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ISLAM'S DEBT TO PARTHIAN ART

BY

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One of the most perplexing questions in matters of Middle Eastern art history is how, from the late historical period, traditions of iconography or at least of form, were transferred from the ancient world into the vocabularies of artists in Islamic times. Some of the alternatives that can be suggested include the idea that artistic devices continued to be used in a folk art, in an uninterrupted and unchanging manner over a period of several centuries. It has been suggested, for instance, that when patrons of the arts called for new images in the 10th century, artists were able to exploit a genre which had probably flourished in a local community, divorced as it was from the more orthodox constraints of early Islam's iconoclastic tendencies. At Nishapur, the survival of a folk art may well be how the distinctive images produced on glazed pottery of the 10th century came into existence ¹. It is reasonable to see the *dihqans*, the landed nobility of northeastern Iran, who retained ownership of their estates after the introduction of Islam to Iran, as playing a role in the transfer of images to Islamic art. It is clearly acceptable, also, to suggest that the 7th and 8th century murals of Panjikent and Varakhsha were part of an existing artistic tradition in Central Asia that helped make possible the development of wall painting in Abbasid Iraq ².

Explanations of this sort may be how one can best interpret the phenomenon of Sasanian images in what can now be clearly stated to be metalwork of the early Islamic period, but which once upon a time would have been classified as bonafide Sasanian ³. Other explanations for the survival of iconography include the use of antiques to provide the model, a deliberate and conscious reminder of the past. Richard Ettinghausen covered a variety of topics in his discussion of the artistic influence of the Classical West upon the Sasanian and Islamic East. He dealt with the subject under the headings of "transfer, adoption, and integration" in a monograph that took three case studies as the frame of reference and focussed at first upon the appearance of Dionysiac motifs and the figure of Pegasus in Sasanian metalwork. The third case study examined the so-called bath hall at Umayyad Khirbat al-Mafjar and concluded that aspects of the groundplan and the imagery present on the walls and floors reflected conscious attempts to reproduce architectural elements that would have conjured up in the

eyes of those present, even in Islamic times, the sense of a royal throne hall, perhaps imitating the palace of Taq-i Kisra at Ctesiphon ⁴.

One of the most difficult transfers of artistic tradition to consider is the suggestion originally presented by Florence Day in an unpublished doctoral dissertation that the ability of potters in 9th century Iraq to produce blue painted, white glazed wares was derived from skills developed by Parthian-period potters almost a thousand years earlier ⁵. However unsatisfactory it is to gloss over such a lengthy period of time, the Parthian model remains the only plausible explanation, unless one proposes that the 9th century wares were created literally out of the blue.

As for antiques which were copied or which served as models for images, presumably commemorative monuments such as the tower of Paikuli or the grotto of Taq-i Bustan were just two of the most impressive surviving relics of the pre-Islamic age of the Jahiliya. Many other lesser monuments would have been visible and could have served to create images of the past. The legends which one can suggest from the historical texts were associated with the great statue of Shapur at Bishapur serve to underline the extent to which the Sasanian past played a role in the consciousness of mediaeval Islam, at least in Iran ⁶. The impact which the lavishly adorned monuments of Ctesiphon had upon the Muslim invaders in A.D.637 is well attested from writers like Tabari who described the commander of the army taking his prayers in the "White Palace" ⁷. And, of course, every archaeologist knows of the incessant and almost unimaginative use of heroic figures like Rostam and Solomon, attached to words like "throne" or "prison" to form place names ⁸.

At Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, the name of the last Sasanian king has been preserved as a memory of the castle there, while on the plain below at Qasr-i Shirin the memory of Khusraw's queen has been preserved in a city name, along with numerous localised attributions to activities conducted by the royal court ⁹.

This article does not attempt to explore all the possibilities which may have existed for the transfer or adaptation of antique images into the art of Islam. It does not even propose insistently that Qaleh-i Yazdigird played a part in the transfer process. What the article does attempt to do, while dwelling in addition upon certain details not yet fully published from the site, is to point out that it is probably only the chance of discovery and the remarkable circumstances of preservation that make the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes so unique. In all probability, throughout the length and breadth of Iran, there were equally spectacular palaces standing at the time of the Islamic conquest. The depravations of time

have reduced that known number to a few. More may well exist in hidden circumstances ¹⁰. Each may represent an opportunity for ancient artwork to have been seen by artists of the Muslim era. Rather than concentrating on the origins of Parthian architectural design, this article concentrates on the contribution it made to the future development of design in the Islamic period. Items that must be considered innovative in the repertoire of the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes ¹¹, and therefore of particular significance in this debate, include the following:

1. Engaged capital carrying intertwined beast motif. Close parallels are to be found in the talismanic figures of 11-12th century Seljuq bronzework ¹². *Fig.1a&b*.

2. Griffon protome. The diminutive size of the fore-paws and the truncated body herald this as the prototype of the *senmurv* form, although one must acknowledge that it is still a beaked head and not a dog-face that is portrayed. The development of this form here does not necessarily mean that iconographic meaning of the *senmurv* was also present. *Fig.2a&b*. However, it was a conscious attempt to portray some mythical, hybridised beast in manner quite typical of later Islam.

3. Registers of stepped merlons with arrow slot. Used as full scale military devices as long ago as the Assyrian period, these forms had become architectural by Parthian times, and appear extensively in a variety of ways in the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes. *Fig.3a,b&c*. They feature frequently as decorative parapets, both atop buildings such as the Taq-i Girra arch, as well as in illustrations of Sasanian building types shown in later metalwork ¹³. The stepped crenellation, of course, is ubiquitous in the mosque architecture of early Islam.

4. Stylised motifs. Singled out for special attention here is a split roundel, where a bud-and-tendrill motif has been cut in half, and the halves placed back to back within a circle. Another panel from the same decorative scheme carries a stepped merlon device which is shown split in half, back to back, in alternating registers. *Fig.4a,b&c*. The principle of taking artistic liberties with geometric forms, or with the stylisation of natural vegetation, which can be observed in the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes, were important elements in the development of Islamic art.

The Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes are known to us for three largely accidental reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, the chance circumstances of collapse were such that the architectural decorations were preserved, either within the inward-collapsing building itself, or within ancient dumps of deliberately cleared architectural debris. Secondly, the local villagers were aware of the presence of

gypsum plaster and baked bricks in their fields (although they were not aware it was ornamental stucco) and pointed this out to the writer in 1965. And thirdly, the site was chosen for the purposes of excavating a sequence of Sasanian pottery. The discovery of the stuccoes was not anticipated ¹⁴. Yet however unique the mode of discovery may be in this case, and how rare a find in Iran at the present moment, it is hardly likely that Qaleh-i Yazdigird was exceptional at the time that it was built.

As archaeological background it may be useful to repeat that the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes are judged to be Parthian on the basis of comparison with material from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Ashur, Warka, and Kuh-i Khwaja ¹⁵. The source of all the stuccoes under consideration here is the palatial complex that lies at the head of a rectangular enclosure, called locally "Maydan" ¹⁶, and which has been interpreted as a "garden of paradise" (*Fig.5*). The site of the palatial complex is divided into two unequal parts by a deep gulley, and an obtrusive massif of masonry at the lower end of the gulley has lent the name of "Gach Gumbad" to this section of the twenty-four square kilometre fastness which comprises the overall site of Qaleh-i Yazdigird. (The use of the name Gach Gumbad, which conjures up connotations of a "plastered dome" should not be taken literally to reflect the tradition of an ancient dome here. Rather, in the recent past, the villagers were in the habit of digging up the stuccoes for the re-use of the gypsum plaster which was smelted again to render it as new plaster for the dome of the local shrine of Baba Yadgar.) The area immediately west of the gulley, for land ownership rights, is called Hushtareh. For archaeological convenience, the part of the palatial complex that lies west of the gulley, but within the confines of the Maydan wall, has been recorded under the tag of Gach Gumbad West. The gulley may well be the result of fierce erosion occurring at intermittent intervals in an artificial water-course that was drawn down into the palace area. Villagers speak of the potential of a violent storm of this proportion once every twenty years. There are indications that both sides of the complex were once enjoyed a much closer association than they appear to do so now, and at some time were separated by a devastating flood.

