

Making the Empire a Paradise: Building Achaemenid Persia

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Growth of Empires, First Millennium BCE

NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE (911-609 BCE)



ACHAEMENID EMPIRE (550-330 BCE)



Relief of Darius I at Bisotun



Inscription XPf, Old Persian Text

- A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created heaven, who created mankind, who created happiness for mankind, who made Xerxes king, one king of many kings, commander of many commanders. (Lines 1-8)
- Darius had other sons, but - thus was Ahuramazda's desire - my father Darius made me the greatest after himself. When my father Darius went away from the throne, by the will of Ahuramazda I became king on my father's throne. When I became king, I did much that was excellent. What had been built by my father, I protected, and I added other buildings. What I built, and what my father built, all that by the will of Ahuramazda we built. (Lines 28-43)

Paradise

- Originally from Old Persian, *paridaida-*, meaning a space enclosed by walls
- Comes into English via Greek *paradeisos*

The Garden of Eden, a Paradise



NOTA ADLECTOREM

Ex his tantisque Regionibus, quas celum sui ambitus continet, hinc profectus Paradisi terrestriis, quae quibusdam et Elamiam regionem appellat, tanta laudibus fieri scriptis omnes extulit, ut omnium sanctorum, ceteris omnes habitate terre, ubi tunc fuit, omni generis libris etiam in loco antecellat et preceat. Paradisi hinc a Deo plantatus summa profuse, sine fructu nec usque rebusque videtur, capite sum et typographum hic praelegit, iuxta Sacra Genesios 2. v. 8. et 10. verba scilicet pro-
 pter sanctitatem. Sed non tam rebusque summa, sed quaedam fructus, quasi typum celestis Paradisi sui con-
 tate in quibus, iuxta Apocalypsis descriptionem, postea. Vnde hic pariter factum sui fluvium, quidem in quadra-
 phem mundi plagam usque post Paradisi irrigacionem, extra quoque circumfusa regiones Assiri, Aethiopiam, orientalem Terram Chus, Aegyptum usque, inde quoque arborum vites in modo Paradisi plantatum; nec inde venientem arborem fructus boni et mali, qui casti sunt peccati in mundum intravit. Aliam vero fructum sui, quod terra bene, sine libere, sed qualem in horto voluptatis omnes hinc, diffusus. Extra vero Paradisum a Chusiam, iuxta parabolam, habebat, quaeque in Chusiam, Chusiam, in plurali numero vocat, ad a mundi partes, diffusus ad custodiendum viam ad hunc vitam fluvium, et usque glaci armetis con-
 tatus. Denique extra Paradisum, Abas et Eux, ex Paradisi irrigacione arvenas et in agris, inveniuntur, et in Chus fructibus afficit, non vultu in usque et fructus, qui ad, sic scriptis, expressa, sunt, ita quoque, ut videri, expellat, non videtur, unde, lectorem, finis ex, descriptione Paradisi, intelligat. Vale. Franc.

Paradise

- Originally from Old Persian, *paridaida-*, meaning a space enclosed by walls
- Comes into English via Greek *paradeisos*
- “The Persian paradise was a complex image: simultaneously a memory (better, a re-collection) of the world as originally intended by the Creator and a promise that its perfection would be restored.” (Lincoln, Bruce. *'Happiness for Mankind': Achaemenian Religion and the Imperial Project*. Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012: 19)



Case Studies under Consideration

- 1) Western Anatolia (western Turkey)
- 2) Babylonia (southern Iraq)
- 3) Kyzyltepa in Sogdia (southern Uzbekistan)
- 4) Persepolis Plain (southwestern Iran)
- 5) Karačamirli (Azerbaijan)

The Political Ecology of Western Anatolia



Treaty Draft Number

Jurisdiction of Persian King

Other Notes

First Treaty Draft (Thuc. 8.18)

Whatever land (*chora*) and cities (*poleis*) the King or his ancestors had.

Second Treaty Draft (Thuc. 8.37)

Whatever land (*chora*) and cities (*poleis*) the King or his ancestors had.

The King will pay for armies in his land (*chora*); if any city attacks the land (*chora*) of the King, the rest will oppose that city and defend the King.

Third Treaty Draft (Thuc. 8.58)

The land (*chora*) of the King which is in Asia.

The Spartans and their allies will not attack the land (*chora*) of the King, nor vice versa. If the Spartans or their allies attack the land (*chora*) of the King, the rest of the allies will oppose them.

Gifts of Cities, Some Examples

Gift	Giver	Recipient	Source(s)
Ionian Cities	King Artaxerxes II	Tissaphernes	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> 1.1.6
(Revenue from) Cities	Cyrus the Younger	Lysander	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 2.1.13-14, Plut. <i>Lys.</i> 9.1-2, Diod. 13.104.4
Select Cities of Northwestern Anatolia	Pharnabazus	Mania (via Zenis)	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 3.1.10-13

Cf. Briant, Pierre. 1985. "Dons de terres et de villes: L'Asie mineure dans le contexte achéménide." *Revue des études anciennes* 87: 53-72

Remittance of Urban Revenue to Higher Authorities

- “Cyrus sent the tribute he had gotten to the King from the cities which Tissaphernes happened to have had.” (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.8)
- “[Mania] handed over the tribute [to Pharnabazos] no less than her husband had done.” (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.12)

Estates in Western Anatolia, Some Examples

Landholder	“Paradise”	Unspecified Estate
Tissaphernes	Plut. <i>Alc.</i> 24.5	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 3.2.12, Xen. <i>Ages.</i> 1.15
Pharnabazus	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 4.1.15-16, 4.1.33	<i>Chora</i> of Pharnabazos?: Hell. Oxy. 21.1; Plut. <i>Ages.</i> 11.3; Plut. <i>Alc.</i> 29.3, 31.1; Plut. <i>Lys.</i> 19.4
Cyrus the Younger	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> 1.2.7	

Pharnabazus' Paradises

- “...Dascylium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provisions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks [=paradises], others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he [Agesilaus] spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions.” (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15-16)

Estates in Western Anatolia, Some Examples

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Pharnabazus	Xen. <i>Hell.</i> 4.1.15-16, 4.1.33	<i>Chora</i> of Pharnabazos?: Hell. Oxy. 21.1; Plut. <i>Ages.</i> 11.3; Plut. <i>Alc.</i> 29.3, 31.1; Plut. <i>Lys.</i> 19.4
Cyrus the Younger	Xen. <i>Anab.</i> 1.2.7	

Land Tenure in Babylonia

Fifth-Century Mesopotamia

- Stolper, Matthew. 1985. *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašū Archive, the Murašū Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. Leiden.
- Jursa, Michael, with contributions by Johannes Hackel, Bojana Janković, Kristin Kleber, Elizabeth E. Payne, Caroline Waerzeggers, and Michaela Weszeli. 2010. *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC*. Münster.
- Pirngruber, Reinhard. 2017. *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia*. Cambridge.

Revolts of 484 BCE

- Waerzeggers, C. 2003-2004. "The Babylonian Revolts against Xerxes and the 'End of Archives'." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50: 150-73.
- Kessler, K. 2004. "Urukäische Familien versus babylonische Familien. Die Namengebung in Uruk, die Degradierung der Kulte von Eanna und der Aufstieg des Gottes Anu." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31: 237-262.
- Baker, H. D. 2008. "Babylon in 484 BC: The Excavated Archival Tablets as a Source for Urban History." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 98: 100-116.
- Waerzeggers, C., and M. Seire, eds. 2018. *Xerxes and Babylonia: The Cuneiform Evidence*. Leuven.



Baghdad Sippar

Babylon

Borsippa

Nippur

Uruk

Ur

Susa

Iraq

Kuwait

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US Dept of State Geographer
Image Landsat / Copernicus
© 2018 Basarsoft

Go

ern Borders

32°13'20.44" N 44°41'20.70" E elev 82 ft eye

Table 3.1. Overview of leases to the *Murašû* firm

Text (date)	Lessor(s)	Summary of transaction			
BE 9 2 (Art 10-12-22)	Ahūšunu/ Šamaš-zēr-ibni	Relinquishment of bow land against payment of dues	EE 1 (Art 32-xx-25)	Nabû-uballiṭ/Aplāya, brother of the <i>ša muḫhi sūti</i> ¹⁰ [...] Tattannu	Lease of crown land (<i>uzbāru</i>) and water rights
EE 3 (Art 22-01-20)	Kāšir/Bēl-nāšir, <i>šaknu ša šušānu mārū hisannu</i>	Lease of four bow lands for ten years, for 50 shekels of silver annually and payment of [<i>mandattu</i>]	IMT 4 (Art 35-01-20)	Bēl-iddin/Nidintu, <i>šaknu ša bit rab urāte</i>	Lease of bow lands
IMT 1 (Art 23-06-10)	Šulum-Bābili/Bēl-ittia, <i>šaknu</i>	Lease of [bow(?)] land <i>ana palāh šarri</i>	BE 9 48 (Art 36-07-02)	Bagamiri/Mithradata	Long-term lease (60 years) of the field of the lessor's uncle
EE 2 (Art 24-05-05)	Iadih-Iama/Bana-Iama	Lease of crown land (<i>uzbāru</i>) and water rights; waiver of action of the <i>ša muḫhi sūti</i> ¹⁰ [...] Bēl-nāšir/Bēl-ušēzib	BE 9 72 (Art 40-06-15)	Marduk-šumu-iddin; the <i>rab umma</i>	Lease of bow lands of the priests of Larak
EE 10 (Art 24-xx-04)	Aqubia, <i>paqdu</i> of Unnatu	Lease of fields <i>ana errēšūti</i>	IMT 5 (Art 40-06-18)	Lābāši/Nabû-ittannu	Lease of lessor's bow lands
BE 9 10 (Art 28-03-03)	Zabdā/Iddina, his brother Bēlšunu and Lābāši/Ahu-iddin	Lease of bow lands <i>ana nukaribbūti</i> and <i>ana errēšūti</i>	EE 6 (Art 41-07-12)	Ahāšunu/Ililāya	Lease of lessor's bow land
IMT 2 (Art 31-x-x)	Ištabuzana	Lease of the <i>uzbāru ša bit sinništi ša ekallim</i> , including bow lands			
IMT 3 (Art 31-11-08)	Halabi-Esu/Padi-Esu and Halaba-Esu/ Mukēšu	Long-term lease (30 years)			

Pirngruber, Reinhard. 2017. *The Economy of Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia*. Cambridge: 50.

