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Historiography and palaeography of Sasanian Middle Persian inscriptions

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Citation

Ramble, O. K. C. (2024, June 11). *Historiography and palaeography of Sasanian Middle Persian inscriptions*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3762211>

Version: Publisher's Version

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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Figures



Fig. 0.1, One of three Middle Persian inscriptions at Taxt-e Tāvūs. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.2, Thermal spring lake at the site of Taxt-e Suleymān. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.3, Trilingual cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings Darius and Xerxes at the site of Ganjnāmeḥ. Photo by the author.

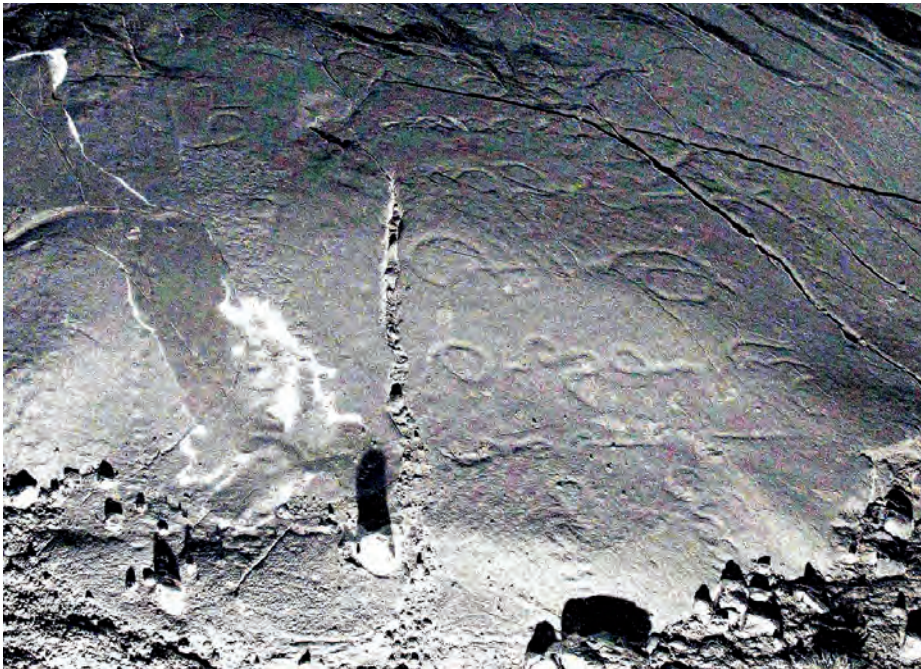


Fig. 0.4, ‘Before and after’ image of a Middle Persian inscription at the site of Pasargadae showing the results of RTI photography: in the first image, the inscription is barely visible; in the second image, processed with RTI, the Middle Persian inscription appears. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.5, The ‘generations of writing’ engraved on the ruins of Darius’ *tačara* at Persepolis. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.6, The great ‘Gate of all nations’ of Persepolis. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.7, Graffiti inscribed at the Gate of all nations at Persepolis. Photo by the author.



Fig. 0.8, Achaemenid cruciform tomb and Sasanian bas-relief at the site of Naqsh-e Rostam. Photo by the author.

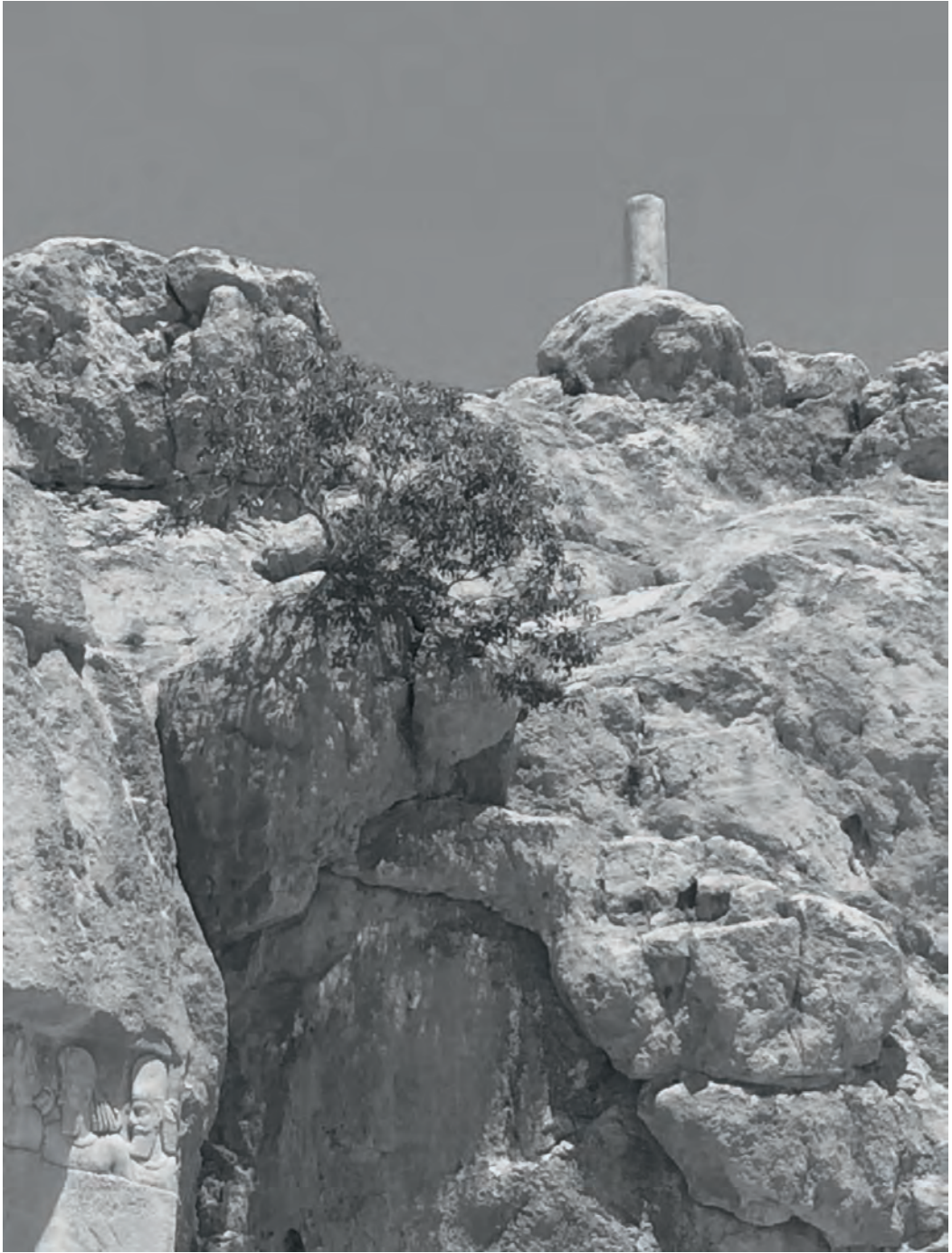


Fig. 0.9, Free-standing ossuary on top of the cliffside visible from the ground at Naqsh-e Rostam. Photo by the author.

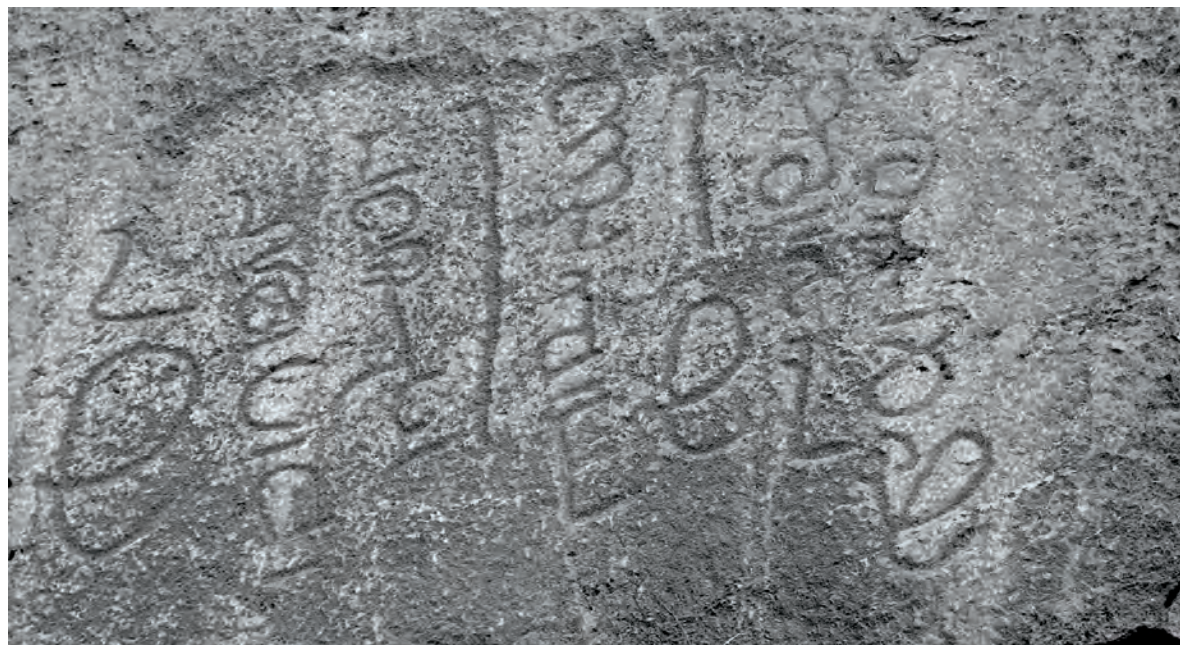


Fig. 0.10, Middle Persian private inscription by the (now dried) spring of Maqsūdābād. Photo by the author.

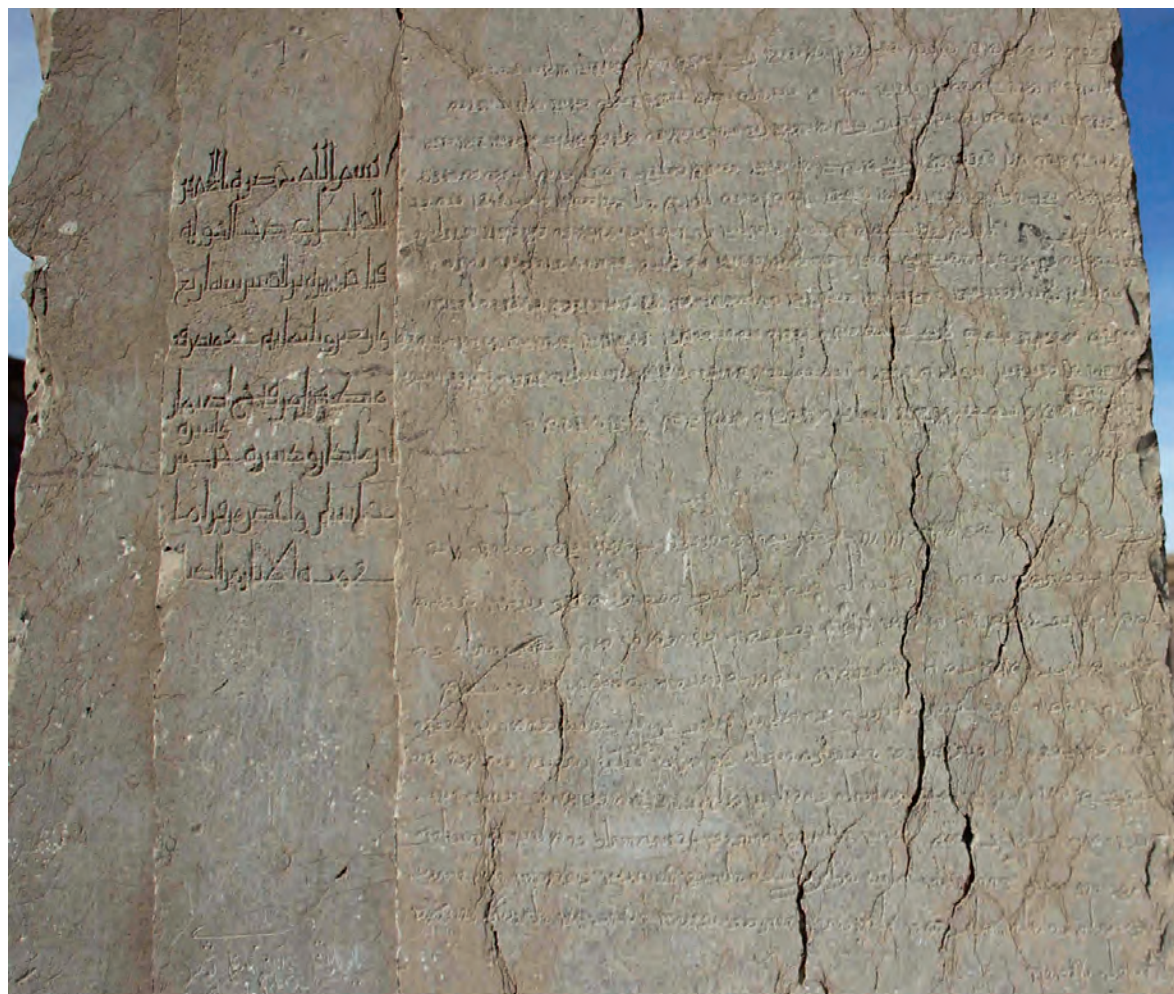


Fig. 1.1, Middle Persian Sassanian inscriptions (3rd century CE) and ‘Aḏud al-Dawla Arabic Kufic inscription (10th century CE); *tačara*’s southern portico, Persepolis. Photo M. Abedi.

CHAP. XI.

10 A Letter from DON GARCIA SILVA FIGUEROA Ambassador from
PHILIP the Third King of Spaine to the Persian, written at Spa-
han, or Hispahan, Anno 1619. to the Marquess of Bed-
mar, touching matters of Persia.



20 **V**earied with travelling both by Sea and Land, but otherwise well, I came at length from
Ormuz into Petfia. Which having wandred ouer; at the Kings appointment, I went
to Hispahan: where I endure a tedious irksome delay, being euen tyred with so vn-
pleasant a life, as I here leade. For whatsoeuer Writers report of that great and an-
cient Monarchie of the Achæmenides, this is mine opinion; That there is nothing
in all this Countrey to be found so good, but that it comes short of the least commoditie
in our Europe. And besides that euery thing here is so crosse to our fashions, that I am without all con-
uerse with men; here are not so much as any bookes (the reading whereof might somewhat refresh a mans
minde in so great solitarieesse) except a few Pamphlets intreating of holy Confession, and Navarr's
Summes, which the Monkes of Saint Augustine vse.

30 Hispahan is the noblest Citie of this Kingdome: and, though it lye but in one and thirtie degrees and
a halfe of Northerly latitude; yet, by reason of the subtile piercing ayre, the cold is sharper, then by the
climate or situation one would imagine. Now, in all this Kingdome you can scarce see any print of Anti-
quitie: all the houses being built of vnburned bricke, or earth rammed vp betwene two boards; too slight
stiffe to last many dayes, much lesse many yeeres.

