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HISTORICAL ASPECTS, ICONOGRAPHICAL FACTORS, NUMISMATIC ISSUES, TECHNICAL ELEMENTS: HOW TO OBTAIN A CONVINCING CHRONOLOGY FOR THE ROCK RELIEFS OF ARDASHĪR I?

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Nowadays it is commonly assumed that the iconographical, epigraphical and numismatic evidence is of great significance for studying the political history of Iran under the rule of the Sasanians. This kind of surviving material culture from the Sasanian period, including rock reliefs, inscriptions, coins, seals and bullae, provides first-hand information concerning different aspects of the Sasanian history. In the study of the Sasanian rock reliefs, not only the archaeological methods should be considered, but the numismatic evidence and the textual sources can also be helpful and lead to more precise results than hitherto obtained. Ernst E. Herzfeld was the first to suggest that the Sasanian crown types recognised from the obverse scenes on Sasanian coins could be a reliable clue in the identification of the Sasanian kings depicted on the rock reliefs.¹ His theory became more useful once he published a table of the crown types of Sasanian kings on the basis of coins.² Since Herzfeld's fundamental work several essays have been devoted to dating methods for the Sasanian reliefs.³ Recently Touraj Daryae has applied a new method to date ArdashĪr's coins and rock reliefs⁴

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¹ Cf. Herzfeld 1928.

² Herzfeld 1938, 102.

³ See, for example, Lukonin [Loukonin] 1968, Herrmann 1981, Lushey 1986.

⁴ Daryae 2010, 248–252.

which is based on the political history and leads to a dating completely distinct from the chronologies presented by the previous scholars. In his chronology Daryaei puts the main emphasis on historical aspects rather than on iconography and the study of carving techniques.

In the present paper, which is in fact a study of methodology, I intend to provide a critical survey of the chronologies hitherto presented in order to obtain a perspective on the effective elements for a convincing chronology of the early Sasanian reliefs and to answer the following question: which factor may be regarded as the most precise basis to date the Sasanian reliefs: history, iconography, numismatics, or carving techniques? In this paper I will analyse Ardashīr I's rock reliefs.

Five reliefs survive from the reign of Ardashīr I, four of which are located in the province of Persis/Fārs in southern Iran. They comprise an equestrian combat relief in the Tangāb Valley near Firuzābād (Ardashīr-Xwarrah), three investiture reliefs at Tangāb, Naqsh-e Rostam and Naqsh-e Rostam, and finally a rock relief near Salmās in north-western Iran.⁵ Various aspects of these reliefs have been examined by several scholars since Herzfeld, including Walther Hinz, Vladimir G. Lukonin, Georgina Herrmann, and Louis Vanden Berghe since the 1960s.

Hinz did not publish a comprehensive chronology of the reliefs, however, he made some attempts to solve a few separate dating problems. Lukonin presented a hypothesis according to which all five reliefs of Ardashīr were cut after the mid-230s; in other words, they were engraved during the last five years of Ardashīr's reign.⁶ This hypothesis was proposed only on the basis of numismatic evidence; therefore it proved abortive after further studies were carried out by later scholars on the progressive course of Sasanian stone working. Lushey was the first scholar who criticized Lukonin's dating. According to Lushey, Lukonin's hypothesis 'would invalidate all attempts to understand the stylistic development.'⁷ He also stressed the incomparability of the historical order of the events and the iconographical chronology of the reliefs.

The most comprehensive examination of the stylistic features of these reliefs has been accomplished by Georgina Herrmann, who began a detailed study of technical development in the early Sasanian stone working.⁸ Accord-

⁵ On the reliefs of Ardashīr, see Hinz 1969, 115–135, Taf. 51–71; Herrmann 1969, 65–74, Pl. 1–4; Vanden Berghe 1984, 61–67, 125–128; Lushey 1986, 377–380; Meyer 1990, 289–291; See also Gall 1990, 20–30 on the combat relief of Tangāb; Hinz 1965 and Shavarebi 2014 on the relief of Salmās.

⁶ Cf. Lukonin [Loukonin] 1968; the idea has been accepted to a certain degree and followed recently by Alram, who dates all these reliefs to 'the last ten years of Ardashīr's reign, between 230 and 240' (Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148; Alram 2007, 236).

⁷ Lushey 1986, 377.