1	AO 6811	Durand Textes babyloniens pl. 11f. (Joannès Textes économiques 277 No. 71)	promissory note: silver at interest
2	†AO 6840	TCL 13 204	contract for payment of regular offerings
3	†AO 10301	TCL 13 208	promissory note: dates as assessed rent (<i>imittu</i>)
4	?Ashm. 1950.221	OECT 10 140	receipt: dates
5	†Ashm. 1951.87 (TNHS 1769)	Iraq 4 17	promissory note: dates
6	†Bellino Q	unpublished autograph in the Grotefend Nachlass (Göttingen); whereabouts of original unknown	sublease
7	†Bertin 2312 (R. ---)	Oppert-Ménant Doc. jur. 276ff. No. VI (see Stolper 1992:120); whereabouts of original unknown	receipt: barley
8	?Bib. nat. 2689	CIS II/1 74f. No. 69; not collated	promissory note: bricks
9	†BM 95-4-6,2	Borger, Die Welt des Alten Orients, 181 No. 1 = Bellino Copy 1, Grotefend Nachlass (Göttingen)	sublease
10	†BM 25669	Iraq 54 122	receipt: fixed rent in barley
11	†BM 30124 (R. 116)	unpublished; Bellino N in Grotefend Nachlass (Göttingen)	promissory note: dates as assessed rent (<i>imittu</i>)
12	?BM 30128 (R. 120)	Actes du 8 ^e Congrès International 24	receipt: fixed rent (<i>[sūtu]</i>) in silver
13	†BM 30129 (R. 121-1)	Dar. 78	sublease
14	†BM 30134 (EIH 1021)	Dar. 274	receipt: fixed rent (<i>sūtu</i>) in barley
15	†BM 30143	Dar. 364	promissory note: barley
16	†BM 30159 (R. 128)	Dar. 476	receipt: fixed rent (<i>sūtu</i>) in barley
17	†BM 30224	Actes du 8 ^e Congrès International 23	partnership
18	BM 40066	unpublished	unclassified fragment

19	†BM 47340	ZKM 1 pl. after 254, A; Actes du 8 ^e Congrès International 25	promissory note: barley
20	†BM 47343	Actes du 8 ^e Congrès International 31	promissory note: silver against pledge of land
21	†BM 116622	unpublished	sublease
22	?CBS 1714	unpublished	receipt: fixed rent (<i>sūtu</i>) in barley
23	†K. 5424c (R. 108)	Stevenson ABC 198 No. 41	promissory note: barley and emmer
24	†K. 8485 (R. 109)	unpublished	promissory note: dates
25	?K. 8506 (R. 110)	KB 4 312	promissory note: apples as assessed rent (<i>imittu</i>)
26	†Kelsey 89392	Moore Michigan Coll. 43	receipt: taxes (<i>ilku</i>) in silver
27	†Kelsey 89395	Moore Michigan Coll. 45	receipt: fixed rent (<i>sūtu</i>) in barley
28	?Kelsey 89396	Moore Michigan Coll. 46	lease
29	†Kelsey 89401	Moore Michigan Coll. 49	settlement of dispute
30	†MM 1145	unpublished	promissory note(?): silver
31	†NBC 8394	unpublished	promissory note: barley or equivalent silver
32	†RA 16 112	Toscane collection; whereabouts of original unknown	receipt: barley
33	†Usko tablet	unpublished; from two copies in different hands (not Bellino's) in the Grotefend Nachlass (Göttingen); whereabouts of original unknown	sublease
34	†VAT 13190	FuB 14 28f. No. 21	receipt: rent in silver
35	†VAT 13377	FuB 14 11 No. 1	promissory note: barley and wheat as assessed rent (<i>imittu</i>)
36	†VAT 13393	FuB 14 12 No. 2	promissory note: silver at interest
37	VAT 13402	FuB 14 13f. No. 3	promissory note
38	VAT 13407	FuB 14 14 No. 4	lease (?)

Stolper, M. 1995. "The Babylonian Enterprise of Belesys." In *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille: Peuples et pays du Proche-Orient vus par un Grec*, edited by P. Briant. Toulouse. 220-221.

BM 47340

- (1) 16 GUR ŠE.BAR bab-ba-ni-tum NÍG.GA ^dEN šá ina ŠU^{II} r ^mšá-lam-ma-re-e ¹
- (2) LÚ.ARAD šá ^mEN-šú-nu LÚ.NAM E-bir ÍD ina muḫ-ḫi
- (3) ^{md}Il-tam-<meš>-ni-iṭ-ṭi-ir DUMU šá ^{md}AG-ú-še-zib

16 gur of fine barley is property of Bēl that is under the control of Šalammarê, servant of Bēlšunu, governor of Across-the-River, and debited against Itammeš-niṭṭir, son of Nabû-ušēzib.

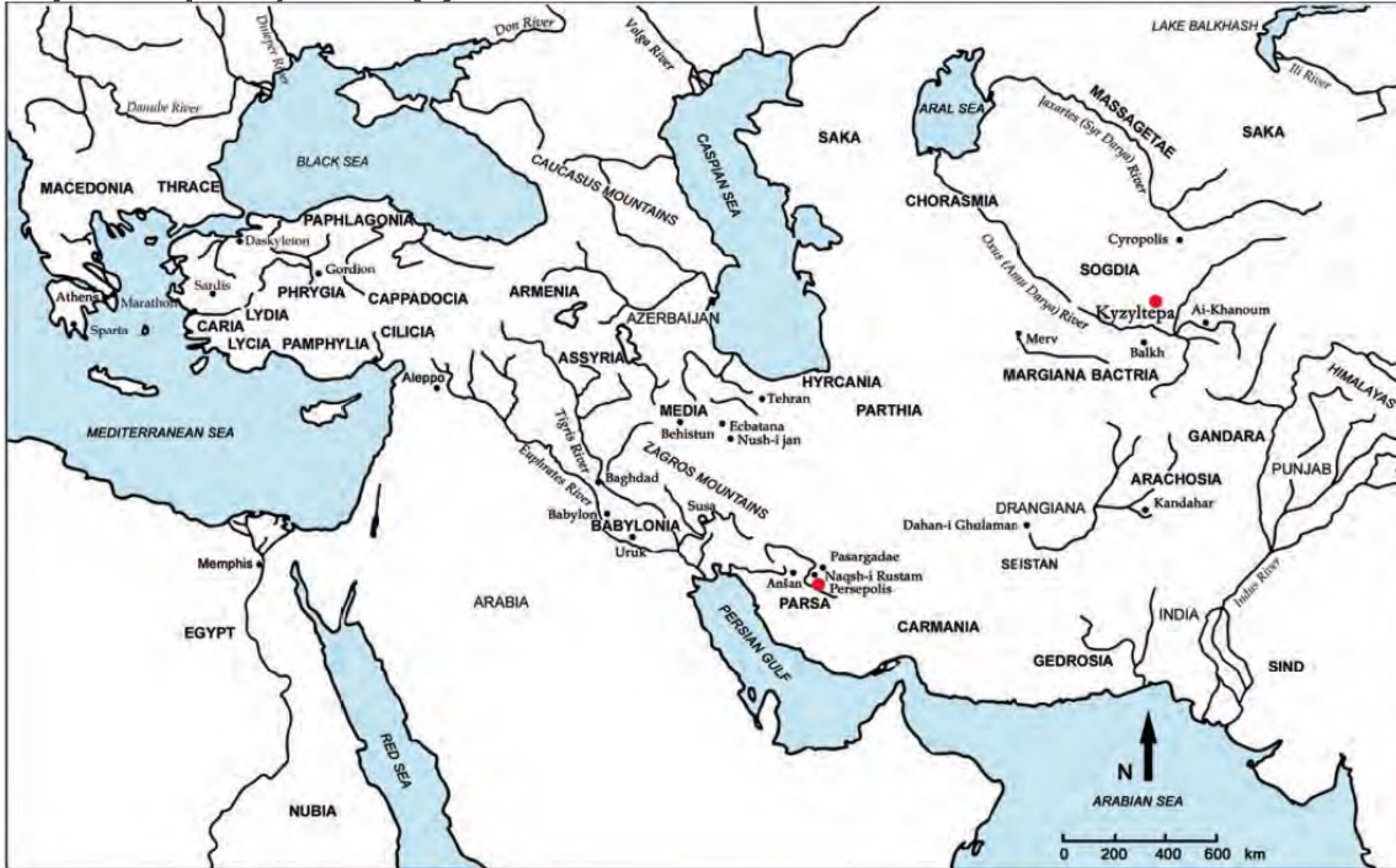
Translation and Text Edition by Stolper: Stolper, Matthew. 2004. "The Kasr Texts, the Rich Collection, the Bellino Copies and the Grotfend Nachlass." In *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, edited by Jan Dercksen. Leiden.

Syrian Estate of Bēlšunu

- “From there Cyrus [the Younger] marched five stages, thirty parasangs, to the sources of the Dardas river, the width of which is a plethrum. There was the palace of Belesys [=Bēlšunu], the late ruler of Syria, and a very large and beautiful paradise containing all the products of the seasons. But Cyrus cut down the park and burned the palace.” (Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.10)

An *Ex Novo* Foundation in Sogdia

Kyzyltepa, Sogdia



Wu, X. 2018. "Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the Effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier." In *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennium BC)*, edited by J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka. Berlin: 190.

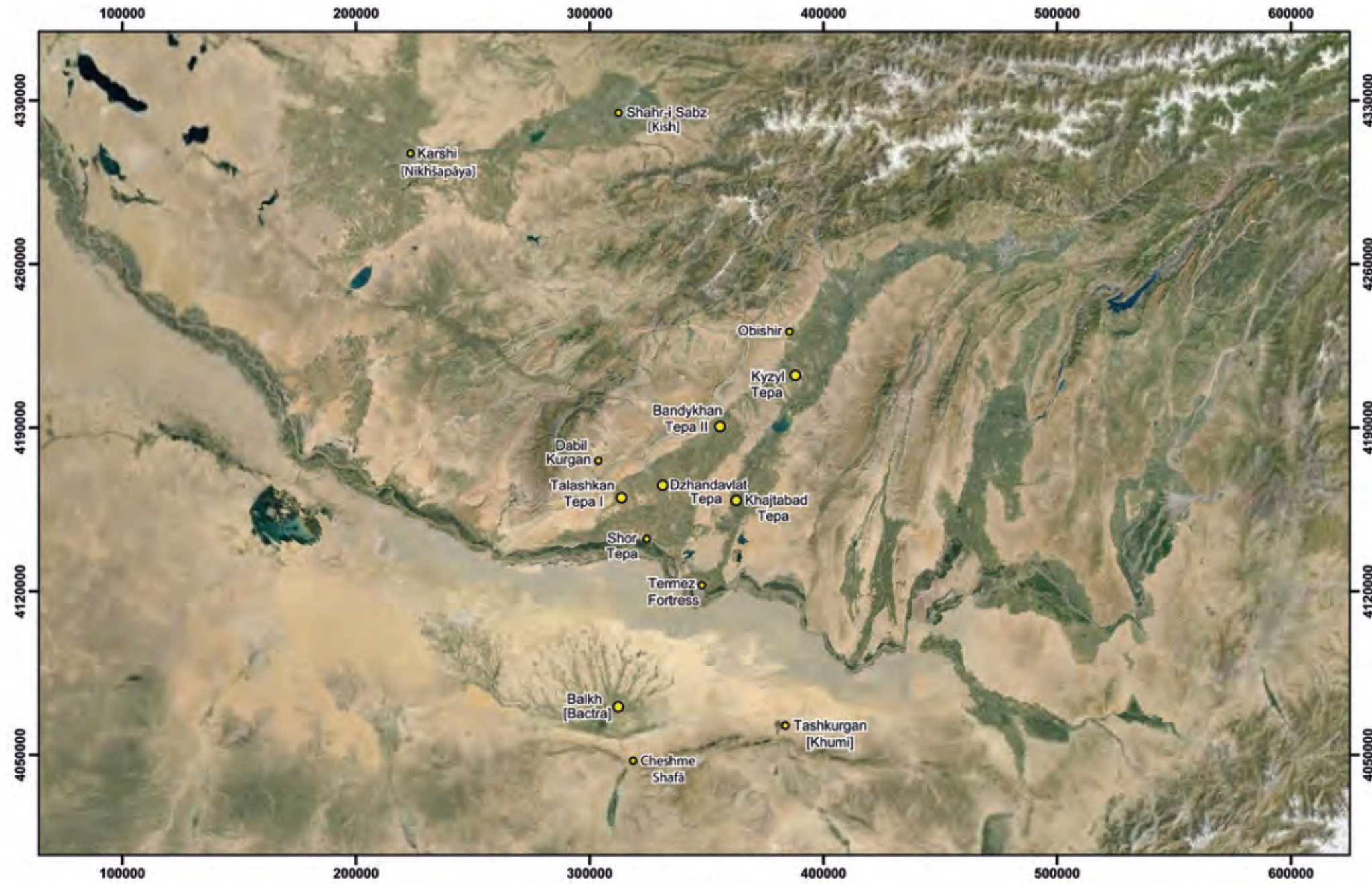
Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria

