

FROM HECATAEUS TO AL-ḤUWĀRIZMĪ

BACTRIAN, PAHLAVI, SOGDIAN, PERSIAN, SANSKRIT, SYRIAC,
ARABIC, CHINESE, GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES
FOR THE HISTORY OF PRE-ISLAMIC CENTRAL ASIA

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Edited
by

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UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE

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ON KASPAPYROS AND THE SO-CALLED
'SHORE OF THE SCYTHIANS'

This paper has no claim for saying anything substantially new. Its aim is just to recall a few facts that strangely enough have been completely overlooked by recent writers on the subject.

It is well-known that Kaspapyros is mentioned in ancient literature only three times: once by Hecataeus of Miletus and twice by Herodotus. Later on, towards the end of the first century A. D., the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions the *νάριδος ἢ Καττιβορολίη*.¹ As *Καττιβορολίη* does not make any sense, Carl Müller proposed to correct it into **Κασπαπυρολή*, while Herzfeld suggested the reading **Καπ(π)αβορολίη*.² Both terms were understood as adjectival forms from **Kaspapura* or **Kappavur(a)*, the supposed Indian original of Greek *Kaspapyros*. This would then be a fourth mention of, or rather allusion to that city, but it only rests on conjectural emendations.

For their information about Kaspapyros both Hecataeus and Herodotus depended on the now lost *Periplus* of Skylax of Karyanda. According to Herodotus, Skylax and others were entrusted by King Darius with the task of exploring the Indus down to its mouth. They did it and «voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king (*i.e.* Pharaoh Nekho, 610—595 B. C.) sent the Phoenicians aforementioned to sail round Libya. After this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this Sea».³

Taking literally the words of Herodotus, scholars have generally separated the exploration from the conquest.⁴ But H. Schiwiek has conclusively demon-

¹ *Periplus*, § 48 (edited by H. FRISK: *Le Périphe de la Mer Erythrée*. Göteborg 1927. 16). For the date of the *Periplus* see A. DIHLE: *Umstrittene Daten*. Köln—Opladen 1965. 9—35; Idem: *Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in H. TEMPORINI and W. HAASE: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. II. 9,2. Berlin—New York 1978. 570 n. 74.

² C. MÜLLER: *Geographi Graeci Minores*. I. Paris 1855. 183; E. HERZFELD: *Early Historical Contacts between the Old-Iranian Empire and India*. *Fest. J. Ph. Vogel*. Leyden 1947. 183; Idem: *The Persian Empire*. Wiesbaden 1968. 340. See also H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. Cambridge 1926². 16—17 n.; J. I. MILLER: *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*. Oxford 1969. 89.

³ Herodotus, IV. 44 (edited and translated by A. D. GODLEY, vol. II. London—New York 1921).

⁴ See, for instance, V. MARTIN: *La politique des Achéménides*. *Museum Helveticum* 23 (1965) 43, «Ici encore l'exploration précède et prépare la conquête». Also J. I. MILLER: *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*. 248—252.

strated that it could not be so and that in this case exploration and conquest were only one thing.⁵

Hinduś, i.e. the basin of the Indus, first appears among the provinces of Darius' empire in the hieroglyphic portion of one of the inscriptions of Tell el-Maskhūta and, at the same time, in the hieroglyphic portion of the inscriptions engraved on the statue of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972.⁶ According to Hinz all this epigraphic material can be dated to 496 B. C., namely to a couple of years after the completion of the canal between Nile and Red Sea whose works were started about 510 B. C. and finished in 498 B. C.⁷ As it has always appeared reasonable to connect the expedition of Skylax with the building of the canal, that expedition, and therefore the conquest of Pañjāb and Sindh, can safely be dated around 510 B. C., or between 510 and 498 B. C.

According to Herodotus the starting-point of the expedition was the city of Kasapapyros in the *Πακτυική γῆ*, or land of the *Πάκτυες*.⁸ In all the MSS. the actual reading is *Κασπάπυρος*, to be precise *Κασπατύρον* in the genitive case, with the variants *Κατύρον* and *Καστατύρον*.⁹ But confusion between *πι* (*κασπα-Πυρον*) and *ταυ* (*κασπα Τυρον*) is quite normal in the transmission of Greek texts and as *-πυρος/-πυρον* is almost certainly the Indian word *pura*, 'city', so the right spelling of the name must probably have been *Κασπάπυρος*, which is the form it has in Hecataeus as we shall presently see, and the one I will use here throughout. *Paktues* and *Paktwiké* have been the subject of many speculations into whose details it is not material to go here.¹⁰ Probably, they are etymologically connected with Vedic *Paktaḥ*.¹¹ This, however, does not help too

⁵ H. SCHIEWEK: Der Persische Golf als Schiffahrts- und Seehandelsroute, *Bonner Jahrbücher*. 162 (1962) 8—19.

⁶ Cf. W. GOLÉNISCHEFF: Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhoutah. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. XIII. 1890. 99—109; G. POSENER: *La première domination perse en Egypte*. Le Caire 1936. 184—185; A. T. OLMSTEAD: *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago 1948. 145 n. 42; E. HERZFELD: *The Persian Empire*. 293—294; M. KERVAN, D. STRONACH, F. VALLAT, J. YOYOTTE: Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse. *Journal Asiatique*. 260 (1972) 253—266; J. YOYOTTE: Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la statue de Darius à Suse. *Cahiers de la D.A.F.I.* 4 (1974) 181—183.

⁷ W. HINZ: Darius und der Suezkanal. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. N.S. 8 (1975) 115—121.

⁸ Herodotus, IV. 44,2. See also III. 102,1.

⁹ See critical apparatus in C. HUDE's edition, Oxford 1927³, vol. I, *ad locum*; and in F. JACOBY: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (henceforth *FGrHist*). III C. 587.

¹⁰ A few bibliographical references will suffice: J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. Leipzig 1905. 119; H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 16 n. 2; G. MORGENSTIERNE: Pashto, Pathan and the Treatment of *r*+Sibilant in Pashto. *Acta Orientalia*. 18 (1940) 141—142; H. W. BAILEY: Kusanica. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952) 430—431; R. SCHAFFER: *Ethnography of Ancient India*. Wiesbaden 1954. 19 n. 3; O. CAROE: *The Pathans*. London 1964². 33—37; A. D. H. BIVAR: Indo-Bactrian Problems. *Numismatic Chronicle*. Seventh series 5 (1965) 95 n. 2; H. TREIDLER: Paktwiké, in A. PAULY—G. WISSOWA—W. KRÖLL—K. WITTE: *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (hereafter *RE*), Supplementband X. Stuttgart 1965. Cols. 475—476.

¹¹ See M. MAYRHOFER: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. II. Heidelberg 1963. 183.

much in locating them on the map. All we can say is that as Hecataeus puts Kaspapyros in Gandhāra, the *Paktuiké* must have been included in the Gandhāric satrapy, whatever may have been the extent of that satrapy in Darius' time.¹²

The position of Kaspapyros along the bank of a watercourse is beyond any doubt. Herodotus says that Skylax and his companions set out from the city «and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea».¹³ It is also certain that that river cannot be the Indus, but only one of its right-hand tributaries, most probably the Kābul-rūd. This led Markwart to identify Kaspapyros with Puṣkalāvati, the western capital of Gandhāra, to the north of the confluent of the Kābul and Svāt rivers. He also explained the Greek name of the city with the assumption that Puṣkalāvati was then called **Kusu-mapura*, 'city of flowers', which through the Middle-Indic forms **Kus(u)va-pura* > **Kuspapura* would have originated the Greek *Kaspapyros*.¹⁴ Other scholars preferred, however, other identifications of the place and other explanations of the name. Sir Alexander Cunningham traced Kaspapyros back to Sanskrit *Kāśyapapura* through a Prakrit **Kassapapura*; and as *Kāśyapapura* is an ancient name of Multān in Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, he accordingly identified the city with Multān.¹⁵ His opinion was shared by Foucher and, at first, also by Herzfeld.¹⁶ However, Professor Petech pointed out that the identification of Kaspapyros with Multān does not tally to the description given by Herodotus, besides the fact that the mention of *Kāśyapapura* as another name of Multān is not to be found in the extant text of Utpala, but only in a passage of it as quoted by al-Bīrūnī in the XIth century A. D.¹⁷ Petech himself was of the opinion that Kaspapyros was to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Aṭak, or perhaps at Peśāvar itself.¹⁸ The identification of Kaspapyros with Aṭak was proposed by Herzfeld after he had given up the previously accepted identification with Multān.¹⁹ The equation of Kaspapyros with Puruṣapura/Peśāvar was due to Kramers and Olaf

¹² See *FGrHist*, Ia. 365,24—26.

¹³ IV. 44,2 (GODLEY's translation, see note 3 above).

¹⁴ See J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. 242, 246 n. 3.

¹⁵ See A. CUNNINGHAM: *Ancient Geography of India*. Oxford 1871. 234; new edition, Calcutta 1924. 267. Cf. also B. CH. LAW: *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris, n. d. 112.

¹⁶ See E. HERZFELD: Zarathustra. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1 (1929—30) 93—94; Idem: Die Magna Charta von Susa. *ibid.* 3 (1930—31) 101 n. 1; Idem: Sakastān. *ibid.* 4 (1931—32) 10 n. 3; A. FOUCHER: Les satrapies orientales de l'empire achéménide. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1938. 347—348; Idem: *La vieille route de l'Inde*. II. Paris 1947. 194, 198, 215 n. 6, 252.

¹⁷ See L. PETECH: *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*. Roma 1950. 67 and footnote 1.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ E. HERZFELD: Early Historical Contacts between the Old-Iranian Empire and India. 182—183; Idem: *The Persian Empire*. 340.

Caroe.²⁰ But neither Aṭak nor Peśāvar suits Herodotus' words any better than Multān did, since Herodotus says that in the first part of their voyage Skylax and his companions «sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise», and this can only refer to a right-hand tributary of the Indus, most probably the Kābul-rūd.²¹

Writing a few decades earlier than Herodotus, but drawing from the same source, Hecataeus put Kaspapyros in Gandhāra (*Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική*) and glossed the statement with the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ*. I purposely say *glossed* because quite certainly the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* do not go back to Skylax, but are Hecataeus' own words explaining the location Kaspapyros had on his map. For Hecataeus' *Periegesis* was nothing else but a description and explanation of a map and cannot be understood unless one constantly bears this fact in mind.²²

Hecataeus' Kaspapyros fragment has been handed down to us by Stephanus Byzantinus whose MSS. do not supply, in this case, any variant reading.²³ The term *akté* is not met with elsewhere in the extant fragments of the *Periegesis*, but a few examples of its use can be collected from Herodotus. In a number of cases (IV, 38; 39; 177) *akté* simply indicates a tongue of land projecting into the sea and in IV, 41 it is applied to Libya: *ἡ ἀκτὴ ἦτις Λιβύη κέκληται*. In other passages *akté* is, more in particular, a headland, a promontory (even a rocky one), a cape (VII, 33; 34; 183,3; 188,1; 191,2; IX, 120,4). Its second meaning is that of 'coast', 'shore' (VII, 45; VIII, 95; compare Latin *acta*) and in this sense *akté* is also found in proper names of seaside places, such as *Καλὴ ἀκτῆ* in Sicily (VI, 22,2; 23,2) and *Λευκὴ ἀκτῆ* in Thrace (VII, 25,2). Additional meanings, semasiologically related to those attested by Herodotus, as for instance 'river-bank' and 'edge', can be easily detected in passages of other authors and any good Greek dictionary will show them.

Now what is puzzling in the Kaspapyros fragment is the fact that there *akté* is seemingly referred to not as a tract of land running out into the sea nor as a river-bank, but as something related to a people: the Scythians. Of course, the oddity of this usage may be only apparent and due to our ignorance of the whole context to which this particular fragment belonged. At any rate that

²⁰ J. H. KRAMERS: Peshāwar. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*. XV. 1950. XVIII, XXI; O. CAROE: *The Pathans*. 30—33 and 441 n. 15.

²¹ H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 16—17 n.; A. HERRMANN: Kaspapyros. *RE*, X, 2. Stuttgart 1919. Col. 2270, 52—56; *FGrHist*, Ia, 365,21—23; H. SCHIEWEK: *Der Persische Golf als Schifffahrts- und Seehandelsroute*. 12—13.

²² See F. JACOBY: Hekataios. *RE*, VII. Stuttgart 1912. cols. 2667—2750; L. PEARSON: *Early Ionian Historians*. Oxford 1939. 28; *FGrHist*, Ia. 328,47; H. BENGTONSON and V. MILOJČIĆ: in *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*. I. *Erläuterungen*. München 1958³. Cols. 58—59.

²³ See Steph. Byz., *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. MEINEKE. I. Berlin 1849. 364,8—9.

should have been a warning against any hasty solution of the problem. But it was not so.

Unembarrassed by the aforesaid difficulties, Markwart offered a quite plain and easy interpretation of Hecataeus' words. To him it was a matter of course that Kaspapyros being the starting-point of Skylax' voyage, *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* could only mean 'coast of the Scythians' or rather 'Sakas'. For 'Sakas' Markwart meant the Sakā Haumavargā whom he located between Gandhāra and Bactria. The conclusion which followed was obvious — «Der Ausdruck *ἀκτῆ* . . . hängt wohl damit zusammen, daß hier die Schiffahrt auf dem Indus begann und jene Stadt ein wichtiger Stapelplatz für den Handel zwischen Indien und den Ländern im Norden und Osten des Hindukuš und Pamir, den die Saken vermittelten, war».²⁴ In this way Kaspapyros was promoted to the rank of an important riverine port, without taking into account that since then it was never heard of again and completely vanished from the scene of history, which is indeed an unusual lot for a *wichtiger Stapelplatz*. Less than two centuries later, Alexander did not meet with Sakas or with traces of their past presence on his way from Bactria to India, nor he found in Gandhāra any such riverine trading-station as the one conceived of by Markwart. Nonetheless, the legend spread on Markwart's authority that in the VIth century B. C. Saka tribes were settled in North-West India and were facing Kaspapyros from the other side of the river. So Kaspapyros could be called by Rawlinson «a frontier city of Gandhāra, on the Scythian borderland».²⁵

Widely accepted as it was, this view, however, was not shared by all scholars. Those better acquainted with historical geography, as for instance Albert Herrmann, openly rejected it. According to Herrmann, the expression *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* could not be understood in the context of the fragment and therefore, he regarded the correction of *ἀκτῆ* into *ἀντίη* proposed by Wilhelm Sieglin, as the only possible solution.²⁶ Now the adjective *ἀντιος* (-η, -ον), with its adverbial form *ἀντίον*, has a well definite meaning in Greek geographical terminology. To use Wikén's words, «Durch *ἀντίον* und dergleichen wird in der geographischen Terminologie immer der Wohnort jenseits eines scheidenden Wassers bezeichnet».²⁷ This statement can be aptly illustrated by three examples also taken from Herodotus. In I, 202 the people of the Massagetae, to the north of the Araxes, is said to be *ἀντίον*, that is to say opposite to the Issedones. In II, 34,1 Egypt is said to be approximately *ἀντίη* to mountainous Cilicia, while in

²⁴ J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. 140, 242.

²⁵ H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 17.

²⁶ A. HERRMANN: Kaspapyros «Unverständlich ist hier der Ausdruck: *Σκυθῶν ἀκτῆ* . . . Sinngemäß wird der Satz erst, wenn wir mit Sieglin das Wort *ἀκτῆ* in *ἀντίη* verbessern».

²⁷ E. WIKÉN: Die Ansichten der Hellenen über den Nordrand der Oikumene vor Pytheas. *Fest. M. P. Nilsson*. Lund 1939. 549.

II, 34,2 the city of Sinope is said to lie ἀντίον to the mouth of the Danube which according to Herodotus was to be found on the northern coast of the Black Sea. It is clear that in each of these three cases ἀντίος or ἀντίον serves to locate two geographical points along a north to south vertical or, as we would say, on the same meridian, without implying by that any close proximity between them. They are in fact far away from one another and separated moreover by a water which in the first example is the Caspian or Hyrcanian Gulf conceived as elongated towards the east, in the second one it is the Mediterranean, in the third one the Black Sea.²⁸ In accepting Sieglin's correction Herrmann was well aware of this particular value of ἀντίος and accordingly he believed that the Scythians and Kaspapyros were facing one another in a north to south direction. Not even in this case, to be sure, was any close proximity implied, since for Herrmann the Scythians of the fragment were not the Sakas of Central Asia, but the regular Scythians of South Russia. According to him on Hecataeus' map Scythia stretched east till the point the Caspian Gulf joined the great outer sea, so that Gandhāra was actually to be found right to the south of Scythia. But let us quote Herrmann's own words — «nach der Hekataioskarte unter den gegenüberwohnenden Skythen nicht die Saken . . . , sondern tatsächlich die Skythen zu verstehen sind, da zwischen Gandhāra und den Skythenlande der Kaspische Meerbusen zu denken ist».²⁹ And again — «Wenn wir uns . . . vergegenwärtigen, daß Hekataios das Skythenland bis zu der Verbindung des Kaspischen Meeres mit dem Okeanos eingezeichnet hat, südlich von demselben Meer aber Gandhāra und Indien, so liegt für ihn Gandhāra den Skythen gegenüber. Mit den Sakai hat also das Zitat des Stephanos nicht das Geringste zu tun».³⁰

Strengthened by Herrmann's arguments, the correction proposed by Sieglin was accepted by Jacoby in his edition of the Hecataeus' fragments. In the critical apparatus he only suggested that the original reading might have been ἀντίη κεῖται, 'lies opposite'.³¹ In fact, Sieglin's reading is hardly satisfactory unless a verb is understood after it.

Surely, Sieglin and Herrmann had come near to, but not arrived at the proper solution of the problem. To find it out, it was indeed the merit of E. Herzfeld. Starting from the masterly reconstruction that Jacoby himself had given of Hecataeus' map, Herzfeld did not think it necessary to emend the text of the fragment and read it as it is. As Markwart had done before him, Herzfeld took *akté* in its usual sense of 'coast' or 'coast line', but at the same time pointed out that on Hecataeus' map this coast line served as a sort of parallel; therefore the expression Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ came to mean that Kaspapyros had, so to say, the same degree of latitude as the Scythians of South Russia. «Das

²⁸ On the Hyrcanian Gulf separating Massagetae and Issedonēs see E. WIKÉN: *loc. cit.*

²⁹ A. HERRMANN: Kaspapyros. Col. 2270, 19—27.

³⁰ A. HERRMANN: Sakai. *RE*. zweite Reihe II. 1920. Col. 1772, 20—42.

³¹ *FGrHist*, IA, 38, 14—15; Ia, 365, 39—41.

Bruchstück — Herzfeld concluded — besagt nicht etwa, daß die Skythen an einem Meer, noch daß Kaspapyros nahe dem Sitz der Skythen lag.³²

Herzfeld's argument should have settled the question once for all, ruling out for ever any attempt to use the Hecataeus' fragment as a proof of the existence of Saka tribes in North-West India in the VIth century B. C. But long-cherished ideas are hard to die, more so when they suit so well one's preconceived theories about the ancient ethnography of this or that part of the world. So Julius Junge, though writing some years later than Herrmann and Herzfeld, practically reverted to the position of Markwart, only replacing the Sakā Haumavargā by the Sakā Tigrakhaudā. He did not take into account Herrmann's argument and only cursorily referred to that of Herzfeld. Significantly enough, he felt unable to decide between ἀκτὴ and ἀντίη, as if a reading actually handed down could be put on equal level with a conjectural one.³³

In his posthumous work on the Persian empire, however, Herzfeld rightly confirmed his previous statement — «ἀκτὴ must not be 'corrected' . . . in ἀντίη, for it is in Hecataeus' idiom a kind of parallel running along a coast line. Σκυθῶν shows that Hecataeus' map put Scythia and Paktyiké under the same latitude».³⁴ But once again Herzfeld's voice was that of one crying in the wilderness.

Just one year after the publication of Herzfeld's posthumous book, a study on the Sakā Haumavargā by Professor Litvinskij appeared in Franz Altheim's *Festschrift*. There can be read about Kaspapyros more or less the same things already said by Markwart and Junge. Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ is rendered as 'harbour (*gavan*) of the Scythians', while the emended reading Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀντίη is indifferently interpreted either as 'opposite side (*storona protivopoložnaja*) of the Scythians', or else as *vorota v stranu skifov*, 'gateway to the country of the Scythians'. Hence the unavoidable conclusion that since the time of the first Achaemenids there were Saka tribes bordering on India.³⁵

More recently the Hecataeus' fragment has been anew examined by Professor Tucci who also shares Markwart's and Junge's opinions, being apparently unaware of those of Herrmann and Herzfeld. Professor Tucci seems to be also unacquainted with the correction proposed by Sieglin and with the discussion it raised. According to him *akté* «is not a port, it is a shore with easy access, a bay»; it indicates a «bend of the Kābul river with ample and shallow waters». Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ means, therefore, «shore of the Scythians»; to which fatally follows the usual conclusion that, since those times, «Scythian tribes were pressing on Gandhāra».³⁶

³² E. HERZFELD: Sakastān. 10. Cf. F. JACOBY: Hekataios. Cols. 2725—2726.

³³ J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*. Leipzig 1939. 32 and n. 2, 50 and n. 5, 83 and n. 3.

³⁴ E. HERZFELD: *The Persian Empire*. 338 n. 5.

³⁵ B. A. LITVINSKIJ: Sakā Haumavargā. *Fest. F. Altheim*. I. Berlin 1969. 118—119.

³⁶ G. TUCCI: On Swāt. The Dards and Connected Problems. *East and West*. 27 (1977) 16—17.

Leaving it to professional Greek scholars to decide whether *akté* may be so forced as to have the meaning of 'bay' or of 'bend of river with ample and shallow waters', I would only remember that more than forty years ago Tarn had already ironically remarked that Asia was getting very full of Sakas.³⁷

The Kaspapyros case is an instructive one. It shows in a palpable way that many times problems subsist only because their solution has fallen into oblivion. It also shows that to reconstruct the story of a problem is, more often than not, to solve that problem.

