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A Newly Found Greek Inscription from Tang-e Lili, Lorestan, Western Iran

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A Newly Found Greek Inscription from Tang-e Lili, Lorestan, Western Iran¹

Recently a new Greek inscription has been found in the Iranian province of Lorestan (fig. 1), in the central part of the Zagros Mountain range. Greek inscriptions dated to the Seleucid and Arsacid rule in Iran are not rare. Still, what makes this finding exceptional is the relative remoteness of the site, far away as it seems from the present state of research, from major ancient cities and routes.

The inscription has been carved on the surface of a flat limestone rock overlooking the Tang-e Lili or Lili straits, a section of the gorge through which the River Marboreh flows westwards roughly following a north-west/south-east direction before eventually heading north towards the modern city of Doroud and joining the Sezar River (fig. 2). The site lies two kilometres west of the closest modern settlement, the village of Chamnar and twenty kilometres south-east of Doroud, the nearest major modern settlement. The inscription is placed close to the top of the northern slope of an elevated promontory, surrounded on three sides by the bend of the river Marboreh. Therefore, the site is not easily accessible to someone who is not a trained mountain trekker.

The inscription is engraved on a flat rock of limestone facing west on the northern bank of the river. (figs. 2–3). Just in front of the engraved stone is a small natural or possibly partly artificial platform made of rocks and earth, which could be part of a mountain path. This platform allows the reader to look at the text closely (fig. 4).

Type of monument: celebratory/public work.

Dimensions of the epigraphic frame: height: 40.0 cm; width: 60.0 cm.

Letters (height): 5–6 cm; interline spacing: 1–3 cm.

Dating: 50 BC-100 AD.

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Text

((hedera?)) ΟΓΓΕΙΟΣ BAΓΑΙΟΥ TETEΛΕΩΚΕΝ THNAKPAN TAYTHNΩΟΝΟ MAIPAΔΗΝΗΣ

Transcription

((hedera?)) Ογγειος Βαγαίου τετελέωκεν τὴν ἄκραν ταύτην, ὧ ὄνομα Ιραδηνης.

Translation

Ongeios (or Oggeios) (son of) Bagaios has completed/improved this promontory/hilltop called

Iradenes.

¹ The authors want to express their gratitude to the team of undergraduate and postgraduate students from Bu-Ali Sina University of Hamadan and Mohaghagh Ardabili University, who visited the site and provided the photographic documentation needed for this study.



Fig 1. Location of the inscription site in Iran



Fig. 2. Location of the inscription between Dorud and Azna cities

Description

The text consists of six lines within an irregularly engraved rectangular frame 60 cm high and 40 cm wide (fig. 5). The frame is placed at a height of circa 160 cm. The carved letters are easily discernible even though some have been damaged by blows inflicted in recent times both to the engraved portion of the stone and to the one immediately below. The single letters are about 5–6 cm high and 6 cm wide. The interlinear spaces vary substantially between one and two centimetres or more in some cases.

In the first two lines, the text occupies only the left portion of the framing rectangle; still, there is no trace of other letters in the space immediately to the right of the readable line. The third and especially the fourth lines of the text tend to lean towards the bottom, deviating from the line-up of the preceding two lines. A few letters in the central sections of lines 3, 4 and 5 are today particularly difficult to read due to the damages inflicted by time, weather and the recent blows, delivered after the first documented inspection of the inscription. At the first visit, a series of photos were taken which made it easier to read the now-damaged letters.

With the significant exception of the first sign, the letters have an irregular but generally square shape since they were exclusively realised through straight strokes.

Epigraphic commentary

L. 1. The opening sign looks like a ring with a possible stroke departing from the top realised above the other letters' line-up. Such a mark could be interpreted as a sign connected with the beginning of the inscription, perhaps an attempt to engrave an ivy leaf or another undefined element meant to be engraved at the beginning of the text in order to embellish it. The only other possible option is a beta² with a round lower loop and an open upper one (6). Still, the comparison with the beta of line 2, which presents two closed squared loops, makes such an interpretation unlikely. It should be emphasised that the opening sign is the only element of the inscription, which presents a circular shape and curved lines, while all the other letters seem to follow a squared model. This makes it quite probable to understand the opening sign as a graphic element with a decorative function.

