The Tang-e Qandil Bas-Relief: A Reconsideration

Sasanika Archaeology 15 2013

Milād Vandāee*

Department of Archaeology, Hamedan Branch, Islamic Azad University, Hamedan, Iran

Translated by: Greg Watson

Introduction

The Sasanian bas-relief in the Qandil Gorge, is one that has been the subject of much debate in the archaeological community over the identities of the individuals represented in it. The work itself is one of the least accessible examples of Sasanian art, and was the last of its type to come to the attention of archaeologists. This paper is the outcome of three investigations conducted by the author in the years 2008, 2009 and 2012, which were presented in a Persian article titled "A Review of the Depiction of Narseh in Sasanian Pictorial Bas-Reliefs", published in volume one of the book *Sasanian Pictorial Bas-Reliefs I* written by this author, which compared the Tang-e Qandil relief with representations in the Barm-e Dilak I and Naghsh-e Rostam VIII reliefs (Vandāii, 2013). The current paper first considers the location of the relief and its dimensions. It then briefly describes the composition and discusses the varying understandings of different scholars. The paper concludes with this writer's own considered view of the identities of the figures depicted in the work.

Location of the Bas-Relief

The Tang-e Qandil relief is positioned just off the Kāzerun-Nurābād Mamasani road at geographical coordinates 29˚ 53' 02" N and 51˚ 34' 30" E, about 35 kilometres south of the city of Kāzerun and 27.7 kilometres north of the town of Nurābād Mamasani. A Mr Sarfarāz reported in 1972 that he was the discoverer the work. Within the historical

* mvandaii@yahoo.com

geography of its own time, the relief is 20 km southwest of the Sasanian city of Bishapur (see *Archaeological Researchers' Annual Report*[1], 1974-75, p. 105) (*Map 1*).

This is one of the most inaccessible Sasanian pictorial reliefs, and to reach it one must first follow the road from Nurābād Mamasani to Tang-e Chugān and from there turn onto the Qandil village road, following it towards the village for one kilometre. At this point, a very rough, rock-strewn foot track begins, which must be traversed to cover the remaining 200 meters to the site of the relief (*Map 2*). The work is carved into a stone boulder six by five meters in dimension, which sits in the middle of a seasonal stream. Unfortunately, no measures have been taken to protect the site and a great part of the work is under water in times of seasonal flood (*Image 1*).

Dimensions of the Bas-Relief

Length, breadth and height of the boulder:	6 x 5 x 4.4 meters
Height of the relief above the natural land surface:	1 meter
Width and height of the work itself:	2.17 x 2.74 meters
Number of figures depicted:	3 people

Figure 1 (on left):

Height: 2.11 meters Shoulder width: 0.50 meters Depth: 0.07 meters

Figure 2 (in centre):

Height: 2.15 meters Shoulder width: 0.75 meters Depth: 0.06 to 0.1 meters

Figure 3 (on right):

Height: 2.10 meters Shoulder width: 0.66 meters Depth: 0.07 meters

Previous Scholarly Work Done on the Relief

The relief is located in a gorge 2 kilometers northwest of Qandil village. The first report on it was published in the magazine *Tahghighāt-e Tārikhi*[2] under the title "Discovery of One of the Most Important Notable Bas-Reliefs of the Sasanian Period"[3], written by Ali Akbar Sarfarāz. In reports in 1974, he claimed to have discovered the relief himself, although Richard Nelson Frye wrote that he had viewed the relief for a second time in

[1] گزارش سالانه پژوهش های باستان شناسی
[2] تحقیقات تاریخی
[3] کشف یکی از مهمترین نقوش برجسته ی جالب توجه دوره ی ساسانی

1972, after someone named Karim Razmjoo who was then in his second year at Hedāyat Primary School in Shirāz, but had lived in Qandil village, discovered and reported the find to the Shirāz office of the then Ministry of Culture and Art (Frye, 1974, p. 188). The Shirāz office then informed an archaeologist to excavate in this locality (Frye, 1974, p. 189). Sarfarāz, who was then on a dig at Bishāpur, and was the closest qualified archaeologist in the area, came to the site which was duly excavated under his supervision.

The word *qandil* (قندیل) is defined in the Amid (عمید) Dictionary to mean 'hanging lamp' (چراغ آویز), or 'torch suspended from the ceiling' (مشعلی که از سقف آویزان می کنند) (Amid 1981, p. 1591), although Frye believes the word means 'quiver' (تیردان), (Frye, 1974, p. 189).