Rome.

Postscript. — When this paper was read on the occasion of the Third Conference on the Historical Sources for Pre-Islamic Central Asia, Professor Helmut Humbach kindly pointed out that one more mention of Kaspapyros is provided by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* where between Alexandria Bucefalos and Palibotra a place is to be found by the name of *Spatura* (Segmentum XII, 3; cf. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart, 1916, col. 801). According to Professor Humbach (if I rightly understood his words) *Spatura* should be emended into *caSpatura*-Kaspatyros. This is in fact an old hypothesis and not the only one devised to explain the place-name *Spatura*. Wilhelm Tomaschek („Die Strassenzüge der *Tabula Peutingeriana*”, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 102, 1883, p. 260) was of the opinion that *Spatura* corresponded to *Simtura* in the *Cosmography* of the Ravennas Anonymus (II, 3, 2; cf. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, II, Lipsiae, 1940, p. 17) and, therefore, should be identified with *Šalātura*. In any case Professor Humbach's *Caspatura, like Müller's *Κασπαπυρονηή and Herzfeld's *Καπ(π)α-βουρλη, is not an actually handed down reading, but only a conjecturally reconstructed one.

On the same occasion Dr. A. D. H. Bivar suggested that in the Hecataeus' fragment the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ* might be a gloss added by a later copyist who knew that North-West India had actually been, for some time, under the sway of Saka tribes (compare the 'Skythia' of *Periplus* §§ 38—39, and the 'Indoskythia' of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55). Should Dr. Bivar's hypothesis prove right, it would strike a deadly blow to the belief in the existence of Saka tribes in North-West India at the time of Darius the Great. For being *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ* a later gloss, Hecataeus would be left with the only words *Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική* and there would be no question at all of a 'shore of the Scythians' in the VIth century B. C. Quod erat demonstrandum.

³⁷ W. W. TARN: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge 1938 (1951²). 287.

H. W. HAUSSIG

DIE ÄLTESTEN NACHRICHTEN DER GRIECHISCHEN UND LATEINISCHEN QUELLEN ÜBER DIE ROUTEN DER SEIDENSTRASSE NACH ZENTRAL- UND OSTASIEN

Die in diesem Rahmen angesprochenen Berichte aus der römisch-griechischen Antike sind der Forschung seit langem bekannt. Trotzdem hat ihre bisherige Interpretation nicht die Beziehung ihrer Angaben auf die Routen der Seidenstraße nach Zentral- und Ostasien deutlich machen können. Der Grund liegt darin, daß hierfür die Erkenntnisse der Frühgeschichte nicht genügend und die Beziehung ihrer Nachrichten auf die drei verschiedenen Routen der Seidenstraße überhaupt nicht beachtet wurden.

Hinzu kommt, daß man bisher nur eine einzige Route der Seidenstraße kannte, deren Entstehung man in die Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. setzte. Hierbei ging man von der Vorstellung aus, daß erst von jenem Zeitpunkt an, zu dem die chinesische Expansion im Westen mit dem Pamir- und Alai-Gebirge die Grenze zur griechisch-iranischen Welt erreicht hatte, eine Verbindung zwischen China und dem Westen möglich gewesen wäre. Es zeigt sich aber durch eine Neu-Interpretation des Quellenmaterials, daß eine Verbindung zwischen China und der westlichen Welt von dem Bestehen einer gemeinsamen vom Alai- und Pamir-Gebirge gebildeten Grenze unabhängig war.

Sie bediente sich in den Jahrhunderten, die vorangingen, jener Völker als Vermittler, die je nach der Route der Seidenstraße entweder als Issedonen oder Serer bezeichnet wurden. Die Chinesen, denen sie ebenso wie den Griechen und Iranern als Vermittler dienten, nannten sie *Yüe-chi* oder *Wu-sun*.

Die Nordroute und ihre Vorgeschichte

Sowohl die Bodenfunde wie die Nachrichten der schriftlichen Quellen machen deutlich, daß die älteste Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Teilen der Welt, die die Bezeichnung «Seidenstraße» verdient, sich nicht der Wege über die Pässe des Alai- und Pamir-Gebirges bediente, sondern für ihren Weg nach China eine Route im Norden benutzt hat. Diese Route, die von Herodot um 430 v. Chr. beschrieben wurde, läßt sich auf Grund seiner Beschreibung bis in den Westen der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su verfolgen. Nach ihr begann diese Straße an der Mündung des Don, Sie wandte sich zunächst nach Norden, ehe sie dann nach Osten abbog und das damals von den Parthern be-

wohnte Gebiet erreichte, von dort benutzte sie einen im Norden des Tien-chan entlang führenden Weg, der entweder über die Turfanoase oder über Hami in den Westen der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su führte.

Das Auffällige an der Beschreibung dieser Straße schien bisher ihr Abbiegen nach Norden zu sein, in ein Gebiet, das Herodot als Waldzone bezeichnet.¹ Dieses Rätsel lösen die Bodenfunde. Seit der Aufdeckung der Begräbnisplätze von Seima und Turbino im Westen des mittleren Ural in der Nähe jenes Weges, der, der Kama folgend, über den Pass des Ural nach Sibirien führt, weiß man, daß es zwischen dem Ural und China in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit eine Handelsverbindung gegeben hat. Es sind Ringe aus Jade, die dort gefunden wurden, die in Form und Material mit jenen identisch sind, die aus China bekannt sind und hier auch bei der Verehrung des Himmelsgottes durch den König eine Rolle spielten.² Da Jade im Ural bisher nicht gefunden wurde, können die Ringe auch vom Material her gesehen, nur aus China stammen. Hinzukommt, daß die Gräber nicht nur diese Jaderinge, sondern auch Bronzeäxte und Messer des gleichen Typs enthielten, der im China der späten Shang-Zeit zu finden ist.³ Demnach scheint schon am Ende des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. ein Handelsverkehr mit China bestanden zu haben.

Jeder Handelsverkehr setzt eine Gegenseitigkeit voraus. Man wird also fragen, was China als Gegenleistung für seine Lieferungen an Jaderingen und Werkzeugen aus Bronze aus dem Westen erhielt. Für den Ural käme hier das bei der Bronzeherstellung wichtige Kupfer in Frage. Es wurde damals im Ural abgebaut. Aber auch kostbare Steine können von dort ausgeführt worden sein. Das war aber, wie vor allem die Rezeption aus dem Westen in China beweist, nicht alles. Es seien hier nur zwei Dinge genannt: die Erfindung des Wagens und der Kopf des Löwen.

Die Rezeption des griechischen Streitwagens durch China

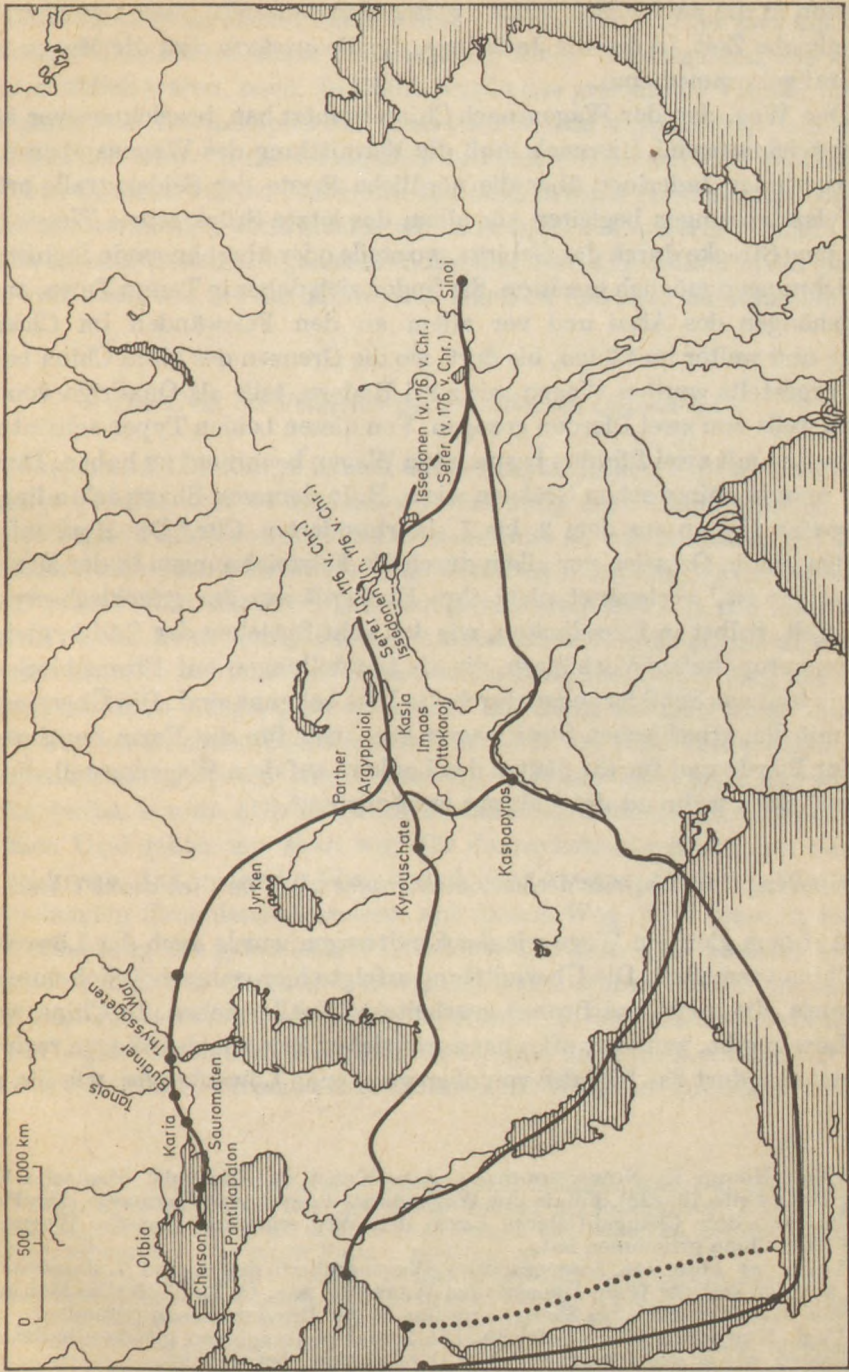
Der Zeitpunkt für die Rezeption des Wagens in China läßt sich aus den bilderschriftlichen Zeichen der Shang-Zeit nachweisen.⁴ Da das Zeichen zu Beginn der Shang-Zeit mit dem Aufkommen dieser Hieroglyphen vorkommt und in der älteren Chou-Zeit weiter ausgebildet wird, müssen die Anfänge der

¹ Herodot, Historien IV, 21—27. Den ersten Teil dieser Wegbeschreibung benutzt Herodot dazu, um die Ostgrenze des von skythischen Stämmen in Südrußland bewohnten Gebietes abzugrenzen.

² Vgl. hierzu W. WATSON: Cultural Frontiers in Ancient Asia. Edinburgh 1966. S. 59—60.

³ Es waren Bronzeäxte mit Tüllen aber vor allem Messer mit Tierdarstellungen, die bis in die Zeit um 1500 v. Chr., die beginnende Shang-Zeit, hinabreichen. Bronzeäxte des gleichen Typs fanden sich nach Watson auch im Tal des oberen Jenissei.

⁴ Das Zeichen für «Wagen» kommt schon unter den ältesten Zeichen der Hieroglyphen auf den Orakelknochen vor und besitzt dort die gleiche Gestalt wie auf den ältesten Felszeichnungen.



Die Routen der Seidenstraße

Rezeption in die zweite Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends gesetzt werden, also in die gleiche Zeit, in der die Jaderinge, die Bronzeäxte und die Messer nach dem Ural gekommen sind.

Den Weg, den der Wagen nach China benutzt hat, bezeichnen vor allem die Felszeichnungen.⁵ Hiernach muß die Vermittlung des Wagens ebenso wie der Export der Jaderinge über die nördliche Route der Seidenstraße erfolgt sein. Felszeichnungen begleiten vor allem das letzte Stück seines Weges nach China, jene Strecke durch das Gebirge, wo steile oder überhängende Steinwände Felszeichnungen möglich machten. Sie finden sich daher in Tannu Tuwa, an den Gebirgshängen des Altai und vor allem an den Felswänden im Changai-Gebirge und weiter im Süden, bis dort, wo die Grenzen des alten China begannen. Dargestellt wurden Wagen mit zwei Rädern, teils als Quadriga von vier Pferden, teils von zwei Pferden gezogen. Von diesen beiden Typen scheint man in China den mit zwei Pferden bespannten Wagen bevorzugt zu haben. Ihm begegnet man in chinesischen Gräbern wie z. B. in dem von Shang-ts'un-ling aus der Provinz Honan aus dem 8. bis 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.⁶ Die Herkunft der Quadriga, die in Ostasien vor allem durch die Felszeichnungen in der Mongolei nachweisbar ist,⁷ verleugnet nicht ihre Herkunft aus der griechisch-mykenischen Welt. Selbst in Einzelheiten, wie den acht Speichen der Räder, gleichen sie ihren europäischen Vorbildern, die als Darstellungen auf Bronzeblechen in Olympia und aus Schilderungen durch die Ilias bekannt sind. Die Übereinstimmung mit den griechischen Streitwagen gilt auch für die Form der Anschirrung der Pferde und für die Stütze des Lenkers auf dem Wagengestell, die ihm das Festhalten während des Fahrens ermöglichte.⁸

Die Rezeption des griechischen Löwenkopfes als T'ao-t'ieh durch China

Auf dem gleichen Wege wie der Streitwagen wurde auch der Löwenkopf nach China vermittelt. Die Übermittlung erfolgte hier wahrscheinlich durch die Epsemata, die meist aus Bronze gearbeiteten Schildzeichen. In China, wo es keine Löwen gibt, wurde er offenbar zur gleichen Zeit wie der Wagen rezipiert. Es findet sich dort das Bild des von oben gesehenen Löwenkopfes, wie ihn z. B.

⁵ Vgl. Hierzu E. NOWGORODOWA: Alte Kunst der Mongolei (deutsche Übersetzung 1980. Seite 79—99). Funde mit Wagendarstellungen vom Kaukasus, dem Pamir, dem Altai und dem Changai-Gebirge lassen den Weg erkennen, den der Wagen von Europa nach China genommen hat.

⁶ Vgl. das Foto von ausgegrabenen Wagengräbern des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus der Zeit der Chou-Dynastie bei WATSON: a. a. O. Tafel 40. Die hier aufgenommenen Wagen wurden bei Shang-ts'un-ling in der Provinz Honan gefunden.

⁷ Vgl. NOWGORODOWA: Tafel 59. Die Zeichnung zeigt den gleichen halbrunden Wagenkasten, wie er aus den griechischen Darstellungen bekannt ist.

⁸ Die Darstellung zeigt einen Krieger, der seinen Streitwagen besteigt. Es handelt sich um ein Bronzeblech aus der Zeit um 590 v. Chr. Vgl. Olympia von M. ANDRONIKOS: Athen 1975. Tafel 35.

eine Löwenmaske auf einer Tetradrachme von Rhegion aus der Zeit um 430 v. Chr. zeigt.⁹ Die Münze ahmt offensichtlich ältere Wiedergaben, wie sie auf Schilden üblich waren, nach. In China wurde das griechische Vorbild des von oben gesehenen Löwenkopfes zur T'ao-t'ieh Maske umstilisiert,¹⁰ sie taucht zuerst auf den Bronzen der Shang-Zeit auf. Auch in diesem Fall läßt sich der Weg nach Ostasien auf der Nordroute der Seidenstraße verfolgen. So begegnet man der Löwenmaske, wenn auch in einem Beispiel aus späterer Zeit, unter den Funden aus sibirischen Kurganen als holzgeschnittenes Medaillon in der gleichen Sicht von oben wie bei der Münze aus Rhegion und dem chinesischen T'ao-t'ieh.¹¹

Der Ural als Teilhaber am griechischen Chinahandel

Wagen und Löwenkopf kamen aus der mykenischen Kultur. Damit wird die Frage gestellt, von wo aus diese Vermittlung nach China erfolgte. Nach Herodot begann die Nordroute der Seidenstraße an der Mündung des Don.¹² Dort befand sich nach dem älteren Plinius in früher Zeit eine Niederlassung der Karer,¹³ jenes Volkes, das in der späteren griechischen Zeit z. B. von Thukydides mit den Trägern der mykenischen und minoischen Kultur gleichgesetzt wurde.¹⁴ Demnach hätte es schon in der mykenischen Zeit eine Verbindung mit China gegeben, die ihren Ausgangspunkt an der Mündung des Don besaß und ihre nächste Station an einem Handelsplatz, der auch von Händlern aus dem Ural, wo die chinesische Jade und die Bronzewerkzeuge aus China gefunden wurden, erreicht werden konnte. (Die Möglichkeit, daß die griechischen Kaufleute selbst nach dem Ural gekommen sind, wird für die mykenische Zeit schon dadurch ausgeschlossen, daß weder der Wagen noch der Löwenkopf, wie das Fehlen von entsprechenden Zeugnissen beweisen, auf diesem Weg China erreicht haben.) Eine Verbindung der griechischen Kaufleute mit dem Ural bestand auch in mykenischer Zeit nur durch den Zwischenhandel. Für die Zeit Herodots wird das indirekt durch seine Beschreibung der Nordroute der Seidenstraße bestätigt.

Sie begann bei ihm an der Mündung des Don und führte erst nach Norden durch das Gebiet der Sauromaten und dann in die Waldzone zur Stadt der Budi-

⁹ Vgl. L. u. M. LANCKORONSKI: *Mythen und Münzen*. München 1958. Tafel 29.

¹⁰ Vgl. K. SCHEFOLD: *Der skythische Tierstil in Südrußland*. *ESA* 12 (1938) Seite 59. SCH. verweist hier auch auf die Forschungen von Boroffka, der die Wanderung des Motivs anhand der sibirischen Funden verfolgt hat.

¹¹ Vgl. S. I. RUDENKO: *Frozen Tombs of Siberia, the Pazyryk Burial of Iron-Age Horsemen*. Übersetzt von M. W. THOMPSON. London 1970. Tafel 138. Es handelt sich um Holzschnitzerei von einem Sattelzeug aus der Sammlung Frolov.

¹² Herodot IV, 21. Er spricht hier von der «Spitze des Maïetissees», mit dem das Asowsche Meer gemeint ist.

¹³ Plinius Nat. hist. IV. cap. 5 (7), § 20: *Oppidum in Tanais quoque ostio. Tenuere finitima primum Cares*.

¹⁴ Thukydides I, 3.

ner,¹⁵ von wo sie nach Osten abbog.¹⁶ Der Handelsverkehr nach China könnte sich auf diesem Wege in mykenischer Zeit so abgespielt haben, daß die griechischen Kaufleute von der Mündung des Don ihre Erzeugnisse, wie z. B. Goldschmiedearbeiten, nach der Stadt der Budiner oder einem anderen damals dort bestehenden Handelsplatz brachten und hierfür dort von den Händlern aus dem Ural Kupfer und kostbare Steine erhielten, mit denen sie dann von den Issedonen Bronzewerkzeuge und Jaderinge aus China kaufen konnten, die sie für den weiteren Warenaustausch mit den Kaufleuten aus dem Ural benötigten. Demnach würden also die mykenischen Händler, über die neben anderem der Wagen und der Löwenkopf nach China gekommen waren, auch den Transithandel für Waren von und nach dem Ural übernommen haben.

Erst mit dem 6. Jahrhundert scheint auf diesem Wege auch der Export von Seide aus China begonnen zu haben, mit dem dann auch die Ausfuhr von Arbeiten griechischer Gold- und Silberschmiede und skythischer Bronzegießereien einsetzte. An diesem Handel war auch der Ural beteiligt.

Bei der Seide waren es nicht nur einfache Seidenstoffe wie die Fragmente aus dem Fürstengrab bei der Heuneburg¹⁷ und die Seidenreste vom Kerameikos in Athen,^{17a} sondern auch kostbare Gewebe wie die als «Goldenes Vlies» bekannte Seide, Ziel des von Jason geführten Zuges der Argonauten nach Kolchis. Sie besaß offenbar wie die chinesischen Seiden aus Kertsch und Lou-lan¹⁸ eine goldgelbe Fondfarbe. Das gab zu ihrer Bezeichnung «Goldenes Vlies» Anlaß. (Kolchis war damals Endpunkt einer aus dem Tal des Araxes von der Küste des Kaspischen Meeres kommenden Straße.^{18a} Von dort gab es offenbar schon damals eine Verbindung über dieses Meer, so daß auf diesem Weg eine der Stationen der Seidenstraße in Mittelasien erreicht werden konnte.)^{18b}

Für diese Hypothese der Einschaltung des Ural in den Handel mit China spricht, daß aus einer erheblich späteren Zeit z. B. östlich des Ural am Tobol eine große Zahl griechischer Goldschmiedearbeiten gefunden wurde.¹⁹ Es handelt sich um Psalien und Phalerae für das Geschirr der Pferde und Gürtelschnallen und Applikationen, die auf der Kleidung getragen wurden. Sie alle sind von griechischen Goldschmieden in einem Stil gestaltet, der sich ikonographisch eng an die Überlieferung der Nomadenvölker anlehnte. Das, was erhalten ist,

¹⁵ Herodot IV, 21.

¹⁶ Herodot IV, 22. Nach Herodot bog die Straße, nachdem sie sieben Tagereisen wüstes Land passiert hatte, dann nach Osten ab.

¹⁷ J. J. HUNDT: Vorgeschichtl. Seidenfunde, Jahrb. des Röm.-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz, Jahrg. 16, 1971, S. 59–71.

^{17a} Vergl. Anm. 17.

¹⁸ N. TOLL': Zametki o kitajskom selke na juche Rossii. Seminarium Kondakovianum I (1927) p. 85, 92.