40 Notwithstanding, there are yet remayning most of those huge wilde buildings of the Castle and Palace
of Persepolis, so much celebrated in the monuments of ancient Writers. These frames doe the Arabians
and Persians in their owne language, call Chilminara: which is as much as if you should say in Spa-
nish, Quarenta columnas, or Alcoranes: for so they call those high narrow round steeples, which the
Arabians haue in their Mesquites. This rare, yea and euely monument of the World (which scarce ex-
ceedeth all the rest of the Worlds miracles, that we haue seene or heard off) sheweth it selfe to them that
come to this Citie from the Towne of Xiria, and standeth about a league from the Riuer Bradamir, in
times past called Araxis (not that, that parteth Media from the greater Armenia) whereof often men-
tion is made by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch: which Authors doe point vs out the situa-
tion of Persepolis, and doe almost leade vs vnto it by the hand. The largenesse, suirnesse, and long-la-
sing Matter of those Pillars, appeareth by the twentie which are yet left, of alike fashion; which with o-
ther remaynders of those stately Piles, doe moue admiration in the minde of beholders, and cannot, but
with much labour, and at leisure, be layed open. But since it is your Lordships hap to lye now at Venice,
where you may see some resemblance of the things, which I am about to write of, I will briefly tell you,
that most of the Pictures of men, that, ingrauen in marble, doe seele the front, the sides, and statelier
parts of this building, are deckt with a very comely cloathing, and clad in the same fashion, which the
Venetian Magnifico's goe in; that is, in Gownes downe to the heeles, with wide sleeves; with round
flat caps, their haire sired to the shoulders, and notable long beards. Yee may see in these Tables some
men sitting with great maiestie, in certayne losier chayres, such as vse to bee with vs in the Queres and
Chapter-houses of Cathedrall Churches, appointed for the seates of the chiefe Prelates: the seete being
50 supported with a little foote-stoole neatly made, about a hand high. And, which is very worthy of won-
der, in so diuers dresses of so many men; as are ingrauen in these Tables none commeth neere the fashion
which is at this day, or hath bene these many Ages past in vse through all Asia. For though out of all
Antiquitie we can gather no such Arguments of the cloathing of Assyrians, Medes and Persians, as
we finde many of the Greekes and Romanes: yet it appeareth sufficiently, that they used garments of
a middle size for length, like the Punike vest, used by the Turkes and Persians at this day, which they
call Aljuba, and these, Cauaia: and Shafshes wound about their head, distinguished yet both by fashion
and colour from the Cidaris, which is the Royall Diademe. Yet verily in all this sculpture (which
though it be ancient, yet shineth as neatly, as if it were but new-done) you can see no picture, that is like
60 or in the workmanship resemble any other, which the memorie of man could yet attayne to the know-
ledge of, from any part of the World: so that this worke may seeme to exceede all Antiquitie. Now, no-
thing more confirmeth this, then one notable inscription cut in a lasper-table, with Characters still so
fresh and faire, that one would wonder, how it could scape so many Ages without touch of the least ble-
mish. The Letters themselves are neither Chaldean, nor Hebrew, nor Greeke, nor Arabike, nor of
any other Nation, which was euer found of old, or at this day, to be extant. They are all three-cornered,

Hispahan.
No antiquities
Persepolis and
her remaynes,
Inscrip tion of
vnknowne let-
ters, in fashion
of a Delta.
b118

Fig. 2.1, First page of García de Silva y Figueroa's letter announcing his rediscovery of Persepolis, in Samuel Purchas' monumental *Pilgrimes* (1625), Figueroa 1625, 1533.



Fig. 2.2, Illustration of the ruins and portico of Persepolis – on which are perched a “monstrous” elephant and rhinoceros – in Thomas Herbert’s *Travels*, Herbert 1638, II, 145.

Inquiries for Suratte, *and other parts of the East-Indies.*

THough these *Quaries* have been already dispatcht for India, and some of them even received an *Answer*, yet, because 'tis altogether necessary, to have confirmations of the truth of these things from several hands, before they be relyed on, it was thought fit, rather to publish the *Inquiries* alone, for a more certain and full Information, than now to joyn such *Answers* thereunto.

The *Inquiries* are these; as the Relations publisht by *Purchas*, *Linschoten*, and others, concerning those parts, have given occasion to propose them.

1. Whether it be true, that *Diamonds* and other Pretious Stones, do grow again after three or four years, in the same places where they have been digg'd out?

2. Whether the Quarries of Stone near *Fettipore*, not far from *Agra*, in the *Mogol's* Dominions, may be cleft like Loggs, and sawn like Planks, to ceel Chambers and cover Houses therewith? Likewise, Whether about *Sadrapatan*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, there be a Stone of the like nature, so as, setting a Wedge upon it, one may cleave it with a Mallet as thick and as thin, as one pleaseth?

3. Whether upon the same Coast of *Coromandel*, about *Tutucorin*, and upon that of *Ceylon*, at *Manar*, and *Fasanapatan*, they fish *Pearls*, as good as those about *Ormuz*? Whether those *Pearls* are the better, the deeper they lie? What is the greatest depth, they are known to have been taken at? And whether it be true, that some of the Natives there, can stay under Water half an hour, without any Art?

4. Whether the Iron in *Pegu* and *Fapan*, be far better than ours; and if so, what is to be observed in the melting, forging, and tempering of it?

Fig. 2.3, First page of the *Inquiries* section of the *Philosophical Transactions* for the year 1667, *Philosophical Transactions* 1667, 415.

Inquiries for Persia.

1. **W**Hat are chiefly the present Studies of the *Persians*; and what Kind of Learning they now excell in?

2. What other Trades or Practices, besides *Silk*-and *Tapistry*-making, they are skilled in?

3. VVhether, there being already good Descriptions in *Words* of the Excellent Pictures and Basse Relieves, that are about *Persepolis* at *Chimilnar*, yet none very particular; some may not be found sufficiently skill'd, in those parts, that might be engaged to make a Draught of the Place, and the Stories there pictured and carved?

4. How they make that Plaister, wherewith in those parts and in *India*, they line their *Tanks* or *Cisterns*, and which, when dry, shines like Marble, and is much harder?

Other *Queries*, concerning the Air, VVaters, Minerals, Vegetables, Animals, &c. peculiar to *Persia*, may be taken out of those *General Heads* of Inquiries, for a *Natural History* of a *Country*, printed in *Numb. 11.* and out of those *Articles* of *Inquiries concerning Mines*, publisht in *Numb. 19.* to which we refer the Reader.

As to the Inquiries proper for Turkey, they also are already publisht. See Numb. 20.

Inquiries For Virginia and the Bermudas.

1. **C**ONCERNING the Varieties of *Earths*; 'tis said, there is one kind of a *Gummy* consistence, white and cleer: Another, white, and so light, that it swims upon water: Another, red, call'd *Wapergh*, like *Terra Sigillata*. Quare, what other considerable kinds are there? And to send over a parcel of each.

2. VVhat considerable Minerals, Stones, Bitumens; Tinctures, Drugs?

3. VVhat hot Baths, and of what Medicinal use?

4. VVhat is the Original of those large Navigable Rivers, which

Fig. 2.4, The *Inquiries for Persia* published in 1667 by the *Philosophical Transactions* and which triggered Samuel Flowers' expedition, *Philosophical Transactions* 1667, 420.

I. *A Letter from Mr. F. A. Esq; R. S. S. to the Publisher, with a Paper of Mr. S. Flowers containing the Exact Draughts of several unknown Characters, taken from the Ruines at Persepolis.*

S I R,

I Here send you some Fragments of Papers put into my hands by a very good Friend, relating to antique and obscure Inscriptions, which were retrieved after the Death of Mr. Flower, Agent in Persia for our East-India Company; who, while he was a Merchant at Aleppo, had taken up a Resolution to procure some Draught or Representation of the admired Ruines at Chilmemar, pursuant to the third Enquiry for Persia, mention'd in the *Philosophical Transactions*, pag. 420. viz. *Whether there being already good Descriptions in Words of the Excellent Pictures and Basse Relieves that are about Persepolis at Chilmemar, yet none very particular, some may not be found sufficiently skilled in those parts, that might be engaged to make a Draught of the Place, and the Stories their pictur'd and carved.* This Desire of the Royal Society, as I believe, it hinted at a Summary Delineation, which might be perform'd by a Man qualify'd in a few days, taking his own opportunity for the avoiding much Expence, (which you know they are never able to bear :) So I cannot but think Mr. Flower conceived it to be a business much easier to perform than he found it upon the place, where he spent a great deal of Time and Money, and dying suddainly after, left his Draughts and Papers disperfed in several hands, one part whereof you have here, the rest it's hoped may in some time be recovered, if Sir John Char-

H h 2

din's

Fig. 2.5, Francis Aston's (?) letter to the publishers of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1693 concerning Flowers' mission to Persepolis, *Philosophical Transactions* 1693, 775.

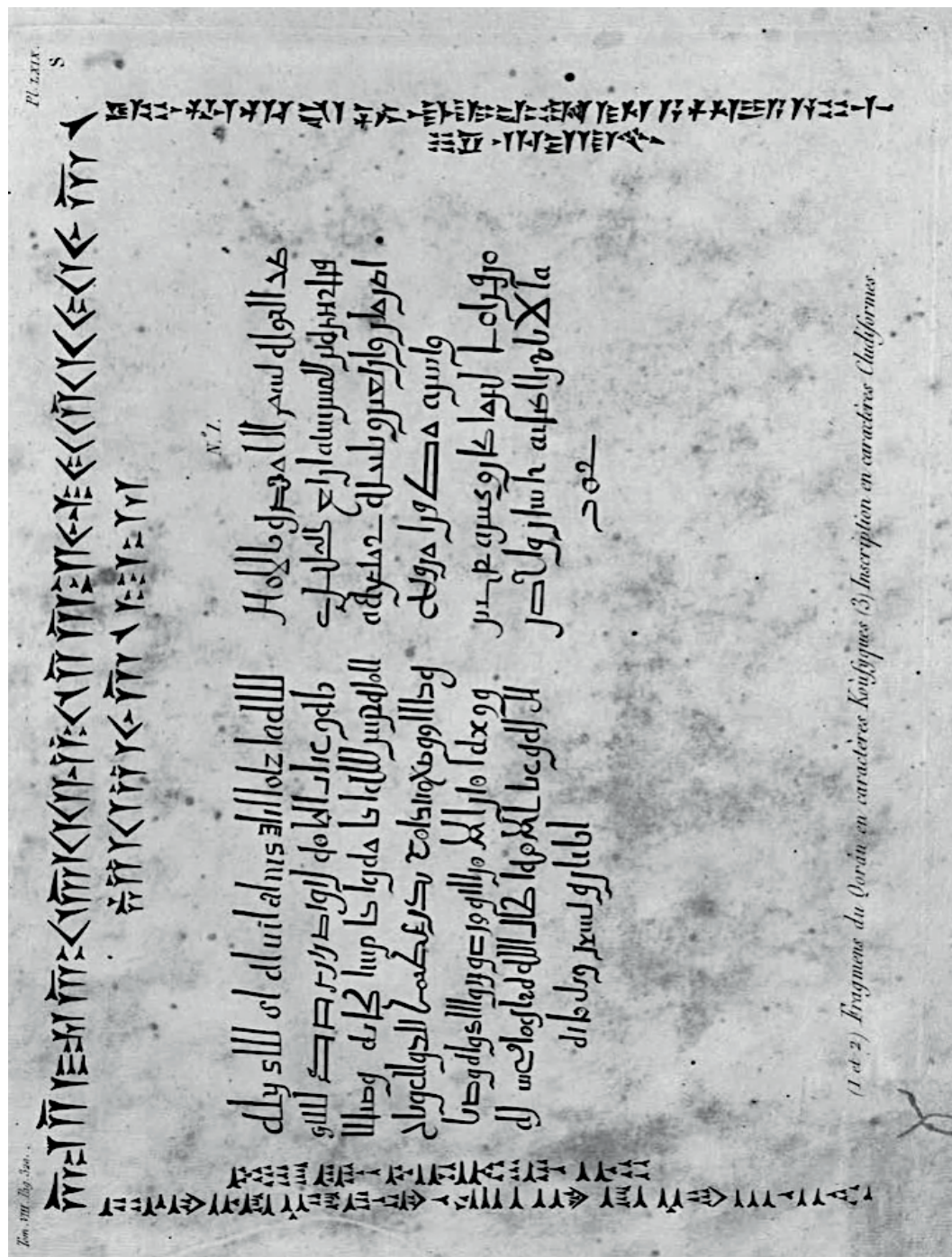


Fig. 2.8, The writing of the ‘Ancient Zoroastrians’ of Persepolis (compare Bembo’s copy of cuneiform inscriptions, Fig. 2.10 below) according to Jean Chardin, Chardin 1811, Atlas, Plate S/Plate LXIX.

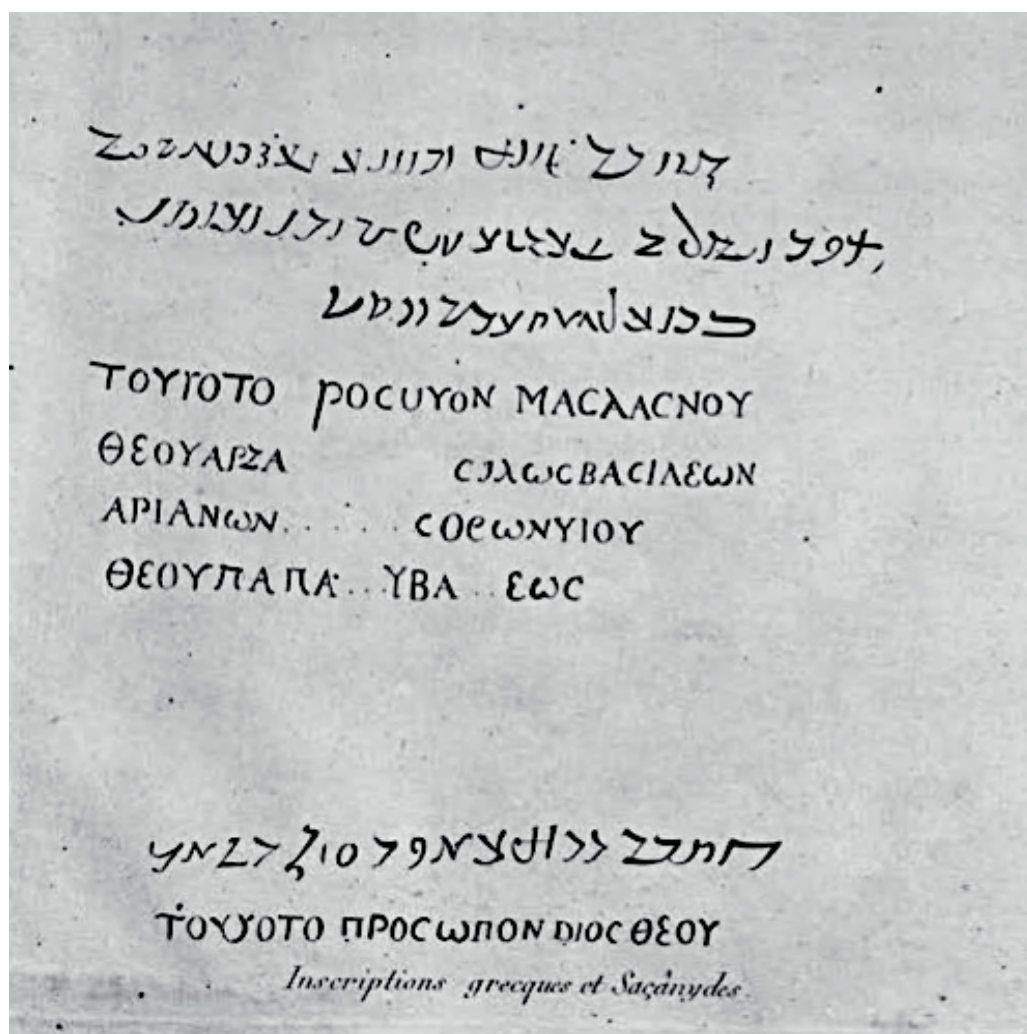


Fig. 2.9, The Greek and ‘ancient Syriac’ inscriptions at Persepolis/Naqš-e Rostam in Chardin 1811, Atlas, Plate LXXIII.