Some of the stuccoes were found *insitu* on the walls of two rooms within the main Gach Gumbad section of the site (loci GG1&5, *Fig.6*). Others formed part of the collapsed debris recovered from the same two rooms, and from GG11 as well. But others, of equal quality, were found in what have been interpreted as dump sites for building rubbish cleared from various parts of the whole complex. One dump was located in isolation on a bare hillside outside of the

Maydan, in Hushtareh. Another major one consisted of debris dumped into a cloister (locus GG201, *fig.7*) that formed the southern extremity of Gach Gumbad West. The dumping of the rubbish naturally implies that the cloister space was no longer in use. Yet there is also considerable evidence to suggest that the damage that occurred happened fairly early in the life of the complex, and that the buildings continued for the most part to flourish after the period of disaster.

Of particular interest are two pieces ¹⁷ that are identical in subject matter — one from the cloister dump, and the other in situ in locus GG100. Locus GG 100 is the label applied to a great massif of free-standing masonry, the block of Gach Gumbad itself. Chance exploration within the massif by the team architect who was taking shelter literally during some of the darker moments of the campaign in January 1979, revealed that a fissure represented the separation between two masses of juxtaposed masonry. The earlier massif had originally been decorated with a blind arcade (on the west face of GG 100) ¹⁸. The decorations forming the articulated facade included bands of vine scrolls inhabited by human busts. Whatever its shape and purpose, however, and for some reason as yet not discernible, the massif was enlarged considerably by the addition of a second mass of masonry (GG 101), which completely obliterated the existing decorative facade. Traces of the decorations could still be found in the fissure, in reverse, where the wet masonry of the addition had taken the imprint of the original forms. The imprints match the design of pieces found in the cloister dump, from which the original design can be better reconstructed. The implications that can be drawn from the similarities is that a major site clearance of collapsed debris preceded the erection of the additional massif. Remnants of an articulated blind facade were also found on the exterior of the addition — from the phase of rebuilding (north face of GG 101).

It may not be without coincidence another one of the fragments recovered from the cloister dump was of a human bust that had been damaged in antiquity, but which was also completely preserved in this damaged state through the application of a thick coating of over-plaster (*Fig.8*). This writer is inclined to believe that the busts represent portraits, but whether the damage inflicted is the result of man-derived or natural disaster can only remain a matter of speculation. When the phenomenon was first discovered, it was tempting to think that some zealots were responsible for the damage during the military mop-up operations, around the years A.D. 637-641, when Muslim forces were being mustered for the final advance of the Sasanian hold of the Iranian highlands ¹⁹.

Qaleh-i Yazdigird, as has been repeatedly observed, lies very close to where there is a unique and natural break in the mountain chain which permits communication between Iran and Iraq (*Fig.9*). After the Muslims had occupied Ctesiphon, the Sasanian army retreated in order to regroup and make another stand. The Sasanians lost in the battle of Jalula (near Khaniqin) shortly thereafter. A Muslim garrison was posted in Hulwan (Sar-i Pul-i Zohab) until at least the time of the Nihavand campaign some three or four years later. The garrison included former members of the royal Sasanian cavalry²⁰. During all of this activity it is perfectly reasonable to expect that Muslim contingents entered the Qaleh-i Yazdigird tableland, since it would have furnished such a perfect base from which to launch an attack against the Muslim advance forces.

It is unreasonable, however, to give credit to the local Ahl-i Haqq legends which place the King of Kings fourteen years at Qaleh-i Yazdigird during which time he prepared for his defence of Iran²¹. Some authorities even cite the same year for both the occupation of Ctesiphon and the battle of Jalula. At the very most, the texts allow for three years between events²². Certainly the hurried stance of the Sasanians before the Zagros would not have been served well by the kind of static defences represented at Qaleh-i Yazdigird, even if it had been possible to build them in such a short time. Nevertheless, one can safely assume that either raiding parties, punitive forces or tax-gathering contingents made their way into the hills and saw the mostly ancient Parthian remains. The scale of the ruins would have been much less impressive than as seen at the Taqi-Kisra which, as mentioned earlier, had such a profound impact upon the newcomers²³. But the analogy of the statue of Shapur in a cave, which became one of the most vivid memories for later writers describing Bishapur, also demonstrates that the wonders of the past appealed to the imagination of mediaeval minds²⁴.

The problem at Qaleh-i Yazdigird, of course, is to determine what ruins were likely to be standing sufficiently intact in the 7th century to have made an impact upon Muslim soldiers or tax-gatherers. Without question, the long defensive walls would have been still standing quite high, although it is hard to judge the actual original height. Excavations have shown that chambers flanking the chahar taq structure of Kala Dawar were either built or re-used for the purposes of a workshop in the Umayyad period (*Fig.10*). At this time, the interior of the chahar taq was full of fallen masonry and walled off from the outside²⁵. Pending resumption of the excavations, one can do no more than speculate about the possibility that the massive collapse of masonry inside the

chahar taq represents damage inflicted by the Muslim punitive forces. Natural disaster is an equally plausible explanation.

As for Gach Gumbad, one must at least ask whether there is any possibility that these structures were still standing in Islamic times. No archaeological evidence has been recorded so far to lend substance to that theory, but the excavations were in an early stage of development when they were interrupted. In support of the idea that they were visible ruins well into Islam, it is necessary to re-open the question suggested by this writer that it might be possible to associate the site of Qaleh-i Yazdigird with the Madharustan of the Muslim geographers. In response to the original suggestion ²⁶, Klaus Schippmann presented an exhaustive review of the various possibilities for the location of that place ²⁷. Generally there is agreement in commentaries that Hulwan can be identified as Sar-i Pul-i Zohab and Marj al-Qala as Karind (with Madharustan lying in between). But Schippmann inclined towards the view that Madharustan lay beyond the Taq-i Girra pass, though still on the main highway. Certainly the only logical way to travel by road to-day from Sar-i Pul to Karind is by way of the paved highway that was engineered in 1964 just above the Taq-i Girra. Previous roads also passed this way — including the one marked by a Punjabi battalion in 1921. These earlier routes were built immediately in front of the arch, giving the pass its appropriate label Pa-y Taq ²⁸. With regard to pre-motorised transportation, Major Rawlinson in the mid-19th century tried to find a logical alternative to the route by traversing the highground behind Qaleh-i Yazdigird, on the way from Qasr-i Shirin (via Zohab itself) to the Mahidasht plain. He concluded that they were not feasible alternatives ²⁹. It could be added, too, that the high ground would have been too snow-bound in winter.

Nonetheless, apart from the reference to its being "on the road to Khurasan from Baghdad" and the fact of its straddling the zone between the snowy hills and the plains of Iraq, the association of Madharustan's description in the texts with the isolated monument of Taq-i Girra, or even with any of the other remains found in the pass above and below it, is less than satisfactory. Qazvini wrote "Madharustan... at this place there is a large iwan and a great terrace in front of it, and the traces of a garden built by Bahram Gur" ³⁰. In spite of the results of the excavations conducted by Kambakhsh-Fard, who cleared the area in front of the Taq-i Girra during a restoration programme ³¹, by no stretch of the imagination could one consider the arch to be the backdrop to a great terrace and a garden in the then contemporary sense of the word, where a great deal of space was implied by "garden". On the other hand, the structures at Qaleh-i

Yazdigird fit the description perfectly. May one challenge the near sacred word of the geographers? How accurate, in fact, were they? Just as visitors from southern England to Scotland expect to find Loch Ness a short evening's jaunt outside of Glasgow, while in reality it is a long four hour drive beyond the city, so one may imagine that references to fabled palaces along the great Asian highway were more important for their notoriety than for their precise geographical location. It is even conceivable that in their use of "after" and "thence" the geographers were not speaking in a strictly direct linear sense, especially if they were merely repeating an established formula and had not actually visited the area themselves.