It must be remembered that the antiquity of Qandil village has yet to be archaeologically or scientifically determined, and the writer could not find any evidence, such as diagnostic potsherds from the historical period, in the course of a surface survey of the region around the relief. Frye's theory that the area was used as a hunting park by Sasanian monarchs, because the region's natural environment was highly attractive and unmodified, is possibly more plausible than assuming there was a settlement site associated with the monument.

Description of the Bas-Relief

The composition of the Qandil Gorge relief is a tableau of three figures, and as with other pictorial stone reliefs, was executed at a site alongside running water, with a congenial climate. Of course, there is a possibility that the relief may have moved or rolled to its present position over the course of time, since this Sasanian relief is the only one that was not chiseled into an immovable mountain side. Translocation from its original position by the seasonal river in which it sits may even be probable. The important thing is the existence of the holy element, water, beside the work (*Image 2 and sketch 1*).

The first figure on the left is a lady holding a flower, facing two male figures. The man in the center has his back to the other male figure (on the right), who holds a ring in his hand.

The First Figure on the Left (Āzar Ānāhita)

The lady standing on the left is facing the king, in a posture of passing something to him, probably a flower. The female figure's face is rendered in three-quarter profile and is much abraded. The facial features are all but indiscernible. Her hair is coiffured into a level above her head, gathered and tied just above the scalp, above which it busts into a bouquet-like mass, much like that depicted above the female figure in the Narseh bas-relief at Naghsh-e Rostam VIII, with the difference that the latter figure wears a crown. Instead, the hair of the figure at Qandil is adorned with a small ribbon device, which extends out the back, and is probably a continuation of the ribbon that secures the hair above her head (*Image 3)*. The necklace she wears is the one commonly seen around the necks of noble Sasanians, composed of round stones that are probably pearls. She has very broad shoulders and her arms are no less well built than those of the male figures also carved into the relief. This is somewhat unusual for a woman and can be understood to be one of the work's technical weaknesses. The woman's right hand is depicted held out, proffering a flower to the king, below her left hand, which is held up to her mouth. The act of holding a hand covered with sleeve to one's mouth was part of the etiquette required when paying respect to Sasanian kings.

The figure's garment is a full-length pleated gown, gathered at the waist, which resembles the depictions of clothing on women in the mosaics in the castle at Bishāpur. The gown is fastened around the figure's waist by a belt. The lower portion of the body is dominated by pleating or folds of fabric that have been well rendered by the sculptor. Alongside the folds of fabric around her waist, we see a further skirt-like layer of folds that spills out to a point below her knees and is fastened behind her back by the belt. The woman's right leg is bent slightly at the knee, inclining forward more prominently than the left leg, which serves to confirm that the woman's body is also sculpted in three-quarter profile. Although the gown runs right down to the bottom of the figure and we cannot see any part of her feet, the area of gown around her ankles is rendered in a way suggesting that her two feet are splayed apart, facing away from each other (*image 5*).

The Figure Second from Left (Narseh)

Facing the female figure is a central male who is more prominent than the other two figures in the relief. This centrality and greater prominence are two of the important conventions in Sasanian bas-reliefs which allow the viewer to distinguish representations of the king from other figures depicted in the same scene. There are also other reasons to consider this individual a king, very likely Narseh (r. 293-303 CE) (see conclusion), although for the sake of simplicity we will continue to refer to the figure simply as 'the king' (*Image 6*).

The crown on this figure is neither like the crowns of princes – in other words it doesn't have faunal elements – nor is it similar to the specific style of crown worn by Sasanian kings. The king's head is rendered in profile, with a mass of hair protruding out from both sides, as in the reliefs of Shāpur I in the Chugān Gorge and the Cave of Shāpur, which is again a convention in sculpted representations of Sasanian monarchs. The face of the king has been completely obliterated, and no identifying facial features remain. His necklace is well attested as the one worn by Sasanian kings and is composed of a string of large pearls strung together. The king's right hand is bent, extending out toward the female figure in the process of taking the flower from her (*Image 4)*. His left hand is also bent clutching the hilt of the sword at his side. There are two studs positioned at his midriff to which his cape is connected. Although the work in this area is somewhat abraded, the cape is easily recognizable from other Sasanian period designs. The king's belt is secured around his waist, meeting at two circular elements which are probably either a knot or the belt's particular buckle. His tunic divides the garment into two parts. Below the belt, the tunic descends to a point just above the knees and has a few fine creases or pleats. The king's cape also has adornments and attractive pleats/folds that strike the viewer immediately. The king rests his left hand on the hilt of a sword, the scabbard of which is attached to probably a leather strap around the waist. The king's posture is also a conventional one used specifically to represent Sasanian monarchs. The sheathed sword extends down to an area around the ankles, but due to the passage of time and a lack of conservancy measures, has suffered a lot of damage.