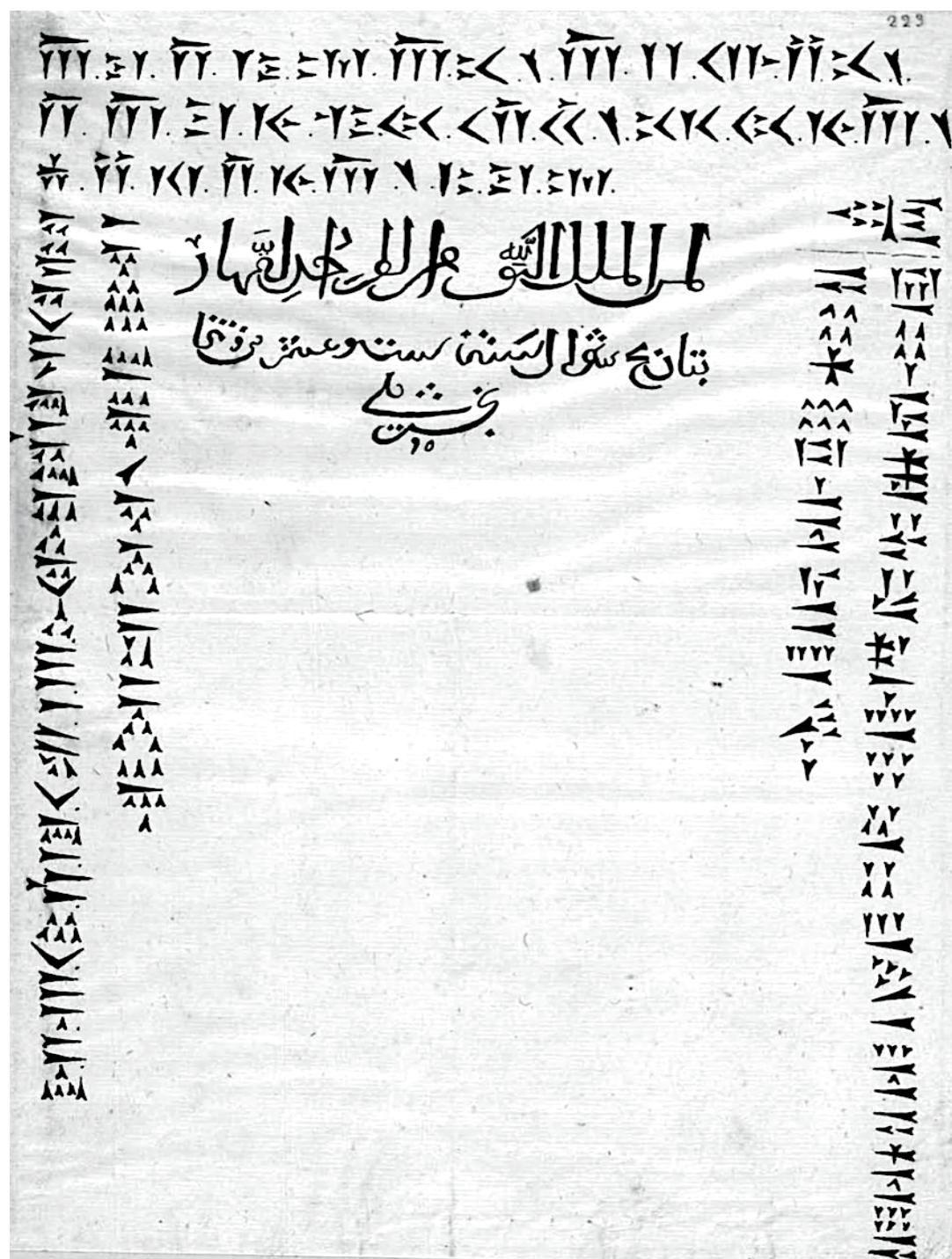


Fig. 2.10, The ancient inscriptions of Persepolis in Bembo's *Viaggi*, Welch 2007, 361.

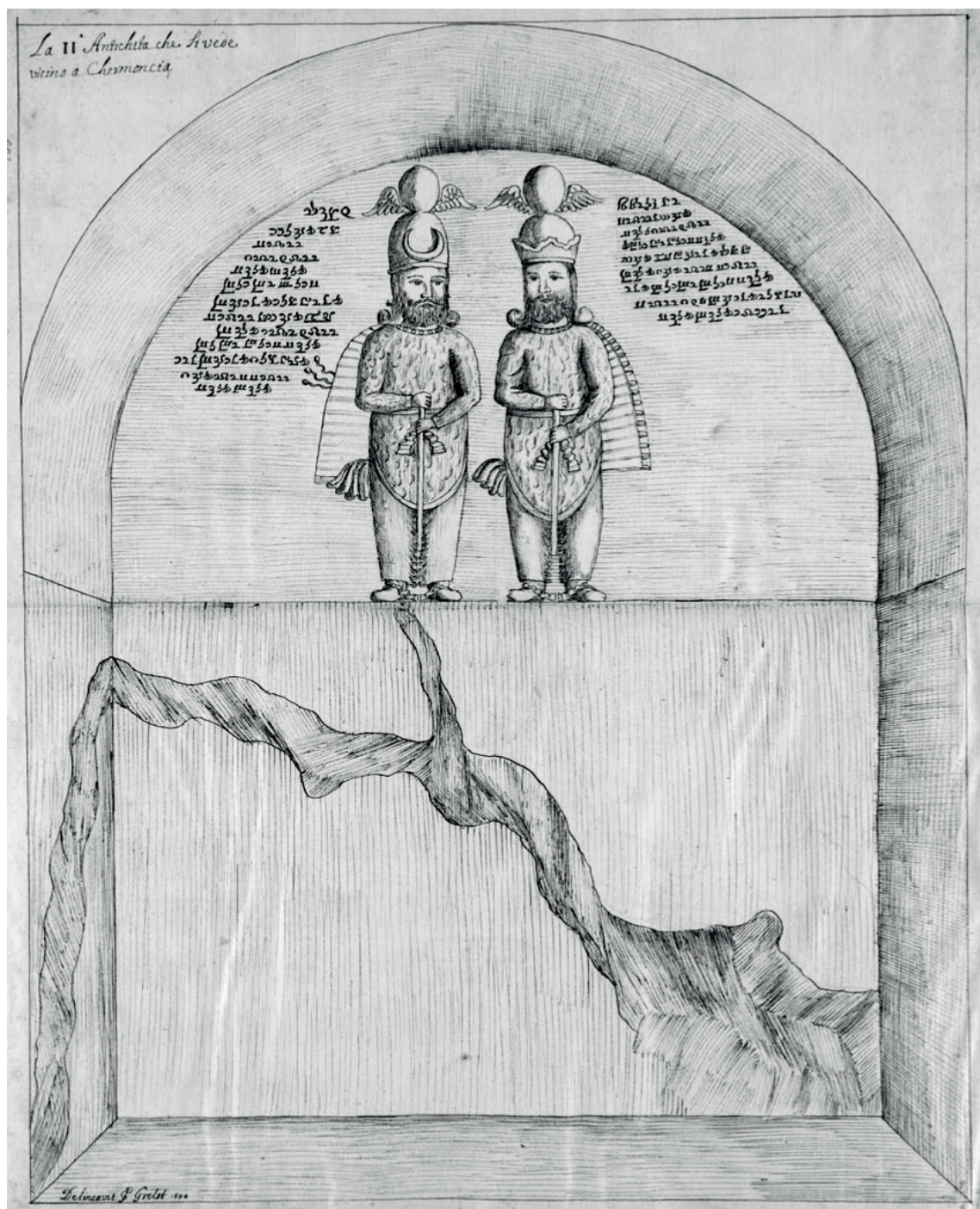


Fig. 2.12, Sasanian reliefs and Middle Persian inscriptions of Tāq-e Bostān as drawn by Grélot, in Bembo's *Viaggi*, Welch 2007, 381.

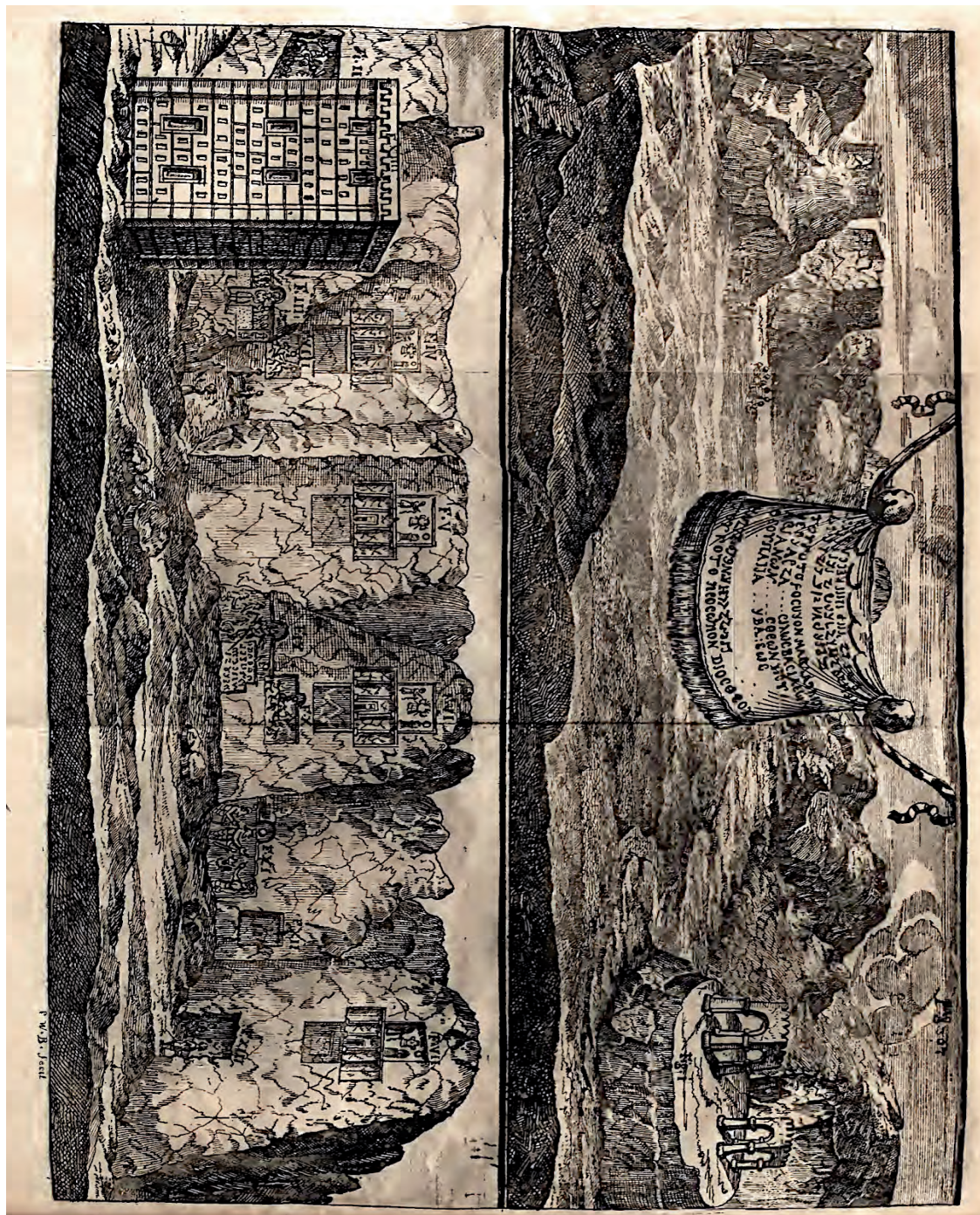


Fig. 2.13, Panoramic view of the site of Naqš-e Rostam with Flowers' Sasanian inscriptions drawn in the central cartouche, Kaempfer 1712, II, 307.

spectatur redimitus coronâ heros eques, dextrâ elevatâ
frenum, sinistrâ ingentem gladii speciem tenens. Pepla
à tergo fluctuant; toga prælonga est, vetustate exesa. Ter-
gum premit tabula rupi insculpta, posteriorem equi par-



tem tegens, quam obiter aspectam, facile quis pro syrma-
te paludamenti habeat. Ante Regem comparent viri duo,
unus genu dextro innixus, alter erectus, forma corporis
& habitu penè per vetustatem abolitis. Tabula compres-
sam viginti linearum Inscriptionem continet, non eam
profectò, quam Dn. *Sam. Flowerus* Angliæ intulit, à Cla-
rissimo *Hydeo* in Appendice laudati Operis citatam, sed
prorsus aliam; neq; enim ullibi in hâc figurarum Rustami-
câ universitate aliud Inscriptionis vestigium conspicitur.
Characteres articulum pollicis longitudine non excedunt;
compressi sunt, altè exsculpti & atro colore tincti, adeoque
satis conspicui, modò non erosi. Inæ unæ arctæ sunt &
ad finem tabulæ (cujus inferior pars longior est) ubiq; pro-
ductæ,

Fig. 2.14, Drawing of Kerdîr's Middle Persian inscription at the site of Naqš-e Rostam, with the passage
in Kaempfer's travelogue mentioning Flowers' inscriptions and Hyde's work, Kaempfer 1712, II,

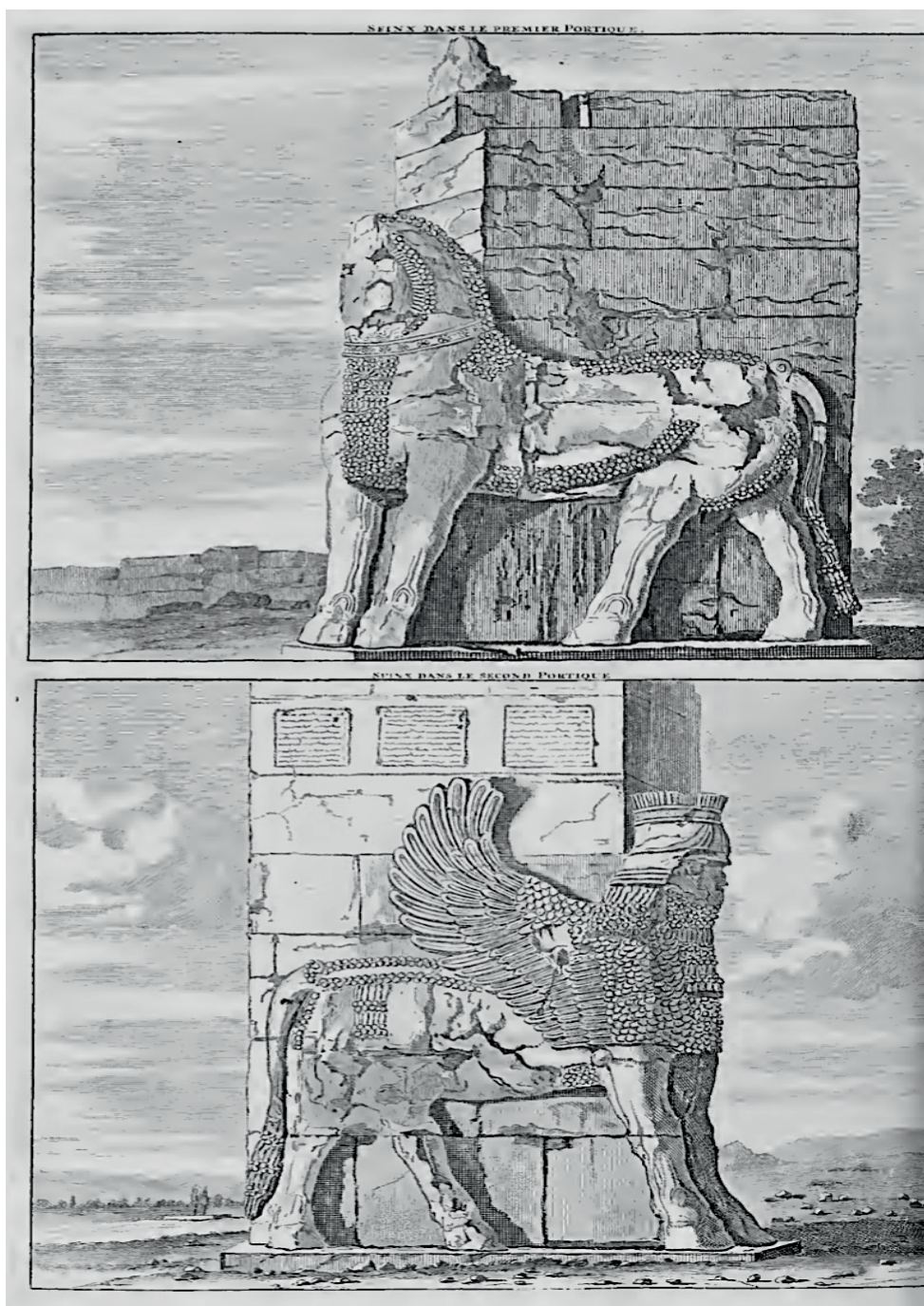


Fig. 2.15, Cornelis de Bruijn's etching of Darius' Gate of all Nations at Persepolis, indicating the location of the cuneiform inscriptions (compare Herbert's, **Fig. 2.2**), de Bruijn 1718, II, pl. 122 and 123.

PEHLEVI.	PERSAN.	FRANÇOIS.
Metera.	Baran.	Pluie.
Mia.	Ab.	Eau.
Medina.	Scheherestan.	(Ville), lieu rempli de Villes.
Mata.	Dehhé.	Village, gros bourg.
Mena.	Schaegan.	Qui convient, qui appartient.
Meschmefchia.	Heloui iaani schirin.	Doux.
Mânman.	Djam.	Verre, gobelet.
Maschah.	Roghan.	Huile.
Maschia.	Id.	Id.
Morav.	Parendéh.	Volatile.
Mezda.	Moï.	Cheveux.
Menda.	Sokhan.	Parole.
Medjmedjia.	Tchoz iaani zan andam.	Membre de la femme.
Malkoura.	Scheheriar.	Roi, chef de Ville.
Malka.	Schah.	Roi.
Mas.	Méh.	Grand.
Modar.	Mohor.	Empreinte de cachet.
Mota.	Banouï.	Femme du maître de la maison.
Magoé.	Mobed.	Mobed, second ordre de la Hiérarchie Parse).