From
The Khalili Collections



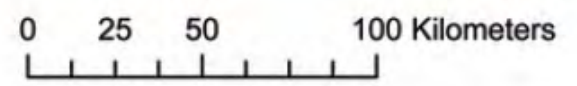
Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked

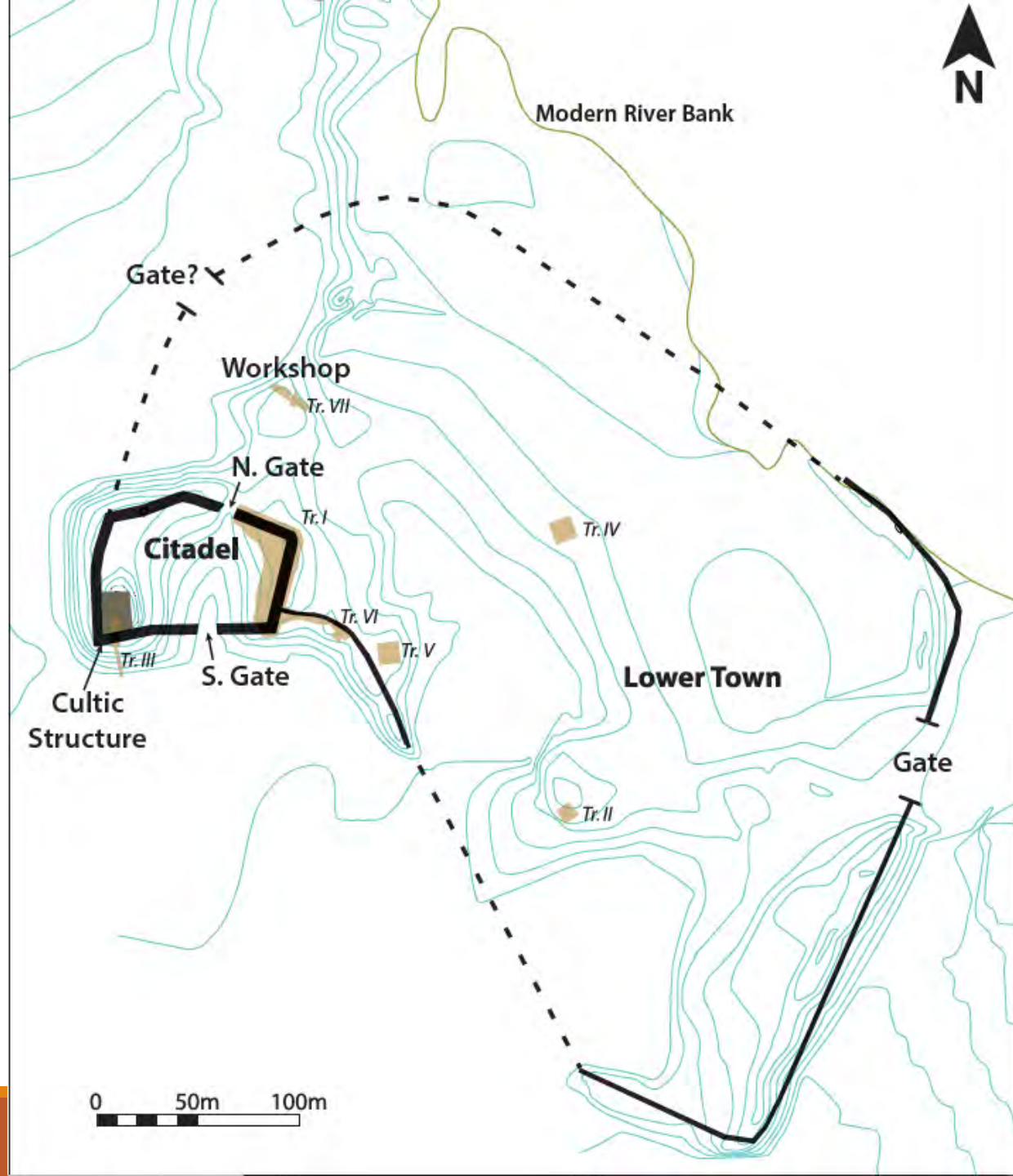
Naveh, J., and S. Shaked. 2012.
*Aramaic Documents from Ancient
Bactria (Fourth Century BCE) from the
Khalili Collections*. London.



Wu, X. 2018. "Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the Effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier." In *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, edited by J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka. Berlin: 191.

Projection: UTM WGS1984 Zone 42N
 Satellite Imagery: Landsat





Wu, X., L. M. Sverchkov, and N. Boroffka. 2017. "The 2010-2011 Seasons of Excavations at Kyzyltepa (VIth-IVth Centuries BCE), Southern Uzbekistan." *Iranica Antiqua* 52: 325.

	NISP (2011)	NISP (2010)	NISP (Total)
Domestic mammals			
Sheep/goat	718	398	1116
Sheep (<i>Ovis aries</i>)	118	32	150
Goat (<i>Capra hircus</i>)	48	15	63
Cattle (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	213	116	329
Pig (<i>Sus scrofa</i>)	33	10	43
Horse (<i>Equus caballus</i>)	8	4	12
Donkey (<i>Equus asinus</i>)	12	4	16
Camel (<i>Camelus</i> sp.)	1	3	4
Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>)	5	9	14
Cat (<i>Felis catus</i>)	1	—	1
Domestic/wild mammals			
Equid	52	47	99
Domestic birds			
Chicken (<i>Gallus gallus</i>)	3	9	12
Wild mammals			
Goitered gazelle (<i>Gazella subgutterosa</i>)	8	5	13
Wild sheep (<i>Ovis</i> sp.)	—	3	3
Wild boar (<i>Sus scrofa</i>)	1	—	1
Onager (<i>Equus hemionus</i>)	—	1	1
Wolf (<i>Canis lupus</i>)	—	1	1
Corsac fox (<i>Vulpes corsac</i>)	5	1	6
Hare (<i>Lepus</i> sp.)	1	—	1
Wild birds			
Goose (<i>Anser</i> sp.)	10	3	13
Duck (<i>Anas</i> sp.)	1	—	1
Total	1238	662	2900

Table 3. Animal species identified in the 2010 and 2011 faunal assemblages from Kyzyltepa; the 2010 specimens were identified by Norbert Beneke (NISP: Number of identified specimens).

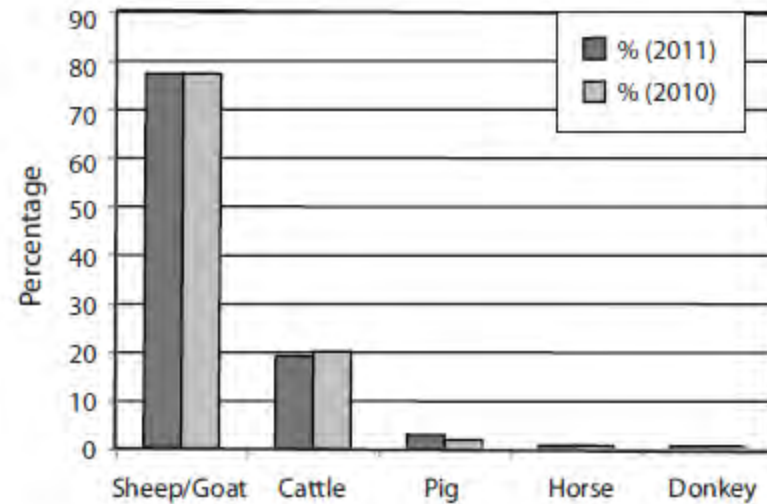


Fig. 4. Species ratios for the large domestic mammals—cattle, sheep/goat, pig, horse, and donkey—from the 2010 and 2011 excavation seasons at Kyzyltepa (data source: Table 3).

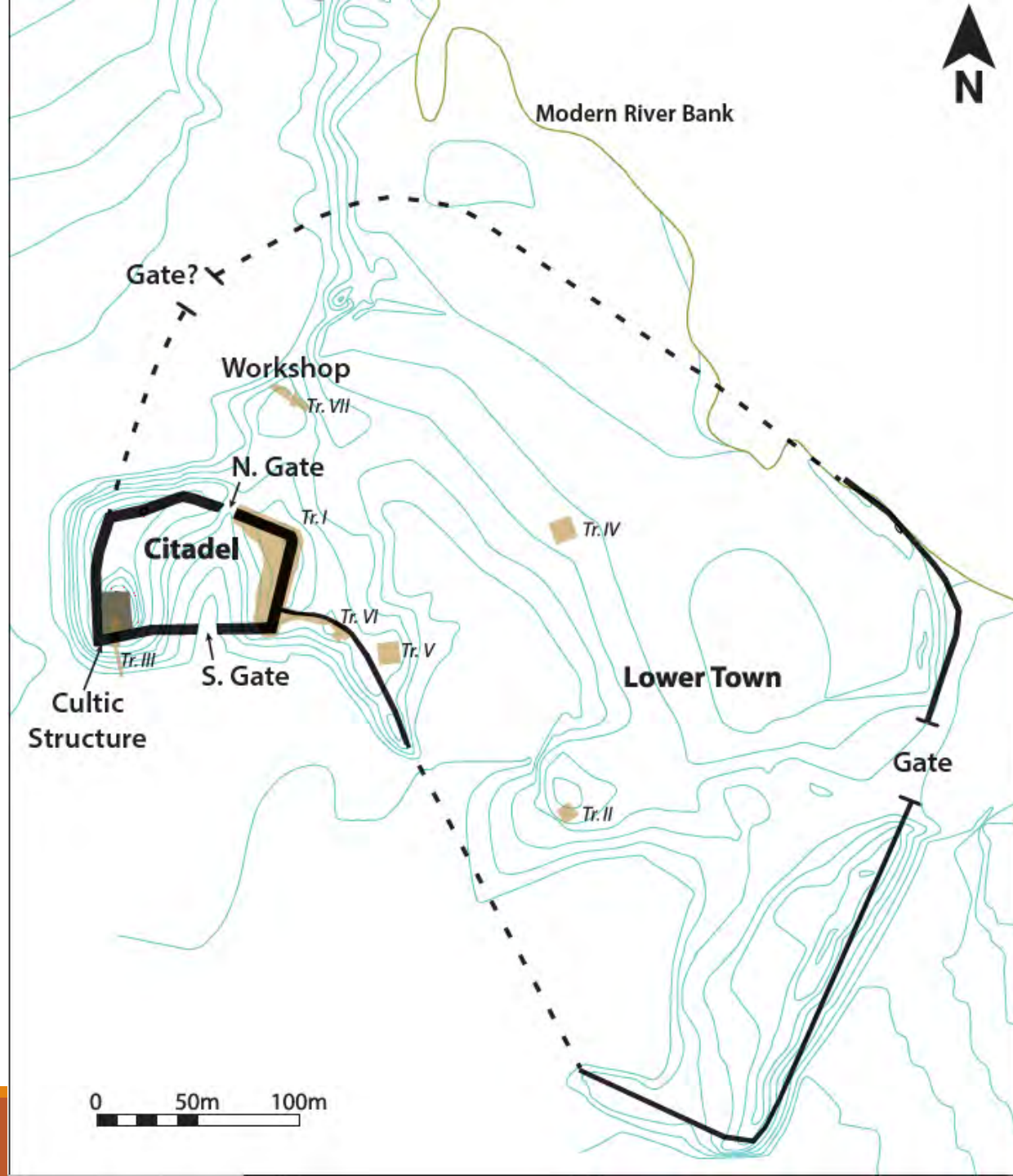
>50% above mean	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	B01	B04	B06	B08	B10	B11	B14
High density overall	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	x	x
Charcoal (wt.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	x	.
Seed (wt.)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
Plant parts (wt.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
Wild seed (count)	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	x	x
Millet (count)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.
Cereal (wt.)	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
Dung (wt.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	.	.	.	x
Ratios															
Seed:Charcoal	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x
Wild:Cereal	.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	x	.	.