If the Qaleh-i Yazdigird remains can be conceived as being still exposed in the early Islamic period, of the sort that gave rise to legends of Bahram Gur, one must resolve the dilemma between the argument that the site was short-lived and the evidence that at least one major face-lift was conducted on the monument in late Parthian times. Can one argue that any of this was possible in the Sasanian period? Unfortunately, no one has found a successful formula for distinguishing between the decorative artwork of the Parthian second century A.D. and the Sasanian third century ³². One may be tempted to suggest that there was an increasing "baroqueness" in the vegetal ornament of the Sasanian period, but this is an over-simplification. The richness and variety of the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes exceeds those of the other Parthian sites mentioned above, but a first and second century A.D. stylistic date does seem to be the soundest interpretation. The presence of two different styles of griffon — the one in classic marching pose, in full figure, and the other as a protome with diminutive forepaws (fig.2) — lends to the suggestion that one is observing an iconographic transition from griffon to *senmurv*, and therefore a Sasanian date is possible for the latter.

Yet in spite of the fact that the excavator has recorded evidence of at least two major phases of building effort expended in Gach Gumbad, the conclusion remains that there was no great separation of time between the two, and all the artwork is Parthian. In support of the idea, however, that at least some of the ruins were still standing in Islamic times is the fact that, on the stuccoes recovered from debris excavated lower down in locus 5, various solid traces of paint were recorded ³³. Higher up, and especially where the stuccoes remain insitu on the wall face, the paint traces have gone. One may presume that they stood exposed on the walls for some considerable time. Survey work has shown, from the quality of the pottery recovered at the site of Ban Gumbeh, that there

was a prosperous village in the area in Seljuq times ³⁴. But whether Gach Gumbad was a visible ruin as late as that will depend upon the discoveries of future archaeologists.

Whatever the outcome, it should be re-iterated that this does not imply in any way that the Qaleh-i Yazdigird stuccoes represent a specific model which played a role in the transfer of images from the world of Parthia to Islam. The site is simply being used here as a clear-cut example of the kind of way in which ancient relics became known to Muslims. It is not argued, either, that artisans from the actual of Qaleh-i Yazdigird area were involved in this process of transfer. For after all, no conclusive evidence has been presented to identify this extraordinary architectural fantasy on a mountainside as either the inspired design work of an outsider or the remarkable creation of a team of locals. Certainly the eclectic use of motifs and forms from various traditions indicates an awareness of different cultures outside of the immediate environment. And, quite obviously, the clumsiness of some of the decorative details as executed, particularly in repeat patterns (*Fig.11*), points to the use of local artisans. In this repeat pattern of interlocking "circles", the circles are simply not there. Perhaps the clumsiest of all is the rendition of the sphinx which is almost impossible to recognize and equally difficult to reproduce ³⁵. There is definitely nothing at the moment to support the idea that ornamental stuccowork of any high quality continued to be produced at Qaleh-i Yazdigird after the Parthian period. If Qaleh-i Yazdigird did play a small role in the transfer of ancient iconography or art forms to the world of Islam, it occurred because the structures were still standing as an exotic ruin.

NOTES

1. cf. C.K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur. Pottery of the early Islamic period* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, [1973]), p.6.
2. cf. T. Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (New York, 1965), p.97.
3. The subject was first seriously broached by O. Grabar in *Sasanian Silver* (Ann Arbor, 1967); see also R.H. Pinder-Wilson, "An Islamic Ewer in Sasanian Style", *Survey of Persian Art, New Studies*, 14 (1967), p.3062.
4. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World* (Leiden, 1972).
5. F.E. Day, *Mesopotamian pottery: Parthian, Sasanian, and Early Islamic* (diss. U. of Michigan, 1940).
6. Mustawfi described "a black statue of a man, larger than life, standing in a temple; some say it is a talisman, others that it is a real man whom God has turned to stone. The kings of that country who were used to visit it and to pay it honour, anointed the statue with oil". It must be acknowledged that Le Strange offers no proof that this description (Mustawfi 175, 176) belongs to the famous cave statue, but even if that is not the case, the principle of a consciousness of the past still holds. For other legends about Alexander and Shapur at Bishapur see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (repr. London, 1966), p.263.
7. Tabari (I, p.244). Again, there are serious problems when it comes to distinguishing between buildings described in the texts under the headings of "the White Palace" or "the Hall of the Khusraws". Nevertheless it can be safely assumed that it was the great arch at Ctesiphon which Ibn al-Faqih (p.255) considered to be one of the marvels of the world, and that it was the same monument which the Caliph al-Mansur's minister Khalid al-Barmaki advised him not to attempt to demolish (Tabari, III, p.320).
8. cf. Takht-i Suleiman, Zendan-i Suleiman, Masjid-i Madar-i Suleiman etc.
9. Many of the local legends were first reported by Major Rawlinson, "Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountains to Khuzistan (Susiana), and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 9 (1839), pp.26-116. For the fullest listing of attributions to the ruins around Qasr-i Shirin, see G. Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidhir* (London, 1914).
10. The discovery of the important corpus of Sasanian stuccowork at Hajjiabad may serve as an illustration of this. See, M. Azarnoush, "Excavations at Hajjiabad, 1977. First Preliminary Report", *Iranica Antiqua*, 18 (1983), pp.159-176.

11. The fullest published record of stuccoes remains E.J. Keall, M.A. Leveque & N. Willson, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird: its architectural decorations", *Iran*, 18 (1980), figs.6-25.
12. cf. E. Esin, "The Cosmic symbolism of the Dracontine Arch and Apotropaic Mask in Turkish symbolism", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, 4 (1973), pp.32-51 [especially fig.IIIb].
13. Pope admonishes those who call it a battlement, preferring instead to see it as the "symbol of the sacred mountain". A.U. Pope, "Mythical and Ritual Elements in the Architecture and Ornament of Persepolis", *Survey of Persian Art. New Studies*, 14 (1967), pp.3015-6.
14. The project was the final focus in 1965 of a Wolfson Fellowship study at the British Institute of Persian Studies, which also furnished an additional grant to cover the costs of the excavations. The intent was to conduct sondages at both Tell-i Badr in Khuzistan and at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, in order to find stratified deposits of Parthian and Sasanian pottery at each site respectively. Changes in the administration of archeology in Iran made it impossible to acquire the permit in time to work at the former site. In any event, both sites were poor choices for the task in mind. It would have been better to select more manageable, isolated tells. However, the discovery of the stucco more than compensates for the frustration of not being able to fulfill the original mandate.
15. For Seleucia, cf. B. Goldman, "The Architectural Decoration", *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris*, ed. C. Hopkins, (Ann Arbor, 1972); (Ashur) W. Andrae & H. Lenzen: *Die Partherstadt Assur*, (W.V.D.O.G., 57), (Leipzig, 1933); (Warka) G. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London, 1857); (Kuh-i Khwaja) E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941); R. Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962); but for the recent suggestion that many of the paintings can now be identified as Sasanian, see T. Kawami, "Kuh-e Khwaja, Iran, and Its Wall Paintings: The Records of Ernst Herzfeld", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 22 (1987), pp.13-52.
16. The various sub-sites appear on maps in E.J. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird. An overview of the monumental architecture", *Iran* 20 (1982), pp.51-72.
17. Keall *et al.*, (1980), fig.7, nos.3 & 6, and cf. Keall (1982) fig.15, and p.71.
18. Keall, (1982), figs.14-16.
19. Details of the events themselves are succinctly summarised by F.M. Donner: *The Early Islamic Conquests*, (Princeton, 1981), pp.210-12.
20. *id.*, p.257.
21. The villagers of Zardeh frequently volunteered information that must be recorded here simply as unsubstantiated folklore.
22. Donner, *op.cit.*, p.212.
23. cf. E.J. Keall, "Ayvan-e Kesra", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, pp.155-159.
24. cf. E.J. Keall, "Bishapur", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, in press.