The king's trousers emerge from beneath his tunic just above the knees and must be secured under the rest of the garment by the belt (Gheibi, 2006, p. 223). The trousers extend down to the ankles, fastened inside above the shoes like a cuff. The body of the

king is rendered full-frontally and his two feet are splayed out facing opposite directions. His trousers are known as *rānpās* (رانپا هایی), which were worn by the Sasanian kings at times of war or when hunting. This sort of trouser also had an every-day function. Below them, in keeping with Sasanian sumptuary conventions, the king's shoes have ties that went around and under the footwear. These can be clearly seen in the relief (*Image 8*).

Figure on the Right (Bahrām III)

The figure third from left holds aloft a ring. There is a strong possibility that this male figure is Bahrām III. The reason for this claim is that enough of the equine princely crown in the image remains, despite the destruction of a greater portion of the upper part it, for us to identify it as one we know from some of the coins of Bahrām II, who had the head of his son, the crown prince, wearing his own specific faunal crowns, struck alongside his own. There are also other sound reasons to come to this conclusion and they will be addressed further on. The face of this figure, like his crown, is mostly obliterated and only his ear and nose can be made out. Behind his head is a mass of braided hair that extends out from beneath the crown, to his shoulders (*Image 7*). Bahram's necklace is the same one depicted around his neck in the Naghsh-e Rostam VIII relief (*Image 10*), where it has survived in better condition. The necklace at Tang-e Qandil is highly abraded and now appears as a thick cord into which jewels might have been set.

Bahrām's right hand, like the right hand of Narseh, is shown somewhat awkwardly bent, holding aloft a ring, apparently in the act of conferring it on Narseh, even though Narseh has his back to Bahram. The chest and arms of this figure have been sculpted in an attractive idealistic manner. If the shoulders of the female figure had been executed in this manner, we could have considered it a weakness of the sculptor's art, but here it must be viewed as a point of stylistic strength. The left hand of the prince is also posed on the hilt of his sword, which is fastened around his waist by a belt and scabbard. As with Narseh, there are two studs or buttons in the middle of the figure's torso, to which his cloak is fastened. The two sides of the cloak are open. These cloaks or capes are depicted open, in a way suggestive of their being caught in a breeze. The prince is wearing a two-part tunic fastened in the middle by a belt. The figure's trousers have suffered the worst amount of damage of any other portion in the whole relief, and have been all but

completely lost, although remnants survive at the lower-most portion, which tells us that the trousers are like the ones Narseh is wearing, known as *rānpā* (رانپا). This figure's shoes also have ties that go around and under the arch of the foot, as with the shoes on the figure of Narseh (*Image 9*).

Chronology and Assessment of the Bas-Relief

A number of theories about the Tang-e Qandil relief circulate today among the archaeological community. Sarfarāz believed the work dated to the reign of Shāpur I (241-272 CE). He identified the first figure as Shāpur's wife, Āzar Ānāhitā, giving the king a flower; and the figure on the right conferring the ring of kingship (the 'hoop'), as the high priest Kartir (Sarfarāz 1972, p. 56). De Waele attributes this relief, together with the Barm-e Dilak relief to the reign of Bahrām II, and identifies the female figure as the deity Ānāhitā (De Waele, 1978, pp. 9-32). Ghirshman considers the central figure to be Bahram II, the figure on the right to be Kartir and the lady in the tableaux to be Shāpur Dokhtak (Ghirshman, 1972, pp. 75-79). Lukonin and Herrmann hold a similar opinion to that of Ghirshman, concerning the identification of the figures (Lukonin, 1979, p. 113; Herrmann and Curtis, 2002, pp. 371-76). Vanden Berghe also follows Ghirshman and Lukonin's attribution, with the difference that he identifies the figure behind the supposed Bahrām II as Bahrām III.[4] Lastly, Richard Nelson Frye considers the king in the relief to be Hormazd I (Frye, 1976, pp. 19-44). Levit-Tawil advances a theory that is interesting in itself, proposing that both the Qandil Gorge and Barm-e Dilak reliefs date to the reign of Ardashir I (224-241 CE) (Levit-Tawil, 1993 ,pp. 167-168).