Fig. 3.1, Excerpt from Anquetil Duperron's *Vocabulaire Pehlevi, Persan et François*, Anquetil Duperron

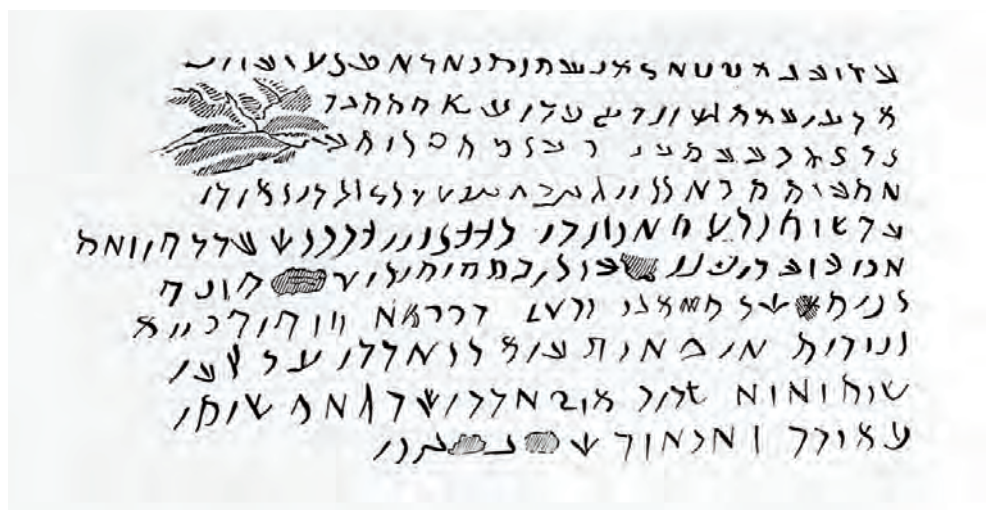


Fig. 4.1, The very first drawing of the (Parthian version of the) Hājjiābād inscription, by James Morier, Morier 1818, 81.

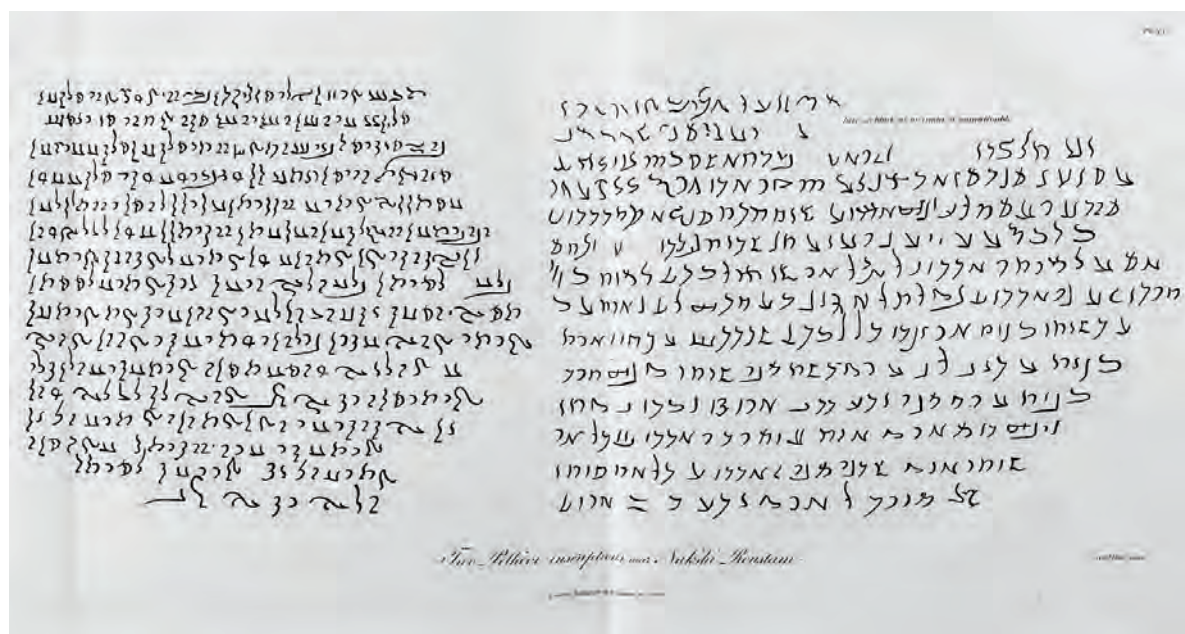


Fig. 4.2, Copy of the Hājjiābād inscriptions by Robert Ker Porter, Ker Porter 1821, I, pl. 15.

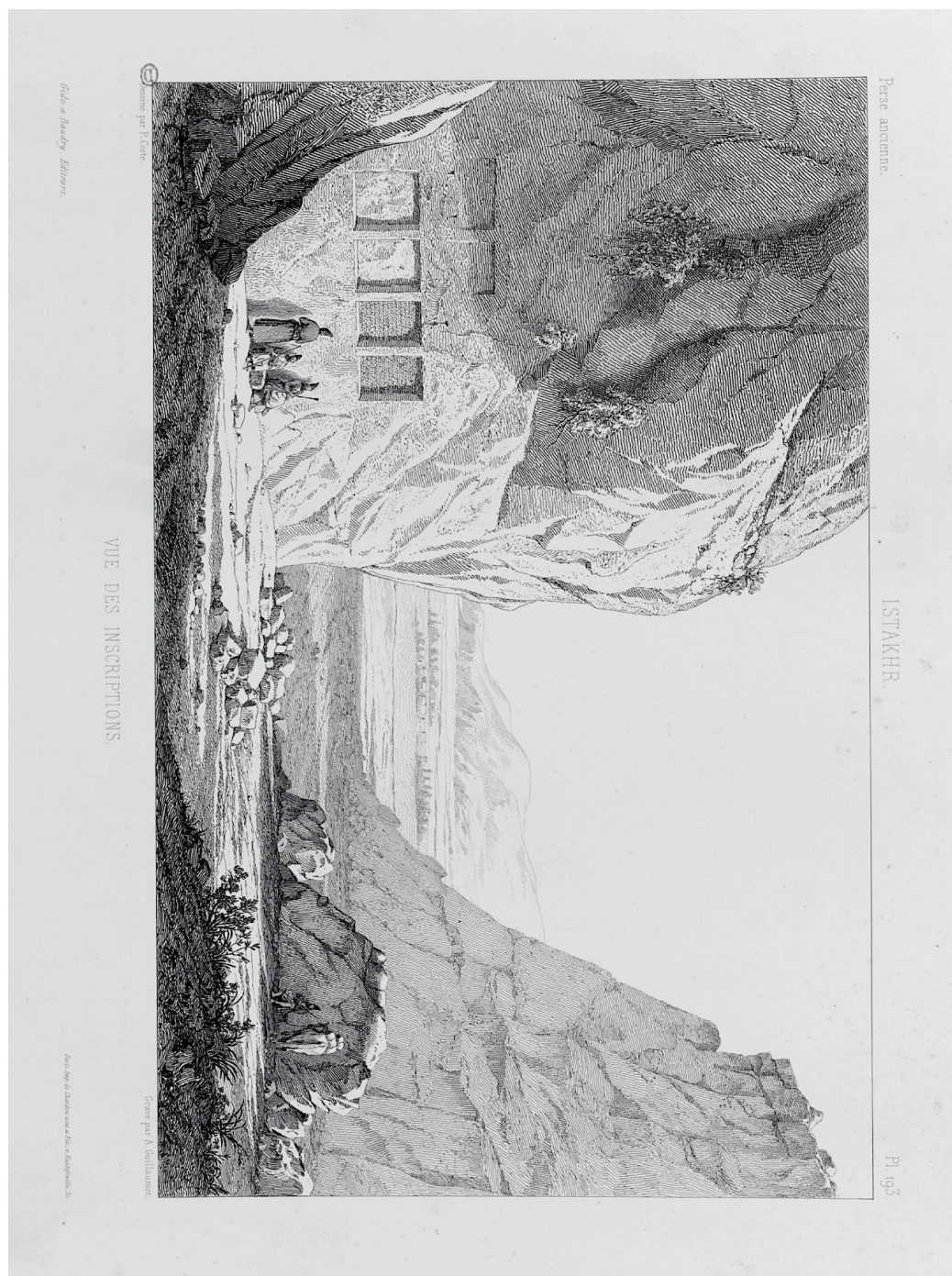


Fig. 4.3, Panoramic view of the cave of Hājjiābād by Flandin and Coste, Flandin and Coste 1851, *Planches*, IV, pl. 193.

PARALLEL TRANSLATIONS OF THE HĀJĪĀBĀD INSCRIPTION.

(For text see page 74 and the Photograph.)

CHALDEO-PEHLVI VERSION: Representations of the person of the

SASSANIAN VERSION: *Representations of the person of the Zoroastrian divinity,² Sapor, King of Kings of Arians and Anarians, astrian divinity, Sapor, King of Kings of Irán and Anirán, of of divine origin from God, son of the Zoroastrian divinity, Ardashir, divine origin from God, son of the Zoroastrian divinity, Artahshatr, King of Kings of Arians, of divine origin from God, grandson of divine King of Kings of Irán, of divine origin from God, grandson of divine Papak, King. And of multitudes of men, Lord, mighty, the Papak, King. Also Lord of many races, sole mighty (one) of the high obeyed of Satraps, Military chiefs, Nobles. And YE mighty Satraps, and Military commanders, and Nobles. And YE mighty (one) and bringer of joy among the people of the world, and God of (one) also bringing joy (salvation?) to the people of earth, also God of Justice he (is), Lord of the Creator, the high Creator, the Seed (of) Might he (is), Lord of the Creator, the heavenly Creator, the Vicar of the FIRST of Gods, the Spirit he (is). over the Jews sole the high God of Gods, the Seed. And Lord who of the Archon of the Lord created YE (are). of the order of the chosen Jews Jews sole Lord of Lords he (is). Supreme Lord of the Jews "without*

ye (are). Of a certainty the Master, the Divine Lord [first in rank] the law" he (is). And, of a certainty, the Master, Heavenly Lord (first created Jesus of divine aid THE Lord thou (art) bringing mercifully in order) Lord of divine aid he, who well brings joy joy to the people of the world. And THE God he (is) Lord, abound-among the people of the earth. And THE God, that is Godlike, great ing in good. And THE Heavenly Lord he (is) Lord, oh Increase in goodness. And the heavenly Lord that (is) Lord on high, master of good aid, Lord of Lords. of aid Lord.

Fig. 4.5, Šābuhr as supreme Lord of the Jews: the first attempt at a full translation of the Hājjiābād inscriptions, by Edward Thomas, Thomas 1868, 98-99.

Having thus given a full commentary on both texts of the inscription, I propose the following translation of S.:

‘This is the edict of me, the Ormazd-worshipper, the divine being Sapor, the king of kings of Irân and non-Irân, of heavenly origin from God; the son of the Ormazd-worshipper, the divine being Ardeshir, the king of kings of Irân, of heavenly origin from God; the grandson of the divine being Bâbek, the king. As we shot this arrow, then we shot it in the presence of the satraps, the grandees, peers and noblemen; we put the foot in this cave; we threw the arrow outside that it should reach that target; the arrow (was) flying beyond that (target); whither the arrow had been thrown, there was no place (to hit), where if a target had been constructed, then it (the arrow) would have been manifest (?). Afterwards it was ordered by us: ‘an invisible target is constructed for the future (?); an invisible hand has written: ‘do not put the foot in this cave, and do not shoot an arrow at this target, after an invisible arrow has been thrown at this target’; such wrote the hand’.

Fig. 4.6, Šābuhr’s arrow: Martin Haug’s translation of the Hājjīābād inscription, Haug and Hoshengji Jamaspji, 64.



Fig. 4.7, The very first photograph of the Hājjīābād inscription, by Franz Stolze, Andreas and Stolze 1882, II, pl. 126.

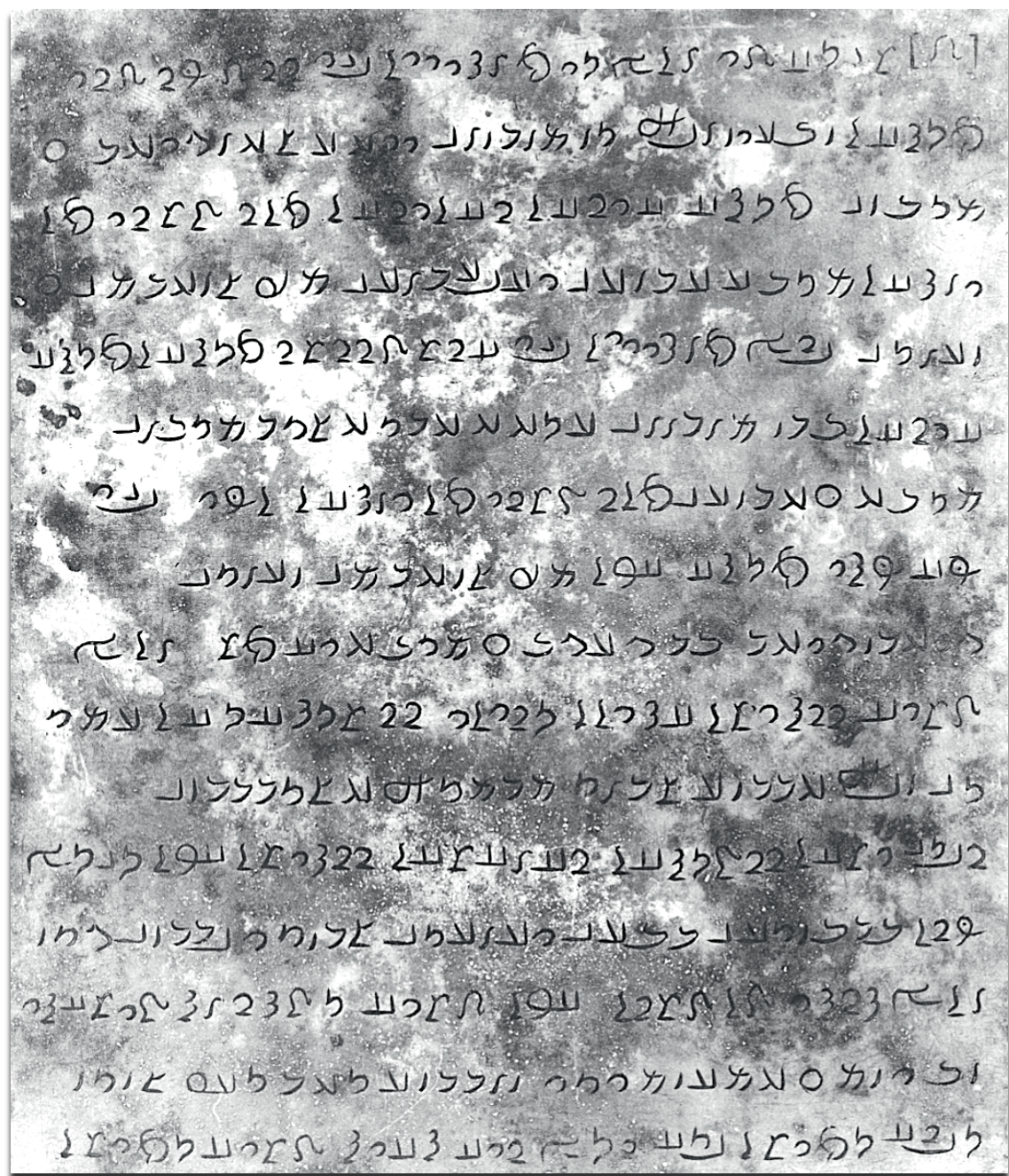


Fig. 4.8, A forged copy of the Middle Persian version of the Hājjīābād inscription, engraved on a bronze plaque after Herzfeld's drawing of the text, Private Collection, after Shaked 1990, 270.