25. E.J. Keall & M.J. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird: a statistical approach", *Iran*, 19 (1981), p.34.
26. E.J. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird. A Sasanian Palace Stronghold in Persian Kurdistan", *Iran*, 5 (1967), p.99ff.
27. K. Schippmann, "Hinweise und Anmerkungen zu einigen sasanidischen Monumenten", *Iran*, 7(1969), pp.160-162.
28. See W. Kleiss, pp.222-5 in H. v.Gall, "Entwicklung und Gestalt des Thrones in vor-islamischen Iran", *A.M.I.*, [N.F.], 4, (1971), pp.207-35.
29. Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, p.35.
30. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1896), p.693.
31. S. Kambakhsh Fard, "L'Arc de Guirra, monument en pierre", *Traditions architecturales en Iran*, 4 (1976), pp.2ff.
32. There is only one substantive study of Sasanian stucco, namely J. Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor* (Mainz, 1982). There is no equivalent for the Parthian period.
33. E.J. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird: the question of its date", *Iran*, 15 (1977), p.8.
34. Keall & Keall, (1981), p.34.
35. see Keall et al. (1980), fig.12, nos. 3 & 5.

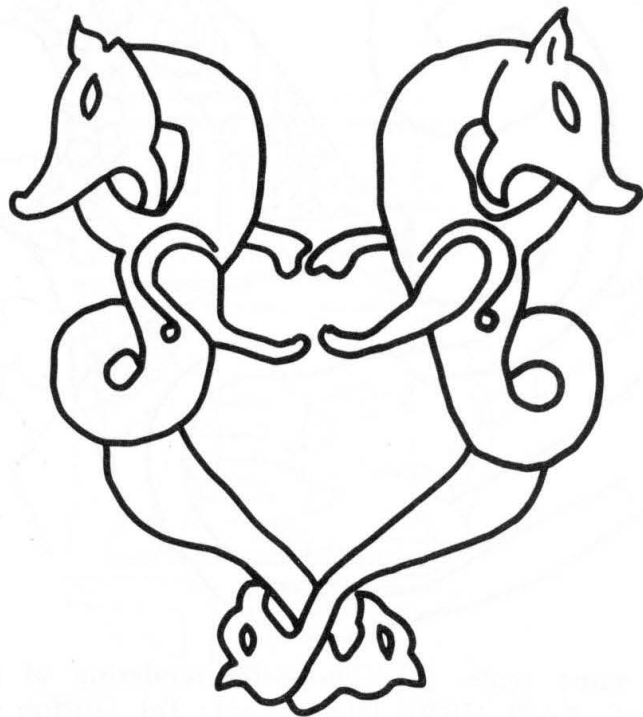


Fig. 1. Not to scale. [a] Composite rendering of intertwined beast motif from engaged capitals, Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, cf. Keall (1980), fig.13, n^o.1; [b] 11th. century Seljuq bronzework illustrated by E. Kuhnel, *Islamische Kunst*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin, 1925), fig.100.

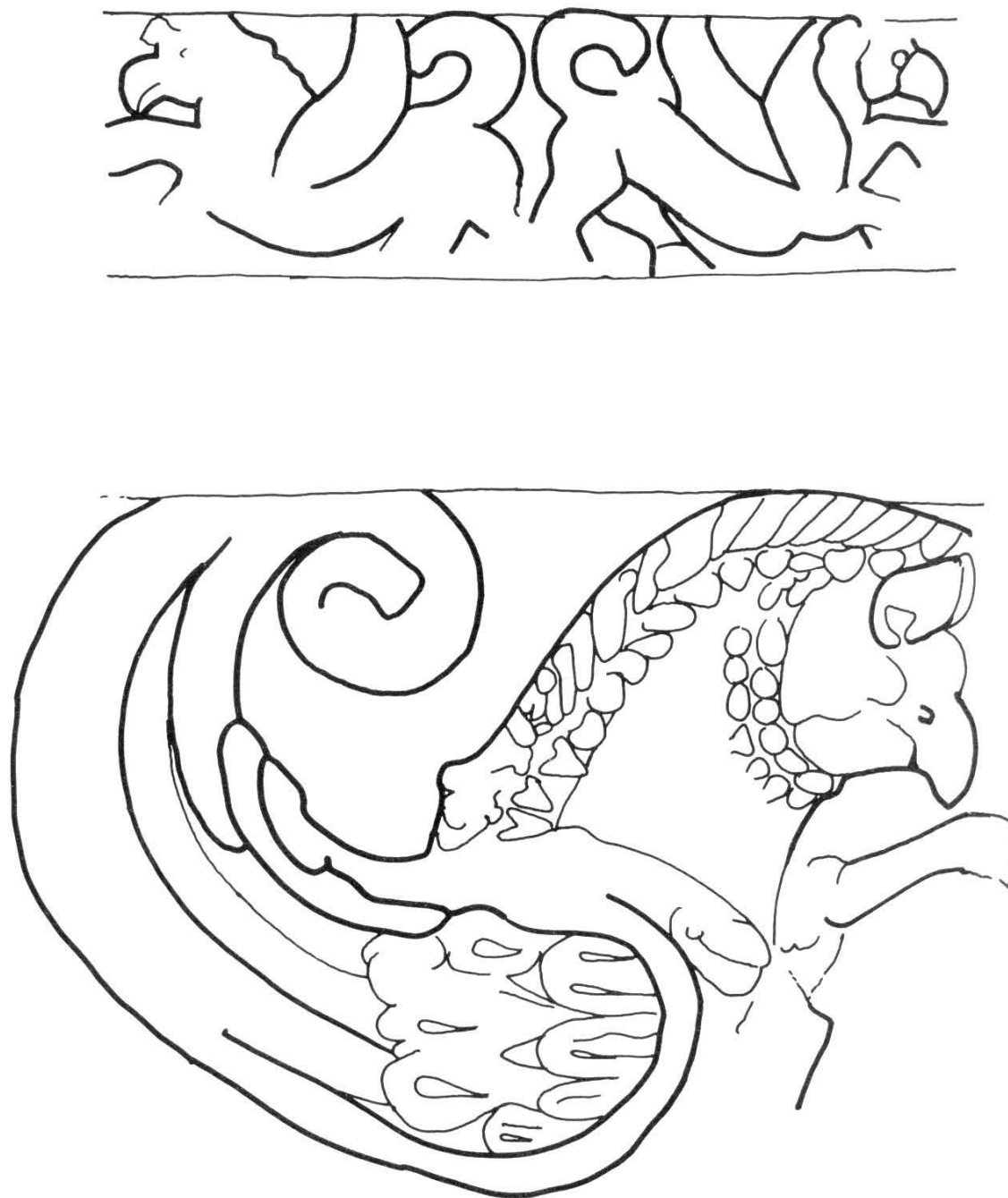
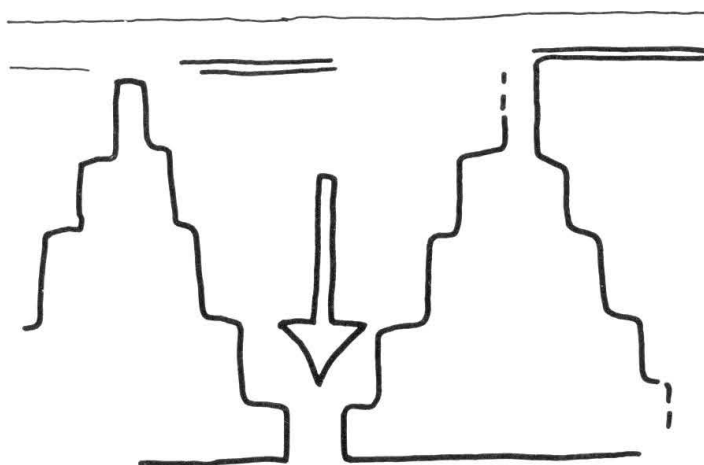
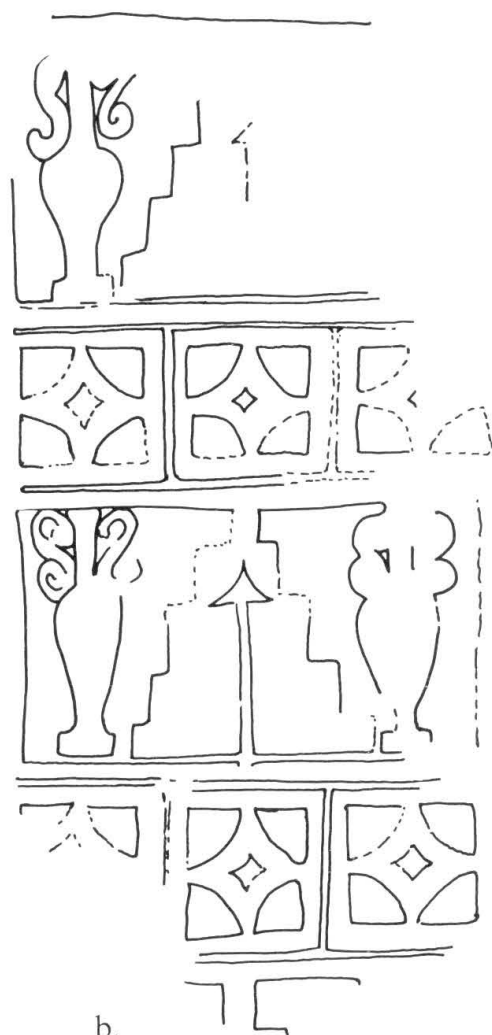