The absence in this work of the crown specific to Bahram II (276-293 CE) is a fact which unambiguously discounts the identifications of De Waele, Ghirshman, Lukonin and Vanden Berghe. In all surviving reliefs of this king, including those at Sar Mashhad, Guyum and Sarāb-e Bahrām, he is depicted with his unique winged crown, or a symbol of the deity Bahrām (Verethragna) (Vandaii, 2011a, p. 139). The ideas put forth by Hins and Frye do not seem quite right either, because the central figure in the Qandil Gorge

[4] For further information see L. Vanden Berghe (1973), "De inconografische betekenis van het Sasanidisch rots relief van Sarab-I Qandil (Iran), *Letteren*, Vol. XXXV, No.1, Mededelingen van de Konin-Klijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Brussels. With a summary in French.

work has neither a crown similar to the ones shown on the coins of Hormazd I (272-273 CE), nor any resemblance to Bahrām I's crown in the relief at Tang-e Chugān.

The writer of the present article believes the work dates to the reign of Shāpur I's third son, Narseh (293-303 CE). To make the case for this claim, it is first necessary to examine why Sarfarāz's theory that the relief represents Shāpur I may be rejected. Following this, the identification of Narseh will be discussed.

A New Identification

Shāpur I (241-272) was a king who sought to project his power and is depicted in all bas-reliefs attributed to him, including those at Naghsh-e Rajab, Naghsh-e Rostam and Tang-e Chugān, astride his own war horse. No relief is securely attributed to him that shows him standing on his feet, which is the posture in which the king at Qandil is depicted.

In all the works mentioned, without exception, Shāpur I is depicted with his unique crenellated crown, which closely resembles the crown of Ahurā Mazdā. The crown atop the king figure at Tang-e Qandil is not that of Shāpur. Also, in all well attested representations, he is depicted with a beard which is gathered into a tuft by a ring below his chin. This beard style is not unique to Shāpur I, but was in fact a mark of Sasanian kingship. Princes, upon assuming the throne, received the sole right to wear their beard in this manner. This conclusion is supported by the example of Shāpur himself, who appears as crown prince in the reliefs of his father Ardashir I Papakan without this style of beard (Firuzābād I and Naghsh-e Rajab II). The Tang-e Qandil king does not have this style of beard, which may be an indication the figure sculpted in the position of king, had not been long on the throne. Shāpur I at all times endeavored to project both his power and imperial majesty, and promote the heavy defeat he had inflicted on the Romans. This recognition of the importance of public display led him to have his monuments sculpted in public places, such as on roads or places of religious significance such as the Naghsh-e Rostam, where people could see them. However, the Qandil Gorge relief is not on a public road nor in a place the king could have been paid homage to. Rather, it is in a probable hunting park in which it may only ever have been for the idle enjoyment of a small circle of those of noble blood.

There is no relief associated even with Shāpur I's inscription at Hājiābād, in which the king recounts in detail a hunting expedition in the company of his high ranking courtiers. In qualitative terms, the Tang-e Qandil relief does not measure up to the standards of the works of Shāpur I. The reason for this lower quality may have something to do with the diminished political significance of this relief relative to those other works.

In Sarfarāz's opinion, the figure standing behind the king in the Qandil Gorge relief is Kartir, high priest in the early Sasanian period, who is conferring the royal diadem on the king. However, as we know, Kartir's power during the reign of Shāpur was much more circumscribed that is was subsequently to become. We know this because in Shāpur I's Ka'abeh-ye Zartosht inscription, Kartir is only mentioned in the final line of courtiers as '*Kartir Hirbed*', a mid-ranking clerical post, which suggests his then relatively low noble-religious ranking (Akbarzādeh and Tāvousi, 2006, p. 82). Even in the Naghsh-e Rajab relief, in which Shāpur is accompanied by a row of eminent Sasanians, we find no sign of Kartir, and it is hard to see how we can square his evidently low status during this king's reign, with him suddenly appearing in another relief with the power to confer the symbol of kingship on the king. Moreover, the king in this composition has his back to the figure of the supposed Kartir. We also know that it was only during the reigns of the three Bahrāms that Kartir became powerful (Schippmann, 1990, p. 32), and before this time had absolutely no authority to commission a bas-relief. It is only during the reign of Bahrām II that we begin to see him appearing in his own right in scenes, or alongside Bahrām's family.

The Qandil Gorge relief can be considered to be in the category of family portraits, first because of the presence of a woman in the work, and second because the lower artistic quality of the work suggests its minor political importance. Also, with the exception of the pictorial relief of Ardashir I at Naghsh-e Rajab, we have absolutely no family portraits before the reign of Bahrām II. All previous sculptures were of kings, coronations, cavalry scenes, court scenes, or tableaux in which enemy captives are being taken.

