

Quantifying Middle Persian inscriptions: a new approach to the epigraphic culture of Sasanian Iran

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Abstract

The article takes as its point of departure the enormous difference in number between the large quantity of surviving Greek and Latin inscriptions of the Roman Empire and the relatively few Middle Persian inscriptions of the Sasanian Empire of Iran and Mesopotamia. Currently it is unclear whether the difference is indicative of Sasanian Iran having had a different 'epigraphic habit' from that of the Romans, or whether the modest number of preserved Middle Persian inscriptions can be ascribed mainly to accidents of survival. Little attention has been given to the question of how and for what purposes rock and wall inscriptions were used in Sasanian Iran and how this changed over time. The article argues that Sasanian epigraphic culture can be better understood by employing a quantitative approach to Middle Persian inscriptions. In order to prepare the ground for future research, 160 Middle Persian inscriptions are surveyed, analysed and grouped with regard to date, location, genre and functions.

Introduction

When comparing the epigraphic remains of the Sasanian and Roman empires of Late Antiquity, one cannot fail to notice the difference in number. Several hundred thousand Greek and Latin inscriptions have come down to us from the lands that once were under the *imperium romanum*.¹ The number is staggering even in the period of Late Antiquity, when the output was in decline compared with earlier periods. This is in stark contrast to the number of preserved Middle Persian inscriptions from the Sasanian Empire that ruled Iran and Mesopotamia from approximately 224 to 651 AD.² The total number of known Middle Persian rock or wall inscriptions can be estimated to somewhere between 150 and 200, depending on the definition of what constitutes an 'inscription'.³

The contrast to the Roman world seems enormous. But why is that so? Why do we have so few Middle Persian inscriptions from Sasanian Iran, compared to the multitude of Greek and Latin inscriptions from the Roman Empire? Could the reason be that the Sasanians had a different 'epigraphic habit' from that of the Romans?⁴ Or could it simply be a matter of preservation and accidents of survival, i.e. that there once existed many more Middle Persian inscriptions, but that they have since

1. Bodel 2001, 6-10; Keppie 1991, 34-35. I wish to express my gratitude to Almut Hintze and Erica C. D. Hunter at the School of Oriental and African Studies who read parts of this article at various stages, offered many valuable comments and improved my language. Any remaining inconsistencies or mistakes are my own responsibility.

2. The most important surveys of Middle Persian inscriptions are Akbarzadeh 2002; Back 1978; Cereti 1997, 19-27; Gignoux 1983, 1205-1215; Herzfeld 1924, 83-124; Humbach 1998, 478-488; Huyse 2009, 90-102; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017; West 1870. Dates and years refer to *Anno Domini*, unless otherwise specified.

3. There seems to be no agreed-upon definition, cf. Bodel 2001, 2-5; Cooley 2012, 117-127. In this article, 'inscription' and 'epigraphy' refer to texts on non-portable objects only, i.e. mainly rock surfaces and walls. It should be noted that this definition is narrower than some used in Roman epigraphical studies.

4. On the concept of 'epigraphic habit', see Bodel 2001, 6-10 and MacMullen 1982, 233-246.

disappeared due to various external conditions? Examples of such could be deliberate destruction by invaders (e.g. the Islamic and the later Mongol conquests) or the fact that the main building material in Sasanian Iran and Mesopotamia was mud-bricks (and probably also wood), rather than stone as in the Mediterranean region. As pointed out by Hugh Kennedy, the use of less durable building materials has grave implications for the survival of archaeological remains, including inscriptions: '[I]t is not clear, therefore, whether we are faced with a culture which produced little architectural epigraphy or an epigraphy which has vanished'.⁵ Here Kennedy speaks about architectural inscriptions specifically, but the comment is equally valid for Middle Persian epigraphy in general.

Kennedy does not attempt to provide an answer to the question, and modern research has yet to venture beyond philological studies of individual inscriptions and ask larger questions about inscriptions as a social phenomenon in Sasanian society. It is well known that the script changes in style, probably sometime in the 5th or 6th century, from the square letters conventionally referred to as Inscriptional Middle Persian to the ligatured and cursive writing of the Middle Persian manuscript tradition (the so-called 'Book Pahlavi'), and that all the royal inscriptions date from the first half of the Sasanian era. However, apart from these basic observations, there has been no comprehensive investigation of how Middle Persian inscriptions were *used* in Sasanian Iran and how this changed over time.⁶

The aim of the present article is to prepare the ground for a quantitative approach to Sasanian epigraphic culture. The advantage of using a quantitative method in historical research is that it enables a systematic search for trends and patterns.⁷ It is doubtful whether the Middle Persian epigraphical material can lend itself to substantial quantitative analysis in the same way as, for instance, the rich papyrological material from Roman Egypt.⁸ Nevertheless, it may be argued that the complete body of preserved Middle Persian inscriptions, although modest in comparison with Roman inscriptions, is in fact large enough to be studied from a quantitative perspective.⁹ In order to facilitate further research in this direction, 160 Middle Persian inscriptions have here been analysed with regard to their date, geographical location and genre. Particular attention has been given to classification of the attested categories of inscriptions, based on analysis of the perceived function and the purpose of each individual inscription. All the 160 inscriptions have been surveyed with one question in mind: why was this inscription made and what is likely to have been its main function?¹⁰ The results of this survey are presented in the following pages in the form of a concise description of the attested genres and their frequency over time, followed by a chronologically arranged appendix, which, in addition to date, location and classification, also includes the most relevant bibliography for each inscription.

Methodological remarks

In this study, every rock and wall inscription has been regarded as a historical event, meaning that at some point in time, someone took the trouble to compose a text and inscribe it on a rock surface or

5. Kennedy 2006, 8. See 6-8 for a discussion on accidents of survival and the significance of building materials. On the dangers of arguing *ex silentio*, based on the absence of inscriptions, see the brief remarks by Overlaet 2013, 318-319.

6. Two relevant studies are Canepa 2015, 24-32 and Frye 1971, 215-217. Some attention has been given to the role of writing in Sasanian society, but with little discussion of inscriptions, cf. Huyse 2008, 140-155.

7. Finley [1985] 2000, 44-45.

8. Cf. Bagnall 1995, 73-89.

9. In a recent study of monetization in rural Late Antique Egypt, Tost demonstrated that results can be achieved even when the data set is relatively small (70 documents), cf. Tost 2014, 187-199. It is clear that having thousands of documents or inscriptions at hand is not a prerequisite for quantitative analysis.

10. Cf. Finley [1985] 2000, 32: 'The first question to be asked about any document is about the reason or motive for its having been written.'

a wall—or alternatively, they paid or commanded someone to do it for them.¹¹ This has implications for how the inscriptions should be counted. For instance, the inscriptions of the priest Kerdīr (**32-35**) are sometimes treated as one single inscription since they are essentially copies of the same text, even if they all have individual variations.¹² However, in a quantitative study of the distribution and frequency of inscriptions, it does not matter that inscriptions are similar or even identical. Kerdīr's text is inscribed at four different localities in Fārs, and thus it goes without saying that in our list of Middle Persian inscriptions they are recorded as four individual specimens. The same logic must be applied to the stonemason's inscriptions at Bīsotūn in Kermānshāh (**101-108**). They are all identical and consist of a single word only. But since they are written on eight separate stone slabs scattered about the site, they must necessarily be recorded as eight individual inscriptions. It does not matter that the texts are identical or that they are very short—each inscription represents an action in time, a historical event.