Table 2. Samples of unusually high density, seed:charcoal, and wild:cereal ratios.

Wu, X., N. F. Miller, and P. Crabtree. 2015. "Agro-Pastoral Strategies and Food Production on the Achaemenid Frontier in Central Asia: A Case Study of Kyzyltepa in Southern Uzbekistan " *Iran* 53: 93-117.

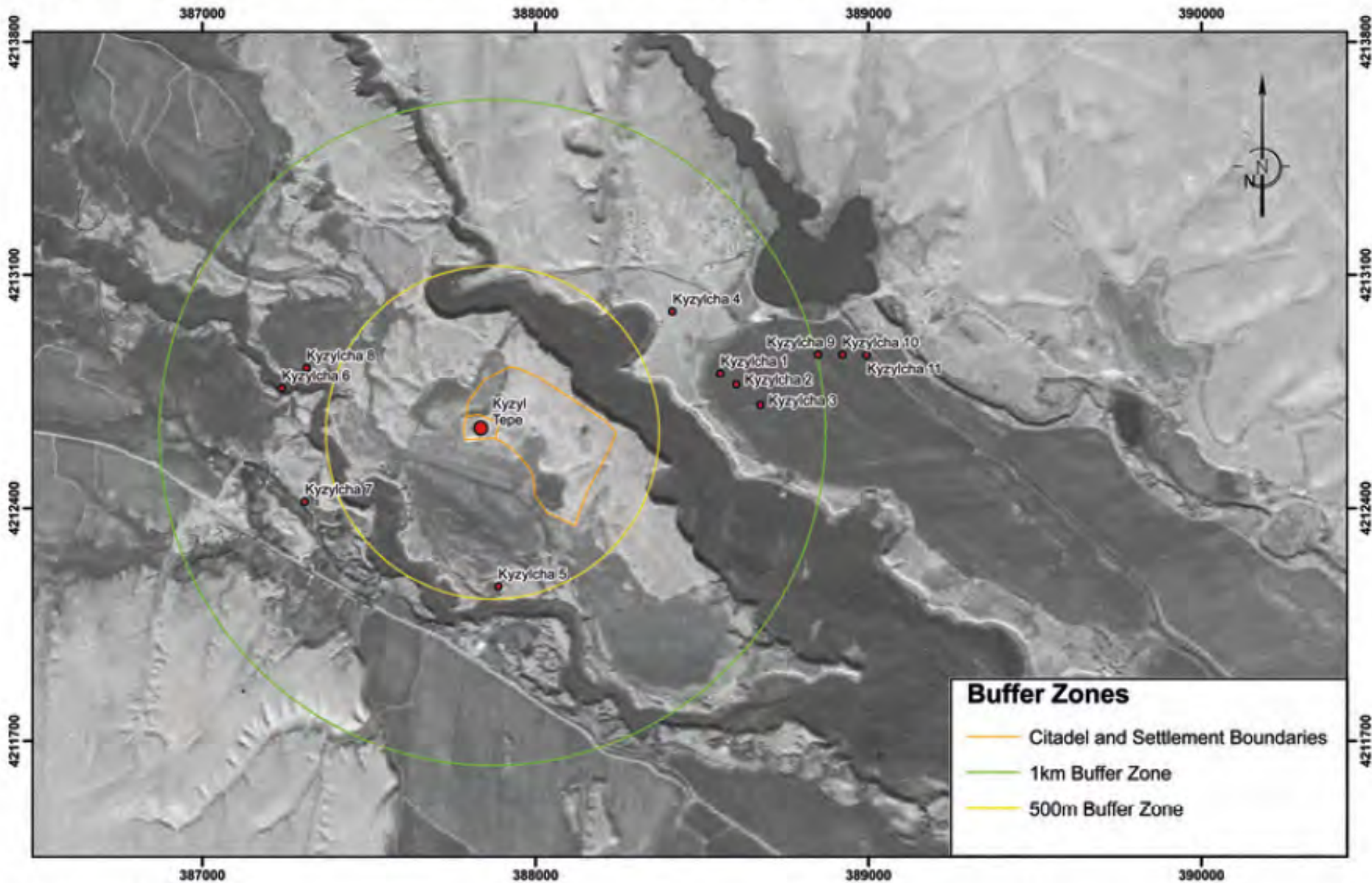
An Empty Site?

- “Whereas Kyzyltepa might appear to be, given its size and fortification system, an urban settlement, the fact that the site does not contain a high density of dwellings and lacks the hierarchies of buildings usually observed in a naturally developed urban centre suggests that the site was probably not an urban settlement.”
 - Wu, X. 2018. "Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the Effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier." In *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, edited by J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka, 196. Berlin.
- Cf. Stride, S. 2005. *Géographie archéologique de la province du Surkhan Darya (Ouzbékistan du sud / Bactriane du nord)*. PhD Thesis, University of Paris 1 - Panthéon Sorbonne: 293.



Wu, X., L. M. Sverchkov, and N. Boroffka. 2017. "The 2010-2011 Seasons of Excavations at Kyzyltepa (VIth-IVth Centuries BCE), Southern Uzbekistan." *Iranica Antiqua* 52: 325.

Kyzyltepa and Settlements in the Surrounding Area



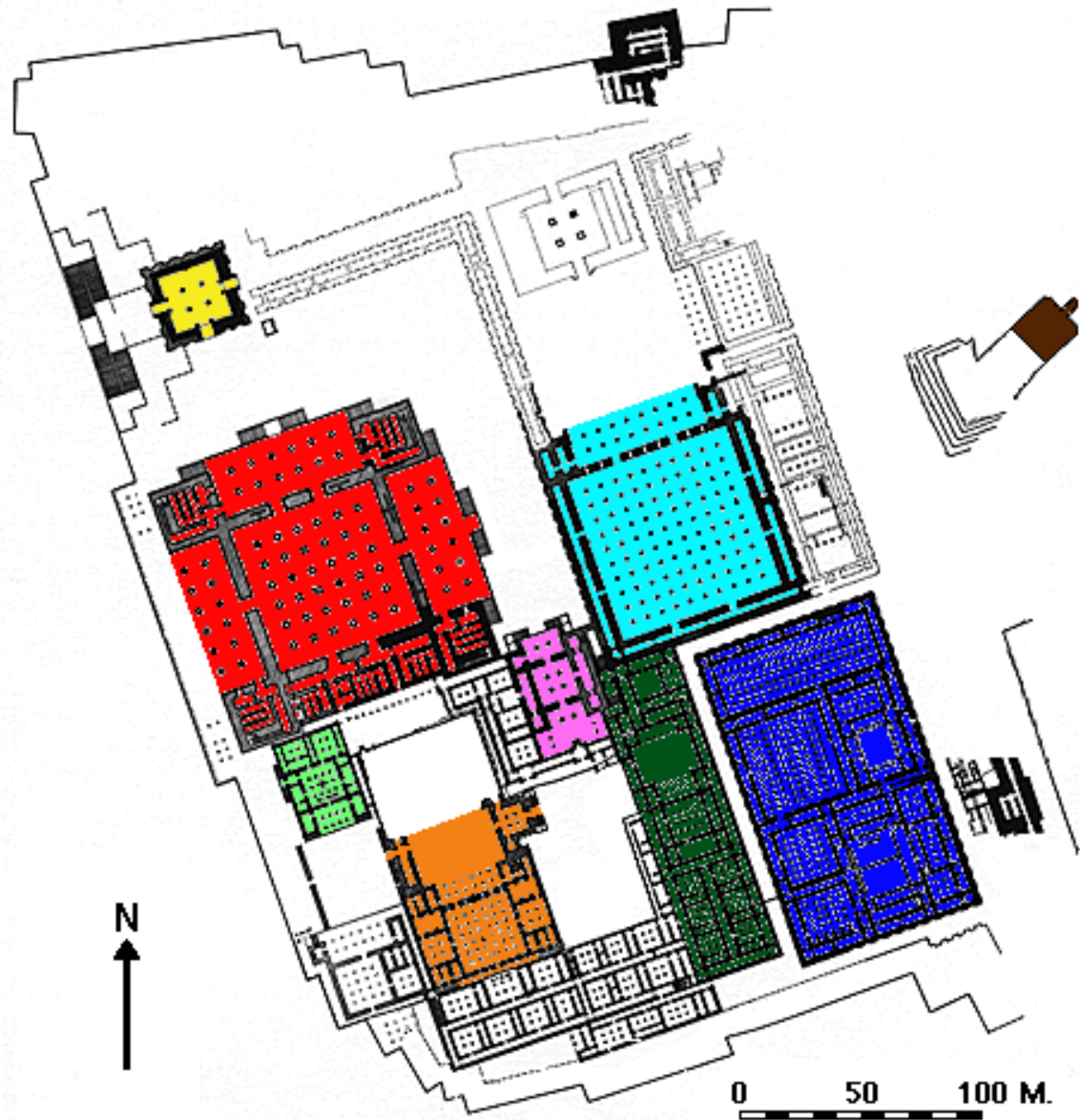
Map Created By: Robert C. Bryant
Date Created: 8-16-2014
Projection: UTM WGS1984 Zone 42N
Satellite Imagery: CORONA

Wu, X. 2018. "Exploiting the Virgin Land: Kyzyltepa and the Effects of the Achaemenid Persian Empire on Its Central Asian Frontier." In *A Millennium of History: The Iron Age in Southern Central Asia (2nd and 1st Millennia BC)*, edited by J. Lhuillier and N. Boroffka. Berlin: 192.