^{18a} Herodot I, cap. 201. Vgl. Hierzu Herodot, Historien, ed. H. W. HAUSSIG, deutsche Übersetzung von A. HORNEFFER, Stuttgart, Kröner-Verlag, 4. Aufl. 1971, Anm. 160 des Kommentars zu Buch I.

^{18b} Vgl. Anm. 18a.

¹⁹ K. JETTMAR: Die frühen Steppenvölker. Baden-Baden 1964. S. 5–8.

stammt zum größten Teil erst aus dem 5.—4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.²⁰ Die Erhaltung der heute vorhandenen Stücke ist nur einem Zufall, dem Interesse des Zaren Peter des Großen zu verdanken. Durch ihn kamen sie in die Schatzkammer des Monarchen und später in die Ermitage, während der größere Teil, das was vorher gefunden worden war, eingeschmolzen wurde. Man darf vermuten, daß darunter auch Funde aus älterer Zeit waren. Von dem Handel in mykenischer Zeit unterschied sich jener, den Herodot beschreibt, nur in den Waren, nicht aber in dem von ihm benutzten Weg.

Herodots Bericht über die Stationen der Nordroute der Seidenstraße

Daß es auch in späterer Zeit ähnliche Handelsbeziehungen wie in mykenischer Zeit mit dem Ural gegeben hat, bestätigt indirekt Herodot, wenn er von der Hauptstadt der Budiner, die griechische Kaufleute nach einer Reise von 15 Tagen erreichten, berichtet.²¹ Sie lag hiernach schon in der Waldzone und war daher ganz aus Holz gebaut. Dort gab es eine eigene Niederlassung der griechischen Kaufleute mit Tempeln ihrer Götter.²² Offensichtlich waren über diese Hauptstadt der Budiner die griechischen Goldschmiedearbeiten in das Gebiet von Tobolsk gebracht worden, in dem sie im 17. Jahrhundert gefunden wurden. Herodot beschreibt den weiteren Verlauf dieses Handelsweges, der durch das Gebiet der Thyssageten führend den War erreichte, der mit der Wolga zu identifizieren ist. Von dort führte er dann nach Mittelasien.

Herodot hat die einzelnen Stationen dieser Route mit den Namen jener Völker bezeichnet, in deren Gebiet sie lagen. Diese Stationen entsprachen Rastplätzen, wo man nicht nur die Dolmetscher, sondern bei sechs von ihnen offen-

²⁰ Zur Datierung K. JETTMAR: a. a. O. S. 198.

²¹ Herodot IV, 22.

²² Herodot IV, 108. Nach Herodot bestand die 22 Stadien lange Mauer, die die Stadt der Budiner umgab ebenso aus Holz wie alle Gebäude der Stadt, darunter auch die griechischen Tempel. Sie war von Dareios bei seinem Feldzug gegen die Skythen im Jahre 510 v. Chr. zerstört und niedergebrannt worden (Herodot IV, 123). Dareios zog dann nach Nordosten zu den Thyssageten bis zum War (*Oaros*)-Fluß, wo er Befestigungen errichtete. Die Bezeichnung *Hwar* (= Wasser) ist als Name des Dnjepr und des Amudarya bekannt. Sie läßt sich ebensowenig identifizieren, wie die drei anderen Flüsse. Nach der Erwähnung der Thyssageten zu urteilen, könnte der Uralfluß gemeint sein. Dareios ist demnach bei der Verfolgung der Skythen einen Teil der Nordroute der Seidenstraße entlang gezogen. Man gewinnt aus den Angaben Herodots den Eindruck, daß der König nicht über den Kaukasus, sondern über die Sogdiana nach Persien zurückkehren wollte. Da sein Vater Hystaspes über Ostiran herrschte, waren ihm wahrscheinlich die sich dort am Syr darya vereinigenden Nord- und Südrouden der Seidenstraße bekannt und er hatte sie in seinen strategischen Plan einbezogen. Die acht von dem König errichteten Befestigungen sollten offenbar eine durch unwegsames Gebiet führende Straße blockieren, um den verfolgten Skythen die Rückkehr unmöglich zu machen. Bei diesem Feldzug konnte sich der König bis zur Donnmündung auf die Niederlassungen der ihm unterworfenen griechischen Städte stützen. Sie kannten auch den Weg nach Mittelasien, dem Gebiet der Parther. Der Grund für den Abbruch des Feldzuges war, daß offenbar einige dieser Städte schon damals vom König abfallen wollten.

bar auch die Karawanenführer wechseln mußte.²³ Das ergab sich aus den großen Entfernungen. Den gemieteten Karawanenführern war der Weg hier nur zum Teil vertraut. Die Dolmetscher mußten sogar siebenmal gewechselt werden. Brauchte man doch für die Issedonen, denen man auf einem Handelsplatz bei den Argypaioi begegnete, ebenfalls einen Dolmetscher.²⁴ Die Verwendung der Dolmetscher beweist, daß das Griechisch der Kaufleute bis hin zu den Issedonen wenigstens von einer kleinen Gruppe Sprachkundiger verstanden wurde. Man kann daher davon ausgehen, daß das Griechische für den von Herodot beschriebenen Teil der Straße allgemein die Verkehrssprache war. Daneben scheint die griechische Schrift in einzelnen Fällen auch zur Schreibung der Landessprachen verwendet worden zu sein. So sind in Europa kurze Texte in thrakischer Sprache erhalten, die mit griechischen Buchstaben geschrieben wurden.^{24a} In Mittelasien benutzte das sogenannte Baktrische, die Sprache der Kuschana, ebenfalls die griechische Schrift.^{24b} Daneben scheint man sich im Handelsverkehr außerdem noch einer bisher nicht gelesenen Schrift bedient zu haben, die mit den türkischen Runen vom Orchon Ähnlichkeit aufweist. Angaben in dieser Schrift finden sich auf einem großen Silberbarren aus Ai Khanum.^{24c} Fast alle bisher bekannten Beispiele für diese Schrift stammen aus Mittelasien.

In Mittelasien erreichte die von Herodot beschriebene Straße das Land der Parther.²⁵ Zwar werden sie von ihm nicht namentlich genannt, aber die Angaben über ihre Flucht von den königlichen Skythen nach Mittelasien, die für die Parther aus Pompeius Trogus bekannt ist, läßt an der Identität des hier erwähnten Volkes mit ihnen keinen Zweifel. Von den Parthern erreichte die Straße die Argypaioi. Sie bestritten nach Herodot ihren Lebensunterhalt aus den Erträgen der Jagd und dem Sammeln von Früchten.²⁶ Im Rahmen einer Schilderung ihrer Lebensweise beschreibt er das bei ihnen geübte Auspressen

²³ Herodot IV, 24.

²⁴ Herodot IV, 23.

^{24a} Goldschätze der Thraker, Thrakische Kultur und Kunst auf bulgarischem Boden, Katalog d. Ausstellung im Österreichischen Museum für angewandte Kunst 4.3. — 31. 5. 1975, Abb. 167. Ring mit Inschrift. Heute im Archäologischen Museum Sofia.

^{24b} Vgl. Foto bei J. AUBOYER: L'Afghanistan et son Art, 1968, Abb. 40.

^{24c} Vgl. hierzu A. A. MOTAMEDI: Discovery of an Inscription in an Unknown Language at Ai-Khanum. Afghanistan. Vol. 33, Nr. 1, S. 45—48. Aufzeichnungen in der in Ai Khanum gebrauchten Runenschrift finden sich in verwandten Formen in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten v. Chr. überall in Mittelasien. Die Fundorte decken sich mit Stationen, die den mutmaßlichen Verlauf der Seidenstraße in diesem Gebiet bezeichnen. Nach den Gegenständen, auf denen sich die Aufzeichnungen in dieser Schrift befinden, gehen sie auf Händler zurück. Neben dem Silberbarren von Ai Khanum ist hier die Silberschale aus dem Kurgan von Issyk in der Kazakischen SSR zu nennen. Überwiegend finden sich die Aufzeichnungen in diesen Runen auf Ostraka und auf Keramik, die zum Verkauf bestimmt war.

²⁵ Justin. Trog. 41, 1,1. *Parthi . . . Scytharum exules fuere*. Schol. Berolinense in Lucani Bell. Civ. I, 553: *Scythico sermone Parthi exules dicuntur*. Weitere Erwähnungen bei Jordanes Get. u. Isidor Origin. IX, 3.

²⁶ Herodot IV, 23.

der Früchte eines *Pontikon* genannten Baumes zu einem Brei, den sie *Aschy* nannten. (*Aschy* hat in den Turksprachen die Bedeutung «bitter». Man könnte daher an eine Beziehung der Argypaioi zu den späteren Turkvölkern denken, die die Beschreibung ihres Äußeren und ihre Lebensweise in Jurten, die mit Filz bekleidet waren, nahe legt.)²⁷

Bis zu den Argypaioi, deren Wohnsitze man sich wahrscheinlich im Tal des Ili vorzustellen hat, kamen nach Herodot griechische Kaufleute von der Mündung des Dnjepr und aus Städten an der Küste des Schwarzen Meeres.²⁸ Das wird durch Funde von Münzen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Olbia und Pantikapaion in der Dzungarei bestätigt.²⁹

Der Schatten Chinas über dem Ostteil der Nordroute der Seidenstraße

Die Straße führte dann von den Argypaioi weiter nach Osten.³⁰ Im Gegensatz zu den Argypaioi, die auch von griechischen Kaufleuten besucht wurden, haben die Issedonen diese offenbar selbst bei den Argypaioi besucht.³¹ Man kann daher annehmen, daß griechische Kaufleute weder in das zuweilen als Land der Issedonen bezeichnete eigentliche China noch in seine mit diesem Namen ebenfalls bezeichneten Randgebiete gekommen sind.

Es gab also an diesem östlichen Teil der Seidenstraße schon einen Handelsplatz, den die Issedonen besuchten. Die Angaben Herodots über die Issedonen stammen, wie er bemerkt, nur aus skythischer Quelle. Die Skythen hatten also damals die Dolmetscher für die Issedonen gestellt. Die Angaben, die sie übermitteln, gehen nach zwei Richtungen. Einmal berichten sie über die angeblich im Norden der Issedonen wohnenden Dämonen und übernatürlichen Wesen.³² Diese Angaben geben eigene Mythen der Issedonen wieder. Die zweite Gruppe

²⁷ Herodot bezeichnet die aus Zweigen zusammengesetzten Jurten als Bäume, die man im Winter mit Filz umhüllte.

²⁸ Herodot IV, 24.

²⁹ Eine Abbildung der Münzen findet sich bei E. H. MINNS: *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge 1913.

³⁰ Herodot IV, 24.

³¹ Herodot IV, 25 u. 26. Herodot betont zwar, daß auch das östlich von den Argypaioi liegende Land der Issedonen bekannt sei, weist dann aber in Kap. 26 darauf hin, daß die Nachrichten über die Issedonen aus skythischer Quelle stammen.

³² Herodot IV, 27: Die hier zitierte Mythe der Issedonen, die von «Einäugigen» und den «das Gold hütenden Greifen» spricht, zeigt hier ihre skythische Herkunft durch das von Herodot zitierte skythische Wort für die «Einäugigen»: *Arimaspen*. Auch die altchinesische Mythologie kennt die «Einäugigen». Sie erwähnt sie in Verbindung mit der Übergabe des Bogens und der Pfeile durch den Himmelsgott Tsün an den Jagdgott Yin (W. MÜNKE: *Die klassische chinesische Mythologie*. Stuttgart 1976. S. 279 Shao Hao). Diese Mythe erinnert mit der Erwähnung des Jagdgottes Yi (MÜNKE a. a. O. S. 344) an die Legende vom königlichen Schützen Skythes, der den Bogen des Herakles und damit die Herrschaft über das Reich der Skythen erhält (Herodot IV, 10). Wie Lukian (1–10) zeigt, gaben die Griechen die Bedeutung von *Skythes* mit *Toxaris* = Bogenschütze wieder. *Skythes* entspricht germanisch *skutja* = Schütze. Sie ist durch die Bezeichnung *Σκόπτας* bei Priskos, Exc. p. 125, 22 für einen der engsten Berater Attilas belegt.

der durch Herodot bekannt gewordenen Nachrichten über die Issedonen bezieht sich auf ihre Bestattungssitten.³³ Hiernach gab es bei ihnen keine Bestattung der Toten im üblichen Sinne. Das würde erklären, warum es im Westen von Kan-su und im Tarimbecken seit dem Neolithikum bis zur chinesischen Eroberung in dem Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende keine Grabfunde gegeben hat.

Eine klare Vorstellung von den Wohnsitzen der Issedonen kann man aber nicht aus der von Herodot gegebenen Beschreibung dieser nördlichen Route der Seidenstraße gewinnen. Hierfür muß man die Erwähnung dieses Volkes durch Ptolemaios heranziehen. Seine Beschreibung des Tarimbeckens, das er als *Serike* bezeichnet, kennt im Nordwesten die Wohnsitze der Issedonen.³⁴ Die Issedonen müssen also zu seiner Zeit dort beheimatet gewesen sein, wo die chinesischen Quellen die Wu-sun und auch die Yüe-chi kennen.³⁵ Da Ptolemaios für seine Darstellung wie die chinesischen Berichte Quellen aus der ersten Hälfte des zweiten und aus dem ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. benutzt,³⁶ müssen zu dieser Zeit die Issedonen in der Hauptsache im Norden des Tarim und im Siebenstromland gewohnt haben. Das stimmt aber nicht für die Zeit, von der Herodot berichtet. Damals wohnten sowohl die Wu-sun wie auch die Yüe-chi der chinesischen Quellen, die nach den geographischen Angaben bei Ptolemaios mit den Issedonen gleichzusetzen sind, noch im Westen der chinesischen Provinz Kan-su und zu einem Teil auch in der Turfan-Oase. Von dort sind sie erst 176 v. Chr. nach Westen ausgewandert.³⁷ Demnach reicht die von Herodot gegebene Beschreibung der Nordroute der Seidenstraße von der Mündung des Don bis in den Westteil der Provinz Kan-su.

Der Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Südroute der Seidenstraße

Eine mit Herodots Bericht über die Nordroute der Seidenstraße vergleichbare zusammenhängende Beschreibung gibt es für die Südroute nicht. Sie hat es, wie einige Fragmente beweisen, sicher einmal gegeben. Diese Teilstücke einer Beschreibung, die verschiedenen Zeiten angehören, reichen aber nicht aus, um ihren Verlauf im einzelnen rekonstruieren zu können. Zu den ältesten Fragmenten gehört eine nur zum Teil erhaltene akkadische Keilschrifttafel aus dem 7.

³³ Herodot IV, 26.

³⁴ Bei Ptolemaios 431, 5 ed. WILBERG heißt es: ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα μέχρι τῶν Κασίων Ἰσσηδόνες μέγα ἔθνος καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι αὐτῶν Θράκοι. Hiernach müssen die Issedonen unmittelbar westlich des hier mit der sogdischen Bezeichnung erwähnten *Trunhuang* gewohnt haben. Wo das im einzelnen im Tarimbecken gewesen ist, geht aus der Bemerkung des Ptolemaios nicht hervor. Sicher ist, daß die Wohnsitze der Issedonen zu dieser Zeit im Westen von Kan-su gelegen haben müssen. Die Provinz Kansu, wo die ehemaligen Wohnsitze der Yüe-chi lagen, scheidet also für diese Zeit aus.

³⁶ E. ZÜRCHER: The Yüeh-shih and Kaniska in Chinese Sources, S. 348—353 in Papers on the Date of Kaniska, ed. A. L. BASHAM, 1968. Hiernach dürften die chinesischen Quellen etwa aus der gleichen Zeit stammen wie die des Ptolemaios.

³⁷ E. ZÜRCHER: a. a. O., S. 366 übersetzt hier die sich auf die ehemaligen Wohnsitze dieser Völker beziehenden Angaben der chinesischen Quelle.

Jahrhundert v. Chr.³⁸ Was von ihr vorhanden ist, beschreibt einen Abschnitt, der von einer Stadt in Mesopotamien bis etwa nach Ekbatana reicht. Weitere Teile, die man als ihre bis Mittelasien reichende Fortsetzung ansehen kann, sind in den Stathmoi des Isidor von Charax erhalten, ein Werk, das der parthischen Zeit angehört.³⁹ Hier sind wie bei Herodot die Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Stationen angegeben. Nach seiner Beschreibung führte die Straße aus Mesopotamien über Ekbatana bis Kyreschata (= *Kurus-kath* = «Stadt des Kyros»),⁴⁰ eine Festung, die sich schon in der Sogdiana befand. In achämenidischer Zeit war sie der nördlichste persische Stützpunkt im Osten Irans.

Im Norden der Sogdiana gab es damals die sogenannten »spitzmützigen« Saken⁴¹ und im Westen von ihnen zwischen Aralsee und Kaspischem Meer wohnten die Massageten,⁴² gegen die Kyros der Große «in der Ebene der Daher» im Jahre 529 v. Chr. gefallen war.⁴³ Von der Sogdiana aus erreichte die Route nach Plinius den *Silis* genannten Fluß,⁴⁴ der von Strabo als *Iaxartes* (= Perlenfluß) bezeichnet wird.⁴⁵ Der Name *Silis* gibt die parthische Aussprache des Flußnamens,⁴⁶ der in seiner persischen Form *Sir* auf die Serer zu weisen scheint, wieder. Die Bedeutung von *Iaxartes* = «Perlenfluß» war auch den Chinesen bekannt, die sie für ihre Bezeichnung des Flusses übernahmen.⁴⁷ Jeder der Namen dieses Flusses gehört zu der Beschreibung einer anderen Route der Seidenstraße. Als *Iaxartes* wird er bei Strabo bezeichnet, der Teile der Südroute

³⁸ Bei E. HERZFELD: Iran in the Ancient East. 1941.

³⁹ Die Stathmoi Parthikoi des Isidor von Charax folgen der alten Karawanenstraße, die vor allem das alte parthische Zentrum in Nisa und Hekatompylos berücksichtigt.

⁴⁰ Die Stadt, deren Namen BENVENISTE identifiziert hat, scheint mit dem im Hudūd al 'Ālam (Transl. and explained by V. MINORSKY, 2 Aufl. ed. C. E. BOSWORTH, 1970, S. 115 u 354) erwähnten Kurkath an der Straße, die an der durch Ferghana in das Tarimbecken führte, identisch zu sein. Es gehörte später zum Fürstentum Usrushana und lag westlich des Jaxartes und am Nordhang des Buttamengebirges. Hier befanden sich Gold- und Silberbergwerke. E. BENVENISTE, «La ville Cyreschata». Journal Asiatique (1943/1945), p. 163.

⁴¹ Es handelt sich bei ihnen um die von den Persern *saka tigraxauda* «spitzmützige Saken» genannten Stämme, die südlich und nördlich des Syr darya wohnten. Herodot VII, 64 beschreibt ihre die Form einer Tiara besitzende Kopfbedeckung. Die als *Hunnen* bezeichneten Völker in Mittelasien, die sich der gleichen Kopfbedeckung bedienten, wurden nach dem Wort für «Tiara», *κίδαρις*, als «kidaritische Hunnen» bezeichnet. Man übertrug damit auf sie die von den Königen der Kuschana als Herrscher über diese Saken geführte Bezeichnung *Kidara Kušana šahi*. Vgl. auch Yasht, IX, 30, wo Vischtaspa um den Sieg über «die Feinde mit dem spitzen Helm» betet.

⁴² Herodot I, 204. Nach Herodot wohnten die Massageten in jener Ebene, die sich bis zum Ostufer des Kaspischen Meeres erstreckte.

⁴³ Die Notiz bei Berossos spricht von *Daern*.

⁴⁴ Plinius Nat. Hist. VI, 16 sagt: ... *includente flumine Iaxarte, quod Scythae Silim vocant*.

⁴⁵ Strabo Geogr. XI, 8,2.

⁴⁶ Mani bezeichnet das Gebiet der Serer nicht als *ΚΙΛΕΩΣ* sondern mit der Form *ΚΙΛΕΩΣ* (Kephalaia. Ed. BÖHLIG. S. 188, 32), der die bei Plinius überlieferten Namensform für den Fluß *Silis* entspricht.

⁴⁷ Die Chinesen nannten ihn *Tschen-tschu* = «wahre Perle» (Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kioüe Occidentaux, Paris 2. Aufl. 1900, S. 9). Sie übersetzten damit diese Bezeichnung in ihre Sprache.

kennt. *Silis* heißt er bei dem älteren Plinius, der ein Stück der Land- und Seeroute nach einer indischen Quelle beschreibt.⁴⁸ Beide Quellen unterscheiden sich durch die Darstellung der Serer. Strabo, der um die Zeitwende schrieb, verstand unter den Serern, wie seine Schilderung der Herstellung des nicht mit der Seide identischen Stoffes, der aus dem Bast der Ramiepflanzen gewonnen wurde, zeigt,⁴⁹ die Chinesen; der gleiche Autor identifiziert an einer anderen Stelle mit ihnen auch die Yüe-chi in Kan-su. Plinius der Ältere dagegen, der etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Strabo schrieb, sah in ihnen ein Volk mit den gleichen körperlichen Merkmalen, wie sie nach den chinesischen Quellen die Wu-sun besaßen.⁵⁰

Der Unterschied erklärt sich aus der Benutzung verschiedener Quellen. Strabo geht über Apollodoros von Artamita wahrscheinlich auf die Ephemeriden jenes Feldzugs zurück, den Seleukos II. im Jahre 232 v. Chr. unternommen hatte,⁵¹ um die mit der Erhebung der Parther zusammenhängenden partikularistischen Bestrebungen im Osten des Irans zu unterdrücken. Strabo war durch diese Quelle in der Lage, sehr ausführlich über die damals in Mittelasien wohnenden Völker zu berichten. Seine Informationen bezogen sich auf die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts. Plinius der Ältere dagegen stützte sich auf eine wesentlich jüngere indische Quelle, die Beschreibung eines Teilabschnittes der von der indischen Küste kommenden Route der Seidenstraße. Sie stammt von dem indischen Kaufmann Rachias.⁵² Dementsprechend kannte Strabo die Serer, soweit er sie nicht überhaupt mit den Chinesen gleichsetzte, noch in ihren Wohnsitzen, die sie bis 176 v. Chr. in der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su behaupteten. Plinius aber wußte nur von ihren Wohnsitzen in ihrer neuen Heimat im Nordosten des Tarimbeckens und im Siebenstromland.