⁸ Herrmann 1981; similar studies, but dealing with the stoneworking and rock carving techniques in the Achaemenid period at Pasargadae and Persepolis, were initially accomplished by Ann

ing to her, the analyses of toolmarks on the Sasanian stoneworking show that four, or perhaps five, reliefs were polished, and may be divided into two groups. The investiture relief of Ardashīr at Naqsh-e Rajab and the jousting scene at Firuzābād were carved in medium relief and seem to have been only partially polished; while the second group, including Ardashīr's investiture at Naqsh-e Rostam, the gathering relief of Shāpūr I and his dignitaries at Naqsh-e Rajab, and perhaps the triumph relief at Dārābgird, were carved in high relief, i.e. whole figures were polished and set against a matt background.⁹ We can conclude from these facts that the reliefs of the second group were carved after the first group, on the grounds of the similarities in their technical details. Therefore, Herrmann proposed that the relief of Shāpūr in Naqsh-e Rajab, which depicts him with the courtiers, is his earliest relief and was presumably carved in the first years of his reign or even in the time of his joint rule with his father around 240–241 AD.¹⁰

Of the abovementioned hypotheses the study of toolmarks and carving techniques appears preferable to the historical order of the events as a more precise method for dating the reliefs of Ardashir. First of all, we should pay attention to the fact that the historical order of the events does not necessarily correspond with the development of stone working. In the Sasanian pictorial art there was apparently a tradition of illustrating a chain of different events simultaneously on one relief. An example of this tradition is supplied by Shāpūr I's triumph reliefs, which are traditionally interpreted as representing Shāpūr's victory over Gordian III and his peace with Philip the Arab in 244, as well as his Roman invasion in 260 which led to the capture of Valerian.¹¹ The most frequently addressed subject of the rock reliefs in Ardashīr's reign was investiture, as three reliefs at Firuzabad, Naqsh-e Rajab and Naqsh-e Rostam represent him receiving a ring from Ohrmazd. A symbolic synchronisation of different events can also be detected on the investiture reliefs, e.g. Ardashīr's investiture at Naqsh-e Rostam commemorates the defeat of the Arsacids by depicting Ardawān IV as a dead man between the hoofs of Ardashīr's horse. This feature of the Sasanian reliefs

Britt Tilia (1968) and Carl Nylander (1970) and then followed by Michael Roaf (1983). In fact, Georgina Herrmann was the first to do such studies on the Sasanian reliefs.

⁹ Herrmann 1981, 156.

¹⁰ Herrmann 1981, 158; on the date of Shāpūr's co-regency with his father and his coronation, see Sundermann 1990.

¹¹ Five triumph reliefs survive in Persis from the time of Shāpūr: Bīshāpūr I, II and III, Naqsh-e Rostam VI and the triumph relief of Dārābgird. See Trümpelmann 1975 for Dārābgird; Herrmann 1980 for Bīshāpūr III; Herrmann 1983, 7–10, Pl. 1–8 for Bīshāpūr I and 11–27, Pl. 9–24 for Bīshāpūr II; Herrmann 1989, 13–33, Pl. 1–14 for Naqsh-e Rostam VI; See also Vandenberghe 1984, 70–74, 129–133 and Meyer 1990. Levit-Tawil (1992) and Overlaet (2009) have critically evaluated the traditional identification of the Roman 'Emperors' on the reliefs of Shāpūr and present two different reinterpretations.

creates some difficulties in the determination of a date for them, but it gives a *terminus post quem* i.e. the date of the earliest represented event.

As Kurt Erdmann stated almost seven decades ago, investiture reliefs were carved during the whole of Ardashīr's reign, not just at the beginning,¹² while a purely historical study would lead us to ascribe them all to the first years of the reign, just after his coronation in 224. As I have already said, this dating based on history is not necessarily consonant with the iconographical elements and stylistic development. Thus we must seek a more convincing approach. Herrmann's study of the toolmarks is of great significance and might be regarded as a precise method to determine a reasonable dating for the Sasanian reliefs. However, an important factor which should not be neglected is the possible existence of different stone-working schools in different regions, which could be a reason for the stylistic variations among the Sasanian rock reliefs.¹³ It could be due to the geographical distance between the sites, which was a good reason to employ local sculptors.