Persepolis as an Imperial Estate

- Apadana
- Palace of Darius
- Palace of Xerxes
- Throne Hall
- Council Hall
- Harem of Xerxes
- Treasury
- Artaxerxes Tomb
- Gate of Xerxes

Persepolis Terrace

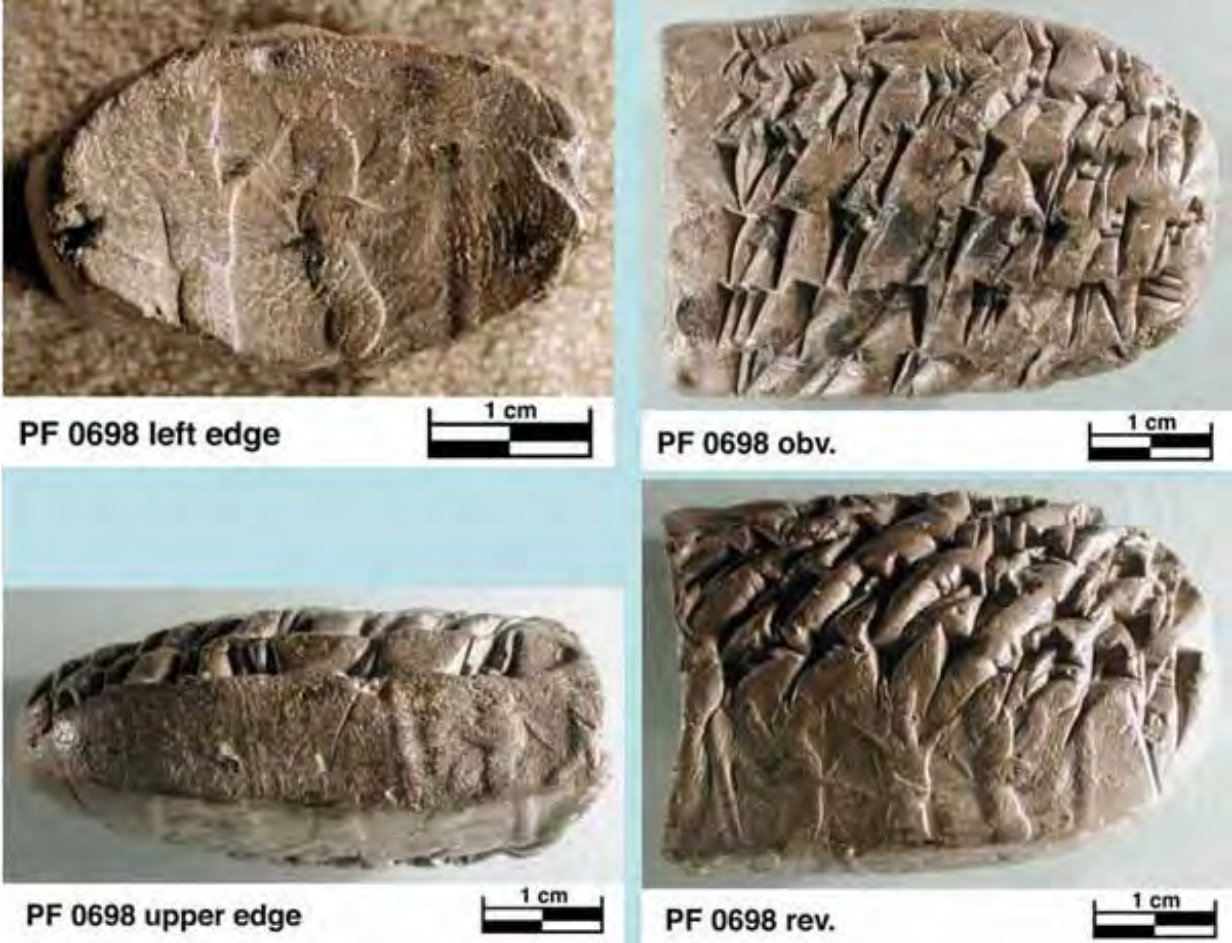


Via oi.uchicago.edu

Persepolis: Apadana Reliefs



Persepolis Fortification Archive



PFa 33

PFa 33

(20)	552	young trees? (<i>hur</i>),	apple
(21)	442	<i>ditto</i> ,	pear
(22)	59	<i>ditto</i> ,	quince
(23)	196	<i>ditto</i> ,	<i>karukur</i>
(24)	total 12[49]	<i>ditto</i> ,	trees for planting? (<i>husa mekana</i>)
(25)	at the plantation/paradise (<i>partetaš</i>) (of) Tikranuš, for Zimakka to take care of (PN <i>nušgima</i>).		

Persepolis beyond the Terrace

- Herzfeld, E. 1929. "Rapport sur l'état actuel des ruines de Persépolis et propositions pour leur conservation." *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 1: 17-40.
- Sumner, W. M. 1986. "Achaemenid Settlement in the Persepolis Plain." *American Journal of Archaeology* 90: 3-31.
- Gondet, S. 2011. *Occupation de la plaine de Persépolis au I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. (Fars Central, Iran)*. PhD Thesis, Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Boucharlat, R., T. de Schacht, and S. Gondet. 2012. "Surface Reconnaissance in the Persepolis Plain (2005–2008): New Data on the City Organisation and Landscape Management." In *Dariosh Studies II. Persepolis and Its Settlements: Territorial System and Ideology in the Achaemenid State*, edited by G. P. Basello and A. V. Rossi, 249-290. Naples.

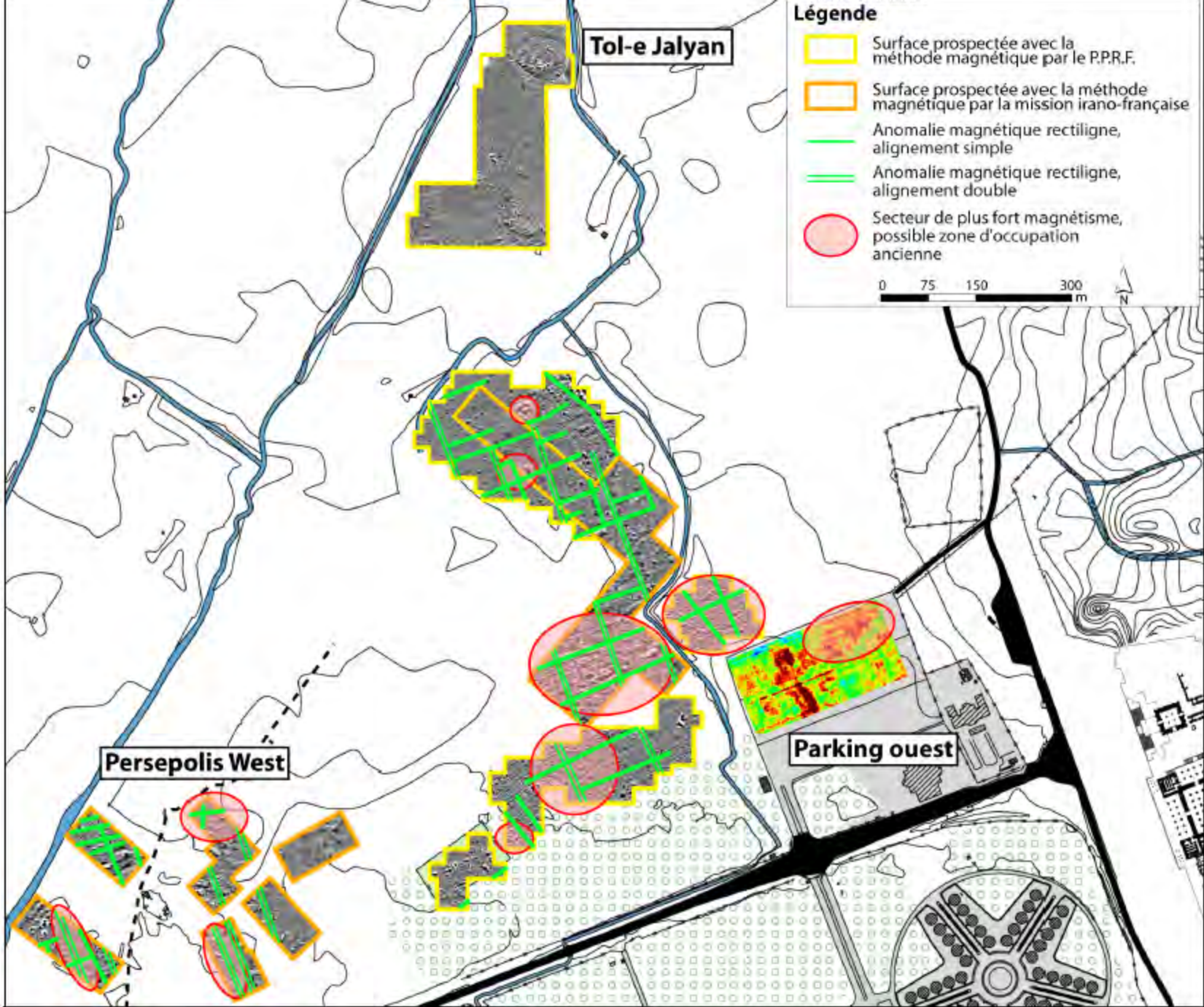
Sumner, W. M. 1986. "Achaemenid Settlement in the Persepolis Plain." *American Journal of Archaeology* 90: 3-31.

Table 1: Archaeological Sites and Population in the Persepolis Plain

Settlement Type	Number	Size (ha.)	Total Area (ha.)	People/ha.	Estimated Population
Firuzi	1	600	600	40	24,000
Persepolis W.	1	25	25	100	2,500
Towns, known	4	6-8	28	100	2,800
Towns, hypothetical	9	6	54	100	5,400
Towns, sub-total	13		82		8,200
Villages, known	7	1-2	9	100	900
Villages, hypothetical	21	1.5	32	100	3,200
Villages, sub-total	28		41		4,100
Hamlets, known	26	<1	13	100	1,300
Hamlets, hypothetical	60	0.6	35	100	3,500
Hamlets, sub-total	86		48		4,800
Total, known	39 (30%)		675 (85%)		31,500 (72%)
Total, hypothetical	90 (70%)		121 (15%)		12,100 (28%)
Total, combined	129		796		43,600