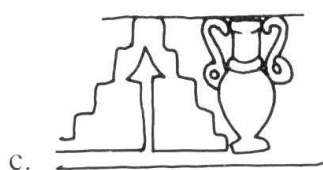
Fig. 2. Figures at same scale. [a] Composite rendering of *senmurv*-griffon, Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, cf. Keall (1980), fig.17, n°1; [b] Griffon procession from Qal'eh-i Yazdigird frieze. Keall (1980) fig.16, n°1.



a.



b.



c.

fig. 3.

Figures at same scale. [a] Stepped merlon frieze. Keall (1980), fig.19, n°2; [b] Stepped merlon and flanking vases panel. Keall (1980), fig.19, n°1.; [c] Stepped merlon and flanking vase frieze. Keall (1980), fig.19, n°3.

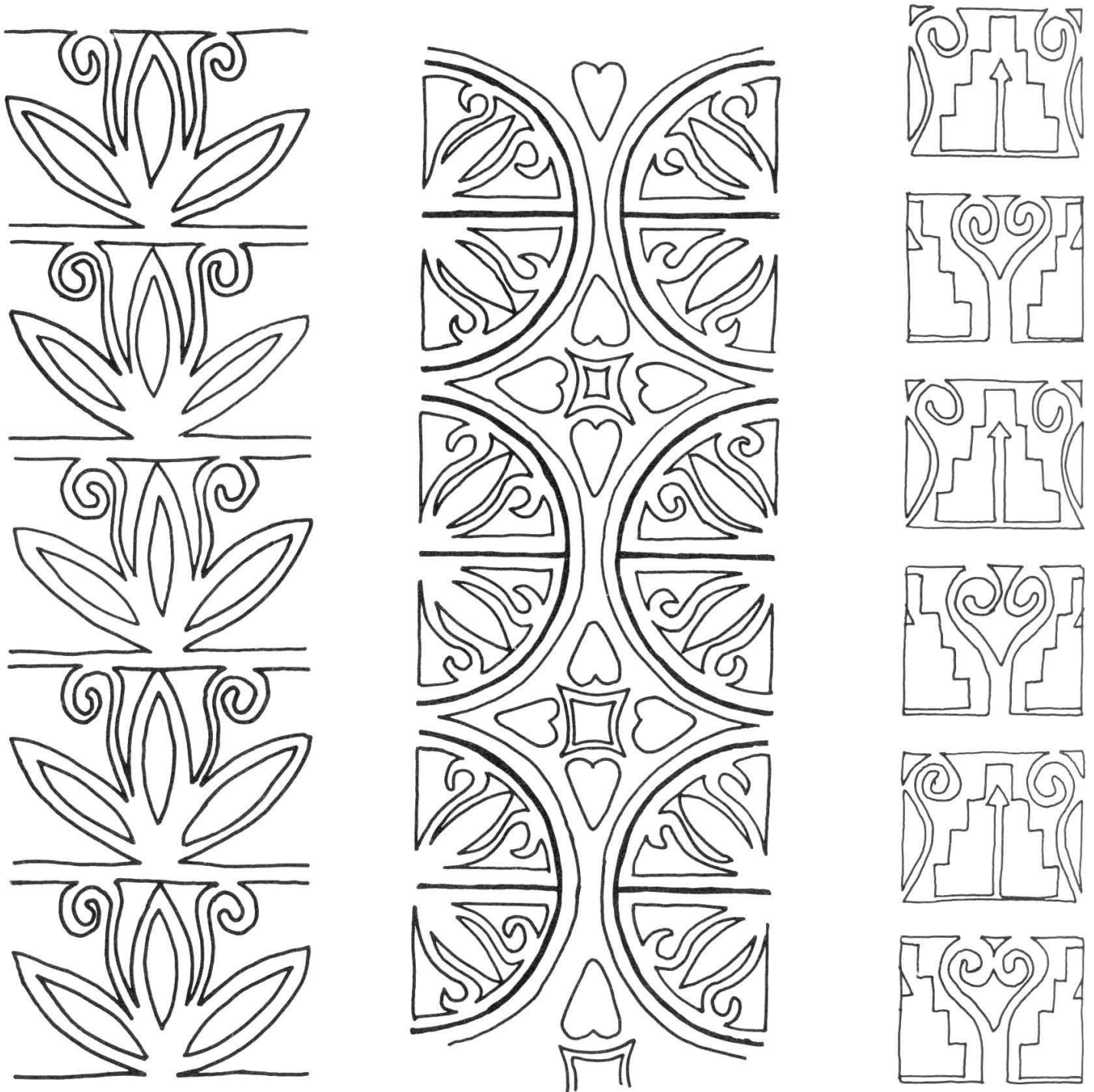


Fig. 4. Figures at same scale. [a] Vertical registers of repeat bud-and-tendrils motif, Qal'eh-i Yazdigird. Keall (1980), fig.4, n°1, panel 1c; [b] Vertical panel of bud-and-tendrils motif within split roundels. Keall (1980), fig.4, n°1, panel 1n; [c] Vertical registers of repeat stepped merlon and tendrils device. Keall (1980), fig.4, n°2, panel 2j.