This writer is in agreement with Mr Sarfarāz on one point – the identity of the female figure in the relief, Āzār Ānāhitā – although here, she is not the wife of Shāpur, but rather the mother of Narseh. This reasoning is based on the idea that Āzār Ānāhitā's act of

giving or conferring a flower on the king suggests she has a higher rank than the male figure, and it seems unlikely that Shāpur I, possessing all the royal majesty settled on him by the ring of Ahurā Mazdā, and having vanquished the army of Imperial Rome, would receive a flower from a woman who is his mere wife.

The larger figure standing in the middle of the relief is very probably the king, because only a king could have commissioned a bas-relief to commemorate himself. But why does this figure of a king have neither a royal crown nor royal beard?

Narseh was a member of the royal family whose claim to the throne had been in abeyance during the reigns of the Bahrāms I and II. Despite this, he was given the title *Great King of Armenia,* which allowed him to nurture his claim through the reigns of his putative brother (Bahrām I) and nephew (Bahrām II), and then emerge to defeat their weak successor, Bahrām III, claiming the throne in 293 CE (Schippmann, 1990, p. 33). This relief is of the family portrait genre, among which we have another relief of Narseh in a family setting at Naghsh-e Rostam. There, the king is depicted in the act of receiving the ring of kingship from a lady.

Narseh, who could neither see himself as a minor prince here, nor may yet have been in a position to place the royal crown on his head, selected a crown that was unique – without faunal forms or what we would consider a typically royal Sasanian crown. It is this crown that we see on his head in the Qandil Gorge and at Barm-e Dilak. Narseh describes his father in the Pāykuli inscription as a powerful and honest king, portraying him as a model for kingship in the Iranian Empire (Akbarzādeh and Tāvousi, 2006, p. 78). He tried hard to emulate his father to the point that he started a war with Rome, as his father had done. The Pāykuli inscription is also modeled on the Shāpur's Ka'abeh-ye Zartosht inscription. The reconstruction of the remaining pieces of this inscription revealed that at the middle of each side, there was a royal bust (probably Narseh's), which appears to be highly similar to Narseh's crown depicted at Tang-e Qandil and Barm-e Dilak (*Figure 1*). In this relief, Narseh is also trying to portray himself as the worthy heir of his father. The clothing, sword, hair style and even his profile resemble in all particulars those of Shāpur, albeit that Narseh does not wear the royal crown or beard.

The figure standing behind Narseh has a faunal crown, an indication that he is a prince. Much of this crown has been lost, although enough of the upper portion remains that it can be

identified as a horse's head. This form of crown is specific to Bahrām III, and we see it again in Bahrām II's inscriptions and in the reliefs at Sar Mashhad and the Naghsh-e Rostam. Moreover, Bahrām II was in the habit of minting commemorative coins struck with the head of the crown prince (Bahrām III) alongside his own and that of his queen, which allows us to unambiguously ascribe the crown's form to Bahrām III. In several of the coins of Bahram II, Bahram III is even depicted holding the ring of kingship (*Image 11*).

We know this figure, with his particular crown, from the Naghsh-e Rostam relief but he has always been talked about as 'a noble', and little further attention has been paid to him. In the scene at Naghsh-e Rostam, Bahram III is depicted behind Narseh, as one of the individuals participating in Narseh's coronation, wearing his horse-headed princely crown, with his hand raised in a gesture of respect (*see image 11*). There is a belief among some scholars that Narseh had Bahrām III killed after defeating him, although others, such as Christensen, are of the belief that Bahram III governed parts of eastern Iran after his war with Narseh (Christensen, 1944, p. 156), and even attribute the minting of some coins to him (Pākzādiyān, 2005, p. 85). The current writer also believes that Bahrām III was not killed. It was an aristocrat called 'Wahunām' (or Wahnam) who Narseh punished in the most humiliating and brutal manner possible for the crime of facilitating the enthronement of Bahrām III. Narseh recounts in the Pāykuli inscription how he mounted Wahuman on a sick donkey and had him brought before the court in Bishāpur (Akbarzādeh and Tāvousi, 2006, p. 77). However, no mention whatsoever is made of the punishment of the main actor Bahrām III. Moreover, Kartir was still alive at this time and is mentioned in the Pāykuli inscription, and may have been able to intervene on behalf of Bahrām III to ensure he was not killed by Narseh. Having won the throne, Narseh was nurturing priorities that did not include provoking a debilitating internal revolt, such as his predecessor Bahrām II had faced in the east of Iran. He immediately turned his attention to mounting an attack on the Roman Empire. The pragmatic act of keeping Bahrām III alive may have forestalled an uprising in the east of the Iranian Empire.