Dating

It is risky to propose a dating on the base of the shape of the letters in an inscription that is not the work of a professional mason. Their rendering often depends on the tools used, the amount of time at the carver's disposal and the stone's nature. Nonetheless, the not-so-many Greek inscriptions from nearby regions can provide some indications.

The closest example, including the irregularity of the letters, is the signature by the artist named Antiochus on the famous "Musas' portrait" found at Susa, which represents a Tyche or an Arsacid queen between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD³. Earlier texts, also from Susa, present the same squared letters, but a different rendering of the sigma with four strokes and the alpha with a bro-

² In that case, the name would be a less probable and unattested Βογγειος, possibly belonging to the family of names derived from the Iranic root *bag*- "god". In the literary sources, a Bόγης is attested, the 5th century BC Persian commander of Eion who threw himself in the flames with his wife and children when forced to surrender the city to the Greeks. Hdt., VII 107, 113; Polyaen., VII 24; Paus., VIII 8. 9. Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, 70; R. Schmitt, *Iranische Namen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr., IPNB* V/5a, Wien, 2011, 163–164, n. 125 D; R. Schmitt, *Namen in den parthischen epigraphischen Quellen, IPNB* II/5a, Wien, 2016, 71.

³ F. Cumont, Portrait d'une reine parthe trouvé à Suse, in *CRAI*, 1939, 330–341 with pl. 1; M. A. R. Colledge, Musa from Susa, or Tyche Revealed, in *Etudes et Travaux*, 15, 1990, 99–108 (ph. on p. 100; SEG XLII 1325); K. Parlasca, Das Bildnis einer parthischen Königin (Musa), in *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 32, 2002, 407–414 (ph. on p. 408 fig. 1); *IK Estremo oriente* 215 (with Cumont's photo); R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Jenseits des Euphrat. Griechische Inschriften*, Leipzig, 2005, n. 401 (with Parlasca's photo).



Fig. 3. General view of the Tang-e Lili



Fig. 4. The site of the inscription

ken line (1st century BC⁴). Kappa and omicron with similar shapes appear in a decree dated around 98 BC⁵. The squared rendering of the letters, including the sigma, has some parallels with a votive inscription from Bahrain, ancient Tylos island, possibly dated to the 1st century BC or later⁶, and with an inscription from Parthian Uruk dated to 110 AD, south Mesopotamia, where the enigmatic community of the Dollamenoi express their gratitude towards a local landlord⁷. Square-type omicrons also appear on a mould on unbaked clay later than 72/71 BC, from Seleucia on the Tigris⁸, and in a weight dated 55 BC, from Babylon⁹. Finally, the peculiar shape of the beta resembles that on a rather geographically distant dedication to the Mother Goddes Olybris on a small altar from Amreni, Armenia, dated around 150–200 AD by the publishers¹⁰.

It seems that the particular form of the Greek squared letters began to be adopted in the regions under the Parthian rule starting from the first half of the 1st century BC, and all the mentioned examples (with the exception of *IK Estremo Oriente* 16) seem to point towards a mid-late Parthian period (50 BC–100 AD) for Ογγειος' activity – but, of course, rock-cut inscriptions tend to use square letters. Several epigraphic and numismatic documents testify that Greek was one of the languages in use within the Arsacid empire, especially concerning matters that involved the population of the Greek cities. The Hawraman (Avroman) papyri from the region between Iranian Kurdistan and Kermanshah demonstrate that Greek was part of the everyday bureaucratic life also of non-elite Parthian subjects living far away from Mesopotamian Greek communities¹¹.

Context and interpretation

The first line of the text gives the name of the author $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma$. This name is not attested among Iranic names, at least not in this form¹². It is similar to personal names found in Aramaic inscriptions, even though this form is hitherto not attested as an Aramaic name. The closest related name, $O\gamma\gamma\circ\iota(\circ\varsigma)$, appears in a graffito on a jar from Dura Europos¹³, a town for almost three centuries under Arsacid rule¹⁴. It might be a possible Greek transcription of the well-attested Semitic name 'g' / 'Ogâ / 'Oggâ¹⁵, the other and better attested one being $O\gamma\alpha(\varsigma)^{16}$.