Returning to Touraj Daryae's historical chronology, in his opinion the carving of Ardashīr's four reliefs in Persis/Fārs province started at some time after his first attempts to rise to power (between 207 and 210 AD) until his early reign (around 226 AD).¹⁴ This is the exact opposite of Lukonin's and more recently Alram's chronology, which is based on numismatics. They attribute all these reliefs to the last five or ten years of Ardashīr's reign.¹⁵ Both of these chronological approaches have been proposed unilaterally on the basis of a single element, and technical details have been overlooked in both. According to Daryae's chronology, the investiture relief of Firuzābād (Fig. 1) was carved between 207 and 210 during Ardashīr's conflict with his brother Shāpūr, simultaneously with the mintage of both Shāpūr's and Ardashīr's coins as *MLKA / šāh* "king", bearing the image of their father Pābag on the reverse; and the investiture scene at Naqsh-e Rajab (Fig. 2) is attributed to 211–212, when Ardashīr succeeded in taking Stakhr, and concurrently with his coinage phase 2a.¹⁶ Despite his local power in the area of Ardashīr-Xwarrah, Ardashīr could not have had the two investiture reliefs in the Tangāb Valley and at Naqsh-e Rajab carved when he was still engaged in the conflict with the Arsacids, the rulers of the neighbouring regions, and even with his own brother.¹⁷ One can easily imagine the huge in-

¹² Erdmann 1943, 52, 56.

¹³ Shavarebi 2012, 61–62.

¹⁴ Daryae 2010, 252.

¹⁵ See above: note 6.

¹⁶ Daryae 2010, 250, 252.

¹⁷ Such opinions on the carving of Ardashīr's first reliefs before his coronation antedate the work of Daryae. One year earlier, alongside his stylistic investigation, Reza Garosi (2009, 52) proposed that the reliefs of the first Sasanian stylistic phase, including Ardashīr's investitures at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rajab, could be dated before the Battle of Hormazdgān (224).

vestment needed for a rock relief project, which called for a large team of designers, sculptors, polishers, and even guards, cooks, etc.¹⁸ It would have had a complex schedule consisting of different phases such as smoothing, designing, carving, polishing, etc. and normally could not have been completed within by few days like the carving of a graffito.¹⁹ Moreover, Daryae's chronology raises two more critical questions regarding iconographical aspects. 1. If the two aforementioned investiture reliefs belong to the years before Ardashir's coronation, why is he depicted in these scenes wearing a typical crown well-known from his post-coronation coins (obverse-type IIIa²⁰)? 2. Could Ardashir's non-spherical beard style on these two reliefs be a sufficient iconographical reason to date them before his coronation?

On the first question, one should consider that the coin type IIIa (Fig. 9) belongs to the 3rd phase of Ardashir's coinage, which covers a long and important period within his reign, as Alram has stated, '... Phase 3 den Schwerpunkt in Ardashirs Pragetatigkeit darstellt und wohl auch den langsten Zeitraum innerhalb seiner Herrschaft als „Konig der Konige“ umfat. ... Als ungefahrer chronologischer Rahmen fur Phase 3 kann die Zeit von etwa 228/229 bzw. 229/230 bis etwa 238/239 angenommen werden.'²¹ Daryae has also synchronised the Naqsh-e Rajab relief with the start of the coinage phase 2a,²² while the crown type shown on both this relief and the investiture at Firuzbad is identical to that represented by the coin type IIIa from phase 3. The same is observed in Daryae's chronology for the Firuzbad combat relief.²³

In response to the second question, I would say no. The spherical beard style was a canonical feature for the representation of the King of Kings in the early

¹⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Mehrdad Malekzadeh of the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) in Tehran for an instructive discussion including some important remarks on this topic.

¹⁹ To date, no detailed study has been done to estimate the time needed to carve a relief in Sasanian period. Achaemenid sculptures have been much better researched in this respect. According to Michael Roaf (1983, 8) such an estimation depends on many factors, e.g. 'the skill and experience of the craftsmen, the quality of the supervision, the division of labour amongst the sculptors, as well as the subject of the relief and the characteristics of the stone.' I am very grateful to Dr. Shahrokh Razmjou of the University of Tehran for providing me with this reference, as well as a helpful discussion on the different natures of the rock reliefs and graffiti from the technical aspects. Thus it is very difficult to calculate a precise time needed to sculpt a relief. Nevertheless, we can imagine the difficulties which the sculpting team would meet, especially in the carving process of the investiture relief in the Tangb Valley where the slippery rocks slope down sharply to the river. Therefore, several days, or perhaps several weeks, must have been needed only to prepare this place for the sculpting team. These factors give a general idea of the process and the approximate time needed.