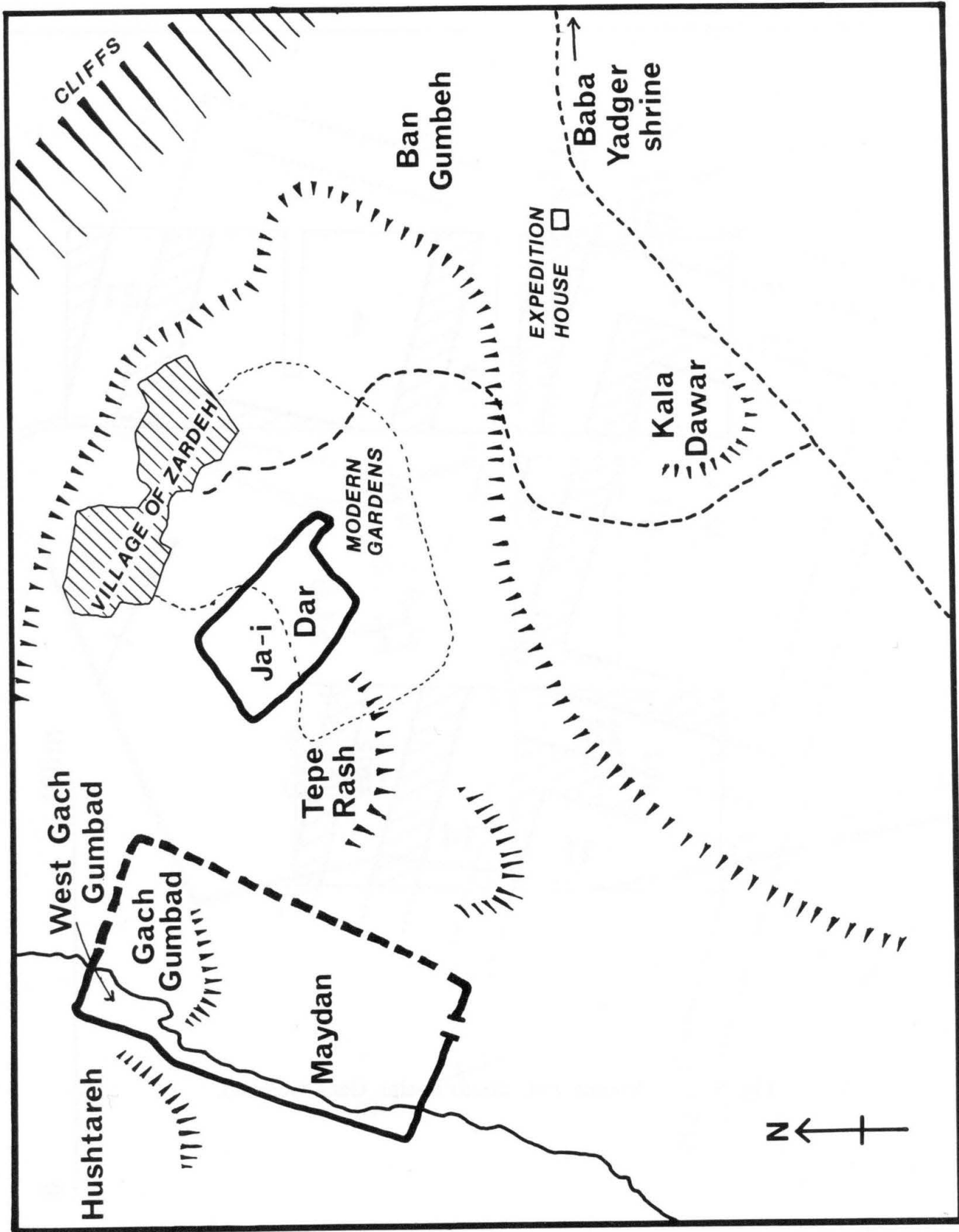


Fig. 5. Qal'eh-i Yazdigird site map showing relationship of Hushtareh, Gach Gumbad and Kala Dawar.

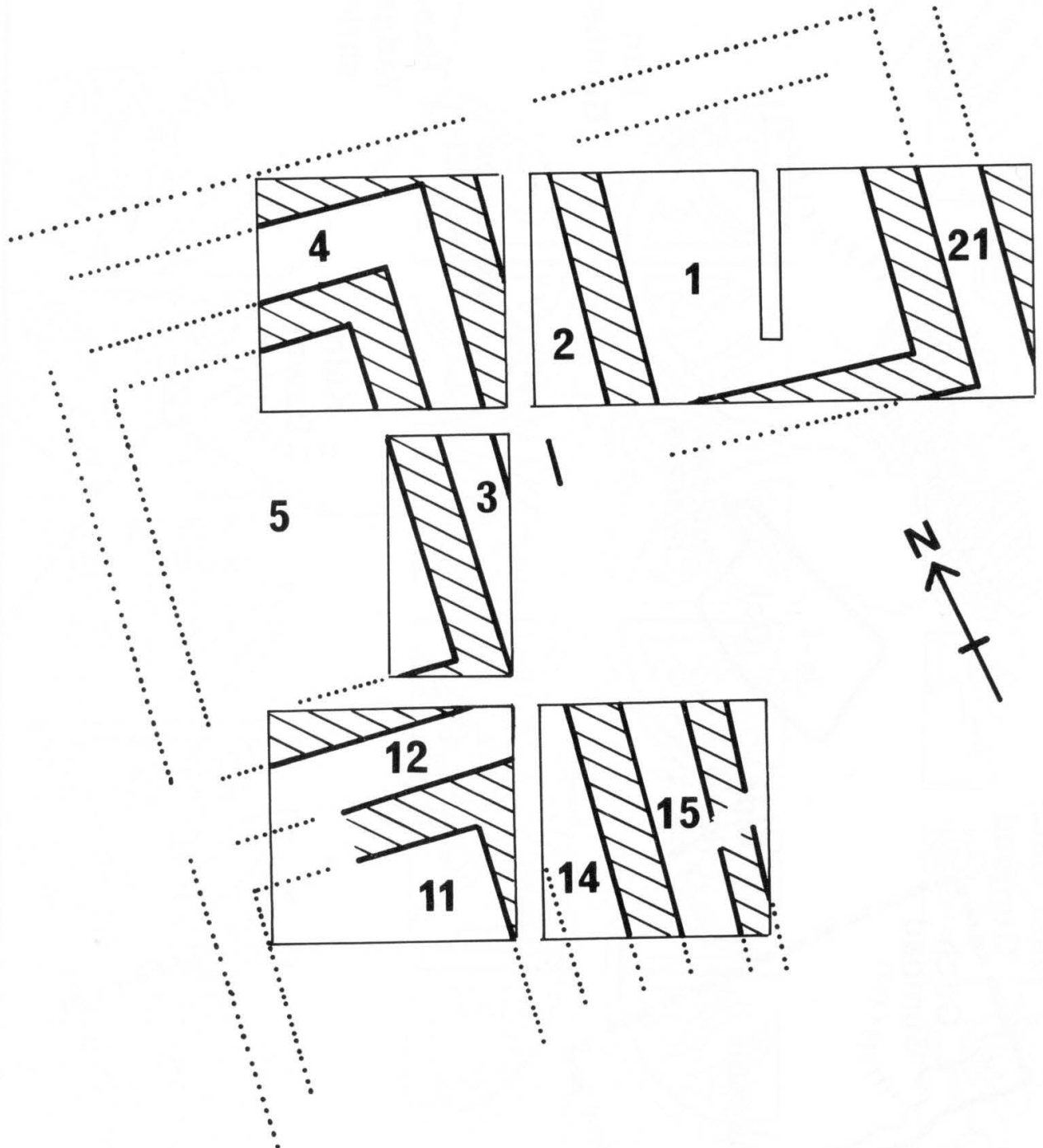


Fig. 6. Rooms with stucco in situ, Gach Gumbad.