A second issue concerns chronology and geographical distribution. The earliest inscriptions in the survey date to the very beginning of the Sasanian era (**1-2**), and the latest specimens originate in India, possibly as late as the 16th century (**155-160**). However, as is well known, the Sasanian Empire never stretched to the Indian subcontinent, and it ended in the 7th century when it was defeated by the Arabs. Many of the inscriptions surveyed in this article do not coincide with the Sasanian Empire, either in space or in time. A legitimate question is therefore how the post-Sasanian Middle Persian inscriptions can shed light on the use of inscriptions in Sasanian Iran. The post-Sasanian inscriptions each have their own historical contexts and as such they do not necessarily have much to do with Sasanian Iran. As a response to this objection, it may be pointed out that Sasanian Iran was the place of origin of the tradition to which all the inscriptions belong, namely that of Middle Persian epigraphy. The central question, then, is to what extent the history of Middle Persian epigraphy throughout the ages has any relevance for the history of writing and use of inscriptions in Sasanian Iran.

In the present study it is argued that both the Sasanian and post-Sasanian Middle Persian inscriptions, when taken together and analysed as a group, can offer valuable insights into the function and use of inscriptions in the Sasanian era. To exemplify this, we can turn to the already mentioned inscriptions from India (**155-160**). Their relevance for Sasanian Iran is not as difficult to explain as one might think. It can briefly be summarized in the following way: they are all Christian dedicatory inscriptions, so-called 'cross inscriptions', copied verbatim from a church inscription dated to the 7th or 8th century (**154**). This church probably belonged to Persian Christians, who, as we know well from many other sources, were already travelling to India and beyond as merchants in the Sasanian period.¹³ One possible interpretation, therefore, is that the praxis of making inscriptions was something the Persian Christians brought with them from Iran.

Admittedly we do not possess examples of similar Middle Persian Christian inscriptions from Iran or Mesopotamia, but interestingly we do have an example of a Middle Persian Zoroastrian fire temple inscription, inscribed on a fire alter (**3**, plus **4-7**). One can, in other words, observe an interesting parallelism with regard to inscriptions in sacred buildings: Christian crosses and Zoroastrian fire altars.¹⁴ Two tentative conclusions based on this are a) that dedicatory inscriptions in sacred buildings

11. As MacMullen 1982, 233 points out in his study of the Roman epigraphic habit, each inscription represents a decision—a decision to have something inscribed.

12. Throughout the article, numbers in bold correspond to the accession number of the inscriptions in the appendix. Thus, for further information and bibliographical references for Kerdīr's inscriptions, the reader may look at numbers **32**, **33**, **34** and **35** in the appendix.

13. Colless 1969-70, 19-23; Gropp 1991, 83-87; Whitehouse and Williamson 1973, 42-45.

14. There is also a Middle Persian inscription on a Cristian processional cross from Herat in Afghanistan, dated to the 8th century, cf. Gignoux 2001. However, this object was clearly meant to be mounted on a staff and carried during processions, and has not been included in the present survey of rock and wall inscriptions. I am grateful to Almut Hintze for bringing the Herat cross to my attention.

were a phenomenon in Sasanian Iran, and b) this was something both the Zoroastrian and Christian religious communities had in common. Moreover, the point to be observed here is that this train of thought would hardly have been possible had we not been open to the idea of examining all Middle Persian inscriptions as a group, regardless of their date, location and religious affiliation.

Genres of Middle Persian inscriptions

Below follows a succinct description of the different genres of Middle Persian inscriptions that have been identified in the present survey. Many inscriptions can be assigned to more than one category. No attempts have been made to avoid overlap or allocate each inscription to only one genre. The categories are not intended as exclusive and set definitions, but simply as ‘analytical tools’ in order to better understand the inscriptions. An example of this is the fire altar inscription at Barm-e Delak in Fārs (3), which has been placed in three different categories (private inscription by officials, architectural inscription, dedicatory inscription), all of which enable us to view the inscription in three different contexts and compare it with three different sets of inscriptions.

Royal inscriptions: Royal inscriptions are the ones that usually get the bulk of attention in modern scholarship. By ‘royal’ it is meant that the inscription was commissioned by a Sasanian king, and that the chief purpose of the text was to glorify the monarch and his exploits, or that it was in some other way associated with one of the Sasanian monarchs, for example by identifying the king in a rock relief. Of the 160 inscriptions surveyed here, 10 have been identified as royal inscriptions. In the appendix, these are numbers 1-2, 27, 29-31, 36-37 and 41-42. Of these inscriptions, only three are located outside the province of Fārs, namely 36 (Pāikūlī in Solaimānīya, Iraq) and 41-42 (Tāq-e Bostān, Kermānshāh). The earliest specimens (1-2) can most likely be dated to the reign of the first Sasanian king, Ardaxšēr I, r. 224-240, whereas the latest (42) likely dates to the reign of Šābuhr III, r. 383-388.¹⁵ All the inscriptions in this category are written in square characters, the so-called ‘Inscriptional Middle Persian’.

Private inscriptions by officials: This category comprises inscriptions that were made or commissioned by dignitaries or officials of the state, but primarily for a private purpose, i.e. the inscriptions had no seemingly public or official purpose other than enhancing the social standing of the commissioner. Nine inscriptions have been placed in this category. These are 3, 28, 32-35, 38-39 and 45. All of these inscriptions are located in Fārs. The earliest dates to 243-244 (3) and the latest can be dated to the first half of the 5th century (45). All inscriptions are written in Inscriptional Middle Persian. The commissioners of these inscriptions had the following titles or ‘office descriptions’: *pad šabestān āyēnīg* ‘in charge of the sleeping-quarters/harem’ (3), *dibīr* ‘scribe’ (28), various priestly titles such as *ēhrbed* and *Ohrmazd mowbed* (33-35),¹⁶ *sagān-šāh* ‘king of the Sakā’, a vassal king of the Sasanians (38), *dādwar* ‘judge’ (39) and *wuzurg-framādār* ‘great commander/prime minister’ (45).

Architectural inscriptions: This category consists of inscriptions that commemorate the erection of buildings or other architectural features, or in some way refer directly to the construction of the structure on which they were written. Forty-one inscriptions have been placed in this category. Funerary inscriptions have been defined as a separate category (see below); however, since most funerary inscriptions refer to the erection of various funerary installations, they could also be regarded as a type of architectural inscription. In that case the number of attested architectural inscriptions

15. Some of the royal inscriptions are undated, but since they mention the names of kings or are inscribed on rock reliefs depicting such, it is commonly assumed that they can be dated to the reigns of the mentioned/depicted monarchs. However, it is not impossible that the inscriptions were added to the reliefs later. For a discussion on this issue with regard to inscriptions 1-2, see Overlaet 2013, 318-321. I am grateful to Pierfrancesco Callieri for discussing this with me and reminding me of Overlaet’s article. See also Canepa 2010, 576, n. 70.

16. For a concise discussion on the various titles of the priest Kerdīr, see Skjærvø 2011, 610-611.

would be approximately 75. Excluding the funerary inscriptions, the architectural inscriptions are the following: **3, 28, 40, 45, 50, 52-83, 84-85, 139** and **141(?)**. The earliest dates to 243-244 (**3**) and the latest can be dated to the Early Islamic period (**141**). As for geographical distribution, they are confined to Fārs (**3, 28, 45, 84-85, 133, 139**), Mešgīnšahr in Ardabil province (**40**), Darband in Dāgestān in the Caucasus (**52-83**) and Khumara in Karačayevsk in southern Russia (**50**). The buildings or architectural features represented are, in chronological order: *ādur-gāh* ‘fire altar’, or rather fire temple¹⁷ (**3**), statue and pillar (**28**), *diz* ‘fortress’ (**40**), *puhl* ‘bridge’ (**45**), unidentified, possibly fortress (**50**), fortress and defensive wall (**52-83**), garden and irrigation canal (?) (**84-85**), fortress (**139**) and *čah* ‘well’ (**141**).¹⁸ With regard to the script, numbers **3, 28, 40** and **45** are written in Inscriptional Middle Persian, while the rest are written in a cursive script closer to the Book Pahlavi of the Middle Persian manuscript tradition.