⁴ IK Estremo oriente 207 with drawing.

⁵ IK Estremo oriente 208 with drawing.

⁶ P.-L. Gatier, P. Lombard and K. M. Al-Sindi, Greek Inscriptions from Bahrain, in AAE, 13, 2002, 223–233 no. 4 (with 227 fig. 6); IK Estremo oriente 431 (with Gatier's photo).

⁷ C. Meier, Ein griechisches Ehrendekret vom Gareustempel in Uruk, in *BaM*, 1, 1960, 104–110 (ph. on p. 105); *SEG* XVIII, 596; *IK Estremo oriente* 140 (with Meier's photo).

⁸ IK Estremo oriente 81 (with draw.).

⁹ *IK Estremo oriente* 108 (with ph.).

¹⁰ V. I. Ter-Martirosov, A Greek Inscription from Areni, in *Istoriko Philologiceskij Journal*, 124, 1989, 177–189; J. G. Vinogradov, The Goddess "Ge Meter Olybris". A New Epigraphic Evidence from Armenia, in *East and West*, 42.1, 1992, 13–26 (ph. on p. 15); *SEG* XLII 1322; *IK Estremo oriente* 16 (with Vinogradov's ph.).

¹¹ E. H. Minns, Parchments of Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan, in *JHS*, 35, 1915, 22–65; A. Luther, Zu den Dokumenten aus Avroman, in *Gymnasium*, 125, 2018, 155–177.

¹² A similar onomastic element, Kai Ōgī/Ōkī/Ōj̃ī is attested by Al-Tabari among Kayanid Persian kings (617.6; 645.8); F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (nt. 2), 231.

¹³ R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, Inscriptions sur jarres de Doura-Europos, in *MUSJ*, 36, 1959, 24, nr. 72; cf. G. F. Grassi, *Semitic Onomastics from Dura Europos. The Names in Greek Script and from Latin Epigraphs*, Padova, 2012, 84, 239–240.

¹⁴ L. Gregoratti, Dura Europos: a Greek Town of the Parthian Empire, in T. Kaizer (ed.), *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*, Cambridge–New York–Melbourne–Dehli–Singapore, 2016, 16–29.

¹⁵ For a possible Greek transcription $\Omega\gamma[\gamma\alpha]$, see J.-B. Yon, *L'histoire par les noms*. *Histoire et onomastique de la Palmyrène à la Haute Mésopotamie romaines*, Beyrouth, 2018, 30–31, with ample discussion of the name and its distribution.

¹⁶ For some examples from Palmyra: *IGLS* XVII 1, 21, 75–76, 123, 128, 218 (where the Greek reading of the Semitic name is clear), 377 = *PAT* 280–281, 313–314, 1389, 1740. For Dura Europos: *PAT* 1113; *SEG* VII 556; for Hatra's numerous attestations: E. Marcato, *Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra*, Venezia, 2018, 101; for Beth Shearim: *CIIP* V 2, 7027; for Hadera: *CIIP* II 2094). See also *PAT* 1771, perhaps from *Singidunum*.

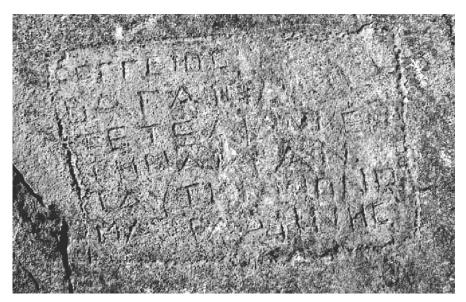


Fig. 5. The inscription

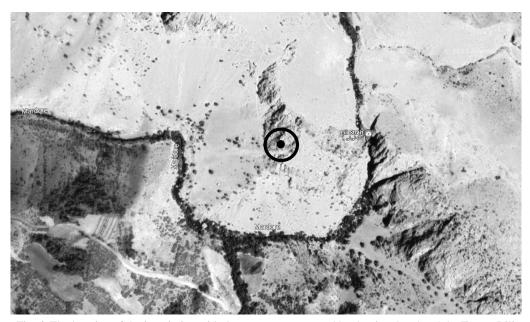


Fig. 6. The location of the inscription with the promontory created by the river bend and the Tang-e Lili