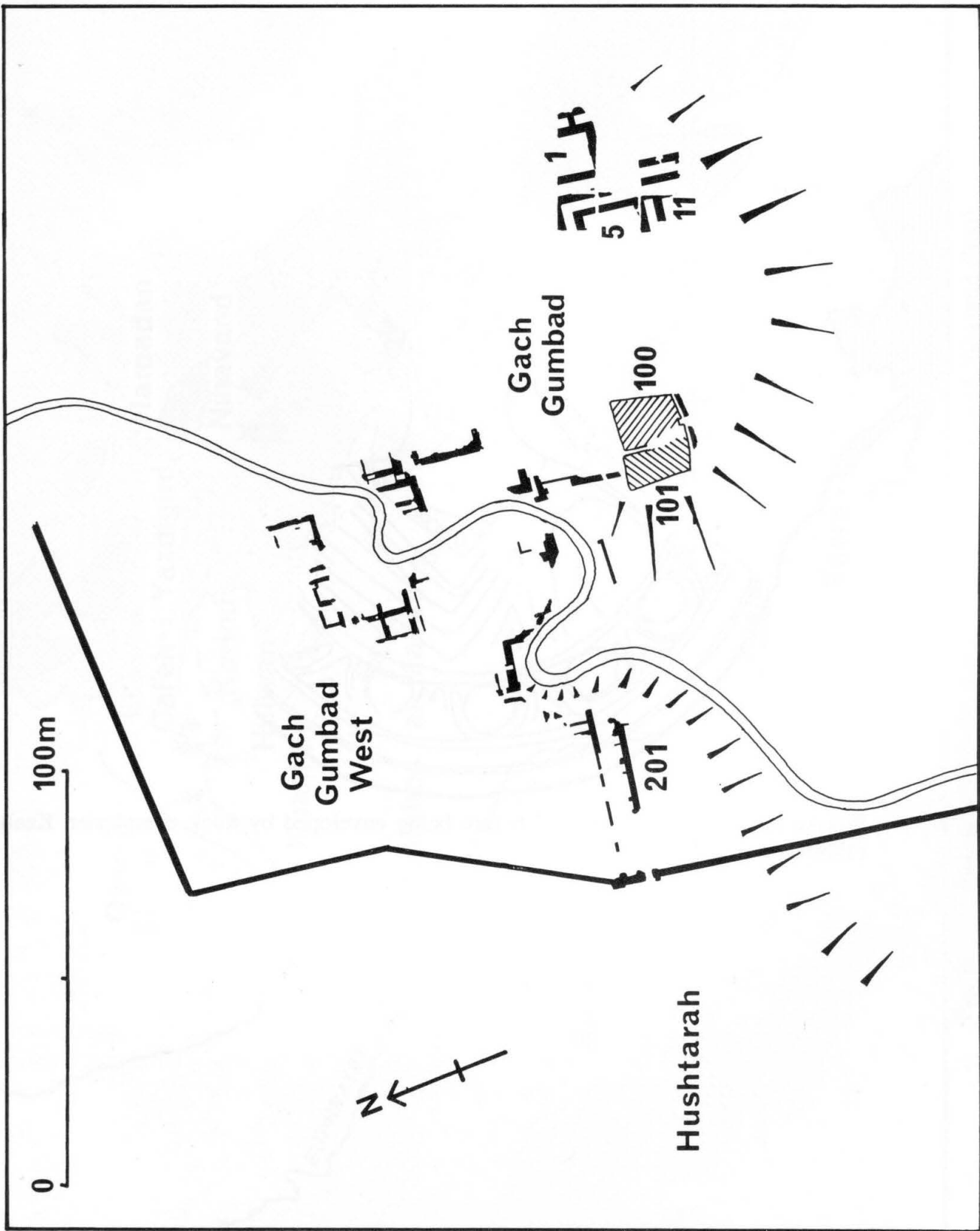


Fig. 7. Gach Gumbad and Hushtarrah site map.



Fig. 8. Portrait bust which was defaced before being enveloped by thick overplaster. Keall (1980), fig.6, n°3.

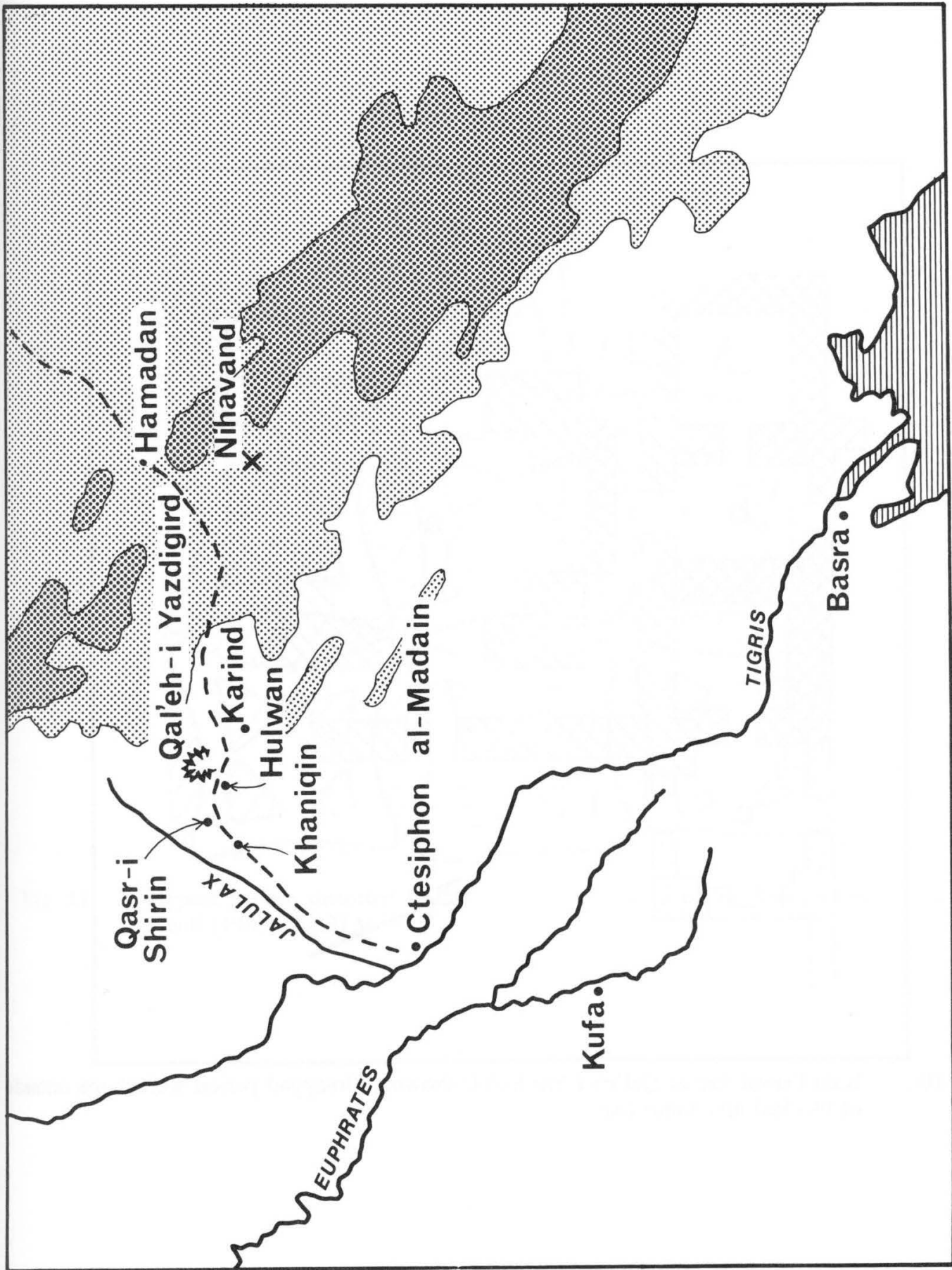


Fig. 9. Places between the battle sites of Jalula (Iraq) and Nihavand (Iran).