Surveys in the Persepolis Plain

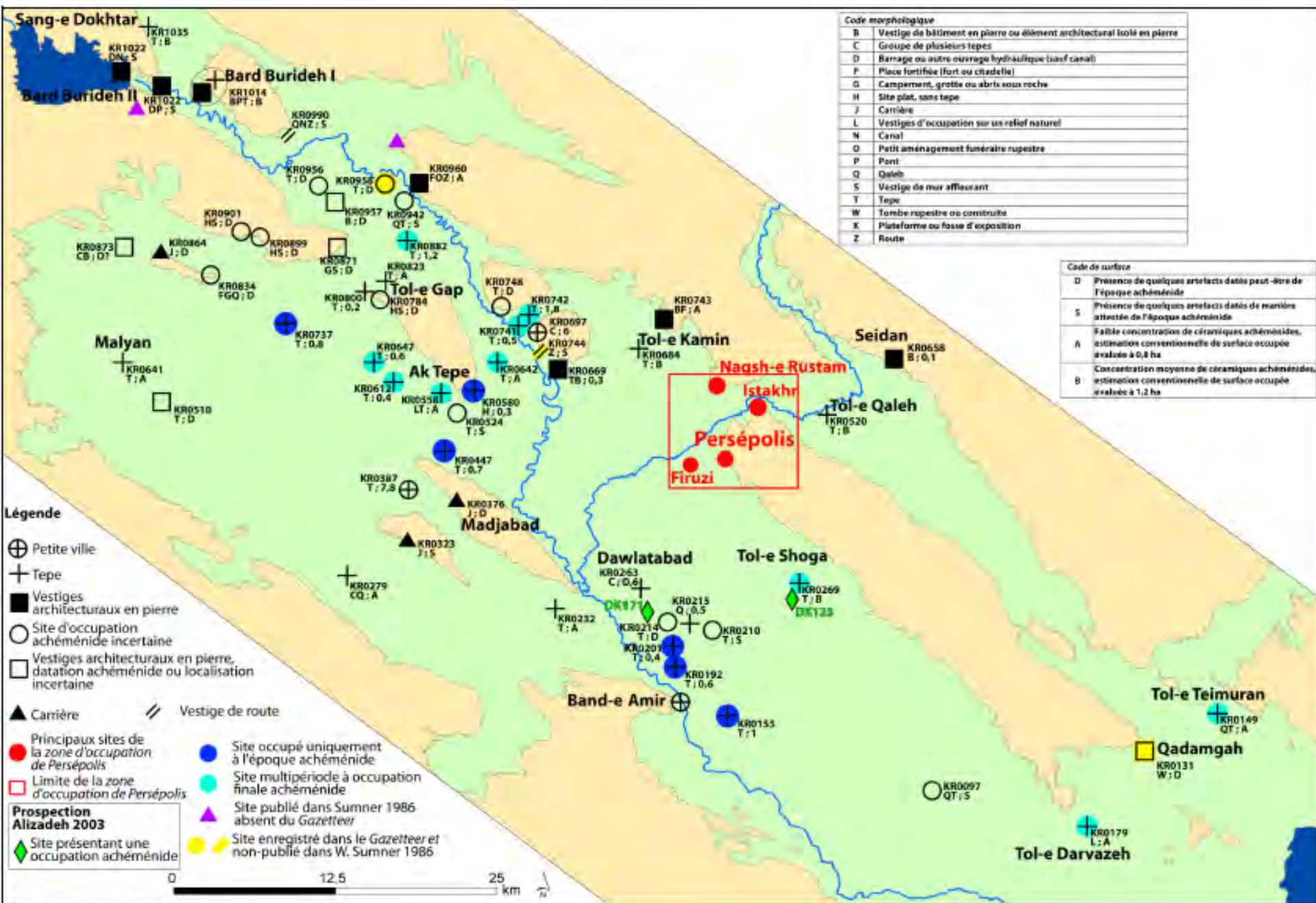
- Gondet, S. 2011. *Occupation de la plaine de Persépolis au 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. (Fars Central, Iran)*. PhD Thesis, Université Lumière Lyon 2.
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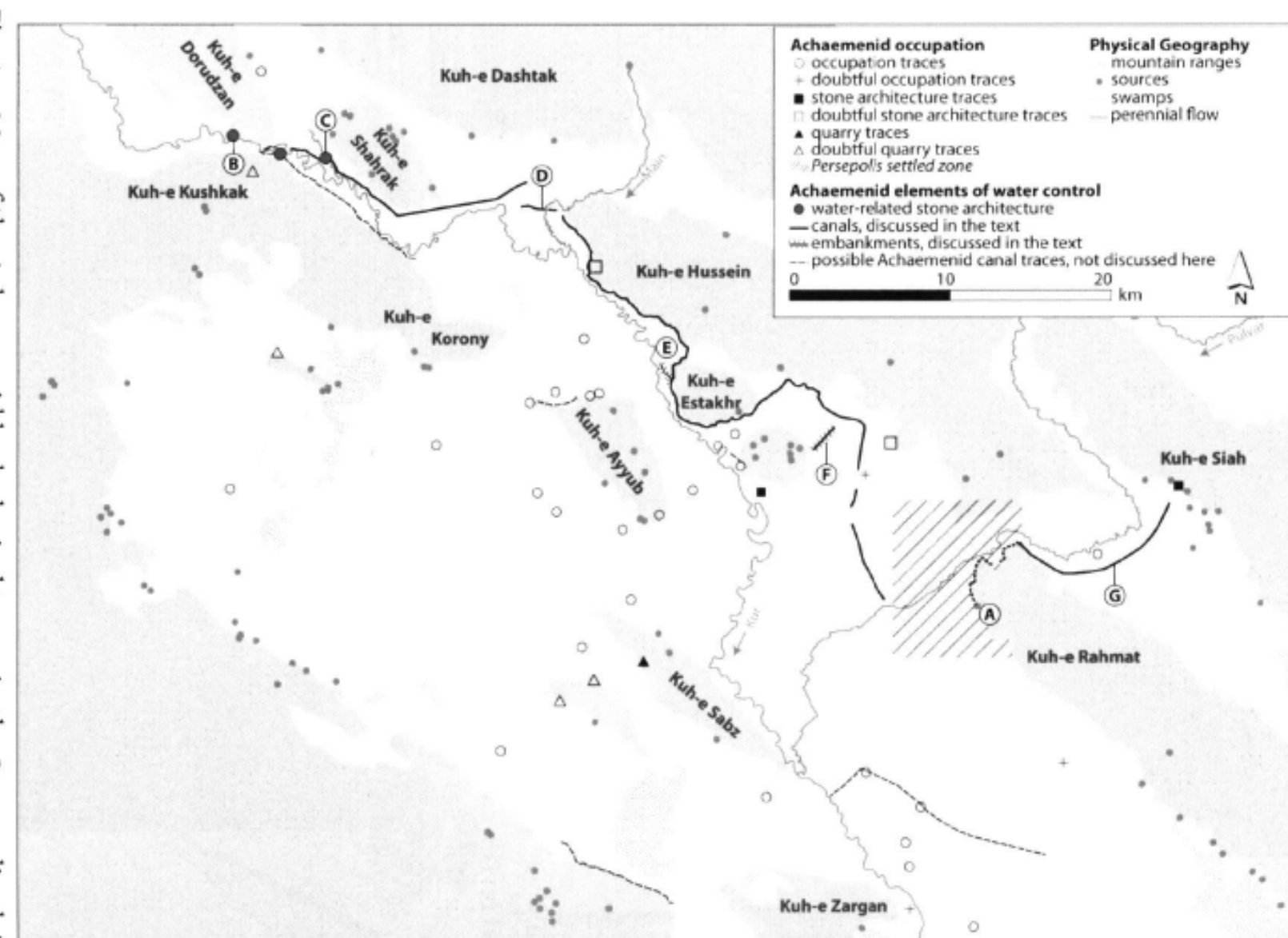
- “As a hypothesis we could suggest, the occupation around the Royal residences (i.e. Parsa?) is not to be characterized by any dense occupational area but by sparsely distributed sites and buildings, nevertheless integrated in a wider cultural landscape, comprising quarries, roads and areas irrigated or protected by a large-scale hydrological infrastructure.” (Pg. 282)

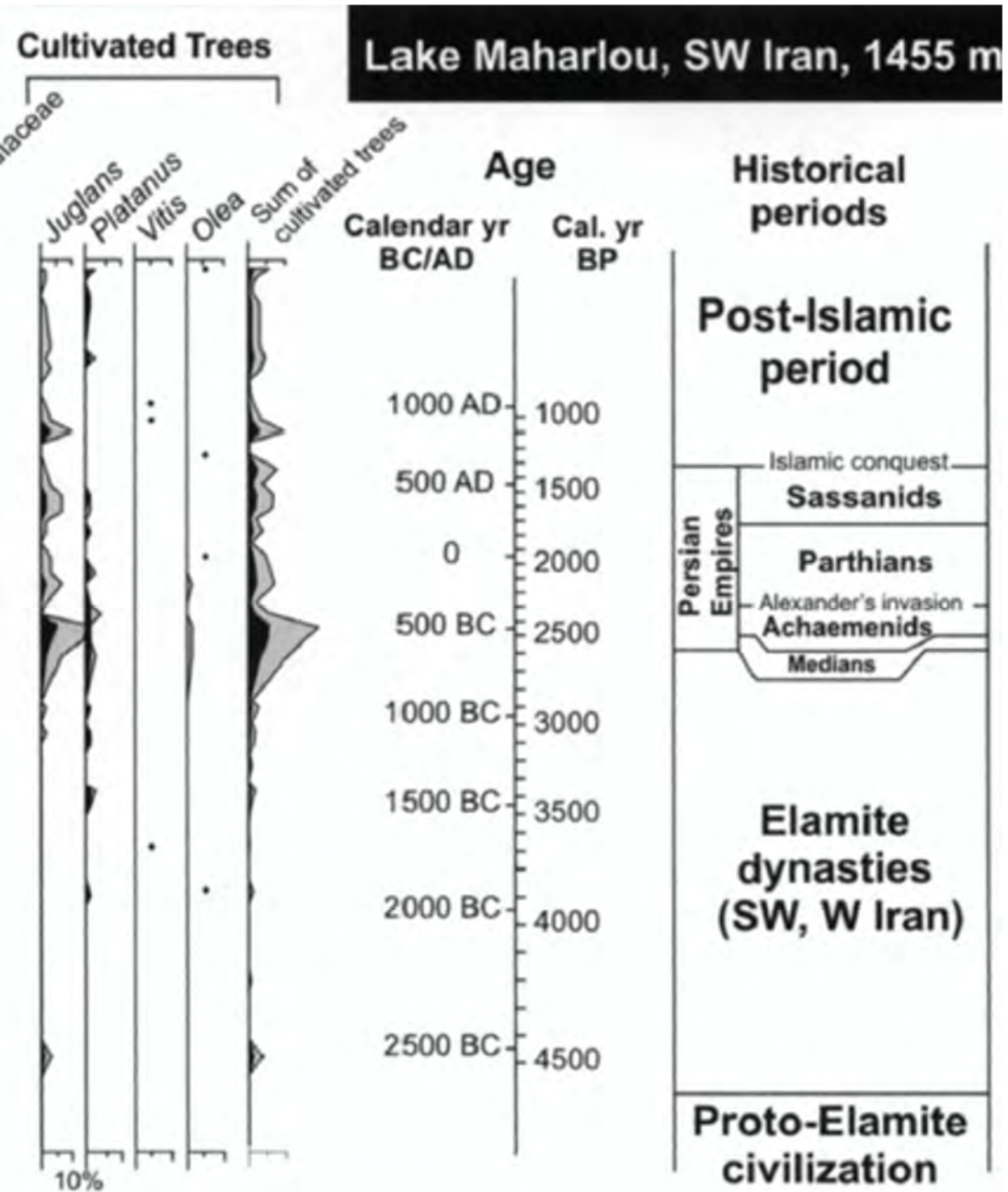


Gondet, S. 2011. *Occupation de la plaine de Persépolis au 1er millénaire av. J.-C. (Fars Central, Iran)*. PhD Thesis, Université Lumière Lyon 2. Planche 43.

