise was located, has provided us with the greatest number of data on paradises in the Persian homeland. In this regard, the works conducted and published by David Stronach in the 1980s and 1990s and by

Rémy Boucharlat in the 2000s and 2010s are fundamental. Among them, Stronach's 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy' (1989) and Boucharlat's 'Gardens and Parks at Pasargadae: Two 'Paradises?,' included in *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich* (2011), are particularly worth mentioning. Recently, Helge Bert Grob published a monograph entitled *Die Gartenlandschaft von Pasargadai und ihre Wasseranlagen* (2017), which inserts the data on the archaeological landscape and water management of Pasargadae into a wider south-western Iranian context. In recent years, Matthew Canepa (2017; 2018, 346–374) has approached the interesting question of 'paradises' in the post-Achaemenid periods and their possible identification as an Iranian royal institution.

The natural resources of ancient Iran, first and foremost the water and mineral deposits, but also the plants and animals, have recently become the subject of studies by several specialists who work at the crossroad between archaeology and the natural sciences – geoscience, botany and zoology – thus enormously increasing our knowledge about the environmental history of western Iran. As for the water resources and water management in Fars after the pioneering geographical and archaeological works by Gerhard Kortum (1976) and Wolfram Kleiss (1991, 1992) on the ancient Iranian irrigation system and waterscape of Fars, the recent geomorphological studies by Jean-Baptiste Rigot (2010), Tijs De Schacht et al. (2012), Matthew Jones et al. (2015) and Brisset et al. (2019) are worth mentioning, which aim at detecting the human impact on the hydro-environment. Minerals and mines in western Iran and especially in the western central Iranian plateau have been investigated since the 1960s,¹ but the topic remains relatively poorly understood especially regarding the historical periods. In recent years, archaeometric analyses started to be conducted on Elamite, Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid metalwork from different parts of Iran. Recent mineralogical studies by Mohammadamin Emami (2005, 2018) and Emami et al. (2018) on queries, mining and metalwork add important information about strategies of metal and stone extraction and casting technologies in ancient Fars in historical times.

In the last two decades, Morteza Djamali and Marjan Mashkour have published several research papers that are very useful for reconstructing the botanical and faunal history of Iran, from prehistory to modern times. Djamali et al.'s work on Lake Maharlou (2009) and Lake Parishan (2015) and Mashkour et al.'s analysis of the animal remains from Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid (2009), and Tang-e Bolaghi (unpublished) in the Mamasani region are also particularly important for the study of ancient Fars. While more archaeozoological data are available for Iran in the prehistoric period, our knowledge on human-animal interaction in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid periods is still very limited.²

1 For an overview on this topic see Moorey 1982; Pigott 1999; Vatandoust/Parzinger/Helwing 2011.

2 Mashkour 2013, 548–549. On animals in the ancient Iranian artistic production see Root 2002.

Additional significant studies relating to the topic of this volume are those that cover the Persepolis tributary and administrative system of Achaemenid times, as they unavoidably touch on economic and social issues. Starting from the first studies collected in Pierre Briant's aforementioned *Rois, tribute, et paysans* (1982) and Pierre Briant and Clarisse Herrenschildt's *Le tribut dans l'Empire perse* (1989), research continued, up to the more recent volumes *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis* (2008), edited by Pierre Briant, Wouter Henkelman and Matthew Stolper, and *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich* (2017), edited by Bruno Jacobs, Wouter Henkelman and Matthew Stolper.

Economic, social and environmental features of human life in ancient south-western Iran have also been tackled in comprehensive monographs on the history and archaeology of ancient Iran (or part of it), such as Muhammad Dandamayev's and Vladimir Lukonin's *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (1989), Josef Wiesehöfer's *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis* (1994) and *Das antike Persien* (1994), Pierre Briant's *Histoire de l'Empire Perse* (1996), Daniel Potts's *The Archaeology of Elam* (1999 [2016]), Pierfrancesco Callieri *L'archéologie du Fars à l'époque hellénistique* (2007), Amélie Kuhrt's *The Persian Empire* (2007), Touraj Daryaee's *Sasanian Persia* (2009), Silvia Balatti's *Mountain Peoples in the Ancient Near East* (2017), and Matthew Canepa's *The Iranian Expanse* (2018). To them we should add some specific contributions in the anthologies *Dariosh Studies II*,³ *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*,⁴ *Sasanian Persia: Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia*⁵ and *The Elamite World*.⁶

Three highly interdisciplinary articles dealing with some specific aspects of the environmental, economic and technological history of ancient Persis have been published by the Paleopersepolis team and collaboration partners in recent years. The first contribution concerns olive cultivation in the Achaemenid Empire⁷ and the second, the cypress tree and its use in the local Sasanian architecture in Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic period.⁸ The third work deals with the potentialities of the Karstic spring wetlands of the Persepolis basin as unique sedimentary archives for an investigation of environmental change and human impacts.⁹ These are only some examples among many others of issues with relation to environment, landscape, economy and society in south-western Iran that may be addressed with the help of integrative research methods. The case studies presented in this volume, which mainly deal with landscape creation and perception and the use and management of natural resources, clearly go in this direction. It is remarkable to observe how much these studies complement each other and how all of them take advantage of an interdisciplinary approach.