²⁰ Cf. Alram/Gyselen 2003, 97–99, 126–127.

²¹ Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148.

²² Daryae 2010, 250, 252.

²³ Daryae 2010, 252.

Sasanian iconographical tradition. Ardashīr is depicted with a circular mass of beard below his chin on all of his rock reliefs, except for the two investitures at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rājab. Nevertheless, he has never been attested with this beard style on his coins; on the numismatic evidence, Ardashīr's standard beard style is a certain embellishment in the form of rows of pearls. In fact, the spherical arrangement became canonical on the coins after Shāpūr I's rise to power.²⁴

Now, how could we obtain a precise chronology of the rock reliefs? Inscriptions are surely extremely significant for the dating of the reliefs, however of Ardashīr's reliefs only the Naqsh-e Rostam investiture has two inscriptions, which merely introduce Ardashīr and Ohrmazd;²⁵ they cannot, therefore, be helpful in this case.²⁶ To date the Sasanian reliefs we must pay attention both to iconographic and technical elements, in addition to historical and numismatic aspects. In other words, our historical knowledge may offer just a *terminus post quem*, e.g. if a relief represents a triumph it may be attributed historically to a date after that triumph. Stylistic aspects, nonetheless, help us not only to classify and arrange the reliefs in a chronological order on technical grounds, but can also play a helpful role in the determination of an approximate dating based on the iconographical and numismatic details for each group of the reliefs in our classification.

Herrmann's investigation on the Sasanian stoneworking is actually the most comprehensive study so far in this field. According to her, two reliefs from Ardashīr's reign, i.e. the combat relief at Firuzābād and the investiture at Naqsh-e Rājab, were carved in medium relief, while the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam and the gathering relief of Shāpūr and his courtiers at Naqsh-e Rājab (Fig. 7) were carved in high relief.²⁷ This may represent the development of stoneworking techniques in the early Sasanian period, since the Sasanian rock sculptures had no legacy of this type of art to rely on from the Arsacid period, but only very recent pre-Sasanian graffiti at Persepolis,²⁸ the nature of which is quite different. Thus the earliest Sasanian rock reliefs must certainly, in my opinion, display the very first endeavours of the stoneworking school of Fārs. The artists were learn-

²⁴ Schindel 2010, 27; see also Alam/Gyselen 2003, 117–132, Abb. 2 for the diversity of Ardashīr's coin types.

²⁵ Back 1978, 281–282.

²⁶ According to a drawing by Eugène Flandin a probably Middle Persian inscription was previously visible on the fire-altar in the middle of the investiture relief at Firuzābād (Flandin/Coste [1851], Pl. 44) which was inscribed in seven vertical lines (Thomas 1867, 356); Hinz (1969, 119) has therefore attributed it to the 6th century AD. Another probable inscription is mentioned as engraved on a small flat surface in the top right corner of the Salmās relief (cf. e.g. Lehmann-Haupt 1910, 535), however Hinz (1965, 151) has denied the existence of such an inscription, because it would not be legible at all.

²⁷ See above: note 9.

²⁸ E.g. see Razmjou 2005 on the graffiti at Persepolis.

ing new techniques and skills by their first-hand experience during these practical projects.

Herrmann does not put Ardashīr's Firuzābād investiture in these two groups, because of the very weak and elementary techniques used in its carving. On the other hand, according to the iconographical and numismatic elements, the investiture scenes at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rostam must be Ardashīr's first rock reliefs due to the similarity of some of their details, e.g. Ardashīr's beard is not shown in the standard spherical form in either of these reliefs, unlike his other three reliefs.²⁹ At any rate, the rock sculpture tradition under Ardashīr should be started with these two reliefs, and most probably the Firuzābād investiture was the earlier of the two. This raises the question of the time when they were carved. We have no conclusive evidence showing any approximate dates for them; but, as we already have seen, a purely historical dating does not arrive at a convincing answer. According to the numismatic evidence, the reliefs were certainly carved after Ardashīr's coronation in 224.