Das Chinabild in den Nachrichten von der Südroute der Seidenstraße

Im Gegensatz zu Herodot erwähnt Strabo⁵³ bei der Beschreibung der Nordroute auch die Chinesen, wenn er von dem Verfahren der Serer zur Her-

⁴⁸ Plinius, Nat. Hist., VI, 54 u. V, 88. Rachias war als Gesandter des Königs von Taprobane (Ceylon) unter der Regierung des Kaisers Claudius nach Rom gekommen. Sein Bericht stützte sich auf die Erzählung seines Vaters, der diese Straße bereits hatte.

⁴⁹ Strabo XV, 693 *τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Σηρικὰ ἐκ τινῶν φλοιῶν ξαιωμένης βύσσου*. Er beschreibt hier nicht die Herstellung der Seide aus den Kokons des in Maulbeerbaumpflanzungen gezüchteten Seidenspinners, sondern die eines Gewebes, das aus den Fasern der Ramiepflanze gewebt wurde. Die Ramiepflanze wurde in China südlich des Hoang-ho angebaut.

⁵⁰ Plinius, Nat. Hist., VI, 88. Plinius erwähnt ihre rote Haarfarbe (*rutilis comis*) und ihre blauen Augen (*caeruleis oculis*). Die Wu-sun besaßen «rote Bärte» und «azurblaue (ts'ing) Augen» (CHARPENTIER: Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer. ZDMG 71 (1917) S. 374).

⁵¹ Vgl. HAUSSIG: Byzantinische Quellen über Mittelasien in ihrer historischen Aussage. S. 41 in Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia, ed. J. HARMATTA, Budapest 1979.

⁵² Vgl. Anm. 48.

⁵³ Vgl. Anm. 49.

stellung der von ihm mit der Seide verwechselten Stoffe aus dem Bast der Ramie-Pflanze spricht, denn weder von den Serern in Kan-su vor dem Jahre 176 v. Chr. noch von den damals nach dem Nordwesten des Tarimbeckens ausgewanderten Teilen dieses Volkes ist bekannt, daß sie sich mit der Herstellung dieser Art Stoff befaßt hatten.⁵⁴ Die chinesischen Quellen, die sich in einer eigenen Monographie mit den Wu-sun beschäftigen, berichten davon nichts.⁵⁵ Da die Serer bei Plinius dem Älteren nach ihrer Beschreibung mit den Wu-sun identisch sein müssen,⁵⁶ gilt das auch für sie. Wenn Strabo die Chinesen als Serer bezeichnet,⁵⁷ wiederholt sich hier ein Vorgang, der auch bei der Entstehung des Namens anderer Völker zu beobachten ist, bei den Italern in Süditalien, nach denen die Bewohner der ganzen Halbinsel genannt wurden, oder den Germanen im Südwesten Mitteleuropas, deren Name als Bezeichnung der übrigen Stämme gebraucht wurde. Die Ursache für die Verwendung dieser Namen ist überall die gleiche. Es waren jene Völker, denen die Griechen in Italien, Deutschland oder China zuerst begegneten.

Die Mittlerrolle der Serer im Handel mit China

Während Herodot einen Handelsplatz bei den Argyppaioi als Stätte des Warenaustausches zwischen Griechen und Issedonen nur voraussetzt, wird Plinius der Ältere auch hier deutlicher. Nach ihm erfolgte der Warenaustausch mit den Serern am Ufer eines Flusses und dort in der Form eines «stummen Tauschhandels».⁵⁸ Dem scheint auf den ersten Blick Herodot zu widersprechen, der voraussetzt, daß die griechischen Kaufleute mit den Issedonen durch skythische Dolmetscher sprechen konnten.⁵⁹ Der Widerspruch klärt sich dadurch

⁵⁴ Es gibt eine alte Erzählung in Chotan, nach der eine Prinzessin aus Kutscha das bestehende Verbot der Ausfuhr von Eiern des Seiden spinners dadurch umgangen habe, daß sie die Eier unter ihrer Kopfbedeckung über die Grenze nach Chotan brachte, wo man bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt weder Maulbeerkulturen noch die durch sie ernährten Seidenraupen kannte. (Vgl. CHAVANNES, Doc., S. 125—126). Die Erzählung keweist daß es im Tarimbecken erst relativ spät zur Einführung der Seidenraupenzucht gekommen ist.

⁵⁵ Vgl. J. J. M. DE GROOT: Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens. Teil 2. Berlin—Leipzig 1926. S. 125 — 16. Aus den Berichten geht hervor, daß die Wu-sun Nomaden waren und in Jurten wohnten. Man pflegte ihnen als Geschenke chinesische Seiden zu übersenden.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Anm. 50.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Anm. 49.

⁵⁸ Plinius Nat. Hist. VI, 88 u. Mela III, 59.

⁵⁹ Herodot IV, 24. u. 27. Herodot erwähnt die Notwendigkeit von sieben Dolmetschern für die Reise von der Donnmündung zu den Argyppaiern. Da man auf dem Weg zu ihnen nur sechs Völker berührte, war offensichtlich der siebente für das Gespräch mit den Issedonen bestimmt. Diese Dolmetschertätigkeit bezog sich auch auf die schriftlichen chinesischen Angaben, die sich auf den zum Kauf angebotenen Seidenrollen befanden. In seiner Scholie zu Dionysios Perigetes heißt es: *Οἱ δὲ Σῆρες οὗτοι τὸ σηρικὸν πωλοῦντες ἀποκροῦνται τὸ τίμημα ἐπιγράψαντες τοῖς σακκίοις, καὶ ὁ ἔμπορος ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς ποιεῖται τὰς ὑποκρίσεις.* Die Angaben der Scholie werden durch den Befund an den in Lo-lan gefundenen chinesischen Seidenrollen bestätigt. Sie enthielten nicht nur Angaben über den Preis, sondern auch über Länge, Breite und Gewicht. A. STEIN, Central Asian relics of Chinas ancient silk trade in T'oung Pao 20 (1921) 131 ff.

auf, daß Plinius hier, wie auch an anderer Stelle, eine indische Quelle benutzt.⁶⁰ Die Inder verfügten offenbar zu dieser Zeit über keine Dolmetscher, durch die sie sich mit den Serern verständigen konnten. Da man den Syr darya als *Silis* (= «Sererfluß») bezeichnete⁶¹ — der Name des Flusses wie der Name *Serer* wird bekanntlich in parthischer Aussprache statt des *r* mit einem *l* gesprochen — kann man vermuten, daß der Warenaustausch mit den Serern im Ferghana-Tal am oberen Syr darya erfolgte.

Der kombinierte See- und Landweg der Seidenstraße

Dieser dritte Weg der Seidenstraße setzt sich, was den Seeweg betrifft, aus einer ägyptischen und mesopotamischen Route zusammen, die beide nach Barygaza, einem Hafen an der Mündung des Namada in den Indischen Ozean, führten. Ihre Beschreibung ist in dem sogenannten «Periplus des Roten Meeres» enthalten, mit dem der Indische Ozean gemeint ist. Es handelt sich um eine aus der Zeit um Christi Geburt stammende Darstellung, die sich auf den Schiffsverkehr im Indischen Ozean bezieht. Sie erwähnt den von Barygaza über Baktrien nach Thinai führenden Handelsweg. *Thinai*⁶² bezeichnet hier die chinesische Hauptstadt, deren Name von der Bezeichnung *Ts'in* des westlichsten chinesischen Staates gebildet ist.

Zusammenhängende Beschreibungen der drei Landwege dieser Route der Seidenstraße gibt es nicht. Für einen von ihnen, jenen durch Mittelasien, bleiben als einzige Spuren die indischen geographischen Bezeichnungen von drei Gebirgen, die der Weg, der an der Mündung des Kabulflusses in den Indus seinen Ausgang nahm und bis in das Ferghana-Tal fast bis zur Quelle des Syr darya führte, berührte. Es sind die Sanskritnamen für den Hindukusch: *Ottokorra*, für den Pamir: *Imaos* (= *hima*) und für das Alai-Gebirge: *Kaschia* nach einem in Sanskritquellen vorkommenden Namen für ein Gebirgsvolk, das vielleicht mit den von Herodot erwähnten *Argyppaioi* identisch ist.⁶³ Auf diesem Weg ist vielleicht die von Nearchos als *Dermata Serika* (= «Serische Häute») bezeichnete Seide nach Indien gekommen.⁶⁴ (Nearchos war der Admiral Alexanders des Großen.)

Von der zweiten Route, die über den Wachdir-Paß in Jarkänd das Tarimbecken erreichte, ist nur ein kleiner Abschnitt mit dem Wach-Fluß, vom Vikto-

⁶⁰ Vgl. Anm. 48.

⁶¹ Vgl. Anm. 46.

⁶² Periplus Maris Erythraei (ed. Müller, I, 303, 23): *παράκειται ἐν αὐτῇ πόλις μεσόγειος μέγιστη λεγομένη Θῶναι, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ ὀθόνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὰ Βαρόγαζα διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ φέρεται.*

⁶³ Die auch im Sanskrit belegte Bezeichnung *Khasa* für Kaschgar (Vgl. Lévi: La catalogue géographique des Yaksa dans la Mahāmāyūri. Journal Asiatique 15 (1903) S. 52 u. 102) scheint auf die gleich lautende Bezeichnung der Bergstämme durch die Inder zurückzugehen (Lévi: Notes chinoises sur l'Inde. BRFFEO 5 [1905], S. 260—261).

⁶⁴ Strabo XV, 693 *σηρικὰ δέρματα.*

ria-See bis Balch, durch eine Beschreibung bei Plinius bekannt; sie geht auf die Wegbeschreibung durch den indischen Kaufmann Rachias zurück.⁶⁵

Auf die Benutzung der dritten Route, die vom oberen Indus über Gilgit und den Karakorumpaß nach Chotan in das Tarimbecken führte, weisen nur die vom ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. an längs der Straße erhaltenen Graffiti.⁶⁶ Allerdings wurde diese Route wahrscheinlich schon 176 v. Chr. von den Sai-wang, den Saka der Indischen Quellen, nachdem sie von den Yüe-chi aus dem Siebenstromland vertrieben worden waren, für ihre Auswanderung nach Indien benutzt.⁶⁷

Man kommt also zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Entstehung der drei Routen, der Nordroute, der Südroute und des kombinierten Land- und Seewegs der Seidenstraße das Ergebnis einer sich über mehrere Jahrhunderte erstreckenden Entwicklung war.

Die Bedeutung der Zusammenfassung älterer Wegstrecken für die Entstehung der Seidenstraße

Während die Nordroute offensichtlich schon in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit für den Warenaustausch zwischen dem Westen und China benutzt wurde, scheint für die Südroute als Ganzes eine Verbindung erst durch die skythische Westwanderung im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entstanden zu sein. Bei der dritten Route der Seidenstraße, dem kombinierten See- und Landweg, hat die am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erfolgende Angliederung des Pandschab an das achämenidische Persien durch Dareios den Großen die verschiedenen See- und Landwege zu einer durchgehenden Handelsstraße zusammengefaßt. Unter Dareios wurde durch den Griechen Skylax von Karyanda zunächst der Weg von Kaspapyros in Paktyia,⁶⁸ einer Stadt, die im Tal des Kabulflusses lag, über den Kyberpaß bis zum Indus erkundet.

Hierauf folgte dann die Fortsetzung der Reise zu Schiff bis zur Mündung des Indus und dann von dort über den Indischen Ozean zu den Häfen an der südarabischen Küste, von wo man Ägypten erreichte.⁶⁹ Die andere Abzweigung,

⁶⁵ Plinius, Nat. Hist. VI, 16. *Oxus amnis ortus in lacu Oaxo*. Plinius gibt dann kurz verschiedene Stationen der Straße nach Balch (Bactrum) wieder.

⁶⁶ Diese folgt im wesentlichen der heutigen Karakorumhochstraße. Die Graffiti entlang der Straße wurden von JETTMAR fotografiert und von HUMBACH bearbeitet, der seine vorläufigen Ergebnisse jetzt vorgelegt hat.

⁶⁷ Vgl. hierzu die Übersetzung des chinesischen Berichtes, der auf Chang-k'ien zurückgeführt wird, in der Gestalt des Ch'ien Han Shu durch ENOKI (bei A. K. NABAIN: *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford 1957. S. 130). Hierzu muß man noch die Übersetzung, die G. HALOUN (bei J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*, Klio Beiheft 41. S. 96 nach dem Han-schu Kap. 96) gegeben hat. Hieraus ergibt sich, daß die von den Ta Yüe-chi vertriebenen Sai-wang über die Hängebrückenpässe, also die Straße von Khotan über den Karakorumpaß und Gilgit, nach Indien gezogen sein müssen.

⁶⁸ Herodot III, 102. Die hier erwähnten Sage von den «goldgrabenden Ameisen» kennt auch die tibetische Überlieferung.

⁶⁹ Herodot IV, 44.

die von der Mündung des Namada aus die mesopotamischen Häfen erreichte, hatte zwei Jahrhunderte später Nearchos an der Spitze der makedonischen Flotte erkundet.⁷⁰ Beide Seeverbindungen wurden in Teilen sicher schon früher benutzt, aber erst durch Dareios bzw. Alexander zu einer durchgehenden Verkehrs- und Handelsverbindung ausgebaut.

Auch bei der Südstraße sind einzelne Abschnitte schon lange vorher für den Handelsverkehr benutzt worden. Das gilt für die von Herodot erwähnte Strecke von Syrien nach Mesopotamien, auf der z.B. der Weinexport aus Syrien nach Babylonien durchgeführt wurde, und die Fortsetzung dieser Straße von Babylon nach Ekbatana.⁷¹

Auf diesem Wege kam vielleicht die bei Herodot als «medische Kleider» bezeichnete Wildseide, die bei den Persern sehr beliebt war,⁷² nach Mesopotamien. Dagegen wurden die Fäden, aus denen die Gewebe der Wildseide hergestellt wurden, wahrscheinlich über die berühmte persische Königsstraße durch Anatolien nach Sardes und Ephesus exportiert. Hier an der Westküste Kleinasiens lagen die griechischen Manufakturen, die aus ihnen die berühmten koischen Stoffe herstellten.⁷³

Bochum.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Strabo XV, 693.

⁷¹ Herodot I, 194.

⁷² Herodot I, 135. Hier wird von dem Import medischer Kleidung durch die Perser berichtet. Dort scheint zuerst die Wildseide hergestellt worden zu sein, die offenbar zu den sogenannten «medischen Kleidern» verarbeitet wurde.

⁷³ Die Berichte über die Herstellung der Seide in Kos gehen bis in die zweite Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts zurück. Damals kannte man nur die Wildseide, bei der die Kokons in den Wäldern gesammelt wurde. Die Angabe bei Plinius (Nat. Hist. 76) kann sich daher nicht auf Kos bezogen haben, sondern wahrscheinlich auf Lydien.

MONUMENTS OF ART FROM THE SANCTUARY
OF OXUS
(NORTH BACTRIA)*

The last decades have been successful in the field of study of the culture of Central Asia, especially of the culture and art of Bactria. The archeological excavations removed the curtain over this region. The fundamental results have been achieved through the unearthing and systematic excavations of the Graeco-Bactrian city Ai-Khanum in North Afghanistan (South Bactria). They revealed here principles of city planning, solutions of planned composition, technique of construction, monuments of written culture, the Greek way of life of an antique city in Ancient Bactria, far away from the coast of the Mediterranean.¹ Certain parallels were furnished by the excavations in Saksanokhur (North Bactria), where the complex of a palace and a temple has been unearthed.² However,

• ABBREVIATIONS

АО	Археологические открытия. Москва.
ИООН АН Тадж. ССР	Известия Отделения общественных наук АН Таджикской ССР
КСИА	Краткие сообщения Института археологии АН СССР
МАР	Материалы по археологии России.
МИА	Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР
НС ГМИНВ	Научные сообщения Государственного музея искусства народов Востока.
СА	Советская археология.
СГЭ	Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград.
СМБК	Сообщения Музея восточных культур. Москва.
Тр. ТГУ	Труды Ташкентского государственного университета.
АА	Archaeologischer Anzeiger.
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.
AIBL	Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
BSFN	Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique.
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
JHS	Journal of Hellenistic Studies.
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.
ML	W. H. Roscher: Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
RA	Revue archéologique.

¹ P. BERNARD: Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968). MDAFA, XXI. Paris 1973.

² B. A. LITVINSKIY—H. МУНИТДИНОВ: Античное городище Саксанохур (Южный Таджикистан) СА 1969. No. 2, 166 foll.

as a matter of fact, just a few monuments of Graeco-Bactrian representative art (statues, reliefs, etc.) have been discovered. From the earlier, Achaemenid, period in the Bactrian territory we have interesting data on cities, structures of architecture, complexes of material culture, but we have hardly any finds of monuments of art. The researchers, therefore, have referred for a hundred years to the Graeco-Bactrian coins, collected in Afghanistan, in Northern India and in the southern part of Central Asia, and to the treasure of the Oxus (in Russian professional literature: «Amudar'inskiy klad»), containing a larger quantity of objects made of gold from the Achaemenid and Seleucid periods. The striking artistic quality, the expressive and fine portraiture and characteristic representation of the Graeco-Bactrian kings on the coinages convincingly showed the existence of a high level of monumental art, especially of sculpture, *i.e.* of the original specimens copied by the minters. This is also shown by the highly artistic monuments of fine arts contained in the stock of the treasure of the Oxus, found by local inhabitants in 1877.³ The history of the accidental discovery of the treasure of the Oxus and the interpretation of the finds contained in it have been heatedly discussed up to the present time. All researchers agree that the treasure was discovered within the boundaries of Bactria, at the Oxus (Amu-Darya). In fact, it has definitively entered history as the «treasure of the Oxus» (or in Russian as «Amudar'inskiy klad»).

The history of the archaeological study of the upper course of the Amu-Darya on the right bank, that is of the narrow coastal strip, situated between the Amu-Darya and the rocky ridge of the Teshik-Tash, extending near to the river, is therefore of interest, because it is almost indisputable that the Amu-Darya treasure was found in one of the two fortresses on the right bank, protecting the ancient crossing place, *viz.* the southern Takht-i Kubad, opposite to the mouth of the Qunduz-Darya and the northern fortress — Takht-i Sangin, the «Stone Platform» (Kamennoye gorodishche according to M. M. Diakonoff), at the confluence of the Vakhsh and the Panj.⁴

N. Mayev and N. Pokotilo, who stayed in that region at the Takht-i Kubad for some years after the discovery of the treasure of the Oxus, and considerably later also D. N. Logofet, published reports in favour of the discovery of the treasure at this place (N. Mayev, N. Pokotilo),⁵ and speak of the richness

³ O. M. DALTON: The Treasure of the Oxus. London III. ed. 1964.

⁴ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.*; E. V. ZEYMAL: Еще раз о месте находки Амударьинского клада. ИООН АН Тадж. ССР 1 (28) (1962) 30. See E. V. ZEYMAL: Амударьинский клад. Leningrad 1979; M. M. DIAKONOFF: Работы Кафирниганского отряда. МИА 15 (1950) 183; *idem*: Археологические работы в нижнем течении реки Кафирнигана (Кобадиян) 1950—1951. 37 (1953) 254; *idem*: У истоков культуры Таджикистана. Stalinabad 1956. 69.

⁵ F. Знукон: Верхнее течение Аму-дарьи. Газета «Туркестанские ведомости» 18. III 12 (1880) (N. A. МАЙЕВ under the pseudonym «F. Знукон» published some of his scientific and belletristic works); N. РОКОТИЛО: Путешествие в центральную и восточную Бухару. Известия Русского географического общества. 25 СПб. (1889) 480.

in gold of the bank of the river (D. N. Logofet).⁶ The latter writes quite obscurely about a nail-formed (cuneiform ?) inscription on the rocky wall, but he publishes no photograph. Consequently, the authenticity of this report, of course, raises serious doubts. Except the gold diggers, about whom we know from the reports of N. Mayev and N. Pokotilo, nobody had made excavations at Takht-i Kubad.

At Takht-i Sangin the first exploratory trenches were made in 1928 by the members of the expedition of the National Museum of the Art of the Peoples of the Orient B. P. Denike. M. M. Diakonoff found on a column the inscription: «To send to the Moscow museum . . .», written with copying pencil, and he reported about this.⁷ The results of the works of this year have not been published.⁸ M. M. Diakonoff has left impressive lines on his stay at Kamennoye gorodishche, however, he did not regard the treasure of the Oxus as a uniform complex, contesting the opinion of O. Dalton — to be sure without argumentation — on the Iranian origin of the objects contained in it.⁹ Almost thirty years after the works of B. P. Denike, in 1956 A. M. Mandelshtam made an exploratory excavation 11 m. by 7 m., in a depth up to 2—2,5 m. in Kamennoye gorodishche, which did not furnish substantial results.¹⁰ In a series of his articles, on the basis of the pottery discovered, he dated the early layers of Kamennoye gorodishche to Graeco-Bactrian times.¹¹ A. M. Mandelshtam did not connect the explored place with the treasure of the Oxus.

Beginning with 1976 through 1982 the South Tajikistan Archeological Expedition, led by B. A. Litvinskiy, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, has been carrying on excavations in Kamennoye gorodishche. The Takht-i Kubad team of the Archeological Expedition of South Tajikistan (headed by I. R. Pichikyan) did not set itself the target to identify the site of the treasure of the Oxus. The selection of the place of the works at Takht-i Sangin (Kamennoye gorodishche) was connected with a systematic exploration of the cultural relations of the ancient peoples of Central Asia with the Far East, esp. with China, India, Iran, Afghanistan and the Mediterranean area. The antique phase of these relations has been studied very little so far. The location of the gorodishche on the ancient caravan route, the excellent pre-

⁶ D. N. LOGOFET: На границах Средней Азии. Путевые очерки в 3-х книгах. Кн. III, СПб. 1909. 57—59; M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы. 255.