3 Basello/Rossi 2012.

4 Potts 2013.

5 Sauer 2017.

6 Álvarez-Mon/Basello/Wicks 2018.

7 Djamali et al. 2015.

8 Djamali et al. 2017.

9 Djamali et al. 2018.

In his opening contribution to this volume, Jan Tavernier provides the historical and socio-linguistic framework necessary to contextualise these case studies. His contribution investigates the linguistic landscape of south-western Iran over the long term, from the Neo-Elamite and Neo-Assyrian periods to Early Islamic times. According to the author, important socio-linguistic transformations occurred in Fars during the Neo-Elamite period especially, when Iranophone groups settled in the (probably) Elamite monolingual highlands of south-western Iran. The first royal dynasty of the Persian Empire, that of the Teispids, which had its origins in this Elamo-Iranian cultural context, made Fars the centre of their world empire. It was, however, under Darius I of the dynasty of the Achaemenids that Fars became a multilingual region, where many different languages were probably spoken both at court and outside it. The same phenomenon is also observable in Sasanian Fars. Especially in these two periods, different groups of people from the entire Near East and beyond reached and in some cases also settled in Fars, with repercussions not just for the culture, but also for the economic and societal assets of this region.

The cityscape of the main cities of Fars in the Achaemenid period, principal among them Persepolis, clearly reflected this character of an imperial heartland and world cities. Alireza Askari Chaverdi's contribution provides an overview of the results of recent archaeological work carried out by the Italo-Iranian Archaeological Mission directed by Pierfrancesco Callieri and Askari himself in the vicinity of the Persepolis Terrace. The trenches excavated at 'Persepolis West' reveal that this everyday-life area was in use at the same time as the occupation of the Persepolis Terrace and was separated from it by irrigated gardens. The recent discoveries in the Firuzi area show instead that there was an earlier monumental area that predated the Terrace, whose buildings followed the course of the Sivand River. Both sectors – together with the geomorphological study conducted on the plain – provide insights from a diachronic perspective into the still little known cityscape of Persepolis and its transformation.

Apart from its well known monumental architecture and unique iconography, the complex of Persepolis is interesting for the materials used, which are revealed to the expert eye. An example of these materials is represented by the colours, which reflect the rich mineral universe of south-western Iran.

Alexander Nagel's paper demonstrates that the colours (especially blue) of the Achaemenid Persian art and architecture were carefully chosen and symbolically created a connection between Iranian kingship, nature and the environment. The mineral universe of Achaemenid Fars corresponds to the complex character of the ruler's landscape, namely the landscape of the 'benefactor' and the 'good gardener'.

This concept, which is central in the Iranian royal self-representation, is introduced by Josef Wiesehöfer's contribution on the ideological and factual roles of water in pre-Islamic Iran as reflected in the Graeco-Roman documents. The author shows that the king and his local governors not only made water care part of their ideology of rule, but also concerned themselves with the creation and maintenance of irrigation systems

and waterways. The proper functioning of these systems was certainly favoured by the presence of natural water resources in a certain territory and the technical skills for making the best out of them. The fact that this was precisely the situation in Achaemenid Fars is supported by new environmental and archaeological studies. Now we know that the spring wetlands of the Persepolis basin created an ecosystem that favoured human settlement in an area characterised by a semiarid climate with marked precipitation seasonality.¹⁰

In the area of Pasargadae, water facilities form the backbone of the occupation pattern also outside the monumental area, as is demonstrated by the paper by Sébastien Gondet and colleagues. The landscape of Pasargadae still hides information that is useful for the reconstruction of past occupation patterns. These patterns are archaeologically detectable despite the ‘landscape of destruction’ that characterises Fars province at present. Uncovering them is the aim of the ongoing archaeological mission to which the authors of the article are contributing.