Ογγειος' patronymic follows in the second line: $B\alpha\gamma\alpha\hat{i}\circ\varsigma$, a much better documented personal name¹⁷, clearly deriving as well from the root *baga- = "god"¹⁸. Bagaios in Herodotus is the name of an Achaemenid nobleman charged by King Darius with the task of killing Oroeates, the rebellious satrap of Lydia¹⁹. According to Cornelius Nepos, *Bagaeus* is the name of one of the two assassins satrap Pharnabazus sent to kill Alcibiades²⁰. Finally, the natural brother of Pharnabazus, commander of the cavalry against Agesilaos, was also called Bagaios²¹. The name thus is well attested for Persia. Concerning later periods, a derivative version is attested at Dura Europos²². Also, at Palmyra in the 2nd century AD, the name *bgy* / Baggaî / $B\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\hat{i}\circ\varsigma$, reputed to be of Iranian origin, is attested in at least one inscription²³.

The verb in the third line: τετελέωκεν, is the perfect tense, third person singular, of the verb τελειόω (to complete, to improve, etc.). This form is nowhere else epigraphically attested, and according to the TLG, it is only twice attested in our literary corpus²⁴.

The last two lines provide difficult to understand information about the nature of the accomplished work. The text mentions an ἄκρα αὕτη, referring to a more or less significant portion of the geographical feature where the inscription has been found, possibly the whole rock formation constituting the promontory surrounded by the bend of the river (fig. 6). Still, Ογγειος identifies the place with the toponym Iραδηνης, unattested anywhere else. The toponym poses some problems. Usually, the Greek versions of local eastern regions assume the female form ending -ηνη like in Xαρακηνή or Mεσήνη, but in this case, the masculine nominative form was apparently used.

It is not clear how the verb can be semantically linked to the noun acting as an object complement; therefore the meaning of $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma$'s intervention and the activity the inscription refers to remain obscure. The simplest solution consists of interpreting the text as a sort of "Killroy was here" message²⁵. $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma$ managed to reach the hilltop and cross the promontory surrounded by the river bend and decided to leave a message to other eventual visitors. In this case, $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma$ accomplished activity would be the engraving of the inscription as proof of the ascension and, of course, the work the stone required to be inscribed.

On the other hand, the fact that the author adds a toponym might indicate that $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma'$ accomplished activity was not limited to the particular stone or its immediate vicinity but to the hilltop or the promontory at the centre of the river bend. Iradenes should, therefore, be the name of the mountain peak, the site or the entire section of the mountain range. Consequently, $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma'$ activity in the place cannot, perhaps, be reduced to the mere preparation of the rock for the engraving. Therefore, the text might not only have been inscribed to remember $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma'$ presence there, not even his presence after an arduous trip. It might seem more probable that his activity involved a series of larger-scale works on the hilltop and the surrounding area (figs. 7–8). It is possible that $O\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\circ\varsigma$ reached the peak for practical reasons, maybe to open a pathway on the gorge's top following the instructions of some authority. However, in the absence of other easily discernible traces of human activity nearby, it is hard to believe that he opened a path to reach that specific site; more likely, he searched for a way to move along the valley or a passage to cross the mountain slope

¹⁷ F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (nt. 2), 57; R. Schmitt, *Iranische Namen in der griechischen Literatur* (nt. 2), 152–153, n. 112.

¹⁸ H. W. Bailey, N. Sims-Williams, St. Zimmer, s.v. *Baga*, *Enc. Ir.*, III, 4, 1988, 403–406; for examples from Nisa ostraca, see V. A. Livshits and V. N. Pilipko, Parthian Ostraca from the Central Building Complex of Old Nisa, in *ACSS*, 10, 2004, 165.

¹⁹ Hdt., III 128; VII 80; VIII 130.

²⁰ Corn. Nepos, *Alcib*. 10.

²¹ Xen., *Anab.*, III 4. 13.

²² Αριβαγαιος: F. Cumont, Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1926, 391 (SEG VII, 453).

²³ *IGLS* XVII 1, 403 = *PAT* 1135 (191 AD).

²⁴ Aristot. gen. animal. 757b 24; 26.