The cutting of these two investiture scenes was followed by the Firuzābād combat relief (Fig. 3). There is a difference between Ardashīr's crown type here and on his earlier investiture reliefs, but this does not bring any chronological information.³⁰ Despite the lack of numismatic chronology, the technical similarities of this relief to the Naqsh-e Rostam investiture relief, i.e. sculpture in medium relief, and the style of Ardashīr's spherical beard as an iconographical detail, are sufficient for it to be placed in the chronological order of Ardashīr's rock reliefs not concurrently, but after the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam.

The technical quality of Ardashīr's Naqsh-e Rostam investiture (Fig. 5) puts this relief at the end of our chronology. The high standards of quality in the making of this relief testify to the progress made in Sasanian sculpture by the end of Ardashīr's reign. Signs of the evolution of these standards may be observed in the earlier reliefs of Shāpūr at Naqsh-e Rostam. Daryaei has taken this issue into consideration and dated the investiture relief of Naqsh-e Rostam, as well as the beginning of coinage phase 3, to the year 226, as a commemoration of Ardashīr's coronation in Ctesiphon. Although Ardashīr's crown in Naqsh-e Rostam predicates the third-phase coin type IIIb³¹ with earflap (Fig. 10), it is

²⁹ For this canonical feature of the Sasanian royal beard style see above: note 24. See also Hinz 1969, 146.

³⁰ Cf. obverse-type VII on his coins (Aram/Gyselen 2003, 131). This type belongs to the same phase as the obverse type IIIa (see above: note 20), i.e. phase 3. This phase includes two principal (IIIa and IIIb) and four subordinate obverse types (IV, V, VI and VII), as well as a special type (VIII or the so-called 'Thronfolgerprägung'). The chronological order of all these types is still unclear (Aram/Gyselen 2003, 146–148). On the combat relief of Firuzābād, the sculptor extended Ardashīr's uncovered *korymbos*, perhaps to show the speed of his horse (Fig. 4).

³¹ Aram/Gyselen 2003, 127, 143.

quite impossible to accept their attribution to 226, from both the iconographical and numismatic points of view.³²

In my opinion the Salmās relief (Fig. 6) cannot be compared with Ardashīr's other reliefs in Persis from the thematic and stylistic aspects. Perhaps it was the work of a regional sculpture school, for of course we cannot ascertain whether the sculptors of this relief were the same as those who made Ardashīr's reliefs in Persis. Historical and geographical analyses allow us to date the Salmās relief between 240 and Ardashīr's death in 241/242.³³ Thus it was probably the last within the chronological sequence of his reliefs. Nevertheless, technically it is not as advanced as the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam. Although we do not know the date of the Naqsh-e Rostam investiture relief precisely, what is clear is its chronological status among Ardashīr's reliefs in Persis: it is his most recent relief in Persis according to the iconographical and numismatic elements. Thus the relief at Salmās and the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam should be the two most recent reliefs of Ardashīr.

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As I have discussed above, historical aspects will not be very helpful in dating the Sasanian rock reliefs, but will only give us a *terminus post quem*. Nonetheless, in some cases, e.g. the Salmās relief, historical factors are of more signif-

³² See Alram's dating of phase 3 in Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148.

³³ Shavarebi 2014. At this time, Shāpūr was a partner in his father's kingship (see Sundermann 1990). This could be why he appears with a crown composed of an ordinary skullcap and a *korymbos* above it, just like Ardashīr's crown on coin type IIIa. The same type of crown is also observed on the so-called 'Marw Shah' bronze coins, which apparently show the bust of Shāpūr (Schindel 2010, Pl. I nos 1–4 and Pl II no 5), as well as on one of Shāpūr's not so well-known types of copper coins (Fig. 11), where he is depicted with a similar headdress (Schindel 2009, 13, 48, nos. 22–23; Schindel 2010, 30, Pl. III no. 12 and Pl. IV no 13; I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Michael Alram of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna for introducing me to this Shāpūr coin type, and emphasising its significance for the examination of the Salmās rock relief). What should be certainly emphasised here is the fact that Shāpūr was also using his father's crown type; however the status of this type within the chronology of Shāpūr's coinage remains unclear. Since this crown is depicted on the Salmās relief, the earliest evidence showing Shāpūr in a rank higher than crown prince, then considering the available documents it must be the first crown Shāpūr used. Nevertheless, there are two more testimonials representing Shāpūr in this crown, which extend the duration of this crown's usage up to almost the last decade of his reign. They are the triumph rock relief at Dārābgird (Fig. 8) and the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris cameo (Fig. 12; more in Ghirshman 1962, 152), the *terminus post quem* of which is Valerian's capture in 260 (see also Schindel 2009, 13). Furthermore this issue supports Meyer's argument (1990, 268–271) challenging Trümpelmann's hypothesis, according to whom the Dārābgird relief was initially Ardashīr's, but was reworked and completed later by Shāpūr in two phases after his victories over the Roman Empire (Trümpelmann 1975).