⁷ M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы . . . 254 foll. In 1977 we found in the same place a big piece of a column, although without an inscription.

⁸ B. P. ДЕНИКЕ: Экспедиция Музея восточных культур в Термез. Предварительный отчет. Культура Востока СМВК I. Moscow 1927. 18; *idem*: Экспедиция Музея восточных культур в Среднюю Азию 1927 года. Культура Востока I. Moscow 1928. 4.

⁹ M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы . . . 255.

¹⁰ See B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. ПИЧИКЯН: Тахти Сангин — Каменное городище. Раскопки 1976—1978. Культура и искусство древнего Хорезма. Moscow 1980. 195.

¹¹ A. M. МАНДЕЛШТАМ: Кочевники на пути в Индию. МИА 136 (1966) 146. *Idem*: К истории Бактрии — Тохаристана (Некоторые археологические наблюдения). КСИА 98 (1964) 23. *Idem*: Памятники кочевников кушанского времени в Северной Бактрии. Leningrad 1975. 135—136.

servation of the strong stone protective walls (not characteristic at all of the unburnt brick and mud architecture of the region), the parts of antique columns scattered on the surface of the earth have aroused interest from immemorial time. However, the difficult approach to the place, the distance from the inhabited places, the lack of drinking-water, rendered the excavations very complicated, even if at the same time the exploration of this gorodishche was of great interest both for the historian and for the archaeologist, but it demanded great material and human expenditures at the permanent works.¹² As from 1976 from year to year, the progress of the works has been showing more and more convincingly the perspectivity of research work at Takht-i Sangin. The archaeological and stylistic parallels of certain finds of the treasure of the Oxus show the possibility of a more scientific understanding of the highly artistic objects contained in it that, together with the new discoveries of the works of art, is important for the history of culture of Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran.¹³

Takht-i Sangin consists of urban structures and manors surrounded from the north and the south with protective walls in a distance of 1 kilometre. In the centre of the city there is the citadel (165 m. by 237 m.), surrounded with a moat up to 3 metres deep, and with stone walls rising up to a height of 6 metres even today, with a thickness of 2 metres, and at the corners flanked by bastions. To the west the gorodishche stands close to the ridge of the Teshik-Tash, where the necropolis is situated. Thus from the west the fortress is protected by a mountainous ridge, from the east by the Amu-Darya, and from the north and the south by a double line of protective walls. Thus, as a result of the strategically considered selection of the place, it was inaccessible from the dry land. The natural factors strengthened the efficiency of the structures of fortification, strong even without them. The planning of the citadel, in its eastern half, is characterized by the existence of a big square paved with big bricks (50 cm. by 50 cm.), and in its western half there are structures of a palace and a sanctuary rising 3 metres above the court. The ruins of these structures form three mounds: the central, the northern, the north-western and southern.

It was clear from the very beginning of the research work that in the central mound (digging of 25 metres by 30 metres) we are unearthing a sanctuary structure.¹⁴ Now, on the basis of an inscription — consecrated to the god

¹² M. M. DIAKONOFF: Археологические работы... 265.

¹³ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.*; E. V. ZEYMAL: Амударьинский клад; T. I. ZEYMAL — E. V. ZEYMAL: Еще раз... 40—45; B. G. GAUFUROV: Таджики. Moscow 1972. 78; E. E. KUZMINA: В стране Кавата и Афрасиаба. Moscow 1977. 47, 124; *eadem*: Семантика изображения на серебряном диске и некоторые вопросы интерпретации Амударьинскогоклада. — Искусство Востока и античность. Moscow 1977. 16; B. YA. STAVISKIY: Кушанская Бактрия. Проблемы истории и культуры. Moscow 1977. 74, 93; *idem*: Заметки об Амударьинском кладе. Искусство Востока и античность. Moscow 1977. 43.

¹⁴ I. R. PICHIKYAN: Культурный комплекс на Каменном городище (обоснование, характеристика). Всесоюзное научное совещание «Античная культура Средней Азии и Казахстана» (Тезисы докладов). Tashkent 1979. 88—90.

Oxus — this attribution has been fully confirmed. The nucleus of the palace-sanctuary complex consists of the central quadratic White Hall (144 square metres) and the two lines of circumambulatory galleries, with a breadth of about 3 metres, and the length of the southern section being 12 metres, that of the western section 21 (26) metres, and that of the northern section, being the reflection of the southern section and explored so far only on the surface, 12 metres. The central four-columned White Hall and the corridors are formed by mudbrick walls on the natural subsoil, with a preserved height of up to 5.5 metres and a thickness of 3 metres, rising from the subsoil up to the present-day surface. The size of the bricks ($50 \times 50 \times 15$ cm) is unusual for the structures of the Kuşāna monuments of North Bactria.¹⁵ Each wall was plastered three times and whitewashed several times.

The described planning of the temple of Takht-i Sangin (Fig. 1) can be traced back to the Iranian fire temples. A difference can be observed in the arrangement and number of the doorways, in the connection of the three inner ambulatory corridors among themselves, framing the cell from the front and the sides, and in other not important details of the uniform construction of the eastern fire temple. We see an entirely identical planning in Persepolis, in the little known fire temple, discovered by E. Herzfeld.¹⁶ Obviously the architects planning the sanctuary of Takht-i Sangin relied upon this, or another similar model. Other architectural and planning solutions of temples with four-columned cells and three ambulatory corridors near to those of Persepolis and Takht-i Sangin are published by K. Schippmann in his book dedicated to the development of the form of the Iranian fire temples.¹⁷ It has to be added that the sanctuary in the north-eastern part of Dilberjin also belongs to this archaeological standard.¹⁸

The roofing of the central White Hall (named by us so because of the colour of the white plaster and the white alabaster floor) rested on four columns. Of the columns the torus-shaped bases of the eastern order have been preserved, with removable tori on the two-step pedestal. The dimensions of the bases (1 metre on the side of the pedestals, and 0,65 metres at the lower part of the columns) allow to reconstruct the volumetrical solution of the central White

¹⁵ V. A. NILSEN: *Архитектура Средней Азии V—VIII вв.* Tashkent 1966. 204—208; G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: *К истории античной строительной техники Бактрии — Тохаристана (По раскопкам в Халчаяне)* СА 4 (1963) 74; *eadem*: *Халчаян.* Tashkent 1966. 126—127; *eadem*: *Дальверзинтепе. Кушанский город на юге Узбекистана.* Tashkent 1978. 232; *eadem*: *К познанию античной и раннекушанской архитектуры Северного Афганистана.* Вып. 1. I. Moscow 1976. 126; *eadem*: *Жига-тепе.* (Раскопки 1974 г.). Древняя Бактрия, Вып. 2. Moscow 1979. 70—72.

¹⁶ A. GODARD: *L'Art de Iran.* Paris 1962. 161, Fig. 156.

¹⁷ K. SCHIPPMANN: *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer.* Berlin—New York 1971. 496, Fig. 83, 178—180, Fig. 24.

¹⁸ I. T. KRUGLIKOVA: *Дильберджин.* Раскопки 1970—1972 гг. Part I. Moscow. 16. Unfortunately I. T. KRUGLIKOVA does not mention anything about the formation of the hall with inner column (room 1), presuming that the columns must stand outside and not within the cell.

Hall quite firmly with the original height of the columns of nearly 7 metres. The removability of the tori finished on a rotating millwork, separately from the pedestals, the character of the working of the stone, having analogies in the Achaemenid architecture¹⁹ and in the Graeco-Bactrian order of Ai-Khanum,²⁰ speak for the Seleucid or early Graeco-Bactrian times as the date of the original construction, to be dated on the basis of the archaeological characteristics not later than to the 3rd century B. C.

The analysis of the fashioning of the monumental altar, discovered in the north-western corner of the White Hall, confirms this early date of the establishment of the sanctuary. The stylobate of the altar area, standing on the sub-soil, with two bases for circular altars on the upper plain surface with a diameter of 1 metre, is attached direct to the western wall of the hall and standing at a distance of 0.6 metres from the northern wall in its full length. The breadth and length of the stylobate is close to the square, *viz.* 2.65 metres by 2.5 metres by 0.3 metres. The rectangular squares running along the perimeter of the stylobate have an edge without oblique grooves that points to an early Hellenistic date of the establishment of the altar and to the Greek tradition of stone-cutting craft. As regards its axes, this structure is perfectly parallel with the sides of the square formed by the four columns, and absolutely identical with it regarding the character of the fashioning of the stones. The unity of the compositional solution of the interior of the White Hall and the quality of execution of the monumental altar and of the columns point to the establishment of the sanctuary of Oxus as a whole in Graeco-Bactrian times. A close analogy to the form of the base of the stone altar is furnished by the altar of Dilberjin, with dimensions 2.47 metres by 2.48 metres, and height 0.6 metres. It is true that three rows of blocks were preserved there (the upper one is definitely the later — the Authors).²¹ An analogous altar is known in Surkh Kotal in the inner cell of the temple of Kanishka.²²

The monumentally formed doorways, the jambs of which are reinforced by triple pylons, set on rectangular stone bases give an effect of stateliness

¹⁹ The bases with removable tori in the White Hall cannot be dated later than the Hellenistic period. In the profile the tori discussed here are entirely analogous to the three-stepped torus-like bases of the outer portico of the propylaeum of Ai-Khanum. As a consequence of this the original construction of the central nucleus of the cultic complex discovered by us is very likely contemporaneous with the propylaeum of Ai-Khanum. E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis I*. Figs 75—79, Pls. 119, 122; A. B. TILIA: *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. II. Rome 1978. Figs 4—5, 12—15, 18—25, 38, 39.

²⁰ P. BERNARD: *Chapiteaux corinthiens hellénistiques de l'Asie Centrale découverts à Ai Khanoum*. Syria 45 (1968) 128, 129, Figs 8a, 10; P. BERNARD: *Campagne de fouilles* 1969. AIBL, 1970, avril—juil. Paris 1970. 337, Fig. 29; *ibidem* 333, Fig. 28.

²¹ I. T. KRUGLIKOVA: *Дильберджин. Раскопки 1970—1972 гг.* 29, Figs 20—29.

²² D. SCHLUMBERGER: *Der hellenisierte Orient. Die griechische und nachgriechische Kunst außerhalb des Mittelmeerraumes*. Kunst der Welt. Baden-Baden 1969. 62, Fig. 27.

similar to those of Ai-Khanum and earlier monuments of eastern architecture.²³

The main votive offerings, concentrated to a depth of 3.5 to 4 metres under the modern surface, were lying on the floors not far from the subsoil, at a distance of 0.05 to 1 metre that has to range them with the first period of construction. However, up to the present time no pure Graeco-Bactrian layer could be separated, since in the floors, pits and cultic burials the latest, undoubtedly Kuşāna material seems to be determinant as to the dating. This can be explained by the literal period of the life of the sanctuary, and also by the preservation of its functional meaning also after the conquest of Graeco-Bactria by the Kuşānas. The early date is confirmed only by the basic mass of the finds, viz. by highly artistic, and as a result of this fairly reliably datable, works of fine arts of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian periods.

Certain finds of the Achaemenid period, earlier than the time of construction of the sanctuary, purely Greek items of the classical time, are well explained by the statements of the written sources on ancient weapons and votive monuments of different times to be found in the temples. This picture is given by the comparisons with the excavations of other sanctuaries,²⁴ where the chronological dispersion of the votive stock is determined by the careful relation of the sacrificers to the sacrificial offering to the deity, characteristic of the religions of all times and peoples. The robbing of the sanctuaries having very precious treasures, still in ancient times, most frequently by people belonging to foreign tribes, or in very exceptional cases by compatriots, is shown even more convincingly by the results of the archaeological excavations, than by the antique authors. It has to be stated that the richness of the material in Takht-i Sangin is not characteristic of the urban sanctuaries.

A normal way of preservation of offerings out of use both in Greece and in the East was their hiding in specially digged pits (bothroi) or in old worn-out reservoirs, receptacles, cisterns, water tanks. Regarding the character of the storages of the finds, in Takht-i Sangin several types of cultic interring have been

²³ R. NAUMANN: *Architektur Kleinasiens von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit*. Tübingen 1971. 160—171, Figs 194—217, 406; P. BERNARD: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*. Pls. 45, 56, 61—64; B. A. LITVINSKIY—X. MUHITDINOV: *op. cit.* 164, Figs 3, 5.

²⁴ C. CARAPANOS: *Dodone et ses ruines*. Paris 1878. Pls. XIII—XLIV, XLIX—L; R. M. DAWKINS: *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. London 1929. 239, 244, Pls. CLXVII, 2, CLXXV, 14; 236—237, Pl. CLXII; G. DAUX: *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1963*. BCH 90 (1966), 2, P. 847, Fig. 5 (a, b); F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, II*. Chicago 1957. 63, Fig. 8 (PT, 5, N 409; PT 4, N 409, N 449), p. 99, Fig. 20 (PT 6, N 578 c, PT U, 1114 a). O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* In the Northern Coast of the Black Sea: M. M. НУДУК: *Из истории Нимфея*. Leningrad 1962. 22, 26, 47, 54; E. I. LEVI: *Ольвийская агора*. МИА 50 (1956) 41; E. I. LEVI: *Новые посвященные надписи Аполлону Дельфинию*. In: *История и культура античного мира*. Moscow 1977. 96; E. I. LEVI: *Материалы ольвийского теменоса*. Ольвия. Теменос и агора. Moscow—Leningrad 1964. 132, 133.

discovered. These are dumps in distant corners of corridors (Nos 1—4), castings into specially constructed pits (bothroi) (Nos. 1—5) and dumps behind a partition (favissa) (No. 1). Thereafter the corridors were walled up blocking the doorways with other bricks smaller in size, than those of which the walls were built (doorways Nos. 1, 2). In the second period of construction the doorways were renovated, the corridors were strewn to 2 metres, leveled with a stamper and paved, the walls were strengthened with arch-butresses. The functioning of the sanctuary continued that is testified by the bringing of horns of sacrificial animals into the corridors, *viz.* of stags, bulls, goats, rams, found on the pavement without accompanying material. Soon afterwards the whole territory of the sanctuary, the hall and the three ambulatory corridors were filled up with stiff clay. The cultic votive deposits, arranged in the area of the sacred sites beside, and in the sanctuary itself in specially digged pits (bothroi),²⁵ in favissas,²⁶ the uniqueness of the votive objects and the difference in time of the cast off material, are widely known from the excavations of the antique monuments. The offering of the horns of the sacrificed animals has analogies in the most ancient eastern sacred monuments, contemporary with the sanctuary of Oxus.²⁷

The description of the structure and dimensions of the bothroi and cultic interringings is given in the most detailed form in special archaeological reports, partly already published.²⁸

In the present work we cannot publish all monuments of art discovered by us. Therefore, we discuss in detail certain finds of ambulatory corridor No. 2, and we only mention the other, brightest ones.

All the proposed monuments have been discovered in the same depth, in the last lower metre of ambulatory corridor No. 2 of the excavated temple

²⁵ As was noted by E. I. LEVI: «The pits with cultic materials were concentrated either immediately in the neighbourhood of the temples, or on the borders of the temenos.»

²⁶ The structure of the favissa with pit closed with a Doric capital see: H. A. THOMPSON: Activities in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia* 27, 2 (1958) 145; D. BURR: A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit. *Hesperia* 2 No. 4 (1933) 542; K. LEHMAN: Samothraka. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 12, Pl. 9; C. WEICKERT: Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien. Augsburg 1929. 78.

²⁷ To the *bothroi*, pits for the throwing of cultic deposits, there are so broad analogies in the antique world that it is no use to mention them. An analogous repository of the horns of sacrificial animals has been discovered recently in the southeastern corridor in Dedoplis Mindori (Georgia). The throwing down is dated to the 1st century B. C. According to the authentic assertion of the researcher, this temple stands side by side with a multitude of temple and palace buildings of ancient and Hellenistic East. У. М. ДАГОШИДЗЕ: Раскопки храма I в. до н. э. в Дедоплис Миндори (Восточная Грузия). КСИА чешские 151 (1977) 107.

²⁸ B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Тахти-Сангин—Каменное городище (Раскопки 1976—1978 гг.) 195—218; B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Археологические открытия на юге Таджикистана. Вестник Академии Наук СССР 1980. N 7. 124—133; B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Ножны акинака из Бактрии. ВДИ 1981. N 3. 87—110. see also the articles of I. R. PICHIKYAN in the volumes entitled «Археологические открытия» for the years 1976—1980.

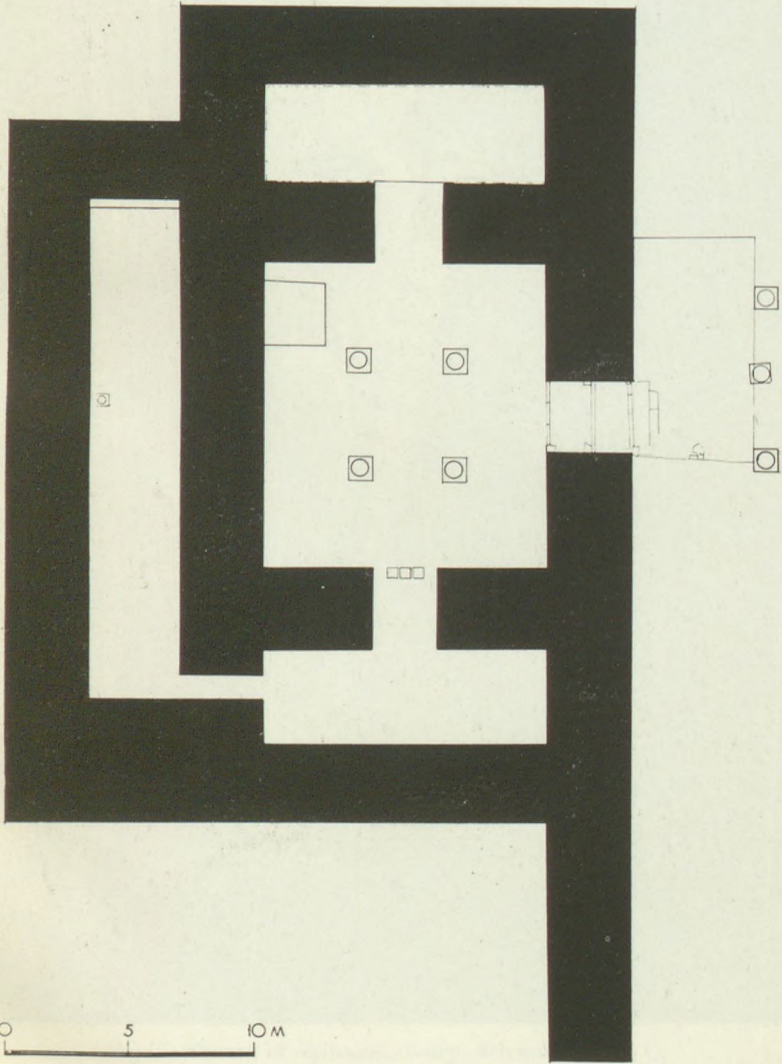
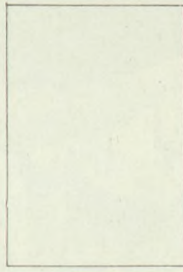
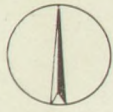


Fig. 1. Takht-i Sangin. Ground plan of the temple of the Oxus. 3rd century B. C.



Fig. 2. Sheath of akinakes, ivory, 5th century B. C.



Fig. 3. Sheath of akinakes, bouterolle, fragment



Fig. 4a. Altar of Atrosokes with dedication to Oxus, limestone, bronze, 2nd century B. C.



Fig. 4b. Altar of Atrosokes with dedication to Oxus, limestone, bronze, 2nd century B. C.



Fig. 5. Silenus-Marsyas, playing on a two-branched flute. Bronze



Fig. 6. Head of a Hellenistic leader. Unbaked clay. 3rd century B. C.



Fig. 7. Head of a local aristocrat. Alabaster



Fig. 8. Torso in belted chiton. Unbaked clay.



Fig. 9. Alexander the Great in lion helmet. Ivory. 3rd century B. C.



Fig. 10. Heracles striking down Silenus. Ivory. End of 4th century B. C.