Conclusion

The Qandil Gorge bas-relief can be attributed to the year Narseh defeated Bahrām III in 293 CE. Bahrām III is depicted conferring the ring of kingship on Narseh, and is identifiable because he is dressed the same way as he is shown on some of the coins of his father Bahrām II. As noted elsewhere, there is a strong possibility that the Bahrāms came from another noble family (Vandāii, 2011b, p. 5), and their mother was not in fact Āzar Ānāhitā. It may be for this reason that Narseh has his back turned to Bahram's ring of kingship, as a way of emphasizing that sovereignty and power belong to only the Sasanian royal family and no other. Narseh, who was highly conscious of being the son and heir of Shāpur and the grandson of Ardashir, could only have received the royal diadem from the hands of his mother who may be depicted here conferring a flower on him. The Tang-e Qandil relief may depict the moment when Āzar Ānāhitā congratulates Narseh on his victory and officially recognizes him as king. The Naghsh-e Rostam relief follows this chronologically, depicting the moment when she formally passes the royal diadem to him. From this we can extrapolate the reason why Narseh does not wear the crown or beard associated with Sasanian kingship in the Qandil Gorge relief: this image commemorates his victory over Bahrām III, precedes his coronation, but nonetheless serves to confirm that he has been acknowledged king of Iran in Bishāpur by his mother, and by the noble family of the Bahrāms.

This writer contends that the Tang-e Qandil relief dates to the time of Narseh, the seventh king of the Sasanian dynasty, specifically the moment he defeated Bahrām III and humiliated the rebel Wahunam. The relief is sited close to Bishāpur and may have been commissioned to immortalize this important event in the king's life and the history of the Sasanian *Shāhanshāhs*. He was sculpted in the act of receiving a flower from his mother, Āzar Ānāhitā, in the year 293 CE.

Bibliography

Akbarzādeh, Dāriyush and Mohammad Tāvousi

2006, {کتیبه های فارسی میانه {پهلوی ساسانی}, translated as *Middle Persian Inscriptions: Sasanian Pahlavi*, Naqsh Hasti Publishing House, Tehran. (Persian)

Amid, Hasan

1981, فرهنگ فارسی عمید, translated as *The Amid Persian Dictionary*, Vol. 1 and 2, Amir Kabir Publishing House, Tehran. (Persian)

Christiensen, A.

1944, *L'Iran sous les sasanides*, 2.Aufl., Copenhagen. (French)

Erdman, K.

1951, "Die Entwichklung der Sasanidischen Krone", *Ars Islamica*, Nos. 45-46, pp. 87-123. (German)

Ghirshman, R.

1972, "Un nouveau bas-relief sassanide", *mélanges G. Widengern II*, pp. 75-79. (French)

Frye, Richard Nelson

1974, "The Sasanian Bas-relief at Tang-I Qandil", *Iran*, Vol. 12, pp. 188-190.

1976, "The Tang-I Qandil and Barm-I Dilak Reliefs", *BAI(P)*, Nos. 1-4, pp. 35-44.

Gheibi, Mehrassa

2005, *The 8000-year History of Persian Costume*, Hirmand Publishing, Tehran. (Persian)

Herrmann, G. and V.S Curtis

2002, "Sasanian Rock Reliefs", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, published 20 July, pp 371-376.

Herrmann, G. and R. Howel

1977, "Nagshe-i Rustam 5 and 8, Sasanian Reliefs attributed to Hormuzd II and Narseh", *Iranische Denkmäler*, Vol. 8, Berlin.

Levit-Tawil, D.

1993, "Re-dating the Sasanian Reliefs at Tang-e Qandil and Barm-e Dilak: composition and style as dating criteria," *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. 28, pp. 141-168.

Lukonin, V.G.

1964, "Varakhran III Narse", *VDI.I.*, pp.48-63.

1979, "The Barm-e Dilak Complex in Iran (third century)", Moscow, pp. 28-34, 110-113 (English summary).

Pākzādiān, Hasan

2006, تاریخ و گاهشماری در سکه های ساسانی, translated as *History and Chronology in Sasanian Coins*, Mo'lef Publishers, Tehran. (Persian)

Sarfarāz, Ali Akbar

1972, "Relief Discovered by A.A. Sarfaraz as recently as 1970 and Published by him at Bīchāpour, *Bāstānshenāsi va Honare-e Iran Magazine*, No. 6, p.56.

1974, کشف یکی از مهمترین نقوش برجسته ی جالب توجه دوره ی ساسانی, translated as "Discovery of One of the Most Important Notable Bas-Reliefs of the Sasanian Period," *Tahghighāt-e Tārikhi Magazine*, Tehran.