Funerary inscriptions: In Iranian studies, the term ‘funerary inscription’ is in common usage, though it corresponds to what is commonly called ‘epitaph’ in other epigraphic disciplines.¹⁹ The number of Middle Persian funerary inscriptions recorded in the present survey is 34. These are: **87-94, 98, 111-113, 116, 119, 121-122, 124-127, 129, 132-133, 135-138** and **140-146**. Many of these are undated and can therefore only be assigned to the Late Sasanian or Early Islamic eras due to their script, which is invariably cursive Book Pahlavi. No funerary inscriptions written in Inscriptional Middle Persian characters have so far been discovered. Among the dated inscriptions, the earliest dates to 638 (**87-88**) and the latest to 1022-23 (**145**). Almost all funerary inscriptions are found in Fārs, with the notable exceptions of an inscription in Xī’ān, China (**142**), one in Istanbul, Turkey (**143**), and three in the province of Māzandarān in northern Iran (**144-146**).

Stonemasons’ inscriptions: Eleven inscriptions can be classified as stonemasons’ inscriptions. They are numbers **63(?)**-**64(?)** and **101-109**. These inscriptions are inscribed on building blocks and consist of only one word, a name, presumably of the stonemason who cut and delivered the stone. Inscriptions **63-64** are found on blocks at the Darband Wall in the Caucasus and can therefore be dated to the 6th century. Numbers **101-108**, all bearing the same name, are found on stone slabs at Bīsotūn near Kermānshāh, while **109** is found at Kangāvar, also in the vicinity of Kermānshāh. All inscriptions are written in cursive Book Pahlavi.

Property inscriptions: Two, possibly seven, inscriptions can be regarded as property inscriptions, meaning that the purpose of the inscription was to mark and certify someone’s ownership of an estate, a building or the surrounding area. The inscriptions are numbers **48, 84-86, 96** and **99-100**. Of these, **99-100** seem to be the most secure attributions, since they simply inform the reader that a person owns ‘this here estate (*ēn dastgird*)’ and ‘this here well (*ēn čah*)’.²⁰ Inscriptions **48** and **84-85** (number **86** is illegible but probably similar to **84-85**) also concern landed estates, but they have a somewhat different formula. The difference is in the verb. Instead of ‘he owns’, the formula is ‘he made’. Thus, one could be tempted to regard them as architectural inscriptions. Nonetheless, they have been placed in the present category because the object that was ‘made’ is not a building or an architectural structure, but a landed estate (**48**) and what appears to be irrigated gardens (**84-85**). With the exception of number **48**, all these inscriptions are located in Fārs and written in cursive Book Pahlavi, which would indicate a Late Sasanian or Early Islamic date. Inscriptions **84-85** can possibly be dated to 635. Inscription **48** represents a special case in this group, as it is the only one written in

17. Since Zoroastrian fire worship in the Sasanian era was not conducted in open-air sanctuaries, a fire altar presupposes a fire temple.

18. Inscription **141** is primarily a funerary inscription, but it also informs us that the deceased had constructed a well and made the surrounding area prosperous, cf. Asadi and Cereti 2018, 96-97.

19. Cooley 2012, 128-145.

20. For the meanings of the important economic term *dastgird*, see Gignoux 1994, 105-106 and Skalmowski 1993, 157-162.

Inscriptional Middle Persian, thereby indicating an earlier date, and it was discovered at the important Sasanian archaeological site of Bandiān in Khorasan, thus making it the only known property inscription located outside of Fārs.

Visitors' inscriptions: Twenty-one inscriptions, possibly 26, can be categorized as visitors' inscriptions. Although of varying length and content, they all seem to be variations of the universal 'I was here' formula. They are numbers **8-10, 12-18, 38-39, 43-44, 95(?), 97(?), 114(?)-115(?), 130** and **147-153**. These tell us something about where Iranians or speakers of Middle Persian travelled in Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic era. The earliest inscriptions were found at the city of Dura Europos in contemporary Syria and must be dated to the 250s when the Sasanians occupied the city for several years (**8-10, 12-18**).²¹ Some are located in Fārs, for example the two inscriptions at Persepolis (**38-39**), from the years 311 and 327, respectively. They vividly demonstrate that it was not only modest and semi-literate travellers who chose to immortalize their 'lunch break' with an inscription. Notable are also the two inscriptions found at Shatial in the Upper Indus region in today's Pakistan, tentatively dated to the 4th century (**43-44**). They were found together with a large number of Sogdian inscriptions and have been interpreted as visitors' inscriptions made by itinerant merchants.²²

Religious slogans: A genre that is closely related to visitors' inscriptions is religious slogans. These are short, pious phrases or slogans of a Zoroastrian religious nature. Like the visitors' inscriptions, these could also be seen as a type of 'I was here' inscription, although the name of the carver is never mentioned. The inscriptions in this category are **11, 19-20, 26(?), 95(?), 97(?)**. Some of these belong to the Dura Europos inscriptions from the 250s (**11, 19-20**), whereas the others, all located in Fārs, can be dated to the Late Sasanian or Early Islamic eras due to their cursive Book Pahlavi script.

Labels: A feature of Middle Persian inscriptions that has gone largely unnoticed, or perhaps been taken for granted and therefore never investigated, is their function as labels.²³ Some inscriptions serve as labels, identifiers or comments to rock reliefs, statues and wall paintings. The present survey has identified 14 such inscriptions, and they are listed in the appendix as numbers **1-2, 4-7, 28-29, 37, 41-42, 46, 51** and **97**. Interestingly, almost all of these inscriptions are written in Inscriptional Middle Persian, and the dates range from the reign of the first Sasanian king (**1-2**) to the Late Sasanian or Early Islamic era (**97**). As for geographical distribution, most of them are located in Fārs, with the exception of **41-42** (Tāq-e Bostān, Kermānshāh) and **46** (Bandiān, Khorasan).

Dedicatory inscriptions: For the sake of completeness, we may also add here the genre already mentioned above, namely dedicatory inscriptions. These eight inscriptions are numbers **3** and **154-160**. Inscription **3** is inscribed on a Zoroastrian fire altar in Fārs, and **154-160** on Christian crosses in India. Number **3** is written in Inscriptional Middle Persian and dates to 243-244, and the inscriptions in India are written in cursive Book Pahlavi.

Observations

Although the purpose of the present study is only to prepare the ground for further research on Middle Persian inscriptions from a quantitative perspective, it might be fitting to conclude with a few preliminary observations and examples of what we may draw from our survey of 160 inscriptions. What patterns or trends can be detected by looking at all the Middle Persian inscriptions as a whole?

First of all, as is well known already, we see that the royal inscriptions do not cover the whole of the Sasanian era. They are from the Early to Middle Sasanian periods only, the last one being from

21. The exact dates of the Sasanian occupation of Dura Europos is a matter of debate. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to assign the inscriptions to the 250s. On the Sasanians at Dura Europos, see Daryaei 2010a; Grenet 1988; Harmatta-Pékáry 1971.