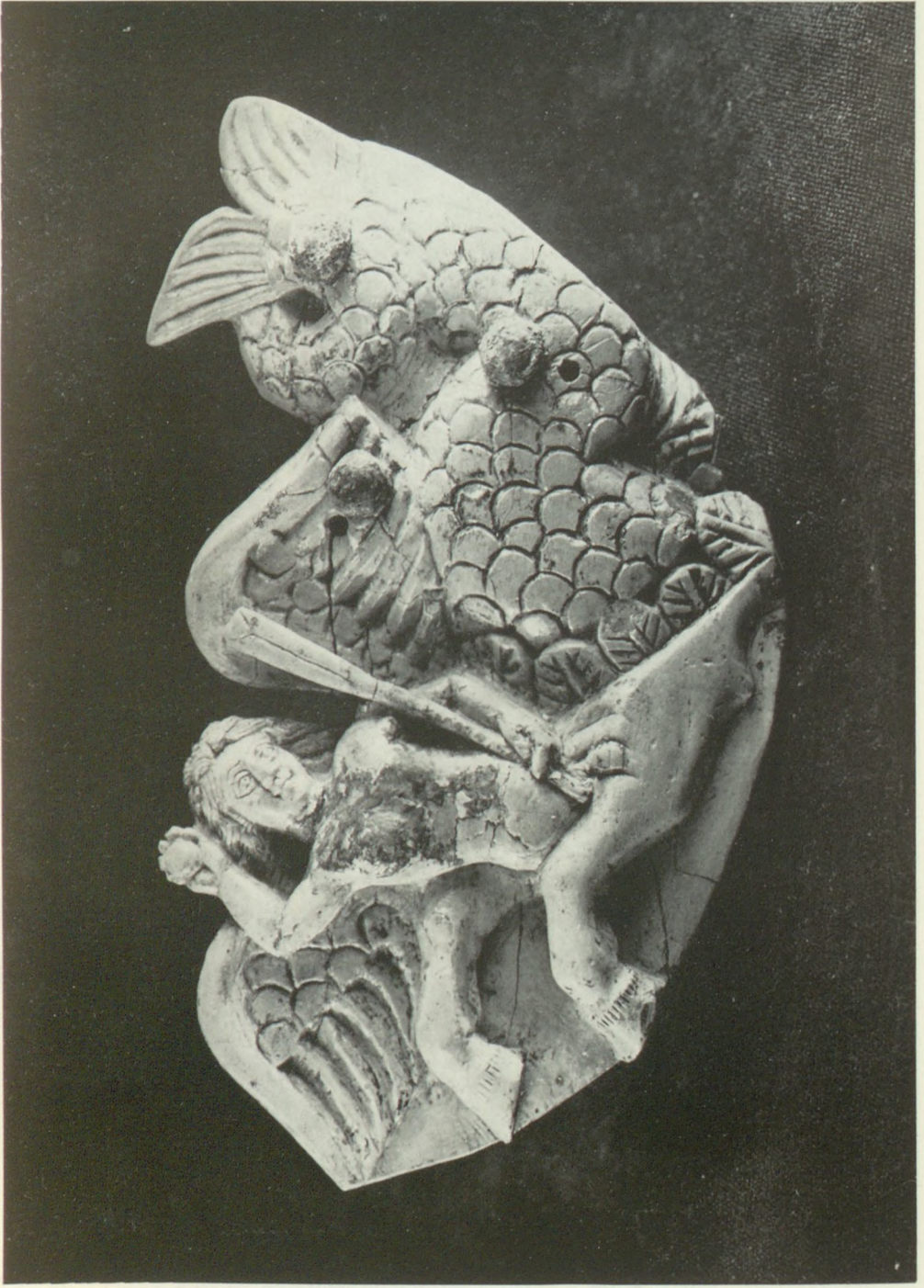


Fig. 11. Bouterolle of sheath with representation of hippocampus. Ivory. 2nd century B. C.



Fig. 12. Bactrians on hunting. Wall of a casket. Ivory

on Takht-i Sangin.²⁹ This, first of all, relates to cultic deposit No. 4, consisting of different cultic and dedicated material cast on the floor in a depth of 0.1 metre above the subsoil into the most distant corner of the 21 metres long ambulatory corridor No. 2.³⁰ The casting of the cultic objects took place in the 1st century A. D., they showed a synchronous character, but the main offering gifts can be dated to the Hellenistic period, and certain specimens to the 5th century B. C.

Let us turn to the monuments of polar dating *i.e.* to those of the earliest and the latest dating, and also to those of fairly strict dating.

The sheath of the Achaemenid akinakes is made of solid piece of ivory (Fig. 2). The upper end with a side part consisting of two semiovals has a circular hole for the attachment to the belt.³¹

On the front surface two «scenes» are engraved. The main, upper scene is very expressive, *viz.* it is filled by the large figure of a lion standing on its hind paws, holding in its forelegs a small stag. The body of the king of the animals is represented in profile, and its head in front-view with a little turning to the stag. The head of the lion is modelled clearly, expressively. The bulges of the cheek and the forehead are projecting relief-wise, the chin is well cut, the eyes are carefully fashioned, the nose is modelled with wrinkles on the upper surface and with nostrils, and the whiskers are widely projecting on the sides. From the closed, snarling mouth big slantwise canines are protruding. The lion holds the stag in its paws. The lion is standing on its fully straightened out hind paws, the right one being ahead (on a higher level), and the left one behind (on a lower level). The legs of the animal are accurately represented, on the right leg even the contracted pillows of the claws are shown. The tail is lowered between the legs and twisted around the right leg. It ends in a broadening, a tassel. The powerful body of the beast of prey is strongly stressed with its paw stretched ahead, with which it holds the stag. The hair on the back and the mane are indicated with parallel slanting bulging stripes with outer curly ends. The gap between the stripes is filled up with circular bulging hatches running at angles to the basic ones. All this, although in a conditional and generalizing way, gives the impression of a thick fur.

²⁹ The upper two construction periods, the second and the third (5 to 2 metres above the subsoil) furnished altogether about 20 fragments of Kuşāna pottery. In corridor No. 2, the second construction period, on a level of 2 metres above the datum-point of levelling, on 1 metre above the real subsoil, exactly corresponded to the material on the synchronous level in corridor No. 1. Here there were found about ten whole horns of the *Gasella subgutturosa*, rams and goats. On the floor, together with the horns, no other finds were discovered.

³⁰ Cultic deposit No. 4 in the northern end of the western circular gallery of the temple, of corridor No. 2, consisted mainly of alabaster sculptures of different forms.

³¹ The whole sheath of akinakes made of ivory was cleaned and fixed by I. R. PICHKIYAN and the restaurator N. TURLIGIN, A. Donish Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, inventory No. 1000/1091. On the outer surface there are minor defects and crackles.

In the femoral part the legs, two ovals with a notch, conditionally stressing the muscles, at the same time serve as a filling ornament, characteristic of archaic art. In the front part of the thigh are two twisted converging stripes, with circular thin lines between them, similar to the horns of a goat. On the front shoulder-blade there are twirls, but without notching, whose outlines, besides these, are represented with a small bulging. The joints of the paw and the bulging claws are fashioned in a detailed form.

A vertical stripe runs along the breast and the abdomen (it incurves below) with a horizontal notch. But the head of the lion is fashioned most clearly and in a most detailed form. It is represented in front-view with a slight turning to the right, to the stag. The figure of the stag is represented vertically in profile, it is most expressive and realistic. The muzzle of the stag is turned towards the lion, its feet are twisted and let down in a pose of obedience.

The lower broadening of the sheath (*bouterolle*), is filled up with the figure of a doubling up beast of prey and with the head of a goat (Fig. 3). The trunk of the attacking animal belonging to the *felidae* is highly stylized. The carver paid the greatest attention to the head of the goat, which is not only dominating in its size, but it is represented also with a careful fashioning of many details. The side surfaces and the upper edge are ornamented in two stripes with the Greek ornament of *ovoli*, *viz.* with an outer narrow one with close-set perpendicular notches, and with an inner broad one, consisting of Ionic *ovoli*, turned inside (bigger than on the lower, narrow one).

The composition of both scenes is excellent. The figures of the animals of prey and their victims are excellently drawn into the picture-plane, utilizing each millimetre of the space. The sheaths, besides being highly artistic works of art, at the same time reflect the synthesis of the components of Achaemenid culture merging with the achievements of antique Asia Minor (Ionic ornament framing the representations), of ancient eastern symbology (in spite of the «zoomorphic» physiognomy of the lion, it is unusually anthropomorphic, undoubtedly this is a mythological allegory, *viz.* the triumphant winner — the king or god — and the obedient subject), and the animal style, to which the lacerating scene on the *bouterolle* belongs, interpreted in its own way and completed with ornamental motifs.

The sheaths of Takht-i Sangin are undoubtedly sheaths of dagger-akinakes. On the reliefs of Persepolis the form of the akinakes and its sheath borne by the Persians sharply differ from those of the Medes.³² The akinakes of the

³² E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. 266; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, I. Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Chicago, III 1953. (The University of Chicago Oriental Publications. Vol. XLVIII) 165—166; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, II. Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Chicago. I. 11 1957. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Vol. LXIX) 99; B. GOLDMAN: *Achaemenian Chapes*. «*Ars Orientalis*» II. Michigan 1957. 43—45.

Persians had a hilt broadening towards the pommel and to the guard. Its lateral parts were arch-formed and the pommel had the form of egg-shaped bulging. The dagger is in a sheath, with a triangular pointed shape, and its upper end on one side a long lateral projection, the upper and lateral line of which are slightly bulging, and the lower one is festoon-like (two closed arches carved in the plain surface of the projection). On the side opposite to the projection there is a narrow projection, separated below from the main part of the sheath with a thin triangular cutting. Such akinakes was carried on the middle of the abdomen, put under the belt.³³

The Median akinakes differs sharply from the more simple Persian one (at any rate as concerns its sheath). The ornate Median akinakes had a straight hilt, sometimes decorated with two closed longitudinal ribs on the centre, from which on the sides there were rows of bulging lozanges and indented triangles. Its pommel is oval whetstone-shaped with an inner oval hollow. The sheath was plain or richly ornamented. On the upper part of the sheath there is a bulging butterfly-shaped «projection», a festoon-like cartouche, the upper surface of which consists of two closed arches with a point in the centre, and the lower surface also consists of two arches, but here a hollow corresponds to the «point». This cartouche is somewhat broader than the adjoining part of the sheath and its base projects below the sheath. From the cartouche a lateral projection starts out also of figural form, and its upper side terminates in a circle with a hole. The base of the sheath, the *bouterolle*, is of the form of a trifoliate palmette, or a triangle with rounded angles. The *bouterolle* is also bulging as compared with the middle part of the sheath.³⁴ The sheath is plain, in which case it has a longitudinal central rib (but even then the *bouterolle* is frequently decorative), or decorated.

The most ornate sheaths were covered with whole rows of representations.³⁵ The study of the reliefs shows that not all sheaths were absolutely identical in form. Thus, the Mede who was the usher, represented on the relief of the procession on the eastern stair of the *apadāna*,³⁶ bore a sheath the upper edge of which had a nearly straight form with somewhat raised edges.

³³ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 28, 51—52, pp. 164—165; G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*. Berlin 1966. (Teheraner Forschungen, Bd. 2) Taf. 8, 11, 21, 36 etc.

³⁴ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 27, 57, 65, 120, 165, 166, etc. (in one case, perhaps, frequently also the cross-bar, Pl. 65); G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften...* Taf. 8, 28, 31, 34, 35; A. B. TILIA: *Studies and Restoration at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars*. Rome 1972. (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs. Vol. XVI). Pls. CLXXI/110, CLXXVII/111. See also the representation of the dagger of the Median type on the silver rhyton from Erebuni. B. N. ARAKELYAN: *Клад серебряных изделий из Эрбунни*. СА 1 (1971) 146—147, Figs 2, 3; V. G. LUKONIN: *Искусство древнего Ирана*. Moscow 1977. 76.

³⁵ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 120.

³⁶ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 37.

The sheaths of the Median akinakes, besides all similarities with those of Takht-i Sangin, also have considerable differences, *viz.* more lengthened proportions on account of the greater length of the middle part, the bulging character of the upper cartouche, which forms an independent part of the sheath, in the majority of the cases different outlines of the upper border and the *bouterolle*.

The gold sheath of akinakes with scenes of royal hunting on lions belongs to the stock of the Oxus treasure. O. M. Dalton dates it to the 6th century B. C. (even earlier datings are proposed).³⁷ It slightly differs in form from the akinakai of the Persepolis treasure. The upper part of the «guard» has projections over the line of the sheath in both sides. This guard fits evenly (without a bulging elevation) to the middle part of the sheath. The latter approaches this sheath to those of Takht-i Sangin.

The reliefs render possible to fully imagine that the Median akinakai were carried (on the right side).³⁸ The akinakai are hanged and fixed this way on the representations of the peoples of Central Asia, with the Saka-Tigraxauda,³⁹ and with the Sogdians.⁴⁰ As far as it can be judged on the basis of the reliefs, the daggers of the Saka-Tigraxauda had a small bulging point on the upper edge. With the Sogdians the upper edge was straight with projecting borders, and the handle of the dagger was antenna-like, in the form of a ring with sharpened, contracted ends. The Scythian sheaths are known in several specimens, kept in the museums of the U.S.S.R. A. I. Melyukova divides the sheaths of the Scythian daggers into two groups. She includes in the first group the sheaths with a broadening — *bouterolle* — in the lower end, and in the second group the sheaths without such broadening.⁴¹ The *bouterolle* can be rhomboidal (Melgunov treasure),⁴² flattened-oval (Kelermes),⁴³ circular (Solokha).⁴⁴ The sheaths from the Chertomlik tumulus⁴⁵ and from Tolstaya mogila⁴⁶ are gradually broadening in their lower part, the base is convex. These sheaths had gold covering, usually richly ornamented. In one case (at the village Daryevka, district of

³⁷ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Metal Work*. III ed. London 1964. 9—11, Pl. IX; E. V. ZEYMAL: *Амударьинский клад*. 43—44.

³⁸ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 65; G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*... Taf. 35.

³⁹ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 37; G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*... Taf. 56, 57, 83.

⁴⁰ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 43, below (holds in the hands); G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*. Pls. 24, 69.

⁴¹ A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение скифов*. Moscow 1964. 61—62.

⁴² M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища скифских курганов*. Leningrad 1966. Pl. I.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, Pls. 6, 7.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, Pl. 145; A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение*. 61, Pl. 17/3.

⁴⁵ A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение*..., 61, Pl. 17/4; M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища*..., Pl. 183.

⁴⁶ *Древнее золото*. Из собрания Музея исторических драгоценностей УССР. Moscow 1975; B. M. MOZOLEVSKY: *Толста могила*. Kiev 1979. Figs 52—55; E. V. SHERNENKO: *Оружие из Толстой могилы*. Скифский мир. Kiev 1975. 157, Fig. 5.

Kiev) a bone bouterolle was found with engraved representation of the animal style.⁴⁷ On the sheath there was a figural projection above, on the lateral side. The butterfly-shaped upper part of the sheaths sometimes is present (Melgunov treasure), while on other sheaths it appears rudimentarily (Kul-Oba), or it is missing (Solokha). The Scythian sheaths, besides their typological nearness to the Median sheaths on the reliefs of Persepolis, differ from them by the absence of standardization and in a series of details.

Returning to the Achaemenid akinakai, it should be noted that their sheaths could be prepared of metal (gold, bronze, etc.); with metal sheathing (gold, bronze, etc.) covering on wooden base; of leather, of wood, or of bone, of ivory. In Persepolis a fragment of the pointed end of the sheath of an akinakes made of bone or ivory, has been found.⁴⁸ A whole series of bouterolles of the Achaemenid circle made of bronze and ivory is known,⁴⁹ but whole sheaths made of ivory have not been found so far,⁵⁰ although the existence thereof is shown by a Greek inscription (IG, II², 1425, I, 75—78), which mentions in the treasure-house of the Parthenon an «iron akinakes with gold handle and sheath made of ivory, with gilded (or gold) covering.»⁵¹ Supposedly it originates from Persian trophies.

According to a construction inscription of Darius in Susa (DSf), ivory (Old Persian *piru*) was furnished to Achaemenid Iran from Ethiopia, Arachosia and India (DSf, § 3i.40—45).⁵² Carving in bone in Achaemenid Iran continues the Assyrian tradition, especially clearly expressed in the products from Nimrud, on the one hand, it does not continue, however, the latter directly but through a series of intermediate branches (Ziwiye, etc.),⁵³ and on the other hand, it continues Syro-Phoenician, Egyptian and Greek traditions.⁵⁴ The large collection of such objects found in Susa gives an idea of the Achaemenid articles made of ivory, but there is no sheath of akinakes even among them.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ A. I. MELYUKOVA: Вооружение..., 61, Pl. 19/2.

⁴⁸ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis, II. 99, Pl. 75/10.

⁴⁹ B. GOLDMAN: Achaemenian Chapes. «Ars Orientalis» Vol. II. Michigan 1957; 1957; P. BERNARD: A propos des bouterolles de fourreaux Achéménides. Revue archéologique 2 (1976); R. A. STUCKY: Achämenidische Ortbänder. Archäologischer Anzeiger 1 (1976); S. S. SOROKIN: Сверхнувшийся зверь из Зивие. СГЭ, XXXIV. Leningrad 1972. 76, 77.

⁵⁰ D. B. THOMPSON: The Persian Spoils in Athens. The Aegean and Near East Studies Presented to H. Goldman. New York 1956. 284.

⁵¹ P. BERNARD: A propos... 227, n. 1; R. A. STUCKY: Achämenidische Ortbänder. 22, n. 52.

⁵² R. C. KENT: Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon. 2nd ed. New Haven, Connecticut 1953. (American Oriental series. Vol. 33) 143—144. See also E. HERZFELD: Die Magna Charta von Susa. AMI (1931) 67—68; E. HERZFELD: The Persian Empire. Wiesbaden 1968. 335.

⁵³ B. GOLDMAN: Achaemenian Chapes. 50—51.

⁵⁴ A review see R. D. BARNETT: A catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Near Eastern Ivories. London 1957. 123—131; R. D. BARNETT: Early Greek and Oriental Ivories. Journal of Hellenistic Studies 68 (1948) 3—5 (with literature on the question).

⁵⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires Achéménides de Suse. Syria 49 (1972) 157—191, 319—337.

The scene on the surface of the akinakes of Takht-i Sangin shows two figures: that of a lion and that of a stag (fallow deer). According to the antique sources, lions occurred in Asia Minor and in the Near East, notably in Mesopotamia (especially in the area of the Euphrates). They were known in Armenia, in Parthia and in Arabia. The antique authors also knew about the spreading of lions in India.⁵⁶ There is a report connected also with Central Asia, where according to the narration of Quintus Curtius (VIII, I, 14—17), Alexander the Great, turning down the help of his companion Lysimachus, personally killed a lion of rare size with a single stroke.⁵⁷ There is mentioning of lions also in Hyrcania.⁵⁸ In contemporary literature, however, the opinion has been spread that in reality in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages no lions were living either in Bactria or in Hyrcania, tigers were believed to be lions.⁵⁹

In the ancient art of Mesopotamia two species of lions were represented, viz.: *Felis leo Persicus*, Persian lion, with a thick mane covering the neck and the shoulders, and with thick hairs on the abdomen, and *Felis leo Goojratensis*, Indian lion, usually without mane, just like a cat.⁶⁰ The lion on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, as well as the majority of lions on the monuments of Achaemid art in Iran, undoubtedly belong to the species *Felis leo Persicus*.

The characteristic feature of the figure of the stag (fallow deer) on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin — the small circles — represent spottedness. In Mesopotamian art the spottedness is characteristic of one of the three breeds of stags represented in it, viz. *Cervus (Dama) Mesopotamicus Brooke*.⁶¹ It belongs to the genus *Cervidae*, subspecies «fallow deers», and it is spread in Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Palestine. There is a dark stripe along the spine of the animal, on the sides of which there are rows of longish, whitish spots. Another characteristic of this subspecies is the shovel-like broadening of the upper branches of the horns.⁶²

The spottedness can be observed also on representatives of the subspecies «real stags» (*Cervus Linneus*). The *Cervus elaphus Bactrianus Lydeker* — «Bukharan stag» — (also called «khangul», «govas») also belongs to the subspecies of these stags. It is spread in the USSR along the Amu-Darya, and in earlier times also along the lower course of the Syr-Darya, and also in Northern Afghanistan. On the young animals, and sometimes also on the grown up ones, along the dark-brown stripe running on the spine, on the sides, from the withers to the tail, there is a row of grayish, circular spots, and there are similar spots on the

⁵⁶ List of the sources: STEIER: Löwe. RE XXV Hbbd. Stuttgart 1926; W. L. BROWN: The Etruscan Lion. Oxford 1960. 167.

⁵⁷ Iust., XV, 3, 7—9; Plin. Sec. NH., VIII, 54; Plut., Dem., 27.

⁵⁸ STEIER: Löwe. RE XXV. Stuttgart 1926. 970.

⁵⁹ M. E. MASSON: Из прошлого тигров в Средней Азии. Историческая справка. Тр. ТГУ Vol. 200. Tashkent 1963. 154—155.

⁶⁰ A. SALONEN: Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. Helsinki 1976. 120.

⁶¹ A. SALONEN: *op. cit.* 128—129.

⁶² K. K. FLEROV: Кабарги и олени. Moscow—Leningrad 1952. 134.

rump and on the feet, especially on the haunches. The horns have usually five branches each.⁶³

Thus, even if the artist represented a Mesopotamian stag, still he endeavoured to render the shovel-like form of the upper branch, what does not exist here. However, when in art the *Cervus* (*Dama*) *Mesopotamicus* Brooke was represented, usually they endeavoured to render the shovel-like form of the branch. By way of example we can mention the engraved representations of such stags on the silver rhyton from the Karagodeuashkh tumulus,⁶⁴ the silver statuette (handle ?) from Bukhtarma,⁶⁵ etc.

At the same time, of course, on this basis it is impossible to assert definitely that this is the representation of the Bukharan stag.

V. Malmberg has noted that on the Attic vases only the ordinary stag can be found, while on the vases of Rhodes exclusively the spotted stag (he calls it «mottled») occurs. Therefore, he presumes that originally the mottled stag was known only by the Greeks of Asia Minor (and those of the islands).⁶⁶ Still earlier it was represented by the art of Mesopotamia.⁶⁷

The representation of the lion appeared in the art of Egypt, of the eastern Mediterranean, of Asia Minor,⁶⁸ and Mesopotamia early and very frequently, viz. in scenes of royal hunting, laceration of herbivorous animal by a lion, etc. Usually, in this scene the lion, living or killed, is in horizontal (or slanting) position.⁶⁹ We, of course, do not propose to examine all subjects connected with the lion, but only those, which iconographically (or semantically) have some similarity with the group lion — stag on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin. In the given case the Mesopotamian material has a special meaning. Therefore we discuss it in greater detail.

⁶³ K. K. FLEROV: Кабарги и олени . . . , 166—172; N. A. BOBRINSKIY—K. K. FLEROV: Материалы по систематике оленей подрода *Cervus*. Сб. Трудов Гос. Зоологического Музея МГФ I. Moscow 1934. 21—23; V. G. GEPTNER—V. I. TSALKIN: Олени СССР. (Systematics and Zoography). Moscow 1947. 46—49.