icance, as the interpretation of this relief depends entirely on historical and geographical research, although iconographical and technical features are often fairly precise factors for the determination of the date of such reliefs, and arrange them in a chronological order. These elements represent the developments in stoneworking in the Sasanian period and let us distinguish the different iconographical schools and styles. However, an examination of the technical elements is not enough to date the Sasanian reliefs. We should heed a word of warning from Michael Roaf concerning the Persepolitan reliefs, which holds true for the study of the Sasanian reliefs as well: ‘At each stage the sculptor or mason had the option of using a variety of different tools; whether he used a point or a pick, a toothed or an edged tool, depended on his training and his personal preference, as well as on the nature of the work.’³⁴

As a result, to date a Sasanian rock relief we should consider all the iconographical, historical, technical and numismatic factors. Iconography plays the key role in research on rock reliefs and their chronology. History is the basis for the interpretation of the reliefs, thus, as I have emphasised above, its natural impact on dating cannot be denied. A study of techniques makes up for the practical deficiencies in the other factors and actually helps us learn more about the evolution and development of the styles and schools of stone working. Numismatics is a subsidiary factor in the examination of rock reliefs. For the Sasanian reliefs, a parallel representation of some iconographic details, such as a crown, hairstyle or beard, can also be found on coins. Thus the chronology of Sasanian coin types has a notable influence on the chronology and dating of the rock reliefs. Naturally, any of these factors could be of greater importance in specific cases, depending on the subject and other features of the particular relief; but ignoring any of these aspects will in all likelihood lead to errors in dating and chronology. This is merely a suggestion, but a more precise look at the reliefs will surely help us detect more signals concerning their chronology.

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³⁴ Roaf 1983, 3.

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Abstract

Five surviving rock reliefs are known in Iran from the reign of Ardashīr I, four of which are located in Persis/Fārs region. This paper aims to examine four different approaches which are so far used to date these reliefs, i.e. historical facts, iconographical and numismatic elements, and techniques of stoneworking, in order to respond the following question: How can we date the rock reliefs of Ardashīr more precisely and obtain a convincing chronology of them?

Figures



Fig. 1. Ardashīr's investiture relief at Firuzābād (photo by the author, April 2012)



Fig. 2. Ardashīr's investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rājab (photo by the author, April 2012)

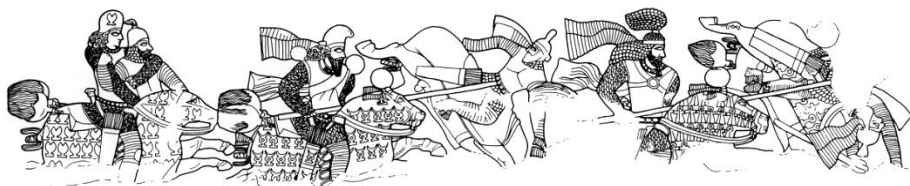


Fig. 3. Ardashīr's combat relief at Firuzābād
(drawing by Erik Smekens; after Vanden Berghe 1984, Fig. 8)



Fig. 4. Stretched uncover *korymbos* of Ardashīr's crown on the combat relief at Firuzābād
(photo by the author, April 2012)