22. Sims-Williams 1997-1998, 523-541, especially 535.

23. An exception is Frye 1971, 217, who calls them 'short inscriptions of identification'.

the reign of Šābuhr III, 383-388. We also learn that the royals did not have a monopoly on rock and wall inscriptions, not even within the state apparatus, since several inscriptions were made by state officials for private, or rather non-official, purposes. Another observation is that all funerary inscriptions date to the Late Sasanian or Early Islamic eras. As mentioned, no funerary inscriptions written in Inscriptional Middle Persian have so far come to light. The most long-lived categories in our survey are architectural inscriptions and visitors' inscriptions, spanning the whole of the Sasanian period from the very beginning until the Early Islamic era. Most of the property inscriptions are late, again assigned either to the Late Sasanian or Early Islamic eras. However, one inscription at Bandiān (48) confirms that property inscriptions were not just a Late Sasanian or post-Sasanian phenomenon. None of the stonemasons' inscriptions were written in Inscriptional Middle Persian, thus one may ask if the praxis of making such inscriptions existed in the Early Sasanian period or if it evolved later, perhaps at a time when the stonemason craft had evolved as a profession.

When it comes to geographical distribution, it is clear that a large percentage (43%) of the inscriptions are located in the present-day province of Fārs in south-western Iran. Fārs was an important province in the Sasanian Empire, and thus it is not surprising to find many inscriptions there.²⁴ However, enough inscriptions are preserved outside of Fārs to make it clear that Middle Persian epigraphy was not a phenomenon confined only to one part of the empire. It is puzzling that as good as no Middle Persian rock or wall inscriptions have been found in Sasanian Mesopotamia. Even though Fārs province looms large in the epigraphical material, its importance vis-à-vis other regions of the empire should not be exaggerated. It must not be forgotten that Mesopotamia was where the administrative capital, Ctesiphon, was located, and with its many large-scale irrigation constructions it was undoubtedly the economic heartland of the empire.²⁵

More research is needed on the use of Middle Persian in Mesopotamia and the question of why no Middle Persian inscriptions have been found in this region. Most likely the answer lies in a combination of factors: Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity was multilingual—Middle Persian was only one of several languages, and far from the most widespread one.²⁶ Accidents of survival may also be part of the explanation. One aspect is building materials, i.e. that most inscriptions may have been carved or written on perishable material such as mud-bricks, plaster or wood. Another relevant factor may be that Mesopotamia was the first region conquered by the Arabs, and it quickly became thoroughly Islamicized. It then became the administrative and economic heartland of many succeeding caliphates and states. It is therefore altogether not unlikely that Middle Persian inscriptions on walls and rock surfaces were destroyed, if not through a centrally organized effort by the new rulers, then slowly, throughout the ages simply because they were no longer relevant. The same logic may also explain why the preserved Middle Persian epigraphic material is so rich in Fārs. Here, the use of the Middle Persian language survived longer and in a larger percentage of the population than in Mesopotamia. And since Fārs was in the political periphery of the newly established caliphates, there was perhaps less of an incentive to destroy Middle Persian inscriptions and the written records of the former rulers.²⁷

24. On Fārs in the Sasanian era, see Daryaee 1999; Miri 2012.

25. Adams 2006, 17-35.

26. As evidenced by the languages of the many Mesopotamian incantation bowls from Late Sasanian times, cf. Hunter 1995, 319-334, especially 331-334; Shaked 1997, 103-115.

27. That Middle Persian remained in use in many regions of Iran for several centuries after the Arab conquest is observable in many documentary sources from Early Islamic Iran, for example the so-called 'Arab-Sasanian coin series' from Fārs and other regions, which continued to employ Middle Persian for its coin legends for several decades, well into the Umayyad period, cf. Bates 1986, 225-229; Daryaee 2015, 39-48; Gyselen 2000, 69-98. Mention could also be made of the newly discovered Middle Persian economic and legal documents from the region around Qom in central Iran and Tabarestān in the north, most of which date to the 7th and 8th centuries, cf. Gignoux 2012; Weber 2014; 2016; 2018, with further references.

Middle Persian inscriptions are also found outside the lands of the Sasanian Empire. These are largely visitors' inscriptions, funerary inscriptions or religious slogans. These provide evidence of where speakers of Middle Persian travelled. Naturally, no royal inscriptions, architectural inscriptions or property inscriptions are attested in foreign lands.

Future tasks

The research outlined here could be expanded in several directions. Some of the inscriptions are only known through reports in publications that are now largely outdated. Today we have a better understanding of the Middle Persian language and we have a larger pool of inscriptions available for comparison. One task for the future is to seek out already known but largely forgotten inscriptions and study and publish them anew, preferably with state-of-the-art photos and more attention to the locale and topographical context of each inscription.

Another task is to expand and supplement the data set. First of all, there are most likely more than 160 known Middle Persian rock and wall inscriptions in existence, and new discoveries are reported fairly often.²⁸ The list of inscriptions presented in the appendix should be regarded as a work in progress and every new discovery will be a welcome addition to the list. Another step is to include inscriptions alluded to in textual sources. This was begun by Hugh Kennedy, who in his assessment of Middle Persian epigraphy draws attention to inscriptions attested in the writings of two mediaeval Arabic authors.²⁹ The first one is al-Iṣfahānī, who, in Kennedy's words, mentions 'inscriptions on the gates of the old fortified city of Jayy recording the name of the builder and the sums he had expended', and the second is al-Iṣṭakhrī, who mentions that there was an inscription on a fire temple in Fīrūzābād in Fārs, again recording the expenses accrued in constructing the temple.³⁰ To these observations one may also add two passages by the 10th century geographer al-Muḩaddasī, who in his *Aḩsan al-taḩāsīm fī ma'rīfat al-aḩālīm* mentions an inscription on a bridge (*jasr*) in Khorasan that was built by a Zoroastrian (*rajuḩ majūsī*), and an inscription in Persian (*al-fārisiyyat*) found on a statue or figure in the city of Bīšāpūr in Fārs.³¹ It is likely that both these inscriptions were in fact written in Middle Persian.³²

Yet another way to expand our data is to incorporate inscriptions in other languages. Middle Persian was not the only language used for inscriptions in Sasanian Iran. Several of the Early Sasanian inscriptions are bilingual and even trilingual, the other languages being Parthian and Greek.³³ Parthian, the language of the previous rulers of the land, continued in use for several centuries after the Sasanian conquest, as attested by the Early Sasanian rock inscriptions and by Parthian inscriptions found on Sasanian-style seals and clay bullae.³⁴ Apart from the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions,

28. Reported in Persian publications notoriously difficult to obtain in Europe, that is. I have, for example, been unable to consult the book *Katibehā-ye pahlavi-e Kāzerūn* ('Pahlavi Inscriptions of Kāzerūn') by Cyrus Nasrollah-Zadeh from 2006. However, Mr Nasrollah-Zadeh kindly informed me that by his reckoning the total number of Kāzerūn inscriptions is 16 (private correspondence, 19.04.2016). A few of these inscriptions have been covered in the present survey since they appear to overlap with Gignoux's VS series (93-95), cf. Gignoux 1972, 8. Furthermore, I have been unable to incorporate the Middle Persian graffiti reported by A. D. H. Bivar in the mountain region of Shīmbār in Khuzestan, cf. Bivar and Shaked 1964, 282-283. They all appear to be visitors' inscriptions.