Fig. 4.9, A forged copy of the Parthian version of the Hājjīābād inscription, painted on a ceramic bowl, Babylonian Collection, Yale, after Skjærvø 1990, 290.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

HÄJJIĀBĀD INSCRIPTION (Hjb.)

(continued on pp. 88/89)

- 1 [פ]מבליטה תלך לה פתחתיך לבד בפתחתיך פתחתיך
טלחתיך וטלחתיך לו וזכרתיך עלמתיך גמולתיך (2) מלחתיך
- 2 פתחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך
מלחתיך עלמתיך כעלמתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך (3) מלחתיך
- 3 תלך פתחתיך לבד מלחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך מלחתיך
טלחתיך עלמתיך עלמתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך (4) מלחתיך
- 4 פתחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך פתחתיך
מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך (5) מלחתיך
- 5 מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך
מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך
- 6 מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך
מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך מלחתיך (6)

Fig. 4.10, Ernst Herzfeld's hand-drawn copy of the Middle Persian version of the Hājjiābād inscription which for later engraved on a silver plate by a forger (compare **Fig. 4.8** above), Herzfeld 1924, 270.

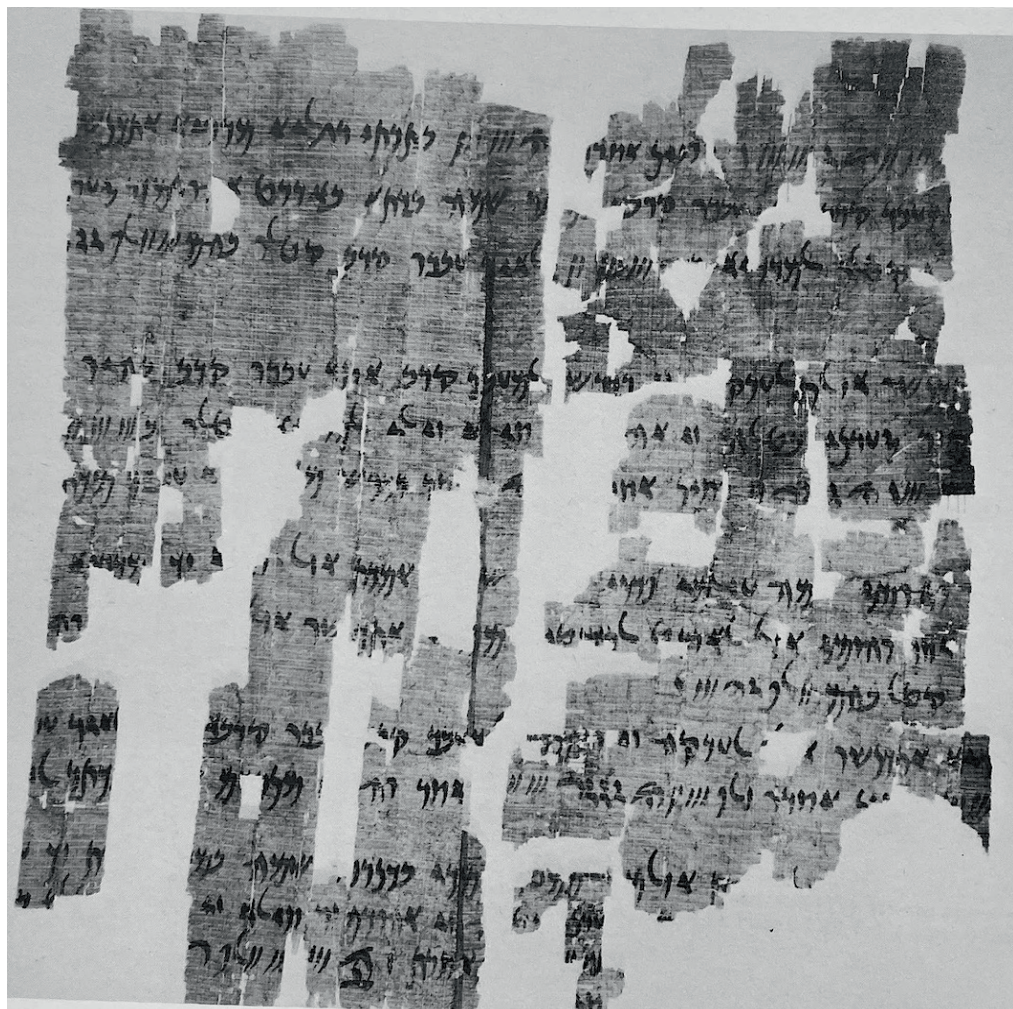


Fig. 5.1, Papyrus fragment from the Aramaic version of Darius' Bīsotūn inscription, Greenfield and Porten 1982, pl. 8.

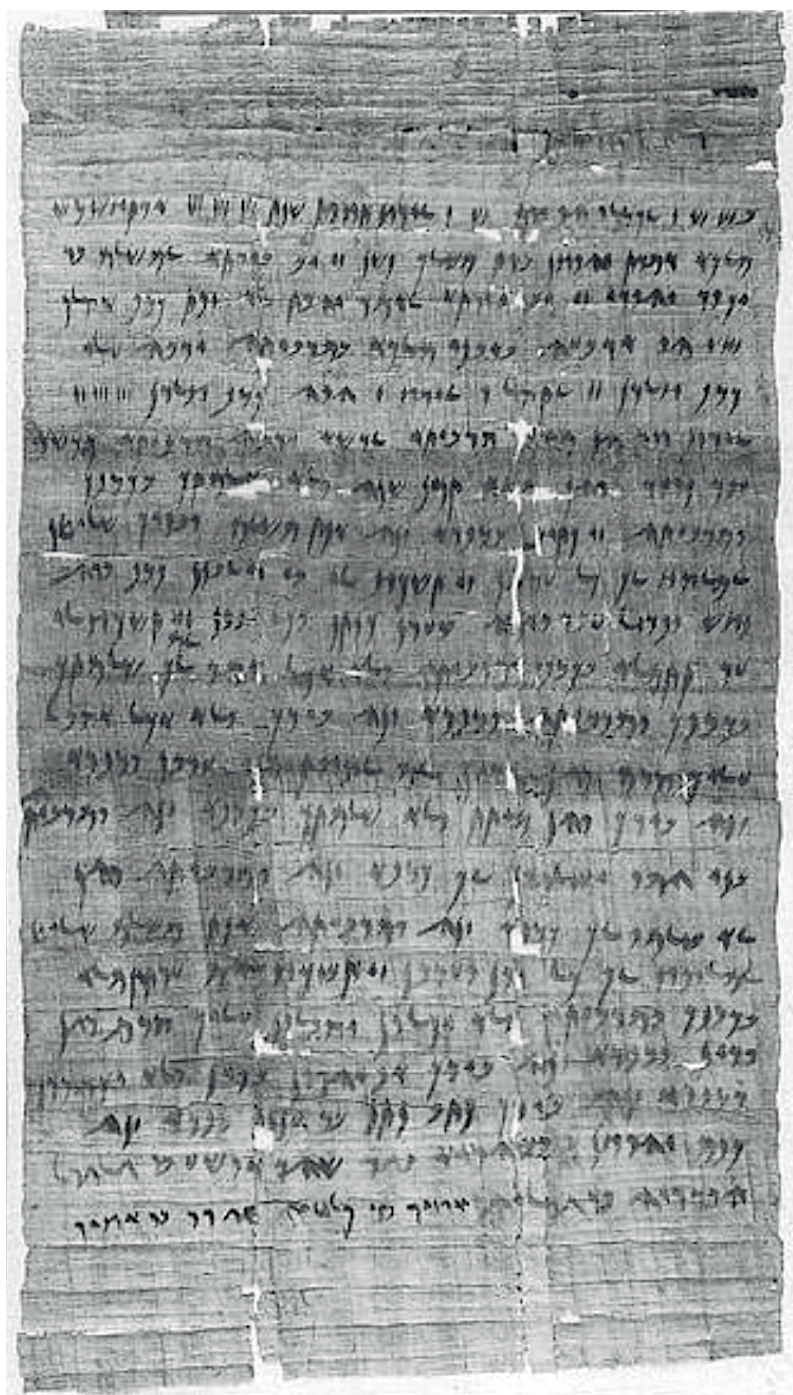


Fig. 5.2, Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine. Loan document from ca. 487 BCE (Cowley 1923, TAD 4.2; Porten 1996, Document B48), Porten 1996, pl. 3.

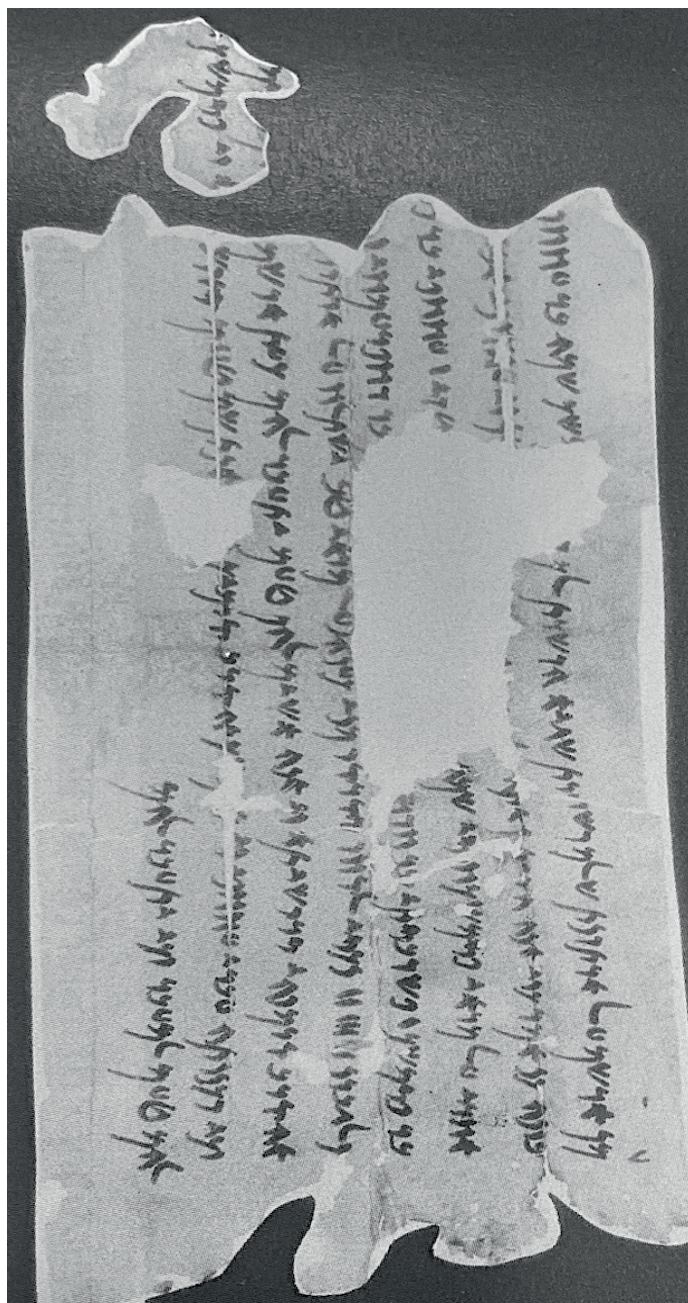


Fig. 5.3, Aramaic letter from Aršāma to Artawant (Document TADAE A6.3; Bodleian Library), Ma and Tuplin 2020, 387, pl. 40.

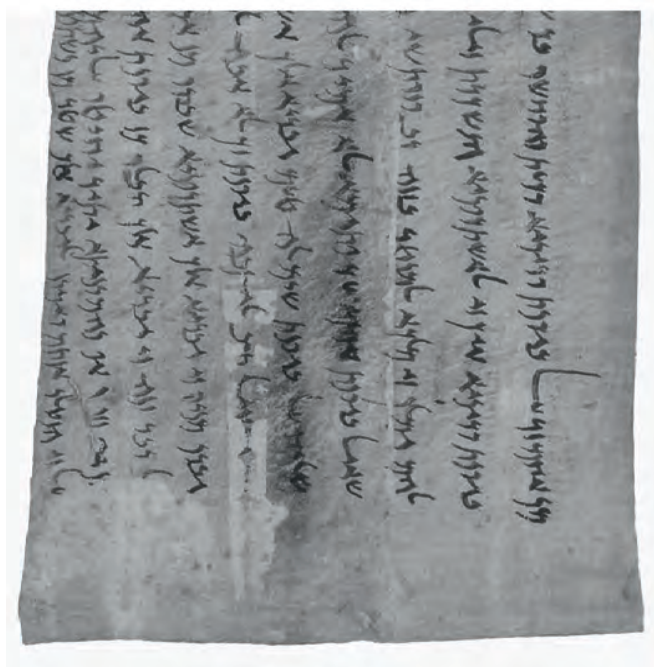
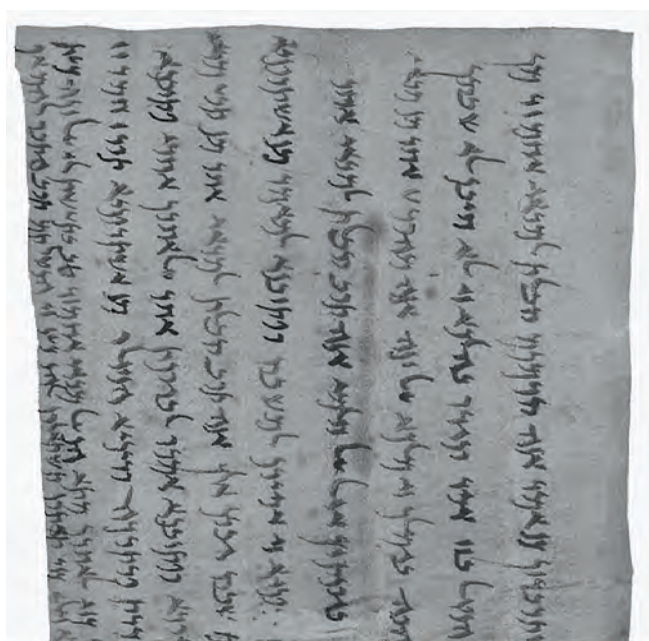


Fig. 5.4, Document A1 (Recto) of the Khalili archive (Letter from Akhvamazda, Satrap? of Bactria): example of the Aramaic script from the Achaemenid chancery in Bactria; note the word *frataraka* (*prtrkh*) in the middle of line 8, Naveh and Shaked 1970, 64-65.

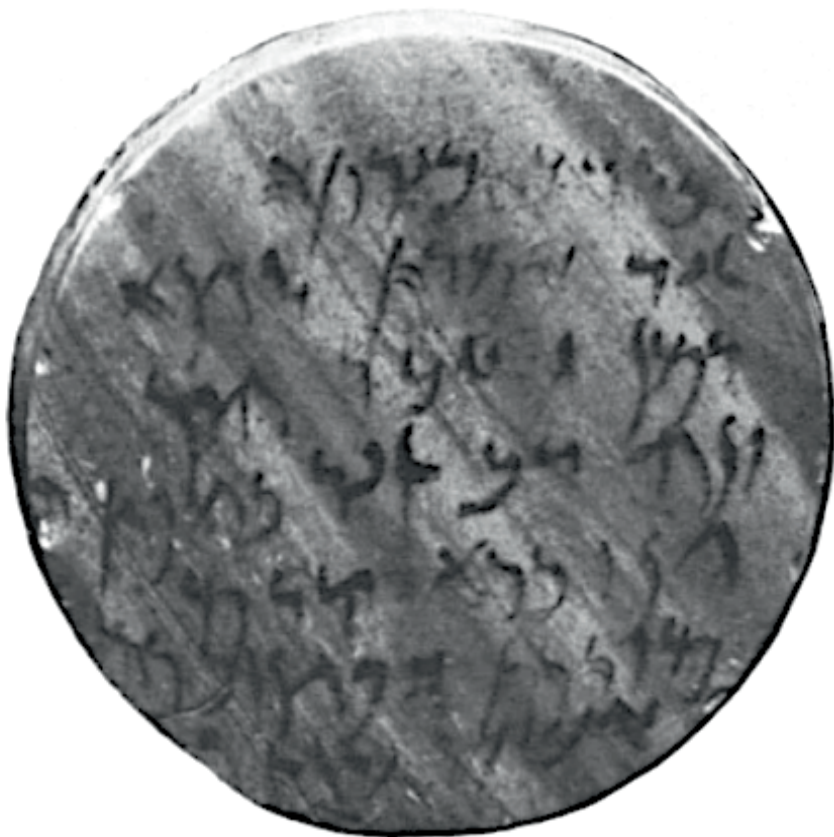


Fig. 5.5, Head of pestle in green chert from Persepolis with an Aramaic inscription; note the Iranian loanword *gnzbr* 'treasurer' that begins line 5, Bowman 1970, pl. 10 n. 39, 109.