1975, "نقش برجسته هائی که دوباره ظاهر شدند" translated as "Rediscovered Bas-Reliefs", *Honār va Mardom Magazine*, No. 155. (Persian)

Schippmann, Klaus

1990, *Grundzuge der Geschichte des Sasani Reiches*, Darmatadt. (German)

2005, *Iran at the Time of the Sasanids*, translated into Persian ایران در زمان ساسانیان, by Kikāvos Jahāndāri, Farzān Publishing House, Tehran.

Vandāee, Milād

2011a, اساطیر ایران, translated as *Legends of Iran*, Islamic Azad University, Hamedān Branch, Hamedān. (Persian)

2011b, بازنگری نقش نرسی در نقوش برجسته ساسانی, translated as "A Review of the Image of Narseh in Sasanian Bas-Reliefs", *Nāmeh-ye Irān-e Bāstān*, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 55-101. (Persian)

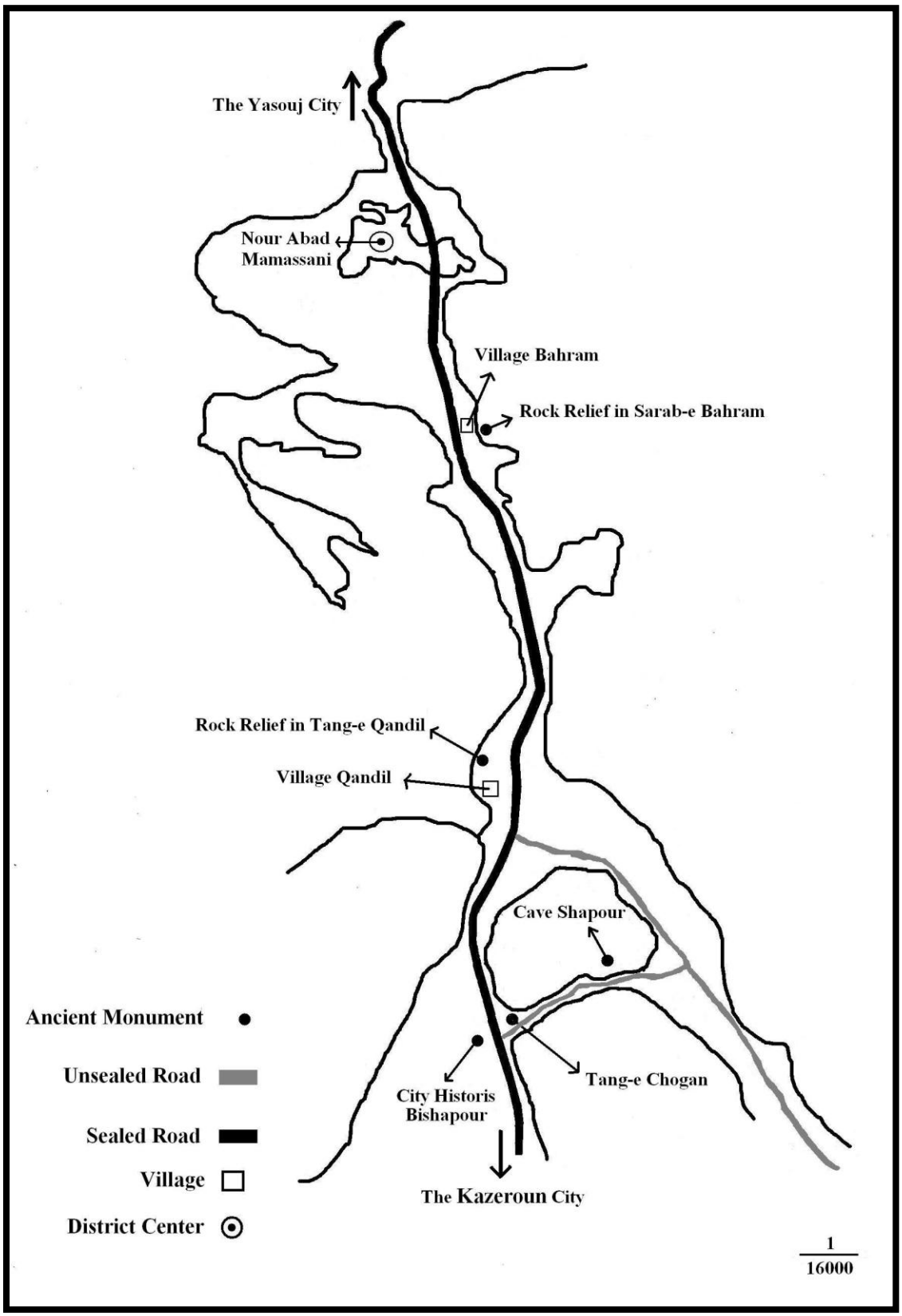
2013, I نقوش برجسته ساسانی, translated as *Sasanian Pictorial Bas-Reliefs I*, Islamic Azad University, Hamedān Branch, Hamedān. (Persian)

Vanden Berghe, L.