29. Kennedy 2006, 8.

30. Kennedy 2006, 8. For the inscription at Jayy, Middle Persian Gay, in the vicinity of Esfahan, see also Hansman 2006, 637.

31. de Goeje 1906, 330 and 444. For an English translation, see Collins [1994] 2001, 268 and 360.

32. For other allusions in Arabic sources to possible Middle Persian inscriptions, see Browne 1900, 202-203 and Mohammadi-Malayeri [1944] 2012, 121.

33. The Greek version of the ŠKZ inscription (27) in particular has excited interest in modern scholarship; see Maricq 1958; Rubin 1998; 2002.

34. On Parthian language in Sasanian Iran, see Gyselen 2016.

it is not unlikely that some Parthian rock inscriptions actually date to the Sasanian era, as suggested by W. B. Henning with regard to one Parthian inscription in Khorasan.³⁵ Furthermore, interesting comparisons could be made to the epigraphic records of various neighbouring people who were in the political periphery of the Sasanian Empire but still arguably within the extended *oikumene* of the Late Antique Iranian world, such as Syriac inscriptions from northern Mesopotamia, Armenian inscriptions from the Caucasus, and Sogdian and Bactrian inscriptions from eastern Iran and Central Asia.³⁶ Lastly, it could be a fruitful endeavour to investigate how the epigraphic habit of the Sasanians compares to the use of Parthian, Greek and Elymaean inscriptions of the previous Arsacid era, or the use of Arabic and New Persian inscriptions in the succeeding centuries.³⁷

Finally, Middle Persian inscriptions need to be seen in the context of Sasanian writing culture and the totality of all Middle Persian written testimonies. Rock and wall surfaces were not the only mediums on which Middle Persian was written in the Sasanian era. In addition to manuscripts, one could mention parchments, papyri, ostraca, seals, coins, medallions, silverware, incantation bowls, storage jars and containers of various kinds, and even embroidery on textiles. In order to fully understand the uses of writing in Sasanian Iran, all these testimonies must be considered.

Preface to the appendix

The inscriptions have been arranged chronologically. However, many inscriptions cannot be precisely dated and the order in the list is therefore relative and should not be taken as an absolute chronology. The abbreviated names of the inscriptions follow those established in Back 1978 and Gignoux 1972. For more recent inscriptions I have coined the abbreviations myself or followed the established conventions in the literature. The bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive; only the most recent and relevant literature is referenced. Primary text editions and secondary literature have been separated in the bibliographical column by two slashes (/).

35. Henning 1953, 134-135.

36. For relevant Syriac and Armenian inscriptions, see Drijvers and Healey 1999 and Greenwood 2004, respectively. On Sogdian and Bactrian inscriptions, see Harmatta 1986; Huyse 2009, 105-115; Lee and Sims-Williams 2003; Livshits 2015, 237-247, 283-296; Sims-Williams 2008. As noted, two of our visitors' inscriptions were found in the company of Sogdian inscriptions (43-44), cf. Sims-Williams 1989; 1992.

37. A few of the Early Islamic inscriptions in our survey are in fact partially bilingual, employing both Middle Persian and Arabic written in Kufic script (139, 141, 144-146).

Appendix: 160 Middle Persian inscriptions

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
1.	ANRm-a	224-240	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 21; Back 1978, 281-282; Huyse 2009, 91; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 52-53
2.	ANRm-b	224-240	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 21; Back 1978, 281-282; Huyse 2009, 91
3.	ABD, Main Inscr.	243-244	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Private inscription by official, architectural inscription (fire temple), dedicatory inscription	Durkin-Meisterernst 2017, 107-109; MacKenzie 1994, 106-108 // Akbarzadeh 2002, 65-67; Gignoux 1991b, 9-22; Huyse 2009, 100; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 69-70; Livshits & Nikitin 1992, 41-43; Skjærvø 1992, 153-160; Sundermann 1994, 203-205; Tavoosi & Frye 1989, 25-37; Weber 2016, 107-118
4.	ABD, A	243-244	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Label	Durkin-Meisterernst 2017, 107-108; Tavoosi & Frye 1989, 29
5.	ABD, B	243-244	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Label	Durkin-Meisterernst 2017, 107-108; MacKenzie 1994, 105; Tavoosi & Frye 1989, 27, 29
6.	ABD, C	243-244	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Label	Durkin-Meisterernst 2017, 108-109; Tavoosi & Frye 1989, 28-29
7.	ABD, D	243-244	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Label	Durkin-Meisterernst 2017, 108-109; Tavoosi & Frye 1989, 28-29
8.	DE 1	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Daryaee 2010a, 31; Frye 1968, pl. 1; Geiger 1956, no. 42; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr111 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
9.	DE 2	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 2; Geiger 1956, no. 43; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr112 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
10.	DE 3a	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Daryaee 2010a, 32; Frye 1968, pl. 3; Geiger 1956, no. 44; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr113a // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
11.	DE 3b	250s	Dura-Europos	Religious slogan	Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr113b // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
12.	DE 4	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 4; Geiger 1956, no. 45; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr114 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
13.	DE 5	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 5; Geiger 1956, no. 46; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr115 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
14.	DE 6	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 6; Geiger 1956, no. 47; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr116 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
15.	DE 7	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 7; Geiger 1956, no. 48; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr117 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
16.	DE 8	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 8; Geiger 1956, no. 49; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr119 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
17.	DE 9	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 9; Geiger 1956, no. 50; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr120 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
18.	DE 10	250s	Dura-Europos	Visitor's inscription	Frye 1968, pl. 10; Geiger 1956, no. 51; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr122 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
19.	DE 11	250s	Dura-Europos	Religious slogan	Frye 1968, pl. 11; Geiger 1956, no. 52; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr124 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
20.	DE 12	250s	Dura-Europos	Religious slogan	Frye 1968, pl. 12; Geiger 1956, no. 53; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr125 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
21.	DE 16a	250s	Dura-Europos	Illegible	Frye 1968, pl. 18 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
22.	DE 16b	250s	Dura-Europos	Illegible	Frye 1968, pl. 19 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
23.	DE 17a	250s	Dura-Europos	Illegible	Frye 1968, pl. 21 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
24.	DE 18a	250s	Dura-Europos	Illegible	Frye 1968, pl. 22-23 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
25.	DE 19	250s	Dura-Europos	Undeciphered	Frye 1968, pl. 24 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
26.	DE 37a-c	250s	Dura-Europos	Religious slogan?	Frye 1968, pl. 33; Noy & Bloedhorn 2004, Syr126 // Altheim & Stiehl 1958, 7-28; Brunner 1972, 492-497; MacKenzie 1996, 589-594
27.	ŠKZ	260-262	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Royal inscription, <i>res gestae, notitia dignitatum</i>	Back 1978, 284-371; Huyse 1999 // Gignoux 1983, 1207-1208; Henning 1939, 823-849; [1954a] 1977, 415-429; Huyse 2009, 93-94; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 54-56; Rubin 1998, 177-185; Sprengling 1953, 1-36
28.	ŠVŠ	260s	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Private inscription by official, architectural inscription (statue, pillar), label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 31-33; Back 1978, 378-383; Ghirshman 1936, 124-126; Hansen 1938, 450 // Gignoux 1983, 1208; Huyse 2009, 95; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 73-74
29.	ŠNRb	240-270	Naqš-e Rajab, Fārs	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 23-24; Back 1978, 282-283 // Gignoux 1983, 1208; Huyse 2009, 91; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 58-59
30.	ŠH	240-270	Hājiābād, north of Persepolis, Fārs	Royal inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 25-28; Back 1978, 372-378; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 53-54; MacKenzie 1978, 499-500; Nyberg 1945, 66-69 // Gignoux 1983, 1208; Huyse 2009, 94-95
31.	ŠTBq	240-270	Tang-e Borāq, Fārs	Royal inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 29-30; Back 1978, 372-378; Gropp 1969, 229-237; MacKenzie 1978, 506-507 // Gignoux 1983, 1208; Huyse 2009, 94-95; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 56-58