Canals on the Persepolis Plain

Boucharlat, R., T. de Schacht, and S. Gondet. 2012. "Surface Reconnaissance in the Persepolis Plain (2005–2008): New Data on the City Organisation and Landscape Management." Fig. 17.





Djamali, M., P. Ponel, V. Andrieu-Ponel, J.-L. de Beaulieu, F. Guibal, N. F. Miller, E. Ramezani, M. Berberian, H. Lahijani, and R. Lak. 2010. "Notes on Arboricultural and Agricultural Practices in Ancient Iran Based on New Pollen Evidence." *Paléorient* 36: 175-88.

Inscription XPh

- “May Ahuramazda protect me from harm, and **my house**, and this land.” (§5)
- mām / Auramazdâ / pâtuv / hacâ / gastâ / utamaiy / vitham / utâ / imâm / dahyâvam

Karačamirli: A Persian Paradise in the Caucasus



Abb. 2: Achaimenidische Monumente im Kaukasus: ● Architektur; ○ Kleinfunde (M. Gütte/F. Knauß)
 Knauß, Florian, Iulon Gagošidse, and Ilyas Babaev. "Karačamirli: Ein Persisches Paradies." *ARTA* 2013.004: 1-28.



Abb. 4: Glockenbasis aus Gumbati (Photo: D. Morche)



Abb. 5: Wulstbasis aus Sabatlo/Georgien (Photo: I. Gagošidse)

Knauß, Florian, Iulon Gagošidse, and Ilyas Babaev. "Karačamirli: Ein Persisches Paradies." *ARTA* 2013.004: 1-28.



*Abb. 8: Kapitell aus Zichia-Gora/Georgien
(Photo: G. Kipiani)*

Knauß, Florian, Iulon Gagošidse, and Ilyas Babaev.
"Karačamirli: Ein Persisches Paradies." *ARTA 2013.004*:
1-28.



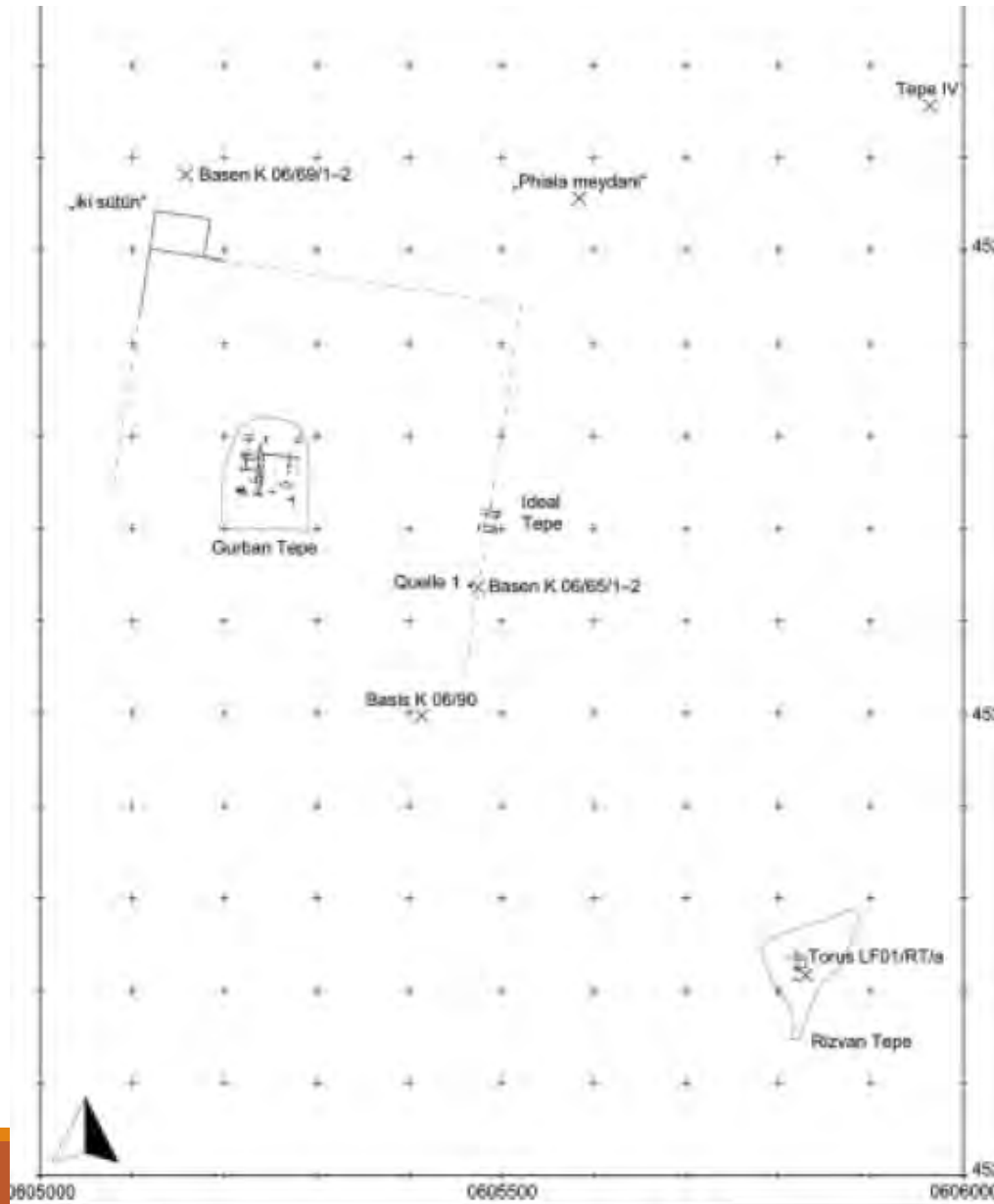
Louvre



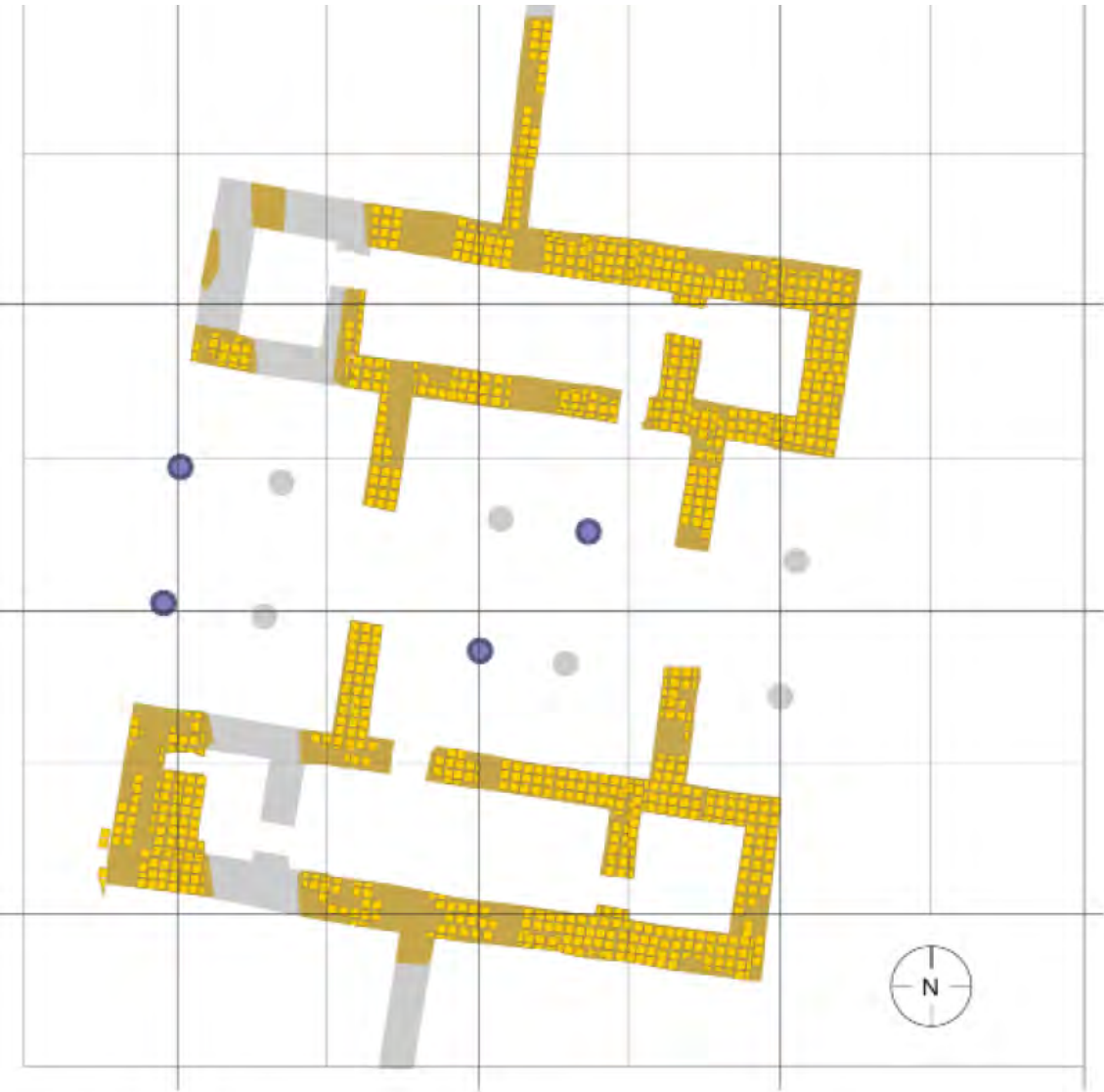
*Abb. 14: Karačamirli, Ideal Tepe: Rekonstruktion des Propylons mit dem Palast im Hintergrund
(T. Bitterer/F. Haschner/F. Knauß)*

Karačamirli

Knauß, Florian, Iulon Gagošidse,
and Ilyas Babaev. "Karačamirli:
Ein persisches Paradies." *ARTA*
2013.004: 1-28.