Fig. 5.6, Coins of Mazaios, satrap of Babylon between 331 and 328 BCE, Alram 1986, pl. 11, n. 350 (obverse) and n. 352 (reverse).



Fig. 5.7, Coins of Waxšwar, Seleucid satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, Alram 1986, pl. 12, n. 382 (obverse) and n. 383 (obverse and reverse).



Fig. 5.8, Reverse of a tetradrachm of Seleukos I showing a throned Zeus, from Seleucia on the Tigris (305-300 BCE), Newell 1938, pl. 3, n.6.

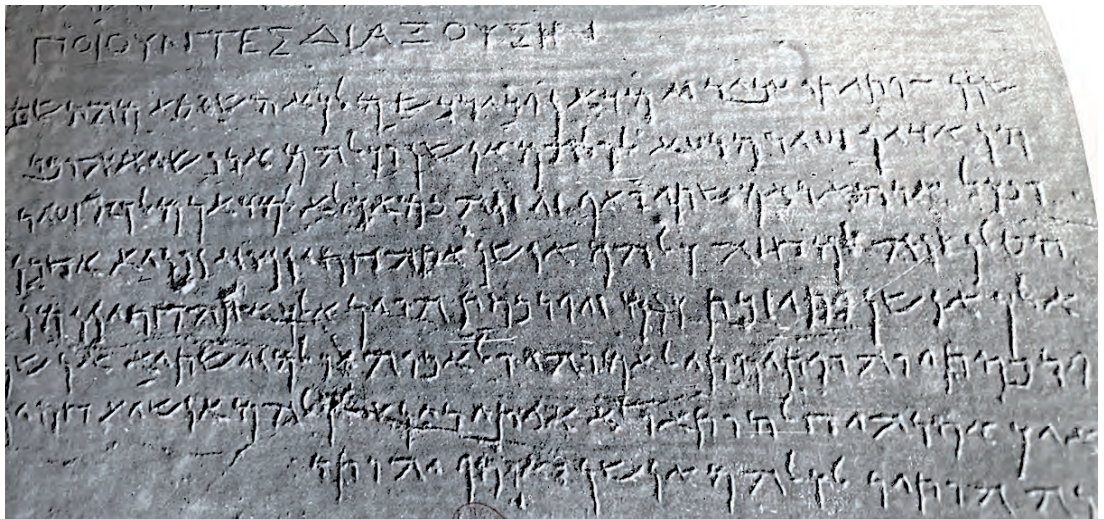


Fig. 5.9, Aramaic version of the Aramaic-Greek bilingual inscription of Aśoka at Kandahar I, Carratelli and Garbini 1964, 20-21.

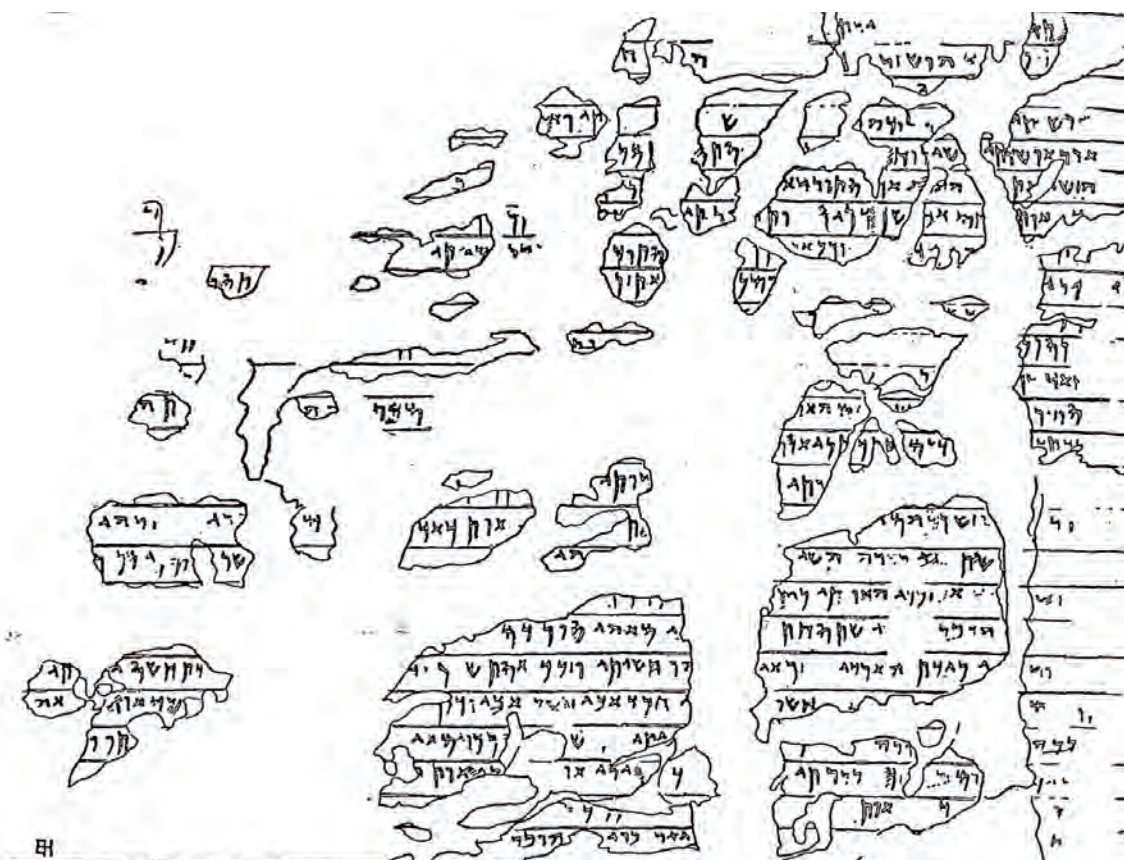


Fig. 5.10, Ernst Herzfeld's hand-drawn copy of the Aramaic inscription at Naqš-e Rostam, Herzfeld 1938, Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.11, Photograph of the Aramaic inscription at Naqš-e Rostam taken in 1968 by Mortaza Rostami and published by Richard Nelson Frye, Frye 1982, pl. 8.



Fig. 5.12, Coin reverse of Mithradates III, Alram 1986, pl. 13, n. 394 (reverse; top) and n. 395 (obverse; bottom).



Fig. 5.13, Drachm of Arsakes I with the dual Greek-Iranian legend “Arsakou-krny” (after Sellwood),
Olbrycht 2013, 66, Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.14, Obverse of coin of Vologeses II, with the Parthian letters WL behind the king's portrait, Alram 1986, pl. 13, n. 407.



Fig. 5.14, Reverse of coin of Osroes II, note the cross-shaped *mem*, Alram 1986, pl. 14, n. 421.



Fig. 5.16, Coin of Mithridates IV, showing an elegant Parthian semi-monumental script, Alram 1986, pl. 13, n. 416.



Fig. 5.17, Coin of Pacorus II/Parthamaspatēs, showing an example of what Sellwood called ‘barbarous’ Greek legends (c. 116 CE), Sellwood 1971.



Fig. 5.18, Parthian parchment from Avroman dated to 33 CE, Minns 1915, pl. III.



Fig. 5.19, Parthian ostraca from Nisa, both dated to 72 BCE. Note the archaizing, un-ligatured *bet* beginning ostrakon 1158 (left) and the ligatured reversed C-shaped *bet* beginning ostrakon 1159 (right), Diakonoff and Livshits, pl. and, n. 1158 and 1159.

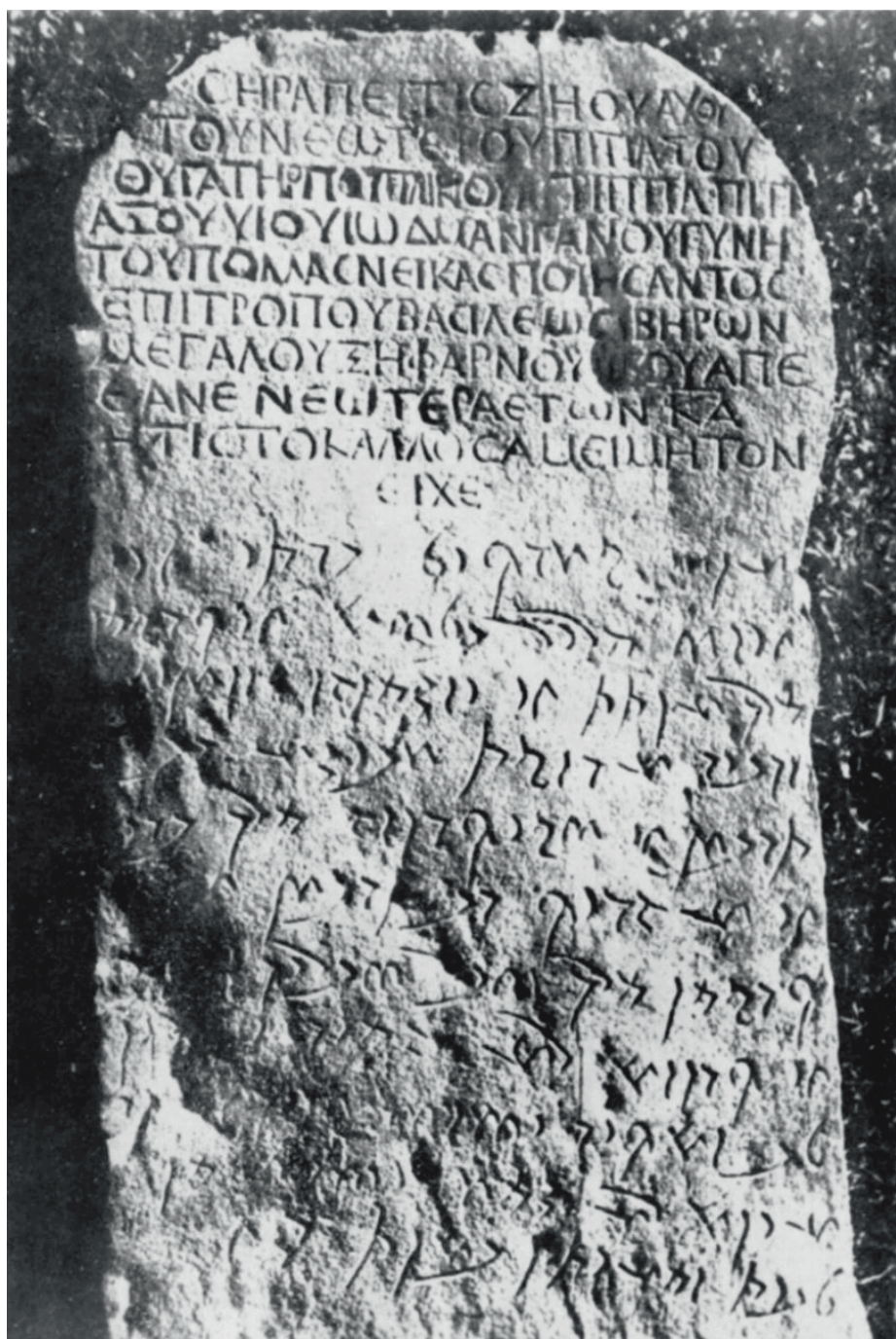


Fig. 5.20, Bilingual stela from Armazi, Georgia, Metzger 1956, pl. 15.

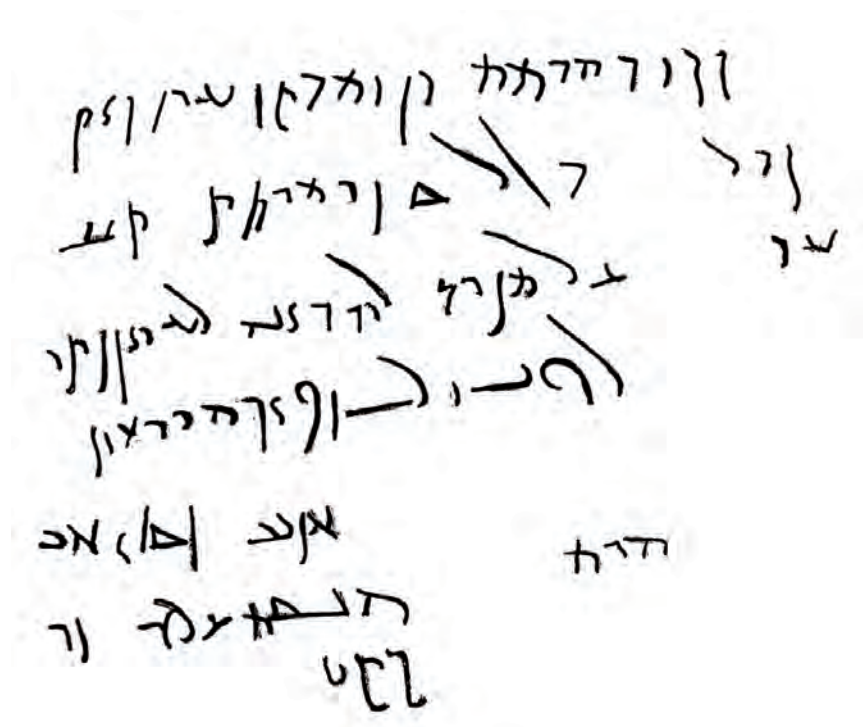


Fig. 5.21, Hand-drawing of an Aramaic inscription from Hatra, Hamil al-Jadir 2006, Fig. 2.



Fig. 5.22, Monumental Palmyrene script on a funerary stela from Palmyra, Chabot 1922, pl. 26.

Hebrew	Aramaic Values	Elymaic (Tange-Sarak)	Elymaic (Shimbar)	Charrucene Coins	Other Forms	Iranian Values	Nisa Ostraca	Parthian Inscriptions	Mandaic Values	Book Hand	Lead Amulets	Incantation Bowls
א	ʾ	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	ā	𐤄	𐤅	ā	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈
ב	b	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈	b	𐤉	𐤊	b	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍
ג	g	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	ḡ	𐤓	𐤔	g	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗
ד	d	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	d	𐤙	𐤚	d	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝
ה	h	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	h	𐤟	𐤠	h	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ו	w	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	ōw	𐤥	𐤦	w	𐤧	𐤨	𐤩
ז	z	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	z	𐤨	𐤩	z	𐤪	𐤫	𐤬
ח	h	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	h	𐤟	𐤠	h	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ט	t	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	t	𐤟	𐤠	t	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
י	y	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	y	𐤟	𐤠	y	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
כ	k	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	k	𐤟	𐤠	k	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ל	l	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	l	𐤟	𐤠	l	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
מ	m	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	m	𐤟	𐤠	m	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
נ	n	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	n	𐤟	𐤠	n	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ס	s	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	s	𐤟	𐤠	s	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
פ	p	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	p	𐤟	𐤠	p	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ק	q	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	q	𐤟	𐤠	q	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ר	r	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	r	𐤟	𐤠	r	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ש	š	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	š	𐤟	𐤠	š	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣
ת	t	𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	t	𐤟	𐤠	t	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣

Fig. 5.25, Charles Häberl's comparative tables of the different Aramaic derived scripts, Häberl 2006, pl.



Fig. 6.1, Early coin of the *frataraka* king Baydād, Alram 1986, pl. 17, n. 511.



Fig. 6.2, Reverse of later coin of the *frataraka* king Baydād, Alram 1986, pl. 17, n. 515.



Fig. 6.3, Coin reverse of the *frataraka* king Wādfraḍād II, Alram 1986, pl. 18, n. 546.



Fig. 6.4, Coin reverse of the Persid king Dārēw II, Alram 1986, pl. 19, n. 565.



Fig. 6.5, Coin of the Persid king Nāmbed, Alram 1986, pl. 20, n. 600.



Fig. 6.6, The so-called Ka'ba of Zoroaster at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.

𐎧𐎱𐎼𐎿 𐎧𐎹 𐎠𐎧𐎧𐎠 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎧𐎧𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎧𐎧𐎠𐎶

Fig. 6.7, Legend on the coins of the Persid king Ardaxšīr, Alram 1986, 166.