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
32.	KNRb	290s	Naqš-e Rajab, Fārs	Private inscription by official	Back 1978, 473-488; Frye 1965, 211-225; Gignoux 1991a, 35-39 // Gignoux 1983, 1209-1211; 1989, 689-699; Huyse 2009, 97-100; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 66-67; Skjærvø 2011, 608-628; Sprengling 1940, 197-228
33.	KKZ	290s	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Private inscription by official	Back 1978, 384-489; Gignoux 1991a, 45-48, 66-73 // Gignoux 1983, 1209-1211; 1989, 689-699; Huyse 2009, 97-100; Ito 1981, 49-57; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 66-67; Skjærvø 2011, 608-628; Sprengling 1940, 197-228
34.	KNRm	290s	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Private inscription by official	Back 1978, 384-487; Brunner 1974, 97-113; Gignoux 1991a, 48-52, 66-73; MacKenzie 1989, 35-72 // Gignoux 1983, 1209-1211; 1989, 689-699; Herrmann 1989, 13-33; Huyse 2009, 97-100; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 67; Skjærvø 2011, 608-628; Sprengling 1940, 197-228
35.	KSM	290s	Sar-Mašad, Fārs	Private inscription by official	Back 1978, 384-487; Frye 1957, 702-705; Gignoux 1991a, 40-45, 66-73 // Gignoux 1983, 1209-1211; 1989, 689-699; Huyse 2009, 97-100; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 65-66; Skjærvø 2011, 608-628; Sprengling 1940, 197-228
36.	NPi	293-302	Pāikūlī, Solaimānīya, Iraq	Royal inscription	Cereti & Terribili 2014, 347-412; Herzfeld 1924; Humbach & Skjærvø 1978-1983; Skjærvø 1983 // Frye 1957, 705-708; Gignoux 1983, 1209; Huyse 2009, 96-97; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 60; Skjærvø 1979, 329-331
37.	NVŠ	271-274 / 293-302	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 34-35; Back 1978, 490-491; MacKenzie 1981, 15-17 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Herrmann 1981, 11-20; Huyse 2009, 91; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 61
38.	ŠPs-I	311	Persepolis, Fārs	Private inscription by official, visitor's inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 38-40; Back 1978, 492-494; Daryaei 2010a, 33, n. 19; Frye 1966, 84-85; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 70-71 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Huyse 2009, 101
39.	ŠPs-II	327	Persepolis, Fārs	Private inscription by official, visitor's inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 41-43; Back 1978, 495-497; Frye 1966, 85-86; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 71-72 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Huyse 2009, 101

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
40.	MeSh	336	Mešgīnšahr, Ardabil	Architectural inscription (fortress)	Frye & Skjærø 1998, 53-58; Gropp 1968, 149-158; Nyberg 1970, 144-153 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 61-63
41.	ŠTBn-I	309-379	Tāq-e Bostān, Kermānshāh	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 36-37; Back 1978, 490-491; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 63-64 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Huyse 2009, 91
42.	ŠTBn-II	383-388	Tāq-e Bostān, Kermānshāh	Royal inscription, label	Akbarzadeh 2002, 44-45; Back 1978, 490-491; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 63-64 // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Huyse 2009, 91
43.	Shatial I, 232	Possibly 4th cent.	Shatial, Upper Indus	Visitor's inscription	Sims-Williams 1989, 22; 1992, 27 // Sims-Williams 1997-1998, 523-541
44.	Shatial I, 233	Possibly 4th cent.	Shatial, Upper Indus	Visitor's inscription	Sims-Williams 1989, 22; 1992, 27 // Sims-Williams 1997-1998, 523-541
45.	MNFd	First half of 5th cent.	Tāng-e Āb, Fīrūzābād, Fārs	Private inscription by official, architectural inscription (bridge)	Akbarzadeh 2002, 46-47; Back 1978, 498; Henning [1954b] 1977, 431-435, pl. XXVIII-XXIX // Gignoux 1983, 1209; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 72-73; Huyse 2009, 101
46.	Bandiān A	First half of 5th cent.	Bandiān, Khorasan	Label	Gignoux 1998, 252-153; 2008, 169-170 // Azarpay 2000, 193-196; Rahbar 1998, 213-250; 2008, 15-40
47.	Bandiān B	First half of 5th cent.	Bandiān, Khorasan	Label?	Gignoux 1998, 253-254; 2008, 170 // Azarpay 2000, 193-196; Rahbar 1998, 213-250; 2008, 15-40
48.	Bandiān C-D	First half of 5th cent.	Bandiān, Khorasan	Property inscription	Gignoux 1998, 253; 2008, 170 // Azarpay 2000, 193-196; Rahbar 1998, 213-250; 2008, 15-40
49.	Bandiān E	First half of 5th cent.	Bandiān, Khorasan	Undeciphered	Gignoux 1998, 254; 2008, 171 // Azarpay 2000, 193-196; Rahbar 1998, 213-250; 2008, 15-40
50.	Khum.	First half of 5th cent.?	Khumara, Karačayevsk, southern Russia	Architectural inscription	Harmatta 1998, 82-83; István 1983, fig. 2 // Gadjiev 2013, 58
51.	BD	Early / Middle Sas.	Barm-e Delak, Fārs	Label	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 202 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 69; Vanden Berghe 1988, 805-807
52.	DD 1	6th cent.	Darband, Dāgēstān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 35-41; Gropp 1977, 1620; Nyberg 1929, 31; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
53.	DD 2	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 41-45; 2016; Nyberg 1929, 30; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
54.	DD 3	568/69?	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2008, 4-15; 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 46-49; Gropp 1977, 1620; Nyberg 1929, 29; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2-3 // Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
55.	DD 4	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 50-51; Nyberg 1929, 29; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
56.	DD 5	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 51-52; Nyberg 1929, 30; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
57.	DD 6	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 52-53; Nyberg 1929, 31; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
58.	DD 7	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 54-55; Nyberg 1929, 31; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2-3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
59.	DD 8	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 55-58; Nyberg 1929, 31-32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2-3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
60.	DD 9	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 58-59; Nyberg 1929, 31-32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
61.	DD 10	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 59-60; Nyberg 1929, 28; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2-3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
62.	DD 11	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 59, 61; Nyberg 1929, 27-28; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
63.	DD 12	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 59, 61; Nyberg 1929, 32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 2-3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
64.	DD 13	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 61-63; Nyberg 1929, 32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
65.	DD 14	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 63-65; Gropp 1975, 318; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
66.	DD 15	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 65-66; Gropp 1975, 318; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
67.	DD 16	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 66-67; Gropp 1975, 318; Nyberg 1929, 32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
68.	DD 17	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 67-68; Gropp 1975, 318; Nyberg 1929, 32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
69.	DD 18	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 68-69; Gropp 1975, 318; Nyberg 1929, 32; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
70.	DD 19	6th cent.	Darband, Dāġestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 69-70; Gropp 1975, 318; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
71.	DD 20	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 70-71; Gropp 1975, 318; Pakhomov 1929, pl. 1, 3 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
72.	DD 21	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 71-72 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
73.	DD 22	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 72 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
74.	DD 23	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 72-73 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
75.	DD 24	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 73-74 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
76.	DD 25	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 74-75 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
77.	DD 26	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 75-76 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
78.	DD 27	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 77-78 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
79.	DD 28	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 78-79 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
80.	DD 29	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 78-83 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
81.	DD 30	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 82-83 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
82.	DD 31	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 83-84 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
83.	DD 32	6th cent.	Darband, Dāğestān	Architectural inscription (wall)	Gadjiev 2016; Gadjiev & Kasumova 2006, 85-86 // Gadjiev 2008, 1-15; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
84.	TX I	635?	Tang-e Khošk, Sivand, Fārs	Property inscription, architectural inscription	Gropp 1969, 246 (= Inschrift A) // Huyse 2009, 102; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 95
85.	TX II	635?	Tang-e Khošk, Sivand, Fārs	Property inscription, architectural inscription	Gropp 1969, 247 (= Inschrift B) // Huyse 2009, 102; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 95
86.	TX III	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Tang-e Khošk, Sivand, Fārs	Illegible	Gropp 1969, 242-255 (= Inschrift C) // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 95
87.	ED	638	Eqlīd, Fārs	Funerary inscription	de Blois 1993, 34-41; Frye 1970, 155-156; Gropp 1969, 237-242 // Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101
88.	Āzaršab, Kāz.	638	East Kāzerun, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Jaafari-Dehaghi 2014, 21-29 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 80-81 (= Kāz XIV)
89.	TT I	664	Takht-e Tā'ūs, Istakhr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Gropp 1969, 258-261 (= Inschrift 1); Frye 1970, 153-155 (= Istakhr B) // de Blois 1993, 29, 33; Huyse 2009, 101
90.	TT II	676 (or 654)	Takht-e Tā'ūs, Istakhr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Gropp 1969, 258-261 (= Inschrift 2); Frye 1970, 153-155 (= Istakhr C) // de Blois 1993, 39; Huyse 2009, 101
91.	TT III	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Takht-e Tā'ūs, Istakhr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Gropp 1969, 258-261 (= Inschrift 3); Frye 1970, 153-155 (= Istakhr D) // Huyse 2009, 101
92.	TT IV	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Takht-e Tā'ūs, Istakhr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Gropp 1969, 258-261 (= Inschrift 4); Frye 1970, 153-155 (= Istakhr A); Shaked 1975, 224, n. 72 // Huyse 2009, 101; Tafazzoli 1991, 2002
93.	VS I	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	de Menasce 1956, 424 (= Châpour I); Gropp 1969, 259 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 78 (= Kāz VI)
94.	VS II	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	de Blois 1993, 30-34; Gignoux 1975, 221-223 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 79 (= Kāz X)
95.	VS III	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Visitor's inscription, religious slogan?	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 204; MacKenzie 1983, 23 // Herrmann 1983, 11-27; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 79 (= Kāz VIII)
96.	VS IV	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīšāpūr, Fārs	Property inscription?	de Menasce 1956, 424 (= Châpour II)
97.	NRm, Šābuhr relief	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Visitor's inscription, label, religious slogan?	Gropp 1969, 258 // Herrmann 1989, 17; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 91