²⁵ The closest parallel in this sense is a series of drawings of animals with humorous inscriptions in Parthian from Lakh Mazar gorge, 25 km south of Birjand city in Southern Khorasan, dated to the Sassanid period (5th century AD). They were left in a specific spot on the trail crossing the gorge, probably by guides, to be read by their colleagues leading travelers through the same itinerary. V. A. Livshits, Parthian Joking, in *Manuscripta Orientalia* 8. 1, 2002, 27–35.



Fig. 7. The western slope of the promontory with the inscription site



Fig. 8. The river from the inscription site

and enter/exit the gorge or more probably to open a shortcut across the river bend. He eventually left his message in the highest or most visible spot.

Oγγειος, as his name and patronymic reveal, was no Greek. Still, he chose Greek to convey his message in such a remote location. Perhaps Greek was the language he felt more comfortable with and regularly used, or he considered it a *lingua franca* that would be understood by any travellers who had reached that place. In any case, Ογγειος's choice to write his message in Greek deserves some consideration. The place name, for example, is introduced through a particular Greek linguistic formulation. The discordance between the feminine noun indicating the rock and the male pronoun that follows can be, in fact, explained through a specific phenomenon of gender attraction, according to which, in the presence of verbs indicating denomination, the pronoun takes the gender of the predicate; in this case the specific name of the place²⁶. This linguistic phenomenon seems relatively common or typical in authors from the 5th and 4th century, such as Herodotus, Xenophon or Plato. The grammar construction ὄνομα plus pronoun in the dative, without article, coming from an archaic pattern became very common in the Hellenistic age²⁷. It appears to be formulaic in manumissions, particularly from Delphi²⁸.

Therefore, the "classical appeal" of the gender attraction and the use of the perfect tense of the verb $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \delta \omega$, seem to indicate that $O\gamma \gamma \epsilon \iota o \varsigma$, while emphasising his oriental or Iranian origins through his own and his father's names, was familiar with the Greek language and possibly received a "Greek" education, rich in "classical" readings by which his language appears to be influenced.

The example of the Hawraman (Avroman) legal documents suggests that Ογγειος was somehow connected with local or central administrative authority, which perhaps put him in charge of some activity in the area. Maybe he was not from the area and was born in one of the Greek cities of Mesopotamia, as his Semitic or Iranic name may suggest, or in Western Iran, and therefore was used to Greek in public contexts or, as in this case, to convey a message to other people.

Unfortunately, eastern Lorestan during the Parthian period is scarcely known; therefore, it is not easy to estimate how remote the location was during the Arsacid period concerning population distribution. Surveys in Western²⁹ and North-Western Lorestan³⁰ have revealed a series of intensively inhabited plains

²⁶ For example: ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι (Hdt., VII 54, male/female); τὴν ἄκρην, αἳ καλεῦνται Κληΐδες (Hdt., V 108, singular/plural; etc.). Concerning this phenomenon of attraction, frequent in the Greek language, there remain crucial the observations of R. Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, 2. Teil, Satzlehre, Dritte Auflage in zwei Bänden in neuer Bearbeitung besorgt von B. Gerth, I Bd., Hannover–Leipzig, 1898, in part. 74–77. See also E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, 2. Bd., Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik, vervollst. und hrsg. von A. Debrunner, München, 1950, in part. 608; and especially J. Humbert, Syntaxe Grecque, 3° édition, revue et augmentée, Paris, 1960, 83–84. The authors are grateful to Dr. Maddalena L. Zunino for this suggestion.

 $^{^{27}}$ See J. A. L. Lee, The Onoma Rule, in *Novum Testamentum*, 56, 2014, 411–421, in part. 415 and 421. The expression is also attested in Hellenistic Mesopotamia: SEG VII 38 = SEG XXXIII 1218 = IK Estremo oriente 100 = R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Jenseits des Euphrat* (nt. 3), n. 515, from Babylonia or Uruk, dated at the end of the 3^{rd} century or the beginning of the 2^{nd} century BC.

 $^{^{28}}$ FD III 6, 39: σῶμα κοράσιον, ἡ ὄνομα Σωστράτα; 124: σῶμα γυναικῆον, ἡ ὄνομα Ἐπάκτη; 134: σῶμα γυναικῆον, ἡ ὄνομα Συμφέρουσα etc.