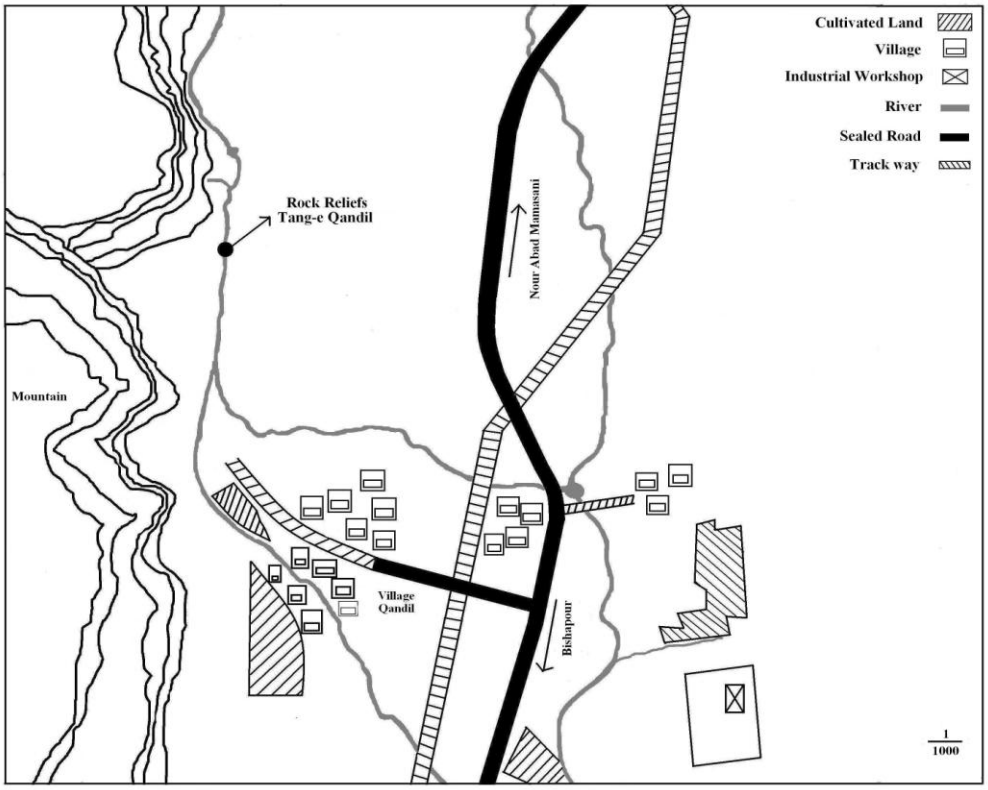
1973, "De inconografische betekenis van het Sasanidisch rots relief van Sarab-I Qandil (Iran), *Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der Letteren*, Vol. XXXV, No.1, Mededelingen van de Konin-Klijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Brussels. (Dutch with summary in French).

De Waele, E.

1978, "Sur le bas-relief sassanide de Tang-e Qandil et la 'bas-relief au couple' de Barm-i Dilak," *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain*, Vol. 11, pp. 9-32. (French)



Map 1: Location of the Tang-e Qandil bas-relief relative to other sites in the Kāzerun District (author's map)



Map 2: Location of the village and the Tang-e Qandil bas-relief (author's map)

Sketch 1: Composition of the Tang-e Qandil bas-relief (author's sketch)

Image 1: Site of the relief in the bed of a seasonal river (author's photo)

Image 2: The Tang-e Qandil bas-relief (author's photo)

Image 3: Face and head of the figure of the royal lady in the Tang-e Qandil bas-relief (author's photo)

Image 4: The royal lady conferring a flower on the king (author's photo)

Image 5: The full body and garment of the Tang-e Qandil royal lady (author's photo)

Image 6: Face and crown of the king in the Tang-e Qandil relief (author's photo)

Image 7: Face and crown of the Prince (author's photo)

Image 8: Full body and garment of the king in the Qandil Gorge (author's photo)

Image 9: Full body and garment of the prince in the Qandil Gorge (author's photo)

Image 10: Face and crown of Bahrām III in the Naghsh-e Rostam VIII relief(Right); Bahram III in the Naghsh-e Rostam II relief (author's photo)

Image 11: Silver coin with head of Bahrām II, alongside head of the crown prince (Bahrām III). Source, http://www.coinarchives.com