The water resources of Fars were particularly exploited from the Achaemenid period onwards when complex canalisation networks allowed the development of agriculture and arboriculture in the alluvial inter-mountainous plains of south-western Iran.¹¹ Arboriculture in particular developed exponentially in the Achaemenid period. This has recently been demonstrated with certainty thanks to palynological and palaeobotanical investigations.¹²

The article by Morteza Djamali, Sara Saeidi Ghavi Andam and Peter Poschold shows how much palynology can contribute to our understanding of the history of arboriculture in Ancient Iran, by establishing and discussing a list of cultivated trees which have been detected in the pollen deposits investigated. Moreover, the authors appeal to interdisciplinary work to remedy the problems related to under-represented plant species in pollen records.

Wouter Henkelman’s paper, which deals with fruits and planted trees in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, is complementary to this study. His contribution starts with the analysis of two key texts which highlight arboricultural practices and their promotion by the central power in the Persepolis area. The texts are inventories of seedlings or saplings prepared for planting in ‘plantations’ or ‘storage complexes’. By analysing the available documentation, both the local and the Graeco-Roman, Henkelman continues to formulate some reflections on the practice of planting fruit trees in the Persian Empire and its heartland. The paper ends with two very useful appendices discussing the words for wood, tree, and tree planting and many words for fruits in Elamite and their possible interpretations. It is interesting to note how the philological

10 On the specific ecosystem of the Persepolis basin see Djamali et al. 2018.

11 Brisset et al. 2019.

12 Djamali et al. 2009; Djamali et al. 2015; Saeidi Ghavi Andam et al. 2020.

and palynological data on cultivated trees and fruits in some cases support each other and in other cases complement each other.

The support provided by the testimony of the written documents for the palaeobotanical data is evident in Silvia Balatti's contribution on wine and wine consumption in the Achaemenid Empire. As Djamali and colleagues suggest, grapevine has an extremely low pollen production, and its cultivation – although generally detectable – is difficult to quantify using palynological methods. Balatti demonstrates through the analysis of the available textual documentation that the vine and its cultivation abounded in Achaemenid Fars. Grapevine products, primarily wine, were widely consumed, both at court and outside of it, by several social groups (and even by animals), thus representing a unique case among the Ancient Near Eastern empires.

The well-cultivated and well-managed landscape of Achaemenid Fars, which was dotted with plantations, water facilities, gardens, roads and towns, is curiously difficult to trace in the accounts of the Greek and Latin authors who narrate Alexander III of Macedon's conquest of Persis. Hilmar Klinkott shows in his contribution that ethnographic and geographical data on Fars were known in a Greek context, but intentionally excluded from the 'canonised' versions of the history of Alexander's conquest. This phenomenon mirrors the historical authors' intentional choice of downplaying Achaemenid rule, which had its representational centre in the landscapes and cityscapes of Persis, in favour of a new, Macedonian order. Indeed, Alexander and his successors continued to rule the Empire (then the Seleucid Kingdom) from Babylon and Mesopotamia, and not from Iran.

Persis's loss of its status as centre of the empire goes hand in hand with the decrease in documents available to reconstruct the socio-environmental history of Fars. A certain degree of continuity on the local level remains, however, detectable, both in the numismatic and archaeological materials and in the palaeobotanical records.¹³ From a political perspective, we are well informed about the presence of local dynasts controlling the region under the Seleucids and Arsacids. Although the information on local dynasts of Fars in the Seleucid period is relatively limited, Josef Wiesehöfer has already demonstrated years ago how important their contribution was in continuing the memory of the Achaemenids well into the Sasanian period.¹⁴

In Early Sasanian times, cities and smaller towns were again founded in Fars, following an imperial project aiming at the exploitation of the agricultural resources of the territory and the enhancement of its productivity. There is no doubt that, in this respect, the Sasanians followed the model of their Achaemenid predecessors, although adapting it to their own needs. In particular, future work on the surrounding landscape and communication network of the circular city of Ardashir-Xwarrah may be able to

13 Wiesehöfer 1994; Wiesehöfer 2007; Djamali et al. 2015.

14 Wiesehöfer 1994, 138 f.

detect settlement systems and patterns of communication, which extended southwards to include the area on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Preliminary work on this topic is presented in Pierfrancesco Callieri's contribution on connectivity in the area of the Persian Gulf in the Early Sasanian period. It is interesting to note that the Sasanian presence in the area of the Persian Gulf, which probably followed Achaemenid models, had a specific environmental impact on the landscape, when works on water management and agricultural land exploitation were extended to this very dry area.