Fig. 6.8, Coin reverse of the Persid king Dārēw I, Alram 1986, pl. 18, n. 554.



Fig. 6.9, Coin of the Persid king Wādfraḏād III, Alram 1986, pl. 19, n. 561.

וַמְנַעֲדָן חֲלוּעַ עַם צַעֲוִין חֲלוּעַ

Fig. 6.10, Legend on the coins of the Persid king Wahšīr, Alram 1986, 174.

אַלְחֵיִר חֲלוּעַ

Fig. 6.11, Legend on the coins of the Persid king Mančīhr II, Alram 1986, 182.



Fig. 6.12, Coin of the Persid king Šābuhr, Alram 1986, pl. 22, n. 654.

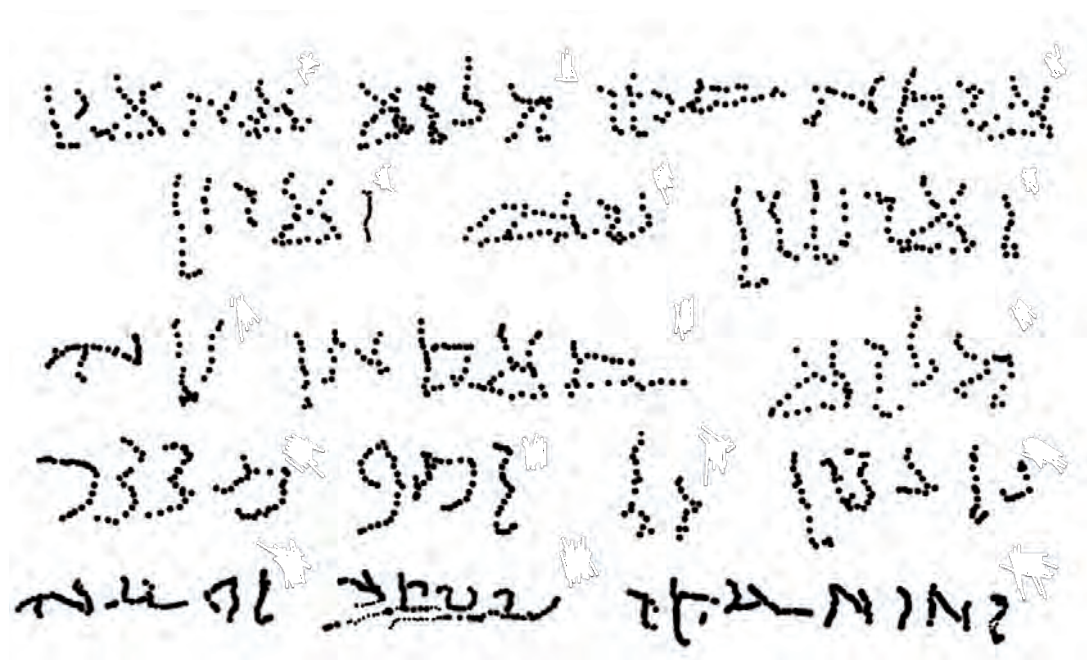


Fig. 6.13, Pointillé inscription on a pre-Sasanian silver vessel (Persis I): 'rthštr MLK' 'H'yn d'rynkn
d'ryn MLK' šthw ZNH YNGDWN zl KSP s-20-20-10 whwštr BRBYT' NPŠH (transliteration by
Nicholas Sims-Williams), Sims-Williams 2021, 614-615, Fig. 3.

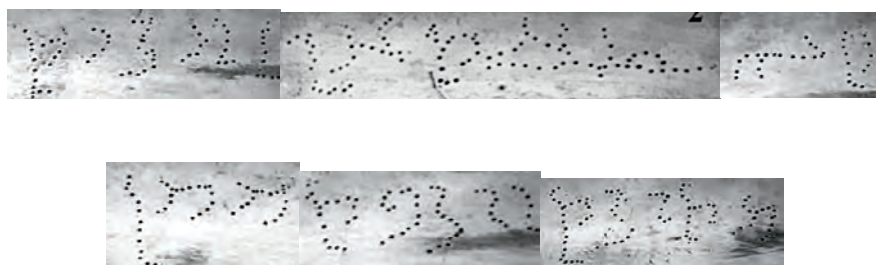


Fig. 6.14, Excerpt from the pointillé inscription on a pre-Sasanian silver vessel (Persis II): ZNH š'thw
nwydyt mtrdt wrdpt ssn [...] (from top right to bottom left, transliteration by Nicholas Sims-
Williams), Sims-Williams 2021, 611-612, Fig. 2.



Fig. 6.15, Proto-corrupted form of the arameogram BYN, pointillé inscription on pre-Sasanian silver vessel Persis II, Sims-Williams 2021, 611-612, Fig. 2.



Fig. 7.1, Fresco known as the 'Battle mural', found in a private home at Dura Europos, Goldman and Little 1980, 285, Fig. 2.



Fig. 7.2, Smaller parchment fragment with Middle Persian writing from Dura Europos, Altheim and Stiehl 1952, Fig. 31.

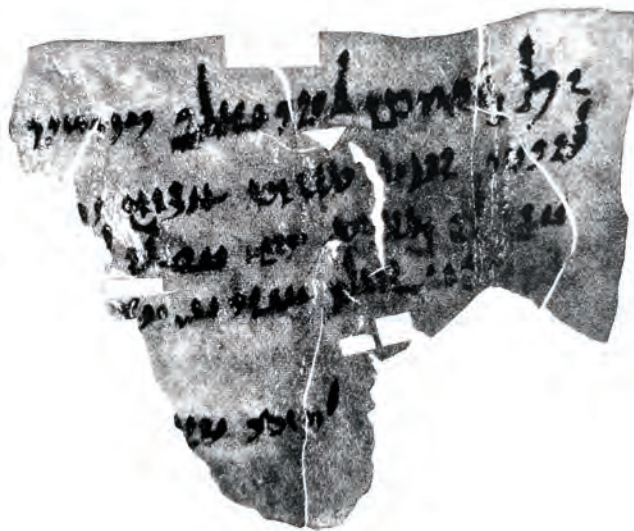
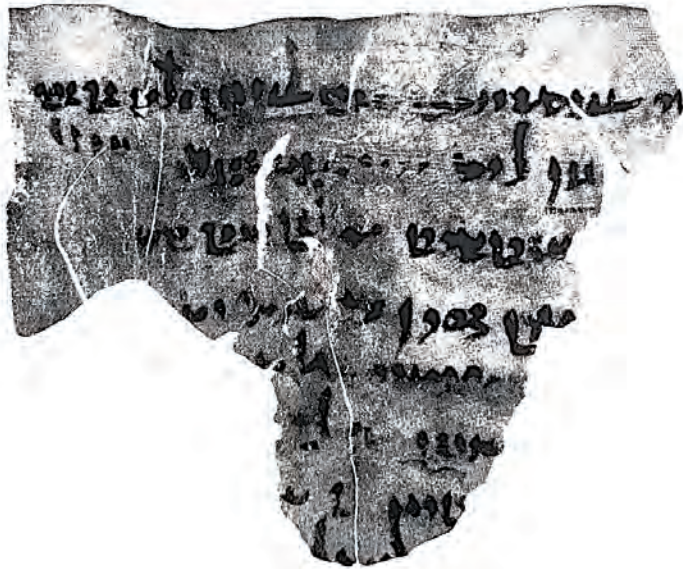


Fig. 7.3, Recto and Verso of the larger parchment fragment with Middle Persian writing from Dura Europos, Altheim and Stiehl 1952, Fig. 4 and Fig. 3 (note that the recto and verso are incorrectly swapped around in Altheim and Stiehl 1952).

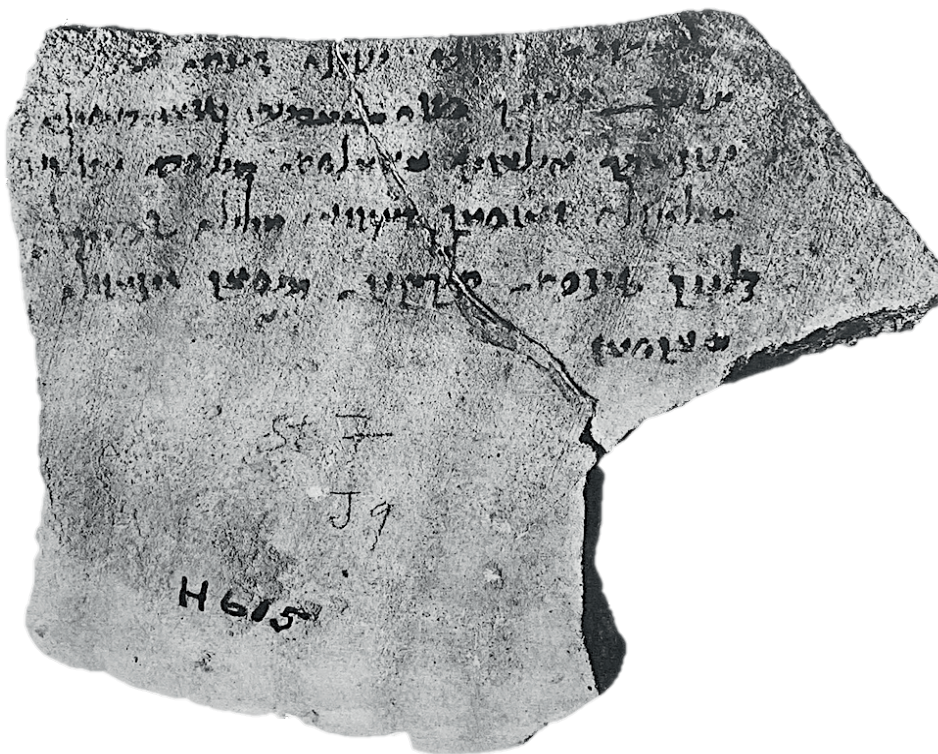


Fig. 7.4, Middle Persian inscribed ostrakon from Dura Europos, Frye Pl. XXVII, Fig. 24.



Fig. 7.5, Parthian parchment from Dura Europos, dated to the Sasanian occupation of the city, Altheim and Stiehl 1952, Fig. 1.



Fig. 7.6, Parthian ostrakon from Dura Europos, dated to the Sasanian occupation of the city, Harmatta 1958.



Fig. 7.7, Detail (I) of Middle Persian dipinto from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. I.

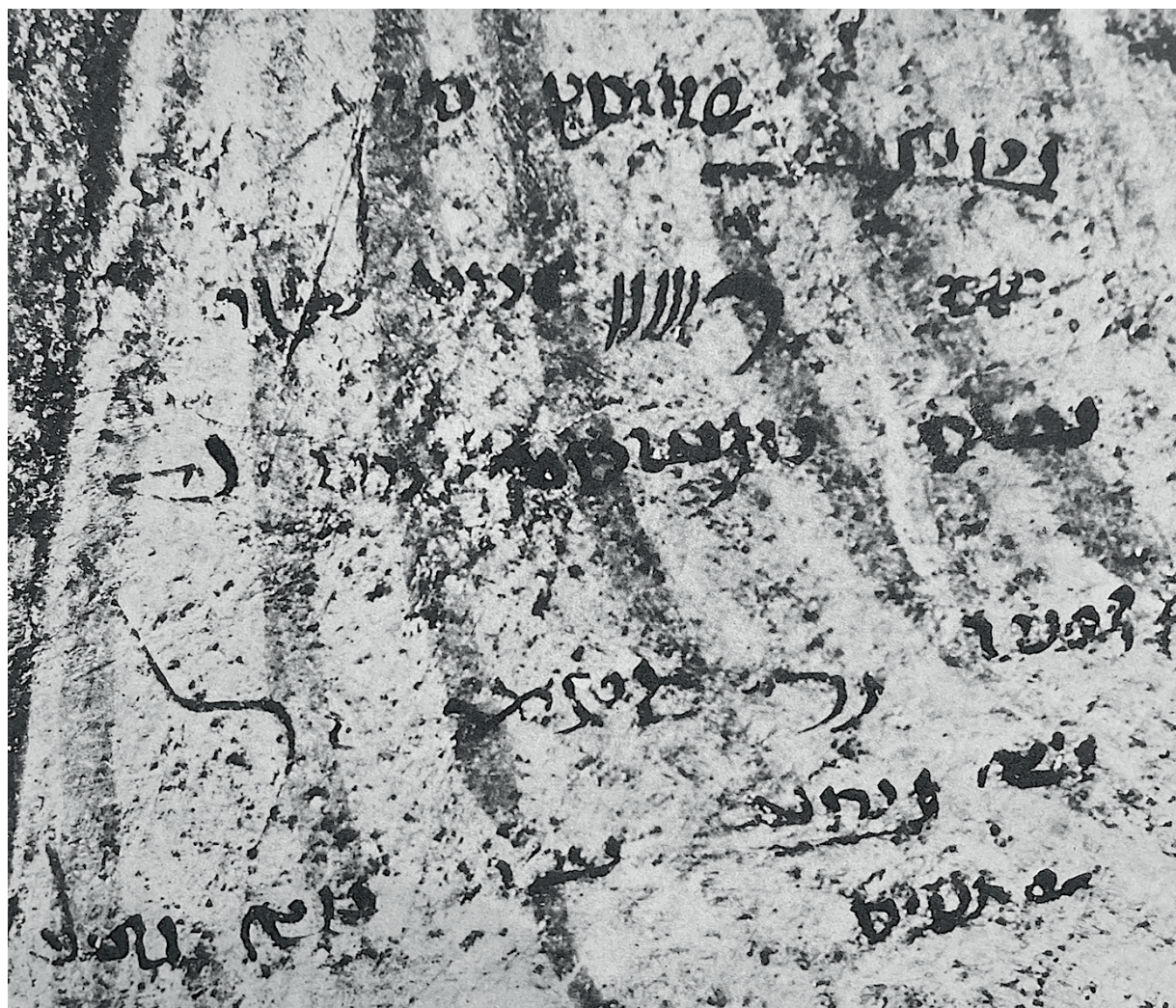


Fig. 7.8, Detail (II) of Middle Persian dipinto from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. I.

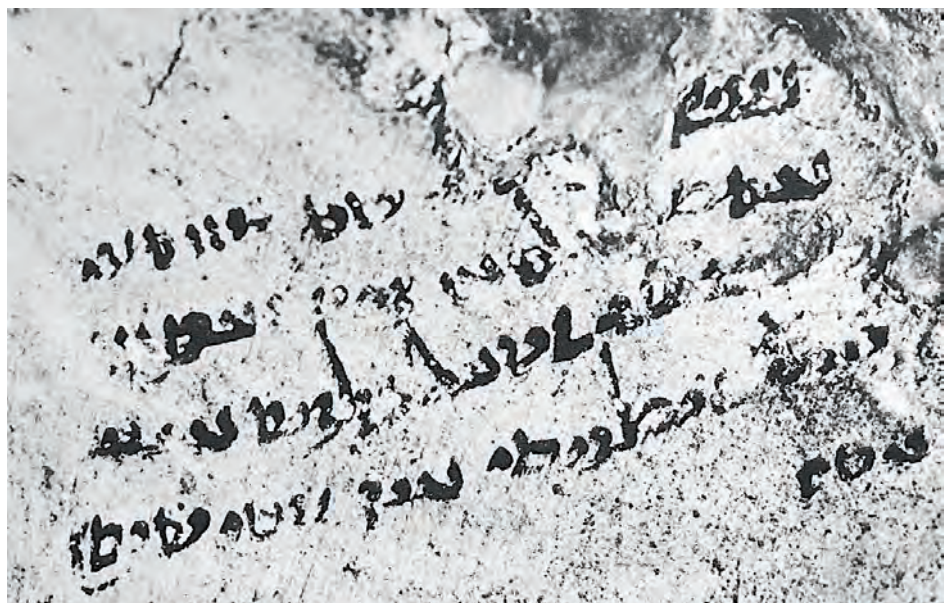


Fig. 7.9, Middle Persian dipinto from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. X.