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
98.	BL	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Persepolis, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Frye 1970, 156 // Akbarzadeh 2002, 54-55; de Menasce 1956, 428-430; Sprengling 1953, 70-71
99.	MD I	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Maq̄sūdābād, south-east of Persepolis, Fārs	Property inscription	de Menasce 1956, 423-427 // Asadi & Cereti 2018, 91; Daryaee 2009, 106; Gignoux 1983, 1212; 1994, 105-106; Huyse 2009, 102
100.	MD II	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Maq̄sūdābād, south-east of Persepolis, Fārs	Property inscription	de Menasce 1956, 423-427 // Asadi & Cereti 2018, 91; Daryaee 2009, 106; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 102
101.	Bis 1	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
102.	Bis 2	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
103.	Bis 3	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
104.	Bis 4	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
105.	Bis 5	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
106.	Bis 6	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
107.	Bis 7	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
108.	Bis 8	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Bīsotūn, Kermān- shāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 208 // Gropp 1975, 319
109.	Kang.	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kangāvar, Ker- mānshāh	Stonemason's inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 173 // Frye 1979, 337; Gropp 1975, 319
110.	Anar.	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Anarak mine, Bi- yānāk oasis, cen- tral Iran	Undeciphered	Frye 1960, 187; 2002, 108-109
111.	KH 1	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naq̄š-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 381
112.	KH 2	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naq̄š-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 382
113.	KH 3	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naq̄š-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 382

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
114.	KH 4	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Visitor's inscrip- tion?	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 384
115.	KH 5	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Visitor's inscrip- tion?	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 384
116.	KH 6	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 384
117.	KH 7	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Writing exercise?	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 386
118.	KH 8	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Illegible	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 386
119.	KH 9	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Cereti & Gondet 2015, 386
120.	KH, Nadj.	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Kuh-e Hossein, east of Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Undeciphered	Nadjmabadi 1979, 332-333
121.	ŠI A	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
122.	ŠI B	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
123.	ŠI C	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Illegible	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
124.	ŠI D	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
125.	ŠI E	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Akbarzadeh 2002, 63-64; Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
126.	ŠI F	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Šāh Ismā'īl, Naqš-e Rostam, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Akbarzadeh 2002, 63-64; Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 205-207 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
127.	Pas A	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Pasargadae, Fārs	Funerary inscrip- tion	Stronach 1978, 163-165 (read by Rich- ard N. Frye) // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
128.	Pas B	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Pasargadae, Fārs	Illegible	Stronach 1978, 163-165 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
129.	Pas C	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Pasargadae, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Stronach 1978, 163-165 (read by Richard N. Frye) // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
130.	Pas D	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Pasargadae, Fārs	Visitor's inscription	Stronach 1978, 163-165 (read by Richard N. Frye) // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
131.	Pas E	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Pasargadae, Fārs	Illegible	Stronach 1978, 163-165 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 85
132.	TJ	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Tang-e Djelo, Ārdagān, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 57-58; Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 203-204
133.	TK, north	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Tang-e Karam, Fasa, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 204-205; Trümpelmann 1984, 325-326
134.	TK, west	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Tang-e Karam, Fasa, Fārs	Illegible	Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970, 203-204
135.	TS	707	Tal-e Sefid/Esfid, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Tafazzoli 1994-1995, 179-181; Skjærvø 1986, 25 // Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 79-80 (= Kāz XI)
136.	Kāz I	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Maydānak, north of Baladeh, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 48-49; Tafazzoli 1994-1995, 177-182 // Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 75
137.	Kāz II	725	Parīshān, Kāzerun, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Tafazzoli 1991, 197-202; Akbarzadeh 2002, 50-53// Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 76
138.	Kāz III	Late Sas. / Early Isl.	Mashtān, south of Kāzerun, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Tafazzoli & Sheikh-al-Hokamayi 1994, 265-267//Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 77
139.	Bahm.	786	Bahmāndiz, between Bahmān and Abadeh, Fārs	Architectural inscription (fortress)	Akbarzadeh 2002, 56; Hassuri 1984, 94-95 // Blair 1992, 20
140.	KI	836	Koh-ye Istakhr/ Qal'a-ye Istakhr, Fārs	Funerary inscription	Asadi & Cereti 2018, 92-95; Frye 1979, 338, n. 8
141.	Kāmf.	Early Islamic	Kāmfīrūz, Marvdasht, Fārs	Funerary inscription, architectural inscription (well)	Asadi & Cereti 2018, 95-97