⁶⁴ V. MALMBERG: Памятники греческого и греко-варварского искусства, найденные в кургане Карагодеуашх. МАР, No. 13, СПб., 1894. 141, Figs. 16, 17.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 166—167, Fig. 26. This statuette obviously had Central Asian or Near Eastern origin. S. I. and N. M. RUDENKO: Искусство скифов Алая. Moscow 1949. 21.

⁶⁶ V. MALMBERG: Памятники. . . 166—168.

⁶⁷ A. SALONEN: Jagd und Jagdtiere. 128—129 (list of representations).

⁶⁸ From Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean the representations of lions spread towards the West. As from the 7th century B. C. the products made of ivory appeared in eastern art, so that they apparently came about under the influence of the art of Palestine and Phoenicia (W. L. BROWN: The Etruscan . . . 2). The representations of lions made of ivory in Greek art fall also in this time, it is possible that they go back to Late Hittite art. (J. DÖRING: Frühe Löwen. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Vol. 76. Berlin 1961.). On the lion in Greek art see G. M. A. RICHTER: Animals in Greek Sculpture. London 1930. 3—9, Pls. I—VIII.

⁶⁹ On the possible utilization of tamed lions as hunting animals, on their utilization in fight and for guarding see B. BRENTJES: Mensch und Katze im Alten Orient. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle—Wittenberg. Geschichte-Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. XI/16. Halle 1962. (with adequate interpretation of the monuments of art).

On the terracotta mould from Mari there is a very early (in the opinion of some researchers one of the earliest) representation of the lion with the body in profile and with the head in front-view. Here the lion lacerates a stag.⁷⁰ In Alaca-Höyük in the hunting scene the representation of the lion is the same.⁷¹

On the Mesopotamian seals of the third early-dynastic period (about 2500—2316) we know already representations of the lion in profile, standing on its hind legs, with its head turned towards the spectator.⁷² Later, in the Sargonid period (last third of the 3rd millennium B. C.) such lions were represented in profile.⁷³ We know lions standing on their hind legs on the neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals, represented in profile.⁷⁴

On the Neo-Babylonian seals a winged hero is holding in his hands, stretched on the sides and half bent, two lions by their tails, hanging with their heads downwards.⁷⁵

On the Syrian seals from Ras-Shamra, 15th—14th centuries, the motif of a pulled down fallow deer and the lion (a pair of lions) trampling it, is usual.⁷⁶

On the ivory from Nimrud there are several representations, where a lion lacerating a bull is represented in profile, with its head in front-view that is turned towards the spectator.⁷⁷ This is, however, as a rule, a horizontal figure, biting the bull with a turn. An exception is an ivory tube, on which lengthwise there are two relief figures of lions in a very complicated perspective, between them there is the vertical figure of a bull with its body in profile. Each lion presses its foreleg to the body of the bull (similarly to that of Takht-i Sangin). The muzzles of the beasts of prey represented in front-view, are turned at right angles to their bodies (and to the body of the bull), they bite the bull opposite to each other.⁷⁸ This scene of laceration is dated to the 8th century B. C.⁷⁹

In Assyrian art we know also other representations of lions standing on their hind legs, holding some vessel.⁸⁰ Among the reliefs from Khorsabad there is a colossal figure of a hero (Gilgamesh ?), with his left hand pressing to himself

⁷⁰ Syria 18 (1937) Pl. XII.

⁷¹ H. BOSSERT: *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942. Fig. 520.

⁷² H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. London 1939. 82, Pls. XII, XVI/a.

⁷³ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* 82—83, Pl. XVI/d, f.

⁷⁴ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVI/a, g.

⁷⁵ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVI/1.

⁷⁶ DU MESNIL DU BUISSON: *Le mythe oriental de deux géants du jour et de la nuit*. *Archaeologia Iranica. Miscellanea in honorem R. Ghirshman*. Leiden 1970. Pl. I, Fig. 6.

⁷⁷ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Near Eastern Ivories*. London 1957. 73, Pl. XXXVI (S — 62), Pls. XLII—XLIII (S — 72), LXVII (S — 158 c, d).

⁷⁸ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 73, 196, Pls. XLII—XLIII (S — 72).

⁷⁹ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 134.

⁸⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*. 95, Fig. 32.

a small figure of a lion.⁸¹ The head of the lion is turned towards the spectator, its body is in profile. Unlike the lion on the sheath, the body is not vertical, but inclined, while the hind legs are represented as if in motion, the left leg is higher and the right one is stretched down.

In Egyptian art the thick hair of the lion is represented quite realistically.⁸² In principle we see the same also on part of the Assyrian representations, although there also a «tip» appears in the back part of this cover of hair.⁸³ On other monuments of Assyrian art, especially on the later ones, 7th—6th centuries B. C., however, the conception becomes allegorical, in the form of a prolongation going out from the mane and curlingly tapering off towards the end, reminding of a narrow wing or feather,⁸⁴ perhaps under the influence of the iconography of the griffon.

On the reliefs in the throne-hall of the north-western palace in Nimrud there is a representation of a winged person, who in one of his hands holds the small figurine of a stag (in another case, of a goat), and in his other hand, stretched ahead and upward, a twig (in another case a corn-ear). In the opinion of R. D. Barnett, these figures had a magic destination. He believes it possible that this is perhaps the demigod NIN.AMAS.KU.GA, who sacrificed a goat (stag) to gain health. The skeleton of a gazelle, undoubtedly sacrificed at such a ceremony, was found in Nimrud during the excavations of 1950.⁸⁵ On the body of the stag there were oval circles.⁸⁶ This stag, just like on the sheath of Takht-i

⁸¹ J. B. PRITCHARD: *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1954. Fig. 615; A. PARROT: *Assur. Die mesopotamische Kunst vom XIII vorchristlichen Jahrhundert bis zum Tode Alexanders des Grossen*. München 1972. Figs 36, 38.

⁸² H. J. KANTOR: *The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions*. JNES 6 (1947) Fig. 5.

⁸³ A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 38 (Khorsabad 8th century B. C.); Fig. 65; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*. Toronto 1975. Figs 103—104, 108, 127, 130; A. H. LAYARD: *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. London 1853. 278 (Arban); G. PERROT—CH. CHIPIEZ: *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*. T. II. Paris 1882. Pl. between pp. 540 and 541. A similar interpretation of the sculptures of lions of the 8th century B. C. in Late Hittite art, the influence of Assyrian tradition on whose iconography is doubtless, is given by: E. AKURGAL: *Die Kunst der Hethiter*. München 1976. Pls. 135—136.

⁸⁴ A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 64 (Nimrud, 9th century B. C.); Fig. 221 (A) (Babylon, 7th—6th centuries B. C.); R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. VI (Babylon, 7th—6th centuries B. C.), Figs 70, 74, 94, etc.; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrian Sculpture*. Figs 32, 110, 118, 121, 178.

⁸⁵ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Prague 1962. 12—13, 28 (note 25) Pls. 1—2. See also J. B. PRITCHARD: *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1954. Fig. 614; Cf. R. D. BARNETT—M. FOLKNER: *The Sculptures of Aššur-Nasir-Apli II (883—859 B. C.), Tiglat-Pileasar III (745—727 B. C.), Esarhadon (681—669 B. C.) from the Central and South-West palaces at Nimrud*. London 1962. Pls. LXXVI—CXXVI. A list of similar representations see: A. SALONEN: *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien*. Helsinki 1976. 128—129.

⁸⁶ In Mesopotamia there were three kinds of stags. One of them is the *Cervus dama*, also called «russety stag», which differs, besides the colour of the fur and the character of the horns, also by the presence of spottedness. (A. SALONEN: *Jagd und Jagdtiere* . . . 128—129).

Sangin, is represented in a free loose pose. The person holds the stag, putting his hand between its forelegs, possibly, pressing it to himself hanging. There is here a partial iconographic and semantic parallel (just partial and not full) with the scene on the sheath.

In Khorsabad a relief was discovered, where a king sacrificing a goat is represented (8th century B. C.). The king is holding the small animal in his hand on the level of his breast putting his hand between the forelegs of the animal.⁸⁷

For the appearance of the subject on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin and for its original semantics, the representation on a Neo-Babylonian seal is also interesting, which by E. Porada is included in the group of seals of the 9th—7th centuries B. C.⁸⁸ On them the fight between a hero and a lion for a bull is represented. The hero seized the bull by the hind leg and lifted it with his straight stretched left hand. With his left foot he trampled on the neck and the head of the animal, pressing them to the earth. The forelegs of the bull are bent. To the left from this group, the enraged lion is standing on its hind legs and moving towards the hero. The head and the lower (hinder) part of the body of the lion are represented in profile, and the upper (fore) part of the body in three quarters. It stretched one paw ahead and touches with it the hind leg (being above) of the bull, quasi pressing it, while it lifted the other paw up. The tail is turned upward. Its head and the lower (hinder) part of its body are represented realistically, while the upper (fore) part of its body and the forelegs are represented human-like, but this impression does not change the toes with claws. In the representation of the lion the anthropomorphization is clear. This is not simply a lion, but a man-lion.

Among the Luristan bronzes, middle of the 8th century — middle of the 7th century B. C., there are representations of lions standing on their hind legs with their bodies in profile and their heads in three quarters. The hind (lower) legs are parted, the foreleg (the second one is not seen) is lifted up. Along the back of the animal there is a stripe with transversally grooved hatching. Two such lions «put» their forelegs on the shoulders of the man. In general, the flanking lions for the Luristan bronze are no exceptional subject, the characteristic is in the position of the head.⁸⁹ The subject of the Neo-Babylonian seal described above, found a reflection on the Luristan bronze, but the place of the hero holding and trampling on a bull is occupied here by the lion.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ H. FRANKFORT: *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient East*. London 1970. 174, Pl. 199; A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 43.

⁸⁸ E. PORADA: *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seal of the Pierpont Morgan Library*. New York 1947. 66, Fig. 89.

⁸⁹ E. PORADA: *Alt-Iran*. Baden-Baden 1962. 65; P. R. S. MOOREY: *Some Elaborately Decorated Bronze Quiver Plaques Made in Luristan. c. 750—650 B. C. Iran Vol. XIII*. London 1975. 21—22, Fig. 1.

⁹⁰ P. R. S. MOOREY: *op. cit.* 26—27, Fig. 7.

Switching over to Achaemenid art, we remark first of all that the connection of the iconography of the lion in this art with the Assyrian iconographic tradition has been established already long ago.⁹¹ Lions were represented on stone reliefs, on glazed tile panels, on stone and bronze sculptures, on works of toreutics and lithoglyphics, on textile products, etc. These are single figures of lions, processions of lions, scenes of fight of a lion with herbivora, victory of a king over a lion, etc.

Let us restrict ourselves to the subjects connected with the lion on seals. This is the scene of hunting of the king (Darius), travelling on a war chariot on hunting lions; ⁹² the king is mounted on a stag, he is hunting on a lion,⁹³ kills it with a dagger on foot in single fight.⁹⁴ In the glyptics of the Achaemenid time we find the motif of the king seizing the lion and pressing it to himself by the neck of the animal.⁹⁵ Sometimes the king holds in his hands one lion each. He sized each of them by the hind leg, and they are hanging head downwards.⁹⁶ The latter motif is repeated on many seals.⁹⁷ Sometimes the king holds the lions hanging head downwards by the tails.⁹⁸ On another series of seals the king holds in his horizontally stretched hands lions by their shoulders,⁹⁹ etc. We know the representation on an Achaemenid cylindrical seal, on which a tumbled stag is attacked by lions from two sides.¹⁰⁰ On seal-stamps a goat is attacked by a lion.¹⁰¹ A comparison of the figure of the lion on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin with the lions in Assyrian and Achaemenid art shows its nearness especially to the Achaemenid tradition. Let us pause on this in greater detail.

The appearance of the lion and the lion-griffon, standing vertically on the hind legs, is not unfrequent in Achaemenid art, e.g. in Persepolis in the scenes, where the hero is fighting with a lion (griffon). On this both forelegs are shown.¹⁰² Reliefs are also known, where the hero seizes and presses the standing

⁹¹ G. LAMPRE: *La représentation du lion à Suse*. MDP T. VIII. Paris 1905. 159—176; O. M. DALTON: *The treasure*. 8—9.

⁹² H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder seals* . . . Pl. XXXVII/d.

⁹³ H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder seals* . . . Pl. XXXVII/m.

⁹⁴ J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire*. Iran Vol. VIII. London 1970. Fig. 2/g; 11/77, 83, 85, Pls. 4/82, 84, 86; 32—33.

⁹⁵ SPA VII. 1967, Pl. 123/L.

⁹⁶ SPA VII. 1967, Pl. 124/L.

⁹⁷ F. SARRE: *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*. Berlin 1923. Pl. 52 below; D. J. WISEMAN: *Cylinder Seals* . . . Pl. 105; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 3/3; 4/6; J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 5/108, 110.

⁹⁸ J. J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 5/107.

⁹⁹ G. A. EISEN: *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. W. H. Moore*. Chicago, III 1940. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Vol. XLVII) 54, Pl. XI/101.

¹⁰⁰ E. PORADA: *The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Vol. I. Washington 1948. (Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American collections. The Bollingen series. Vol. XIV) 105/N 835.

¹⁰¹ E. PORADA: *The Collection* . . . 106^N 843; J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 3/55.

¹⁰² E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. Pl. LXV; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pls. 114—117, 144—146, 195.

lion, turning its head back.¹⁰³ The hind («lower») legs are also represented just like on the sheath, *viz.*: the left leg is drawn almost back. On the relief from the necropolis of Xanthus the head of the lion standing on the hind legs in profile is turned towards the spectator.¹⁰⁴

A winged lion standing on its hind legs is represented on a bulging plaquette made of ivory (Susa).¹⁰⁵ On the gold cup from the treasure of the Oxus¹⁰⁶ there are six pairs of lions standing on their hind legs. The lions are represented in profile, with their heads in front-view. The hind legs are somewhat parted, the body is not entirely vertical, one foreleg is drawn down and the other up, the tail is curved ringwise. E. Herzfeld presumes that this cup was prepared in Urartu. O. M. Dalton, polemizing with him, points out that the Assyrian type of lions continued in Early Achaemenid art, eventually through the mediation of the Medes. He dates this cup to the 6th century B. C.¹⁰⁷ As has been shown, on the Achaemenid seals the king or hero frequently fights with one or two lions, or lion-griffons. The figures of the animals are represented usually standing on their hind legs, while the body and the head is in profile.¹⁰⁸

In the scenes of laceration on the reliefs of Persepolis profile horizontal figures of lions are embossed, with their heads turned in front-view.¹⁰⁹ On the lions of these scenes there are common features with the lion of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, which with its right foreleg quasi «presses» the stag in the plane. The action of the foreleg is represented absolutely identically also with the lions lacerating a bull on the eastern staircase of the *apadāna* of Persepolis,¹¹⁰ on the main staircase of the «Council-hall»,¹¹¹ in the palace of Darius,¹¹² and in the palace of Xerxes.¹¹³ The difference is that on the reliefs the leg is not stretched, but half bent and as a whole more realistic. At the same time, not only the pose coincides, but also the minor iconographic details. In Persepolis and on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin on the legs there are four fan-like pared toes, their length is unproportionately big, the bulges of the joints are represented identically, the right projection-toe is conceived in the same way in the form of a pin on a disk. The representation of the back part of the «elbow» joint (of arched inflexions) also coincides. The lions from the «Council-hall», very likely, are nearest

¹⁰³ E. F. SCHMIDT: I. Pl. 147; A. PARROT: Assur. Fig. 244.

¹⁰⁴ M. DIEULAFOY: L'art antique de la Perse. 3. Paris 1885. Pl. XVI.

¹⁰⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria (1974) 188—189, Fig. 21.

¹⁰⁶ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* Pl. VIII/47.

¹⁰⁷ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* 8—9.

¹⁰⁸ SPA VII. 1967. Pl. 123/A, C, E, G, L, M; D. J. WISEMAN: Cylinder Seals of Western Asia. London. Pls. 100, 101, 108, 115; E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. II. Pls. 3/1—2; 4/5: 5/10, 11; 11/37; 13/60; E. R. GOODENOUGH: Jewish symbols in the Graeco-Roman period. Vol. VI Toronto 1958. (Bollingen Series, XXXVII) 41, Fig. 36.

¹⁰⁹ M. DIEULAFOY: L'art antique de la Perse. 3. Pls. 19, 20, 62, 66, 122/13, 153, 161, 166, 189.

¹¹⁰ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pls. 19—20.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem.* Pls. 62, 66, 69.

¹¹² *Ibidem.* Pls. 132/B, 152, 153.

¹¹³ *Ibidem.* Pls. 161, 166, 169.

to that of Takht-i Sangin, they are brought near also by the identity of the oval on the front shoulder-blade, and also that the tail is drawn between the legs. The position of the foreleg of the lion is also represented in the same way, as it cuts into the lying gazelle, on the stone plaquette in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.¹¹⁴ It could be presumed that the carver preparing the sheath copied the front part of the body of the lion from the reliefs, but the other iconographic details differ considerably.

The two variants of the representation of the hair under the abdomen, developed already in Assyrian times, continues to be varied in the Achaemenid period. The variant in the form of almost straight or slightly bent feather-like «wings» occurs very frequently. In Persepolis, on the reliefs, this «wing» bent upwards, inside has such intermediate part, scaled filling up, as the mane.¹¹⁵ The «wing» is sometimes drawn with a groove, a lineal contour.¹¹⁶ The conception of the hair under the abdomen on the tile panel in Susa,¹¹⁷ and in the *apadāna* of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404—459 B. C.),¹¹⁸ is close to the Takht-i Sangin conception. However, all these representations of the hair under the abdomen in the form of a «wing» differ from the representation on the sheath in the form of an oval, especially in the absence of the sharply turned up end, and in the inner filling in. There are, however, some monuments with a closer conception.

Thus, the sewn-on gold label from the excavations in Persepolis representing a lion going to the right,¹¹⁹ is interesting because the hair under the abdomen is represented by a narrow oval, on the inner field of which, with distances from the margins, there is a steep-transversal hatching. On another analogical gold ornament (from the collection of the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University),¹²⁰ the engraver did not understand this detail at all and transformed it into a pointed palmette with central stem and hatches perpendicular to them (from both sides).

On the woolen textile-breast-plate from the 5th tumulus of Pazyryk, on a light brown base, there are 15 proudly striding lions. The hair under the abdomen is in the form of an almost straight or slightly bent wing-shaped feather going backward with ends turning upward. It joins the mane and has the same

¹¹⁴ H. FRANKFORT: A Persian Goldsmith's Trial Piece. JNES 9 N2 (1950) 111—112, Pl. III.

¹¹⁵ E. HERZFELD: Iran ... Pl. LXV, Fig. 362; E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pls. 20, 28, 68, 69, 146; A. B. TILIA: Studies ... 1972. Pls. CVIII—CIX.

¹¹⁶ A. GODARD: Die Kunst ... Pl. 67.

¹¹⁷ R. D. BARNETT: Assyrische Palastreliefs. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: Perse. Fig. 193. Example for a more realistic interpretation of the sculptures of Susa./SPA VII. 1967. Pl. 115 E; G. LAMPRE: La représentation ... Pl. IX.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁹ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis, II. p. 77, Fig. 14/B.

¹²⁰ H. J. KANTOR: Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute. JNES 16 N 1 (1957) 7—8, Pl. V/A. Cf. the interpretation of this detail on the rhyton from Hamadan: E. PORADA: Alt-Iran. Die Kunst in orientalischer Zeit. Baden-Baden 1962. 163 (Tafel); V. G. LUKONIN: Искusstvo ..., 53.

colour. S. I. Rudenko, not without any reason, compares them with the Achaemenid representations, especially with those from Susa, and dates them to the 5th century B. C.¹²¹ The textile lions from Pazyryk, on the basis of the form of the wing-like feather, are very close to that of Takht-i Sangin.

On the open-work disk from the treasure of the Oxus with the representation of a sphinx the hair under the abdomen, in the form of a narrow smooth wing-like feather, is sharply bent at the end.¹²² On another disk with the representation of a lion-griffon the hair under the abdomen is not represented, but on the wing there is a stripe with transversally grooved surface.¹²³ According to O. M. Dalton, its date is the 5th century B. C. E. V. Zeymal writes that it is, possibly, somewhat later. The transversal grooving in the form of notching on the narrow feathers, wings, etc., is known from the materials of the collection of objects made of ivory from Susa (Achaemenid period).¹²⁴ On the other hand, there the hair on the back is represented with such notching¹²⁵ (cf. the position of the mane along the spine on the lion of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin). It should be kept in mind that the notched stripe along the spine of the animal, as has been said above, is already on the representations of the Luristan bronzes from the middle of the 8th century — middle of the 7th century B. C., and the representation of the hair under the abdomen is also similar on the monuments of the Middle Elamite period from Susa (about the 12th—11th centuries B. C.).¹²⁶

There are many analogies in the representation of the muscular system of the hind leg in the form of longitudinally bent ovals. On the woolen textile from the 5th tumulus of Pazyryk¹²⁷ on the hind legs of the lions there are peculiar small half horseshoe-like patterns, sometimes converging into small circles. In certain lions on the reliefs at Persepolis,¹²⁸ on the hind leg there are two deepened grooves: one of these is parallel to the rear edge of the upper part of the leg and the inner one is in the beginning parallel to the first one, then it turns inside, becoming horizontal. On the lions on the gold cup of the treasure of the Oxus, on the hind leg there are oval figures.¹²⁹

¹²¹ S. I. RUDENKO: Древнейшие в мире художественные ковры и ткани из оледенелых круганов Горного Алтая. Moscow 1968. 76, 78, Fig. 71. See also S. I. RUDENKO: Искусство Алтая и Передней Азии (middle of the 1st millennium B. C.). Moscow 1961. 19—20, Fig. 12.

¹²² O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* Pl. XII, 26, 28.

¹²³ *Ibidem.* 14.

¹²⁴ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria 49 (1972) 188, Fig. 50. Also on some seals: J. BOARDMAN: Pyramidal Stamp Seals... Pl. I/8.