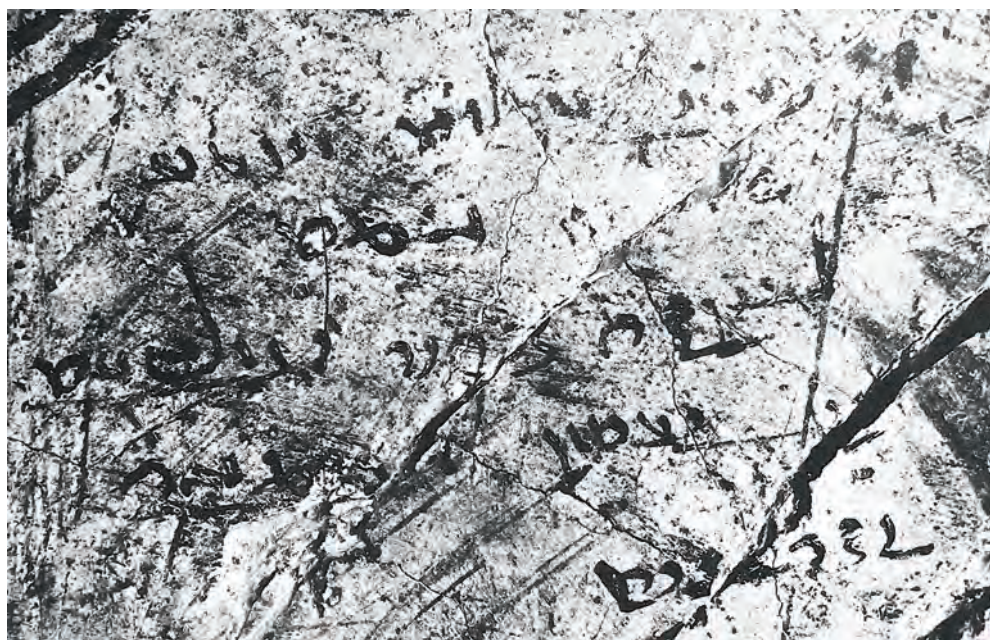


Fig. 7.10, Middle Persian dipinto from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. V.

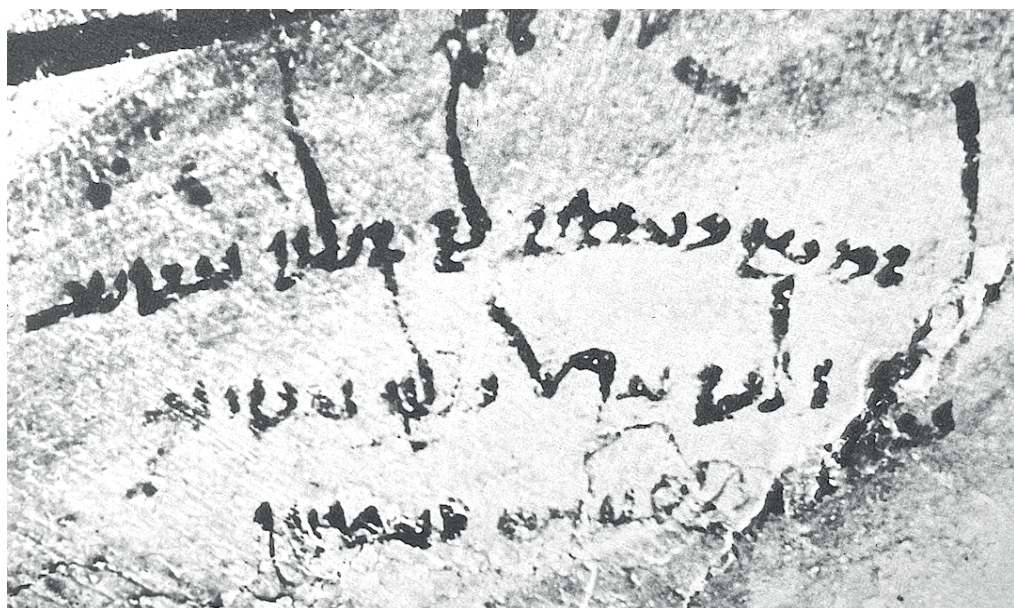


Fig. 7.11, Middle Persian dipinto from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. XII.

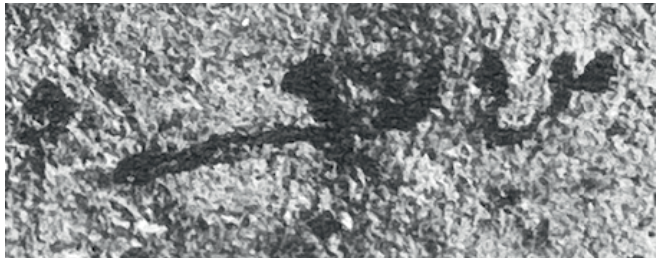
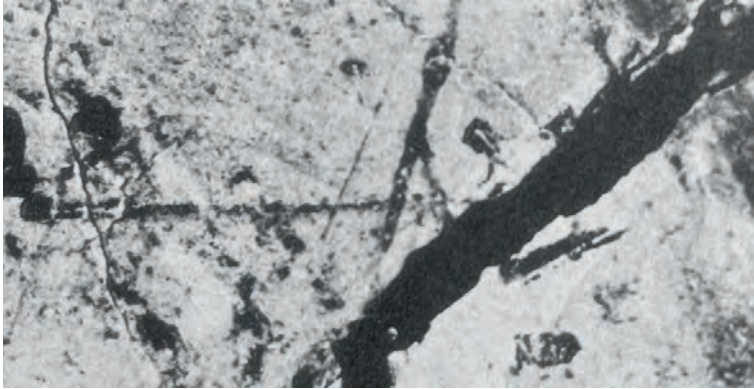


Fig. 7.12, Details of Middle Persian dipinti and ostracon from the synagogue of Dura Europos showing 'proto-corrupted' forms of the aramaeograms AYK (top) and BYN (middle and bottom), Frye 1968, pl. XI, V, XXIV.



Fig. 7.13, Detail of Middle Persian graffito from the synagogue of Dura Europos, Frye 1968, pl. XXXIII.



Fig. 8.1, Investiture scene of Ardašīr at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.2, Trilingual Parthian – Greek – Middle Persian inscription on the horse of Ardašīr at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.3, Trilingual Middle Persian – Parthian – Greek inscription on the horse of Ohrmazd at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.4, Trilingual Parthian – Greek – Middle Persian inscription of Šābuhr I at Naqš-e Rajab. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.5, Bas-relief and label inscription of Wahrām I (/Narseh) at Bīšāpūr. Photo by the author.

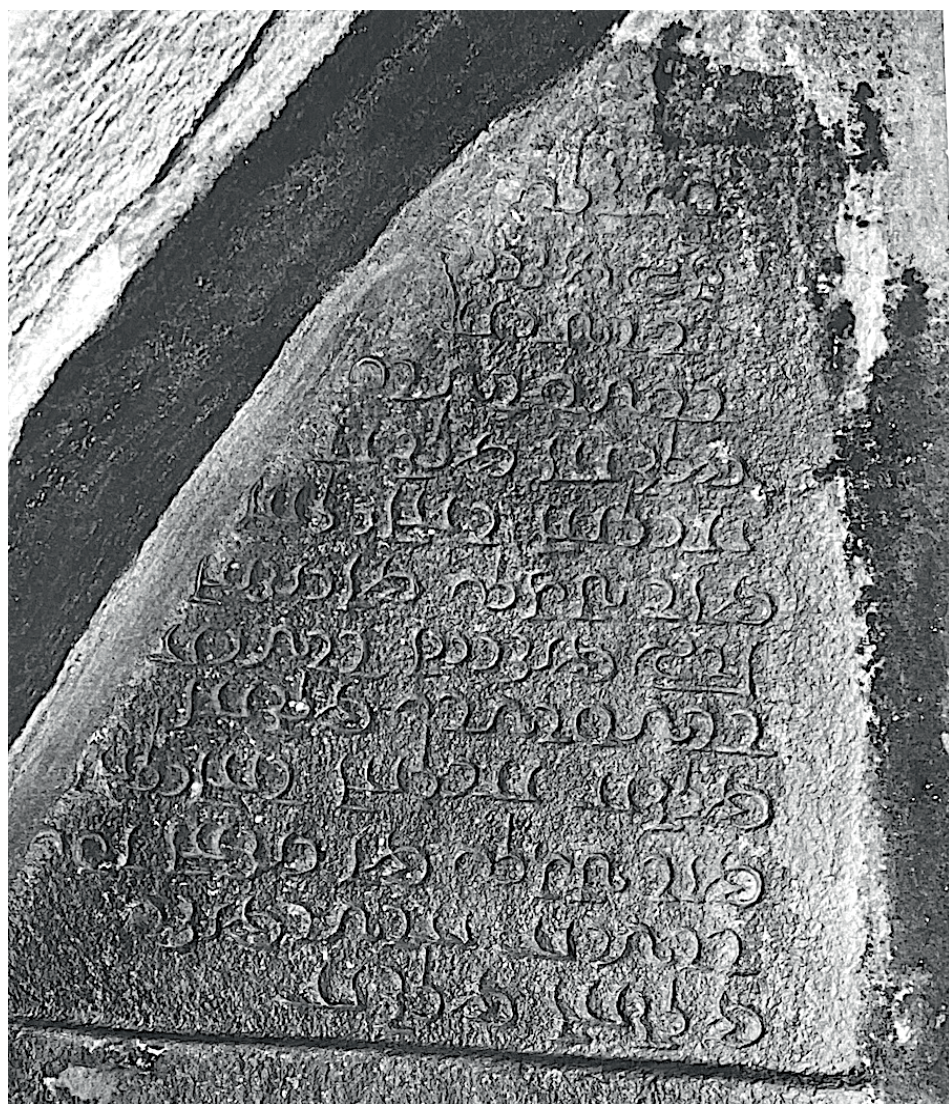


Fig. 8.6, Label inscription of Šābuhr II at Tāq-e Bostān, Fukai and Horiuchi 1969-1984, II, pl. 72.



Fig. 8.7a, Middle Persian inscription of Šābuhr I at Hājjiābād. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.7b, Parthian inscription of Šābuhr I at Hājjiābād. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.8, Rocky recess of Tang-e Borāq. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.9, Middle Persian inscription of Šābuhr I at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.

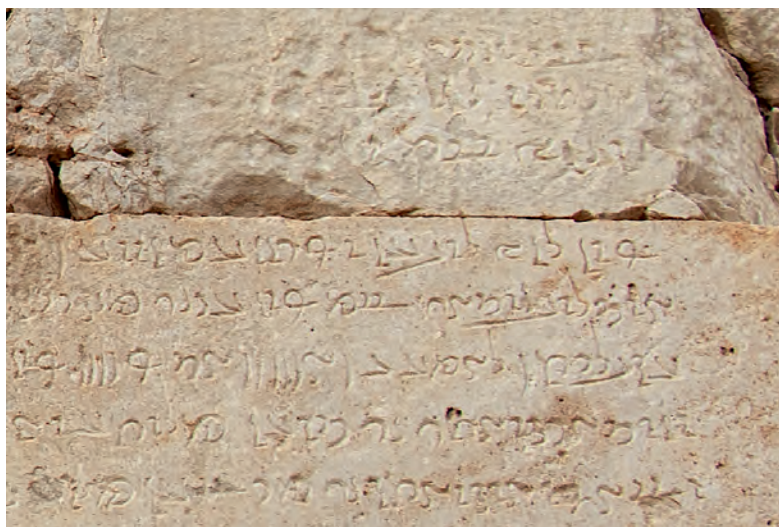


Fig. 8.10, Detail of the Middle Persian inscription of Šābuhr I at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.

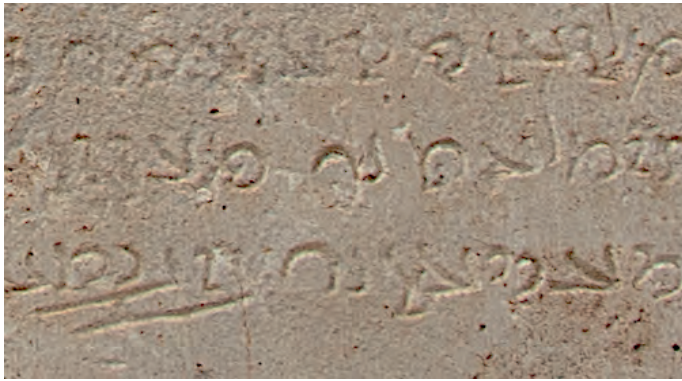


Fig. 8.11, Detail of the Middle Persian inscription of Šābuhr I at Naqš-e Rostam, example of ligatured heterogram ZY. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.12, Triumph of Šābuhr I at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.13, Detail of the inscription of the high priest Kerdīr on the Ka'ba at Naqš-e Rostam. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.14, Inscription and relief of the high priest Kerdīr at Naqš-e Rajab. Photo by the author.

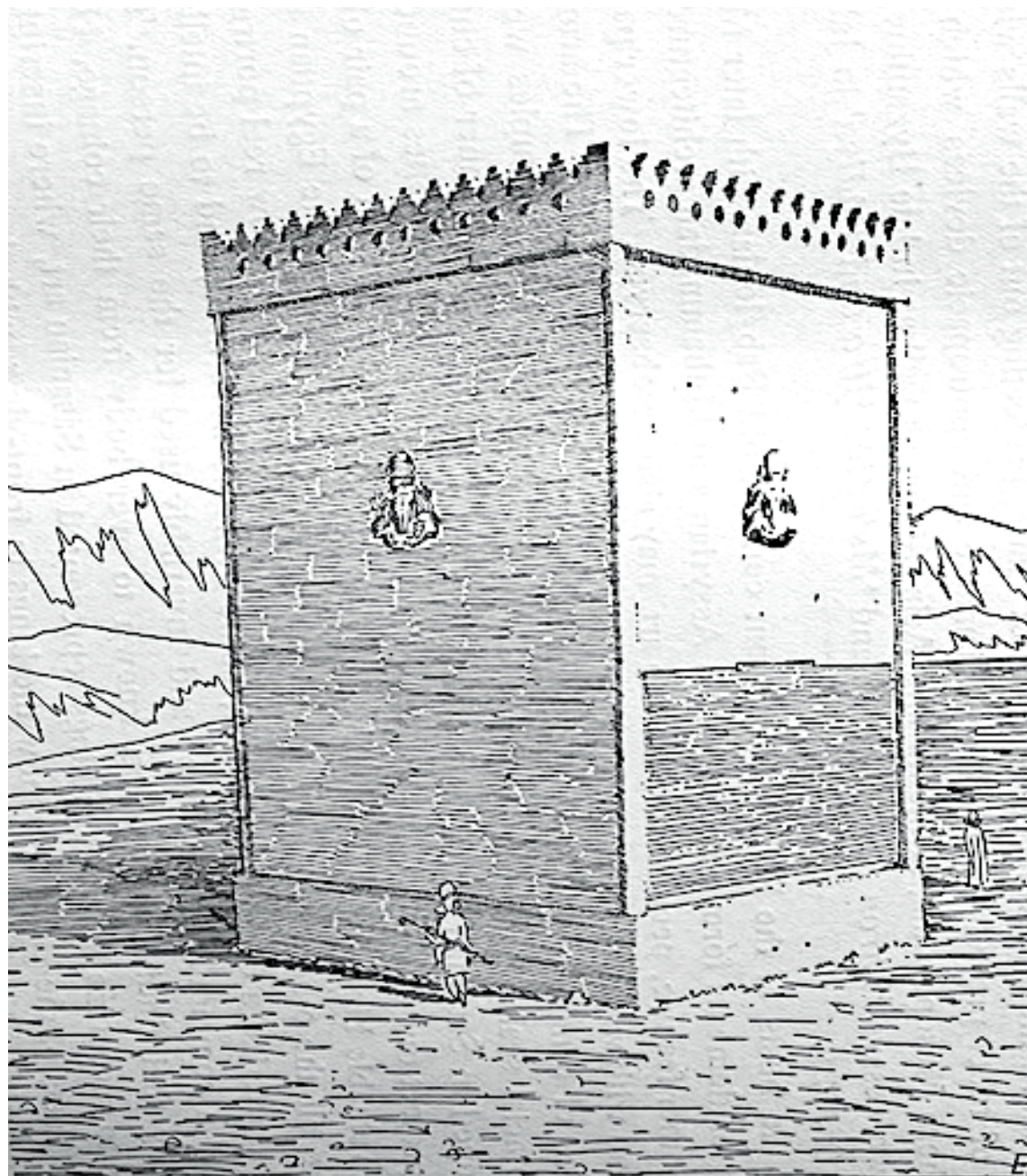


Fig. 8.15, Reconstruction of the monument of Paikuli by Herzfeld, Herzfeld 1924, I, 7.