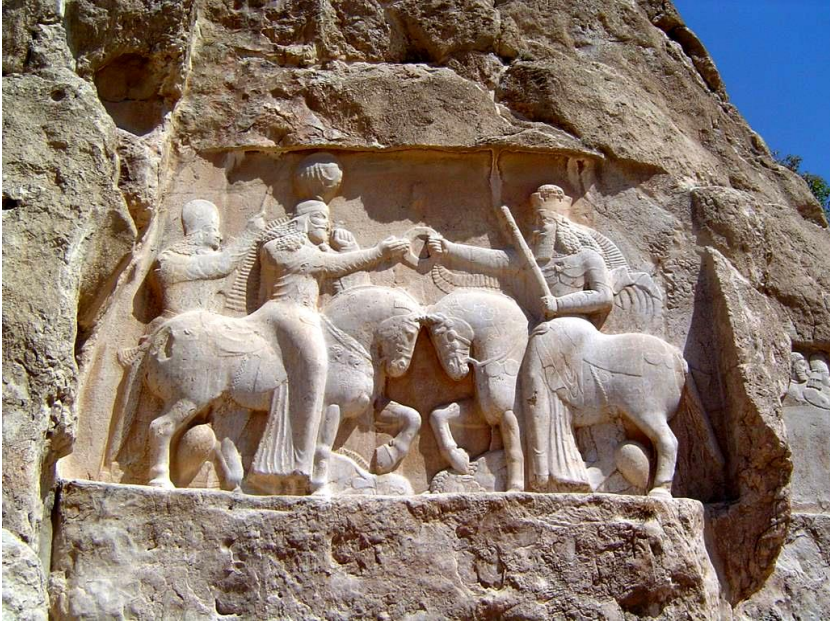


Fig. 5. Ardashir's equestrian investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam (photo by the author, September 2009)



Fig. 6. Ardashir's relief at Salmās (photo by the author, September 2012)

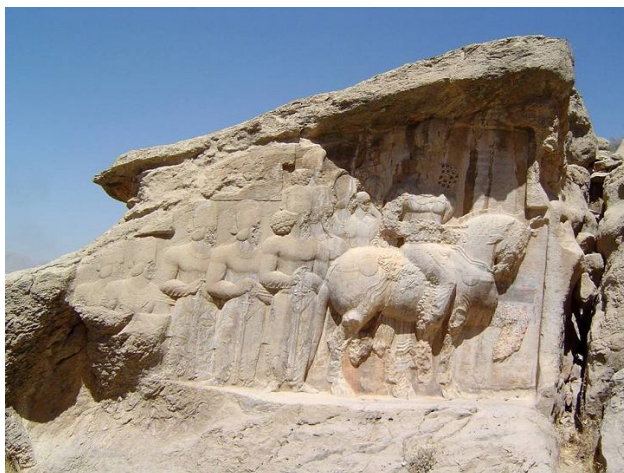


Fig. 7. Naqsh-e Rajab relief showing Shāpūr I and courtiers (photo by the author, September 2009)

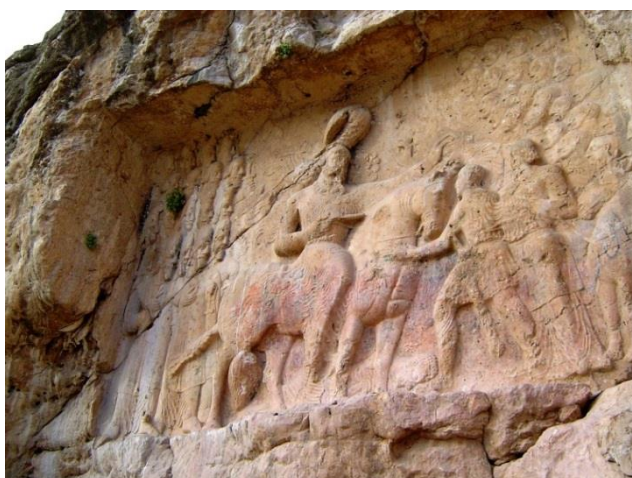


Fig. 8. Shāpūr I's triumph relief at Dārābgird (photo by the author, February 2009)



Fig. 9. Drachm of Ardashīr I, obverse type IIIa, phase 3 (AR. Δ. 4,12 g. 25 mm. Malek National Museum, Tehran. no. 2007)



Fig. 10. Drachm of Ardashir I, obverse-type IIIb, phase 3
(AR. Δ. 4,13 g. 24 mm. Malek National Museum, Tehran. no. 383)



Fig. 11. Copper coin of Shapur I
(Æ/2. 3,28 g. 17 mm. Schaaf collection³⁵; see Schindel 2010, no. 12)



Fig. 12. Shapur's cameo showing Valerian's capture, Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris
(after Ghirshman 1962, Pl. 195)

³⁵ I am very grateful to Mr. Robert Schaaf for providing me with the photo of this coin, as well as helpful remarks on its typology.