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
142.	SN	874	Xī'ān, China	Funerary inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 59-60; Baghbidi 2011, 105-115 // Gignoux 1983, 1212; Harmatta 1971, 363-376, pl. 1-2; Harmatta & Ecsedy 1971, 113-147; Humbach 1988, 73-82; Huyse 2009, 101
143.	CE	9th-10th cent.	Istanbul, Turkey	Funerary inscription	Akbarzadeh 2002, 61-62; de Blois 1990, 209-218 // Bogoliubov 1974, 291-301; Shaked 1977, 27-28
144.	Māz I	1016-21	Rādkān valley, Māzandarān	Funerary inscription	Bivar & Yarshater 1978, 6-7, pl. 38-39; Herzfeld 1932, 140-156 // Blair 1992, 85-87; 1998, 490-498; Gignoux 1212; Huyse 2009, 101; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 87
145.	Māz II	1022-23	Lājīm village, Māzandarān	Funerary inscription	Baghbidi 2004, 17; Bivar & Yarshater 1978, 7, pl. 40; Daryaei 2010b // Blair 1992, 88-90; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Herzfeld 1937, 78-81; Huyse 2009, 101
146.	Māz III	Probably contemp. w. Māz I-II	Rasget, Māzandarān	Undeciphered, funerary inscription?	Bivar & Yarshater 1978, pl. 40 // Bivar 1972, 15-23; Blair 1992, 208-209; Jaafari-Dehaghi 2017, 89
147.	Kaṇ 1	1009	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	West 1880, 266-267, fig. 1 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
148.	Kaṇ 2	1009	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	West 1880, 266-267, fig. 2 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
149.	Kaṇ 3	1021	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	West 1880, 266-267, fig. 3 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
150.	Kaṇ 4	Probably contemp. w. Kaṇ 1-3, 5	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Illegible, visitor's inscription?	West 1880, 267, fig. 4 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
151.	Kaṇ 5	1021	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	West 1880, 267, fig. 5 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
152.	Kaṇ 6	Probably contemp. w. Kaṇ 1-3, 5	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	Gignoux 1995, 416, 422, fig. 7 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102
153.	Kaṇ 7	Probably contemp. w. Kaṇ 1-3, 5	Kaṇheri caves, Sanjay Gandhi Park, India	Visitor's inscription	Gignoux 1995, 416, 422, fig. 8 // Cereti et al. 2002, 293; Huyse 2009, 102

No.	Name	Date	Location	Genre	Bibliography
154.	St Thomas Cross, a	7th-8th cent.	St Thomas Holy Mount Church, Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India	Dedicatory inscription	Cereti et al. 2002, 294-297, fig. 1-5; Gignoux 1995, 416, fig. 1-5 // Brown 1956, 80; Gignoux 1983, 1212; Huyse 2009, 101-102
155.	St Thomas Cross, b	No. 154 <i>terminus post quem</i>	Valiyapalli Church, Kottayam, Kerala, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 297-298, fig. 6-7; Gignoux 1995, 421, fig. 6
156.	St Thomas Cross, c	No. 154 <i>terminus post quem</i>	Valiyapalli Church, Kottayam, Kerala, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 297-298, fig. 6-7
157.	St Thomas Cross, d	After 1580?	Muttuchira Holy Spirit Church, Kerala, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 297, 299, fig. 8
158.	St Thomas Cross, e	No. 154 <i>terminus post quem</i>	St George Church, Kad Mattom, Kerala, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 297-299, fig. 9
159.	St Thomas Cross, f	No. 154 <i>terminus post quem</i>	St Thomas Church, Alangad, Kerala, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 298, 300, fig. 10
160.	St Thomas Cross, g	No. 154 <i>terminus post quem</i>	Agazim, Goa, India	Dedicatory inscription, copy of no. 154	Cereti et al. 2002, 298, n. 13

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Methods and models in ancient history
Essays in honor of Jørgen Christian Meyer

Edited by

Ingvar B. Mæhle, Per Bjarne Ravnå, Eivind Heldaas Seland



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Top: Ploughing, Attic black-figured drinking cup, sixth century BCE.

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Bottom: Ploughing, Çatalçam, Turkey, 1980s.

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Table of contents

Introduction: <i>Recentring ancient history: Jørgen Christian Meyer's approach to the study of the ancient world</i>	9
Ingvar B. Mæhle, Per Bjarne Ravnå and Eivind Heldaas Seland	
Chapter 1: <i>At the crossroads of kingdoms and empires: RPAS mapping of Nubt in the Land of the Beja</i>	15
Knut Krzywinski, Gidske L. Andersen and Richard H. Pierce	
Chapter 2: <i>How to survey a road, and what might come out of it if you happen to do it in the Arcadian mountains</i>	35
Jørgen Bakke and Hege Bakke-Alisøy	
Chapter 3: <i>A method to date stones, just stones: the quarries of Palmyra</i>	53
Andreas Schmidt-Colinet	
Chapter 4: <i>Traces of trade in the Tarim Basin: a case for applying network models to the study of ancient trade</i>	65
Tomas Larsen Høisæter	
Chapter 5: <i>The Roman city as a central place</i>	81
Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen	
Chapter 6: <i>Coastal and high-sea passages in ancient Red Sea navigation: combining GIS with common-sense geography</i>	99
Eivind Heldaas Seland	
Chapter 7: <i>Patterns of change and disclosures of difference: the feminine element as medium of transformation in New Kingdom tomb representations</i>	111
Reinert Skumsnes	
Chapter 8: <i>Men of the desert or men of the world? Revisiting the iconography of Palmyrene men and their camels</i>	129
Rubina Raja	
Chapter 9: <i>On the Palmyrene table: epigraphic sources and iconography of food and drinks at Palmyra</i>	151
Eleonora Cussini	

Chapter 10: <i>A prominent family in Palmyra: Elahbel and his kin</i>	165
Michał Gawlikowski	
Chapter 11: <i>Quantifying Middle Persian inscriptions: a new approach to the epigraphic culture of Sasanian Iran</i>	173
Aleksander Engeskaug	
Chapter 12: <i>An anthropological theory and method for analysing Greek tragedy: the example of Euripides' Orestes</i>	203
Synnøve des Bouvrie	
Chapter 13: <i>The need for a Third Space, geographical and political spaces at the periphery of the Parthian and Roman empires: some preliminary remarks</i>	221
Leonardo Gregoratti	
Chapter 14: <i>The gliding scale between oligarchy and democracy: the case of Archaic and Classical Tegea</i>	231
Ingvar B. Mæhle	
Chapter 15: <i>The Macedonian. Seleukos I – the foreign king</i>	253
Lise Hannestad	
Chapter 16: <i>Reality check: an encounter on the road to Damascus</i>	261
Per Bjarne Ravnå	
Chapter 17: <i>Lion Daalder Coins from No.129-b Tomb at the North Necropolis in Palmyra and a Palmyrene landscape drawn by a Dutch Painter</i>	273
Kiyohide Saito	
Chapter 18: <i>Curating the past: Asine and PRAGMATA</i>	285
Gullög Nordquist and Michael Lindblom	
Chapter 19: <i>A vision from a distant millennium? Ancient history and modern human rights</i>	295
Eva Maria Lassen	
<i>Bibliography of Jørgen Christian Meyer</i>	305
Compiled by Pål Steiner	
<i>List of contributors</i>	309
<i>Tabula gratulatoria</i>	311