Karačamirli



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Persepolis

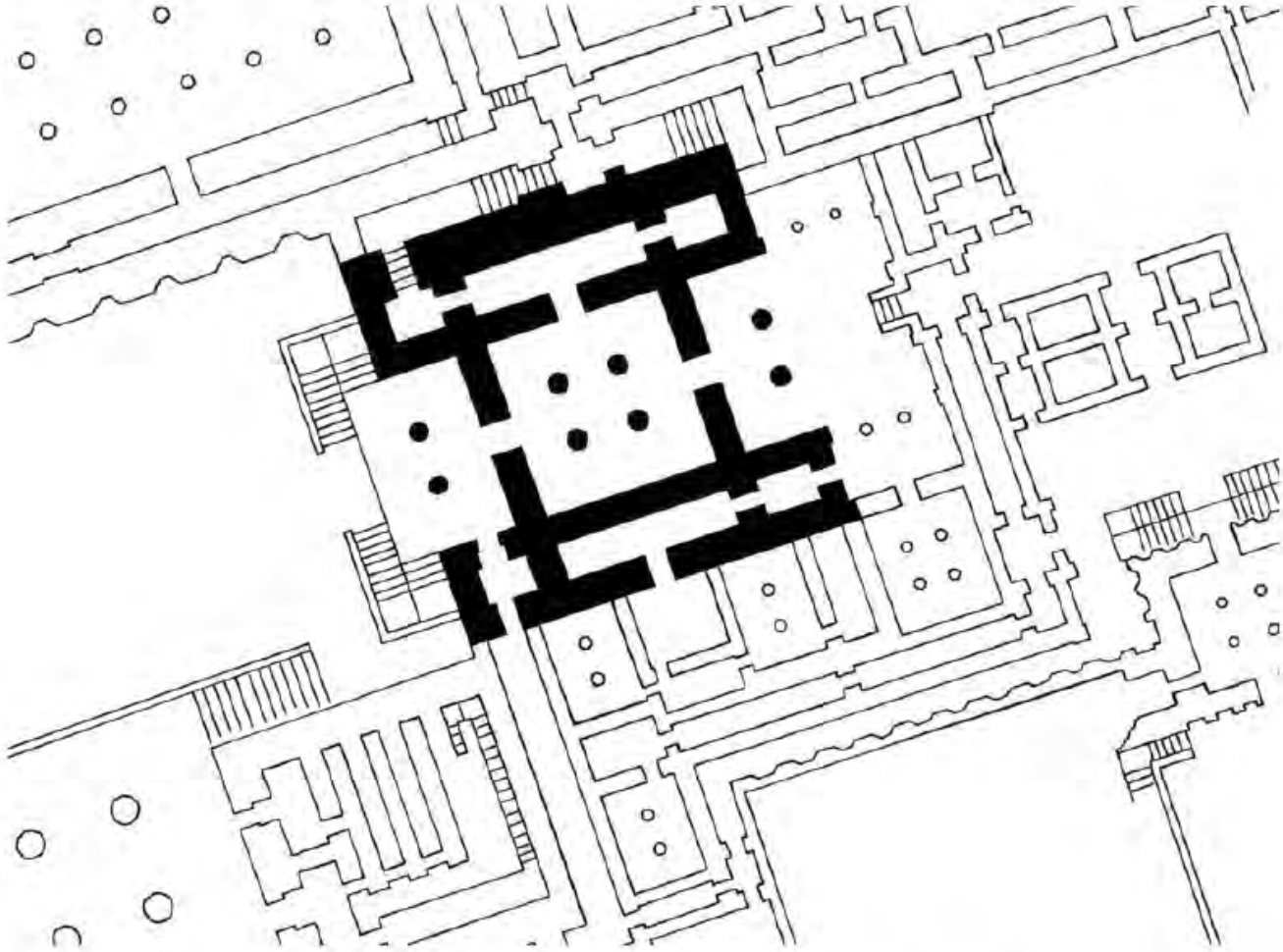
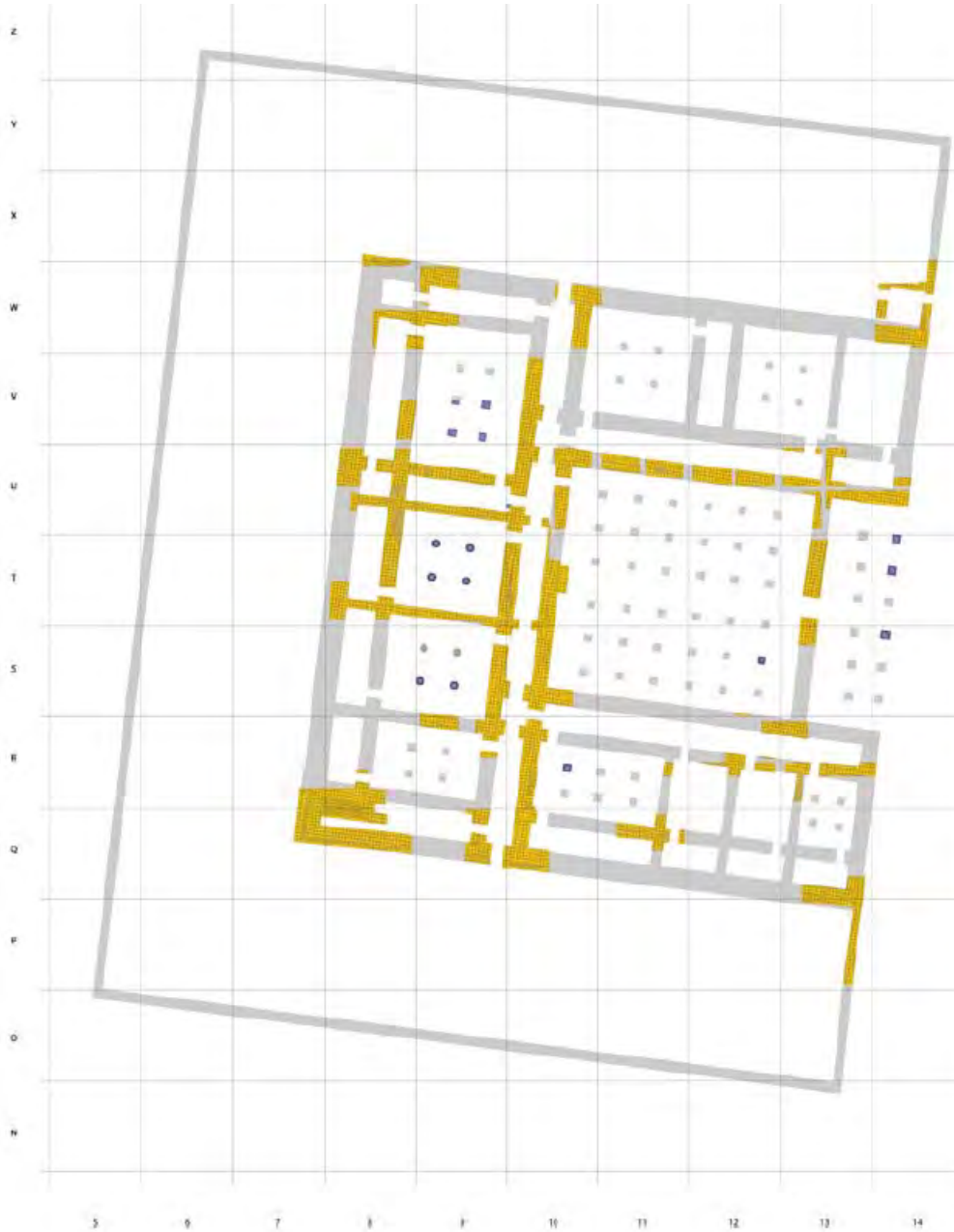


Abb. 13: Persepolis, »Tripylon« (Zeichnung: F. Knauß)

Karačamirli



Persepolis



Abb. 26: Persepolis: Hadiš, Wohnpalast des Xerxes (Zeichnung: F. Knauß/M. Gütte)



Abb. 16: Karačamirli, Gurban Tepe 2011 von Süden (Photo: M. Gütte)



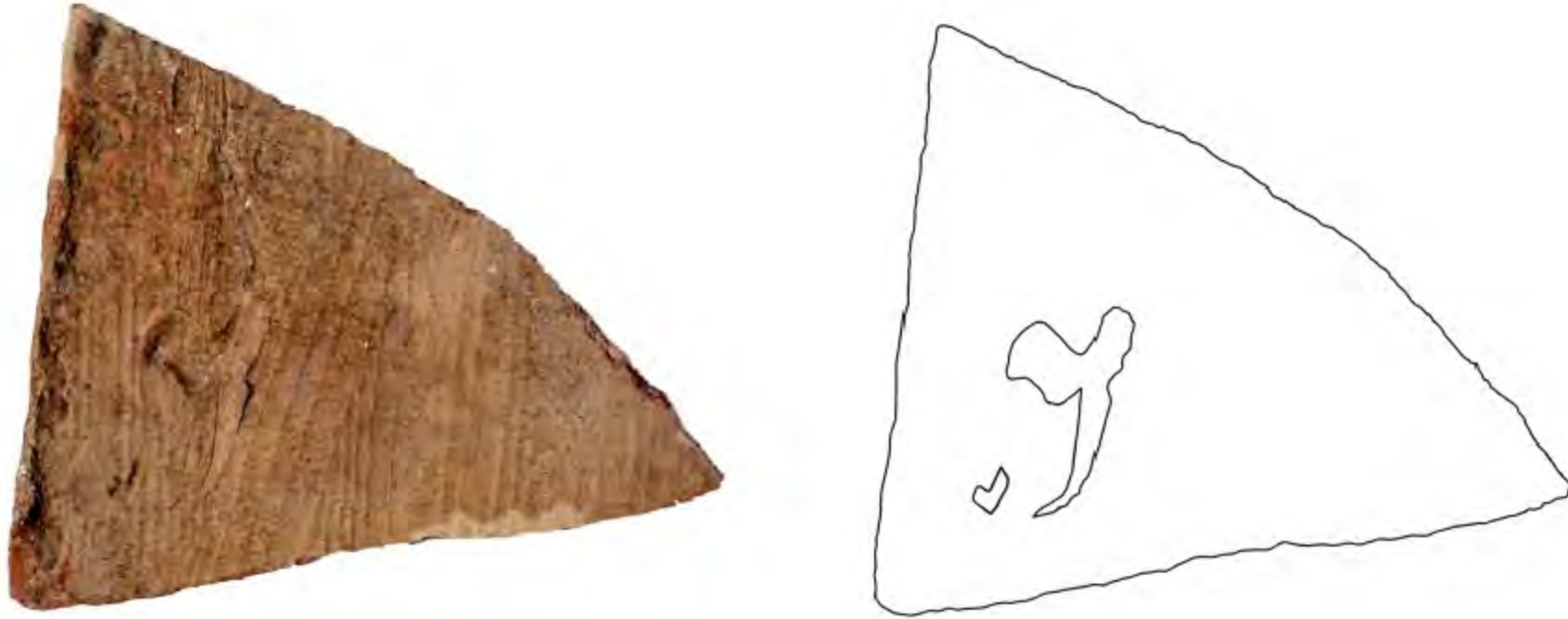


Abb. 28: Karačamirli: Aufnahme von U2 im Jahr 1961

Karačamirli: Surroundings



Abb. 35: Karačamirli: Gesamtrekonstruktion des Palastkomplexes und der Siedlung bei Dara Yatax
(T. Bitterer/F. Haschner/F. Knauß)



*Abb. 36a-b: Karačamirli, Gurban Tepe: Scherbe mit aramäischen Schriftzeichen
(Photo: A. Balakhvantsev; Umzeichnung: F. Gutschke)*

Conclusion: The King in Paradise

Xenophon, *Economics*

- “Need we be ashamed of imitating the king of the Persians? For they say that he pays close attention to agriculture and the art of war, holding that these are two of the noblest and most necessary pursuits.” (Xen. Ec. 4.4)
- “As for the countryside, [the King] personally examines so much of it as he sees in the course of his progress through it; and he receives reports from his trusted agents on the territories that he does not see for himself. To those governors who are able to show him that their country is densely populated and that the land is in cultivation and well stocked with the trees of the district and with the crops, he assigns more territory and gives presents, and rewards them with seats of honor.” (Xen. Ec. 4.8)
- “In all the districts he resides in and visits he takes care that there are ‘paradises,’ as they call them, full of all the good and beautiful things that the soil will produce.” (Xen. Ec. 4.13)