²⁹ F. Miri, R. Mehrafarin and Y. Youssefvand, Analysis of the Communication and Functional Structure of Chiabor Area. A Settlement from the Parthian-Sasanian Periods in Rumeshgan Plain, Lorestan, in *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshenasi Iran*, 19, 24, 2019, 97–120 (in Persian); R. Mehrafarin, Analysis of the Settlement Pattern of Historical Sites in Rumeshgan County, Lorestan Province, in *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshenasi Iran*, 11, 28, 2020, 27–51 (in Persian).

³⁰ For Delfan and Selseleh districts, north of Khorramabad: I. Garazhian, J. Adeli and L. Popli Yazdi, Settlement Pattern in Khave Plain and Mirbeg Area Central Zagros Based on the Archaeological Investigations of the Region, in *Payam-e-Bastanshenas*, 2, No. 4, 2005, 21–58 (in Persian); D. Davoudi, T. Hatami Nasari, M. Sabzi Doabi, M. Nikzad, R. Nurollahi and M. R. Mohammadian, The Preliminary Report of the First and Second Seasons of the Archaeological Surveys in Al-Shatar, Lorestan, in *Modares Archaeological Research*, 2–3, 4–5, 2010–2011, 96–115 (in Persian); D. Davoudi and T. Hatami Nesari, Qaleh Bibi: An Important Historical Settlement in Alashtar, Lorestan, in *Modares Archaeological Research*, 3–4, 6–7, 2011–2012, 100–109 (in Persian); Sabzi Doabi, A. R. Hejebri Noubari, F. Khadem I Nadoushan and M. Mousavi Kouhpar, A Study of the Settlement Pattern in Khaveh Plain, During Parthian Period, in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5, 2, 2014, 145–169 (in Persian); M. Sabzi Doabi, A. Hejebri Noubari, S. M. Mousavi Kouhpar and M. R. Mohammadian, Study of the Settlement Pattern in Alashtar Plain during Parthian Period, in *Intl. J. Humanities*, 23, 1, 2016, 75–97; M. Sabzi Doabi, A. Hejabri Noubari,

characterised by plenty of small settlements, which flourished during the Arsacid period, especially along the rivers³¹, with no major cities. The same pattern but with some significant settlements is present north of the inscription site, in the southern part of the Markazi province³².

Following the gorge of the Marboreh River eastwards, the traveller coming from the Isfahan region can reach Doroud. In ancient times, he could continue north, reaching the settlements close to nowadays Borujerd to proceed to Nahavand and the west or east to Ecbatana. Before reaching Borujerd, he could continue west to Khorramabad plain and the south, Khuzistan, Elymais and Susa.

The commendable survey work Iranian archaeologists are conducting in the region will undoubtedly provide a better and more detailed historical context for the Iradenes and Ογγειος' activity in the coming years.

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E. Hemati Azandaryani and M. Bahrami, Parthian Sites and Settlement in North and North Western of Lorestan Province, in *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshenasi Iran*, 8, 18, 2018, 83–102 (in Persian).

³¹ S. Alibeigi, Archaeological Investigations of Kuran Buzan Valley in Central Zagros, in *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshe-nasi Iran*, 4, 6, 2014, 7–26 (in Persian); R. S. Boroujeni, S. H. Zarghani and M. Zeidi, Discovery of Long Term Occupation in the Saimarreh River Valley, Western Iran (Report on the Archaeological Survey), in R. Stucky, O. Kaelin and H. Mathys (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. 9–13 June 2014, Basel, Wiesbaden, 2016, Vol. 3, 379–391.

³² A. Khosrowzadeh, Introduction of Residential Areas and Settlements on the Eastern Side of Zagros (Based on the Archaeological Investigations of the Three Districts of Komijan, Khondab and Shazand), in *Bastanshenasi e Iran*, 5, 2, 2015, 84–99 (in Persian); S. Banijamali, A. Hejabri Noubari, S. Mousavi Kouhpar, S. R. Mousavi Haji and J. Moghadam, Study and Analysis of the Settlement Pattern of Parthian Period in La'lvar River's Watershed, Markazi Province, in *Pazhohesh-ha-ye Bastanshenasi e Iran*, 11, 25, 2020, 113–136.