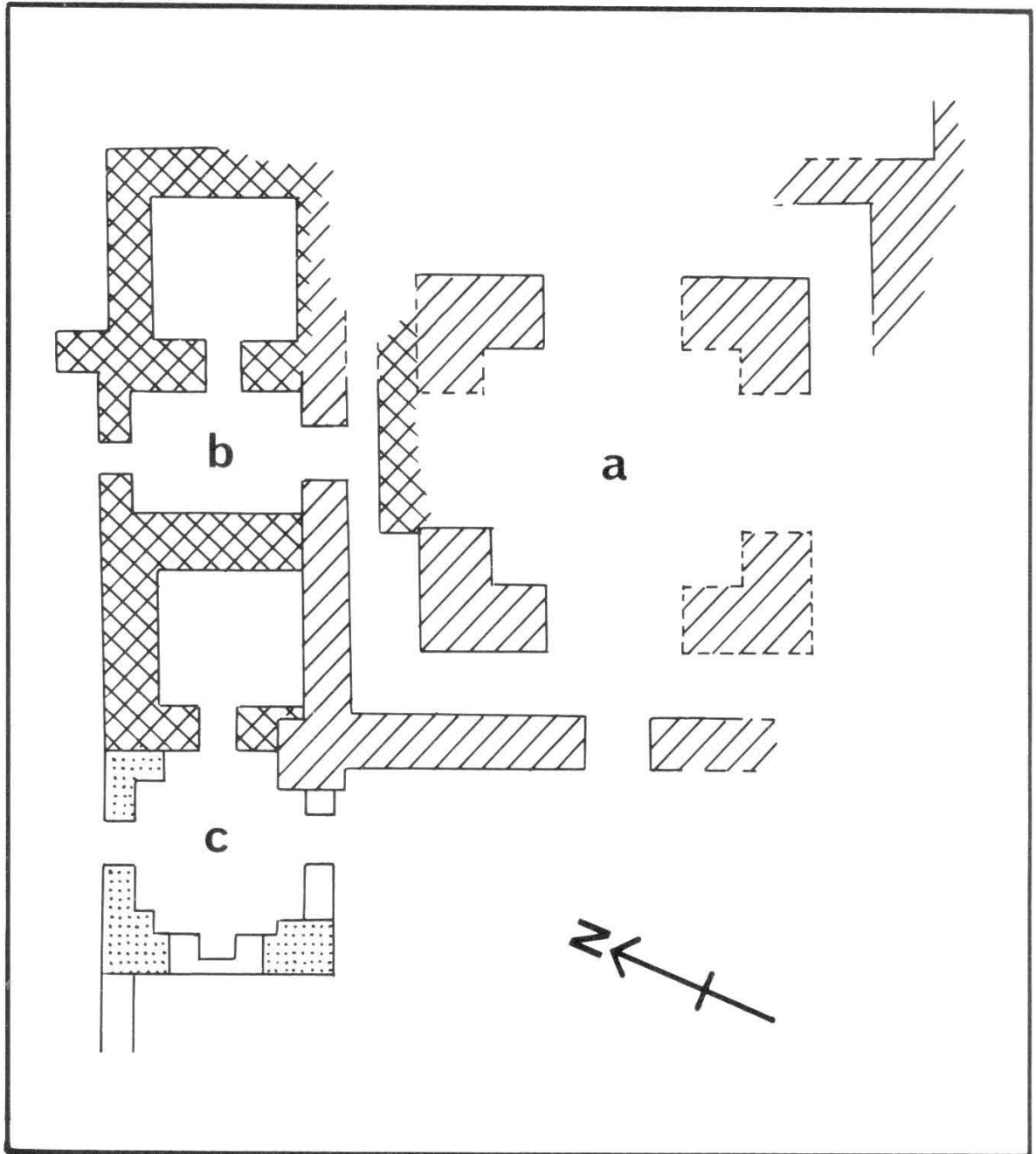


Fig. 10. Kala Dawar site at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, showing Umayyad period workshops outside of blocked-up *chahar taq*.

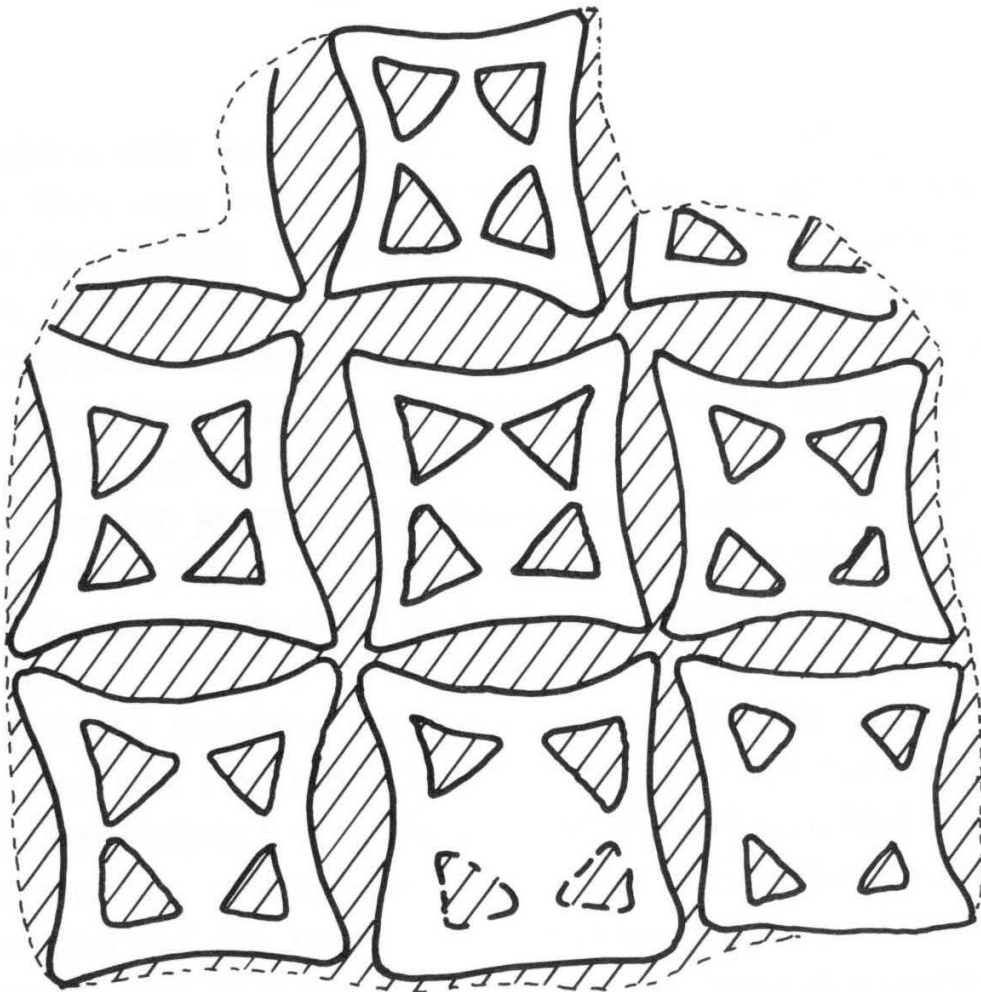


Fig. 11. Repeat pattern distorted from the original concept of an inter-locking circle motif.
Keall (1980), fig.21, n°5.