Khodadad Rezaikhan's paper starts with a survey of city foundations in the 'Sasanian South' – a region that extended from Sistan in the East to Mesopotamia in the West – which, as already mentioned in Callieri's paper, changed the landscape of Early Sasanian Fars. The paper continues by demonstrating the importance of geographic belonging to 'the South' for distinguishing the members of the elite and the proliferation of the idea of the nobility's connection to land in the Late Sasanian–Early Islamic period. This is a topic that needs further investigation and will necessitate close collaboration between historians and archaeologists with a special focus on Late Antiquity and the Islamic period, i. e. an effort to transcend disciplinary boundaries.

Finally, Georg Leube's contribution moves us forward in time into a discussion of Persepolis as a place of memory in the Iranian tradition. It shows how the remains of Persepolis continued to be seen as a site of paradigmatic pre-Islamic courtly splendour in the Persianate-Islamic realm of the 'Persophonie' in medieval times. In particular, the corpus of Islamic inscriptions from Persepolis/Takht-i Jamshīd, which were commissioned by Timurid governors in the 15th century CE, can be interpreted as a unique intertextual web of reference actualising particular aspects of the lasting renown of the Achaemenid residence.

While starting with the aim of intensifying communication and integrated research on environment and society in ancient Fars in the historical periods, our scholarly efforts went far beyond that, providing us with an up-to-date overview of the newest insights into the history, culture and environment of ancient south-western Iran and its significance as a place of memory. This volume touches on topics approached by scholars from the humanities and the natural and technological sciences in a joint effort to investigate the past at 360 degrees.

Another line of research that is strongly confirmed by the papers presented in this volume is that phenomena of continuity and change should be investigated in a local and diachronic perspective, thus overcoming not only disciplinary boundaries, but also traditional historical periodisations and categories. Material remains, as well as socio-cultural phenomena and strategies of landscape use in a given region, can be understood only if considered in dialogue and negotiation with their own past. Thus, we are convinced that to fully comprehend a certain society, its place of origin, cultural heritage and historical memory must first be investigated. If we apply this principle to our case study, we can conclude that it is not possible to fully understand Ancient

Persian societies if we do not thoroughly investigate the socio-cultural history and environment of Fars in all its facets.

This volume does not aim to be exhaustive, nor does it aim to provide a complete overview of environmental and societal issues in ancient Fars. Instead, it tries to pave the way to what we believe are fruitful lines of research. While significant steps have been undertaken for the study of the relationship between human and plant environment, water resource management and landscape perception and conception in ancient Fars, further interdisciplinary studies on human-animal interaction and the mineral universe of south-western Iran are still needed.

In the coming years, we can expect many more case studies and new data to enrich our knowledge of human–environmental interactions in Ancient Iran. In this regard, we would like to mention in particular the recently funded projects included in the DFG thematic priority program ‘The Iranian highlands: resiliencies and integration in pre-modern societies’, in which some of the conference participants and organisers are involved, and the promising dissertation projects of young researchers who participated in the Paleopersepolis colloquium – Aleksander Engeskaug (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), Rhyne King (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago), Sara Saeidi Ghavi Andam (Universität Regensburg) and Mark Tamerus (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) – and of many other young scholars who are currently trained to investigate the Iranian past both in Iran and abroad. We all look forward to reading the results of their works.

Bibliography

- Álvarez-Mon J. / Basello, G. P. / Wicks, Y. 2018. *The Elamite World*, Abingdon, Oxon/New York.
- Balatti, S. 2017. *Mountain Peoples in the Ancient Near East: The Case of the Zagros in the First Millennium BCE* (CleO 18), Wiesbaden.
- Basello, G. P. / Rossi A. V. (eds.) 2012. *Dariosh Studies II: Persepolis and its Settlements: Territorial System and Ideology in the Achaemenid State* (Università degli Studi di Napoli l’Orientale, Series Minor 78), Napoli.
- Boucharlat, R. 2011. Gardens and Parks at Pasargadae: Two “Paradises”?, in: R. Rollinger / B. Truschneegg / R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Reich – Herodotus and the Persian Empire*, (CleO 3), Wiesbaden, 457–474.
- Briant, P. 1982. *Rois, tributs et paysans: Études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien* (Centre de Recherches d’Histoire Ancienne 43 = Annales littéraires de l’Université de Besançon 269), Paris.
- Briant, P. 1996. *Histoire de l’empire perse: De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris (translated into English as *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake 2002).
- Briant, P. / Herrenschildt, C. (eds.) 1989. *Le tribut dans l’empire perse: actes de la table ronde de Paris, 12–13 décembre 1986*, Paris.
- Briant, P. / Henkelman W. F. M. / Stolper M. W. 2008. *L’archive des Fortifications de Persépolis. État des questions et perspectives de recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la*