¹²⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria 49 (1972) 184, Pl. V/2.

¹²⁶ E. PORADA: Alt-Iran... 62 (Tafel).

¹²⁷ S. I. RUDENKO: Древнейшие в мире... Fig. 71.

¹²⁸ A. GODARD: Die Kunst... Pl. 67.

¹²⁹ O. M. DALTON: The Treasure... Pl. VIII/47.

In this respect the representations of animals on the tile panels in Susa are most interesting, *viz.* the «procession of lions»,¹³⁰ the winged bulls,¹³¹ the griffons,¹³² the sphinxes,¹³³ and other monuments from Susa.¹³⁴ In the lions on the back shoulder-blade there are two ovals, *viz.* a small one inside and a bigger one at the edge of the hinder part of the body. The same applies to the lion-griffons. Unlike those of Takht-i Sangin, these ovals are parallel. Obviously, the changed poses of the body (instead of the moving animal, the one standing on the hind legs), induced the artist to change the mutual position of the ovals.

The enigmatic «horned» design on the hind leg of the lion on the sheath is also elucidated by the representation from Susa, *viz.* it originates from, or rather is, a highly stylized representation of an ovaly-pointed cartouche of the lion on the Susa representations. The representation of the muscular system on the shoulder-blades with brackets and with pointed ovals was applied in the 6th—3rd centuries also on the figures of other animals, *viz.* of stags,¹³⁵ bulls,¹³⁶ goats,¹³⁷ etc.

E. Porada, examining the details of a bronze weight in the form of a lion from Susa (presumably from the 5th century B. C.), kept in the Louvre, notes the representation of the muscles on the fore shoulder in the form of a pointed oval (with bulging inside), which forms lower a noose. He remarks that this is a specific feature of the Achaemenid style.¹³⁸ Actually, the schematic representation of the muscular system of the fore shoulder-blade of the lion in the form of an open oval with a noose is very widely spread on the monuments of Achaemenid art. Let us mention a few examples. This is the practice on the lions of the stone plaquette from the collection of the Chicago Oriental Institute;¹³⁹ on some lions of the Persepolis reliefs,¹⁴⁰ etc.

On the Achaemenid gold ornament from the Teheran Museum of Archaeology,¹⁴¹ there are two lions represented in profile with their backs turned towards each other, with the head of one turned towards the spectator. The muscles of the shoulder-blades of one of them are represented in the form of the figure

¹³⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastrelief*. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse* ... Fig. 193.

¹³¹ R. D. BARNETT: *Ibidem*. Pls. XI—XII; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse* ... Fig. 192.

¹³² R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XIV; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse* ... Fig. 191; SPA VII. Pl. 77/a.

¹³³ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XXIV.

¹³⁴ F. SARRE: *Die Kunst des alten Persien*. Berlin 1923. Pl. 37.

¹³⁵ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure* ... Pl. XX/36.

¹³⁶ H. FRANKFORT: *A Persian Goldsmith's* ... Pl. III; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs* ... Pls. XI—XII.

¹³⁷ M. P. GRYAZNOV: *Древнейшее искусство Алтая*. Leningrad 1958. Pl. 41; O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure* ... Pl. X/24.

¹³⁸ E. PORADA: *Alt-Iran* ... 161 below.

¹³⁹ H. FRANKFORT: *A Persian Goldsmith's* ... Pl. III.

¹⁴⁰ A. GODARD: *Die Kunst* ... Pl. 67.

¹⁴¹ 7000 Years of Iranian Art Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution. 1964—1965. 89, Fig. 456.

eight, and of the other in the form of a pointed oval with a noose below. On the shoulder-blades of the figures of lions in the Susa «procession of lions»,¹⁴² there is a swirl in the form of a drop-like oval, one side of which continues in the form of a hook, which in its contours is absolutely analogous with the figure of the swirl on the lion of the Takht-i Sangin sheath.

On the garment of the king on the relief in the main hall of the palace of Darius in Persepolis, there were a series of carelessly engraved lions and other representations (in the opinion of E. Schmidt, this is a preparatory drawing for the colouring).¹⁴³ The stretched oval with noose and circle on the fore shoulder-blade are absolutely analogous with those of Takht-i Sangin.

The half bracket on the foreleg of the lion of Takht-i Sangin has an absolutely accurate analogy in such details of the griffons of the bracelets of the treasure of the Oxus, which are dated by O. M. Dalton to the 5th century — the first half of the 4th century B. C.¹⁴⁴ There is such a half bracket also on the foreleg of the griffon on the silver rhyton from Armenia, which is also dated to the 5th century B. C.¹⁴⁵ On the forelegs of the figures of sphinxes on the tile reliefs in Susa there are also pointed half brackets.¹⁴⁶ Finally, the framing of the edge of the side of the sheath consisting of Ionic ovoli has an analogy in the carved bone of the Achaemenid period from Susa.¹⁴⁷

To achieve maximal expressive power, the artist, author of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, united the plastic volume of the figures with a multitude of engraved details, placed on the same. This method is characteristic also of the specimens made of ivory from Susa.¹⁴⁸

Thus, there were vertical profile representations of lions with heads in front-view already in Assyrian art. The representation of the abdominal hair in the form of a narrow, bent wing (feather) going backward from the mane was wide-spread. Together with the representation of the lion lacerating a herbivore animal, there appears the representation of the king, of a hero, or a demigod, holding a goat or a stag, and this is connected with ritual scenes. The small figure of the stag reminds of the representation on the sheath. This scene, where the powerful (and mighty) king, hero, or demigod is holding an obediently motionless tiny stag or goat, is the semantic archetype of the Takht-i Sangin

¹⁴² R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse...* Fig. 193.

¹⁴³ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis. I*. Pl. 142; A. B. TILIA: *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs. II*. (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs. XVIII). Rome 1974. Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 39—40.

¹⁴⁴ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure...* 32—33, Pl. I/116. E. V. ZEYMAL: *Амударьинский клад...* 65 also agrees with this dating.

¹⁴⁵ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* 42—43, Pl. XXII.

¹⁴⁶ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XXIV. This detail, very likely, appears already in the Assyrian style: A. H. LAYARD: *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1873. 278.

¹⁴⁷ P. AMIET: *Les ivoires...* Fig. 66.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

scene, while the development led to the substitution of the human figure for the representation of a lion, but by this the lion shows shades of anthropomorphic features. This became possible as a result of the identification of the king with the lion, or by the appearance of the king in the figure of a lion.

The comparisons made above permit to definitely include the scene on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin into the circle of the works of Achaemenid (but, may be, not imperial, but provincial) art of the 5th—4th centuries B. C., with the predominance of the parallels pointing to the 5th century, and some features connect this scene with the Assyrian tradition.

The analysis of the *bouterolles* is facilitated considerably by the detailed special works of three researchers, *viz.* B. Goldman,¹⁴⁹ R. Stucky,¹⁵⁰ P. Bernard,¹⁵¹ by the publication of the Persepolis reliefs in the monumental work of E. Schmidt,¹⁵² and by the well illustrated edition of G. Walser.¹⁵³ The comparison of the typological table, necessary at the careful examination of the stylistic evolution of the representations on the lower part of the sheaths was facilitated by the collection of the illustrative material by P. Bernard, kindly furnished to him by B. Goldman and R. Stucky. Therefore, the numeration of the *bouterolles* will be given according to the new edition thereof made by P. Bernard.

In the articles of Soviet scholars the previous period is well represented, and also the Scythian style of the wooded steppe, and the Scytho-Siberian style, which is interesting for the elucidation of the genesis of this form and the representations embellishing it.¹⁵⁴ In the present case we are restricted to the already

P. Bernard—1979	R. A. Stucky—1976	B. Goldman—1957
No. 1, fig. 4	No. 2, fig. 4	fig. 1, 1
No. 2, fig. 5	No. 3, fig. 5	fig. 1, 4
No. 3, fig. 6	No. 4, fig. 6	fig. 1, 2
No. 4, fig. 7	No. 10, fig. 12	—
No. 5, fig. 8	No. 7, fig. 9	—
No. 6, fig. 9	—	—
No. 7, fig. 10	No. 6, fig. 8	—
No. 9, fig. 11	No. 5, fig. 7	fig. 1, 7
No. 10, fig. 12	No. 9, fig. 11	fig. 1, 6
No. 11, —	No. 1, fig. 3	—
No. 12, fig. 13	No. 8, fig. 10	—
No. 13, fig. 14 and 1	fig. 2	fig. 1, 3
No. 14, fig. 15	fig. 1	fig. 1, 5
No. 15, fig. 16		fig. 1, 9

¹⁴⁹ B. GOLDMAN: *Achaemenian Chapes*. 43—54.

¹⁵⁰ R. A. STUCKY: *Achämenidische Ortbänder*. AA 1976. 13—23.

¹⁵¹ P. BERNARD: *A propos des bouterolles* . . . 227—246.

¹⁵² E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pls. 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 57, 67, 70, 110, 111, 153, 155.

¹⁵³ G. WALSER: *op. cit.* Fig. 8, 18, 31, 34, 35, 56, 57, Pl. I.

¹⁵⁴ A. I. SHKURKO: *Об изображении* . . . 31—33; N. L. CHLENOVA: *Происхождение и ранняя история племен тагарской культуры*. Moscow 1967. 118 foll., 127; M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища* . . . 12; S. S. SOROKIN: *ibidem*. 76—77.

developed pure Achaemenid style of representation reaching, in fact, the «multiple» development on 16 bouaterolles.

Agreeing with the opinion of P. Bernard on the Achaemenid time of all bouaterolles published by him, let us follow their evolution in order to separate, in the framework of the dates proposed by him, at least stylistically, the earliest ones from the latest ones. This requires a comparison of the known Achaemenid bouaterolles with the sheath of Takht-i Sangin for the more accurate definition of the dating of the latter.

The first two bouaterolles (Nos. 1 and 2),¹⁵⁵ from the stylistic point of view, are the earliest. According to P. Bernard they belong to the Achaemenid period and were prepared by Achaemenid masters, or by Egyptian ones in the period of the first Achaemenid conquest of Egypt. The characteristics of the representation of the ungulate on them are as follows: the head of the goat is engraved in profile to the left, the rounded off horns are clearly seen, the ears are represented realistically, under a line there is the pectinate beard, the neck is stylized into a pectinate, fir-like ornament. As for the representation of the predatory animal of the species of felidae, on bouaterolle No. 1 a predatory animal below is attacking, which judged by the encircling mane, is a curling up lion. The whole figure of the predatory animal is represented very realistically, the hind leg and the foreleg are bent, three ribs are shown. The long tail is behind the hind leg. In the opened mouth two canines are clearly seen, an upper and a lower one. On bouaterolle No. 2, of the figure of the predatory animal only the long, cat-like bent tail has remained. The whole body divided into two segments, is represented by concentric grooved arches. Beginning with bouaterolle No. 2, not only the stylization of the body of the predatory animal can be observed, but also the division of the bouaterolle into three segments facing each other, filled up with ornamental motifs.

Bouaterolle No. 3 is very characteristic.¹⁵⁶ Here the ear of the goat, going into the circle formed by the horns, is stylized into a «rudimentary» palmette. On the following bouaterolles, according to the stylistic typology of P. Bernard, instead of the horns and the ear only a palmette remained. However, on bouaterolle No. 3 the body of the predatory animal shows an intermediate form of stylization nearer to the realistic representation of No. 1. Not only the curling feline tail is clearly visible, but also the realistic relief of the hinder part of the predatory animal, including the half of the abdomen, while the front part

¹⁵⁵ The numbers of the collections and the Figs. are given according to the article of P. BERNARD: A propos . . . 227. Cf. also Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection, Ed. by O. WH. MUSCARELLA. Mainz 1974. N 156 bis.

Bouaterolle No. 1: Louvre MNo. 1376, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 4.

Bouaterolle No. 2: Louvre MNo. 1377, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Bouaterolle No. 3 according to P. Bernard's typology corresponds to No. 2 according to B. Goldman. Bouaterolle No. 3: Louvre MNo. 1379, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 6.

was transformed in the lower segment with a concentrically grooved surface, and with a hole in the middle for the strap or ribbon to fix the sheath to the waist. This gave to B. Goldman an inducement to grant advantage to *bouterolle* No. 3 in the evolution series and to place it before *bouterolle* No. 2 and even before *bouterolle* No. 4, what is absolutely correct, if we base the typology on the degree of stylization of the figure of the predatory animal. Thus, if the stylistic priority of *bouterolle* No. 1 is doubtless, then *bouterolles* Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are very close. On *bouterolle* No. 2 the head of the goat is very archaic, on *bouterolle* No. 3 the body of the lion preserved the original iconographic basis in a great degree. Here the idea of the artist obviously appears endeavouring to represent the two figures more convincingly, separated by lower ornamental motifs, but not losing for him the original semantics. At the same time, the transition to ornamentalization is obvious, *viz.* *bouterolles* Nos. 4 and 5 are in style near to *bouterolle* No. 3.

On *bouterolles* Nos. 4 and 5¹⁵⁷ the heads of the goats are represented with horns stylized in a palmette, and the hinder part of the predatory animal is covered by concentric grooved notches.

Bouterolles Nos. 6 and 7¹⁵⁸ differ from *bouterolles* Nos. 3 to 5 in the changing of the horns into a developed palmette, so unique that it is difficult to find out its genesis. The ears and the twirl of the horns are those of a ram. However, the heads of the goats with beard represented with notches are very realistic.

On *bouterolles* Nos. 9, 10 and Nos. 12 to 14 the palmette of the developed type, decorating the head of the goat in different stylistic executions, ornamentally is opposed to the already independent grooved circles forming a triangle. It is true that in the knowledge of the previous stylistic representations the tail and hinder part of the predatory animal can be guessed. Besides, on all the enumerated specimens, the tail betrays the feline origin of the predatory animal, it is so to say its mark.¹⁵⁹

And finally, *bouterolle* No. 15, the representation of the sheath on the relief of the Royal gate (Audience-hall) of Persepolis is the logical realization of the whole typological series, where, according to the opinion of P. Bernard, to the palmette representing the horns of the goat, resembling to the bull, an accurately similar palmette is opposed, instead of the hinder part of the pred-

¹⁵⁷ *Bouterolle* No. 4: Louvre MNo. 1378, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 7. *Bouterolle* No. 5: Louvre, AO-24573, Fig. 8.

¹⁵⁸ *Bouterolle* No. 6: Louvre MNo. 1380, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 9. *Bouterolle* No. 7: British Museum No. 132925, Fig. 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Bouterolle* No. 8: British Museum No. 5428, given without representation.

Bouterolle No. 9: Ashmolean Museum without No., Fig. 11.

Bouterolle No. 10: Ashmolean Museum, Fig. 12, bronze specimen, all the previous Nos., 1—9 were made of bone.

Bouterolle No. 11: originates from Syria.

Bouterolle No. 12: New York, Collection H. Schimmel, Fig. 13.

Bouterolle No. 13: Persepolis, representation in the Apadāna, Fig. 14.

Bouterolle No. 14: Persepolis, Audience Hall, Fig. 15.

atory animal.¹⁶⁰ On this specimen nothing has remained from the representation of the predatory animal. Of the scene of laceration the head of the goat has remained, losing its specific accuracy. It is true that the ornamentally represented beard has been preserved also here, this is the only link that connects this representation with the previous representations of the goat. However, the neighbouring representation No. 14 in the same hall has preserved the tail and the mask of the predatory animal, and the outstretched form of the head of the goat. Inasmuch as *bouterolles* Nos. 14 and 15 are undoubtedly contemporary, it has to be presumed that the master preparing No. 15, realizing this innovation, did not recognize the necessity to follow the artistic rule so scrupulously, or did not understand it.

Summing up the analysis of the representation on the *bouterolles*, let us turn to the conceptions represented by specific research in this question. B. Goldman and R. Stucky examined the representations on the *bouterolles* as scenes of laceration.¹⁶¹ P. Bernard, pointing out the erroneous character of the opinions of his predecessors, explains their «error» with the misunderstanding the territorial and stylistic origin of *bouterolle* No. 1, found in Egypt. «Both scientists believe — P. Bernard writes — that it was brought there from the north-eastern regions of Iran, or from the northern part of Mesopotamia in the pre-Achaemenid period. Thereafter, as they presume, the head of the lion disappeared, its body and the head of its victim formed a whole, which was transformed into a turning animal. In the course of time, the head of the goat, as is presumed, was transformed into the head of a young bull, but without horns.»¹⁶²

The opinion of P. Bernard, differing from the conceptions of the preceding researchers, was formulated in the following way: «We, on our part, believe that the origin of the drawing and its development are different. A more careful study of some iconographic details and places, where some *bouterolles* were found, especially that (No. 1 — the author), which B. Goldman and R. Stucky believe to be the oldest, make us think that the basis of the drawing was already the turning animal, the lion, neither the goat, nor both together, but the young bull, and the representation of the lion attacking the goat, on *bouterolle* No. 1 is a local variant, characteristic of the Egyptian type, created on the basis of the Achaemenid prototype.»¹⁶³

The evolutionary scheme set up by P. Bernard, in his opinion, bringing about the series of *bouterolles* Nos. 1 and 2 with the lion attacking the goat, has to be examined in two aspects. His first contradiction can be summed up in the disputation of the species of the lacerated animal. The second one can be

¹⁶⁰ *Bouterolle* No. 15: Persepolis, Audience Hall, Fig. 16.

¹⁶¹ B. GOLDMAN: *op. cit.* 43; R. STUCKY: *op. cit.* 13.

¹⁶² P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 230.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem.*

summed up in the inclusion of bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 into the Achaemenid period. His second, undoubtedly correct, contradiction permits us to discuss the whole evolutionary series in the framework of the Achaemenid period. We are interested in the first two bouterolles, in which all researchers, including also P. Bernard, see the goat lacerated by the lion. The sheath of Takht-i Sangin connects the early, complete representation of bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 with the later, more stylized ones. «The ornament in the form of a heart, which is on the head and within which a flower (Nos. 3, 12), or a palmette (Nos. 7, 9—15) is placed, are the stylized representations of the ear, and not of the horns, as is stated by R. Stucky,¹⁶⁴ — P. Bernard writes — this stylization can be found frequently in the representational art of both the steppe peoples and in the representations of the articles belonging to the Ziwiye treasure. And if we exclude Nos. 1 and 2, then nothing remains for the confirmation that this is the head of some kind of capripeds.»¹⁶⁵ The same opinion is maintained by S. S. Sorokin and V. G. Lukonin.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin, according to this characteristic, stands between bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 according to the numbering of P. Bernard.

«The two paired lines of yarns with twisted ends, which cover the neck and the back of the animals,» indicate — in the opinion of P. Bernard — as follows: «This double representation of yarns, arranged this way on the back of the animals in such fixed form, is characteristic exclusively of the representations of the empty-horned animals of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods.»¹⁶⁷ It is possible that these twirls (from two to five) bordering the lower sphere of the bouterolle from two sides, the first sphere, on all bouterolles, covered with groovings, are also dividing elements between the spheres to give them a tripartite division. Being a rudiment of twirls represented on the bouterolle of Ziwiye,¹⁶⁸ they belong already to the ornamental motifs. By the way, these twirls are not always present, on the majority of bouterolles they do not exist, *viz.* on bouterolles Nos. 1—5, 7, 10, 12. On the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin they are definitely ornamental.

Examining the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin in this connection and in this evolutionary series, it has to be noted that after the most masterly Egyptian bouterolles Nos. 1—2, it occupies undoubtedly the third place, and if we rely upon the representation of the predatory animal, it occupies the second place. The head of the goat is represented with the ear, a point directed upwards.

¹⁶⁴ R. A. STUCKY: *op. cit.* 18.

¹⁶⁵ P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 236—237.

¹⁶⁶ S. S. SOROKIN: *op. cit.* 76—77; V. LUKONIN: Археологические памятники Ирана второго-первого тысячелетия до н. э. и новые поступления в отдел Востока СГЭ. XLII. 50.

¹⁶⁷ P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 236.

¹⁶⁸ R. GHIRSEMAN: Tombe princière de Ziwiyé et le début de l'art animalier scythe. Paris 1979. Fig. 1.

The goat with beard and outstretched narrow muzzle, is just as undoubted, as on *bouterolles* Nos. 1 and 2. On the body of the predatory animal the character of stylization can be seen, although undoubtedly in a smaller degree than on *bouterolles* Nos. 2 and 3. The predatory animal has lost only the head, the legs are also represented in a stylized form, but they have not yet been transformed into concentric grooves. According to P. Bernard we have to do with one of the earliest specimens of the stylistic evolution, if not with the second one, then with the third one, depending on, which of the animals is accepted by us generalizing in this scheme.

The evolution proposed by P. Bernard appears to be not only doubtless, but also more characteristic and advantageous, than the table of development by B. Goldman, which is smaller in its composition. P. Bernard gives preference to the head of the victim over the stylization of the body of the predatory animal, the degree of which is less important in the comparisons.

The parallelism of the decrease of the specific characteristics on the goat and the predatory animal shows that in the early Achaemenid period two animals are represented. The decrease of the specific characteristics in the course of stylization takes place so gradually that it connects alone all *bouterolles* enumerated by P. Bernard into a unific united evolutionary chain, where the differences of the *bouterolles* are less conspicuous than the similarity among them.

The representations on the Royal gates in Persepolis can serve as an example of the unity of the style, in different degrees of stylization, where two serially different representations, No. 14 and No. 15, most differing in the evolutionary series, are accurately contemporaneous. This speaks in favour of the dating of all *bouterolles* to the Achaemenid period as proposed by P. Bernard. Another example is the *bouterolles* of the collection of Clot-Bey originating from Egypt. They not only belong actually to the Achaemenid style, but, in all probability, belonged to the Achaemenid warriors occupying Egypt. This is confirmed by the investigation of the weapons of the army of Cambyses found in Egypt.

What was the idea of the representation of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin? Let us outline very selectively the circle of conceptions and beliefs connected with the animals acting in this scene. The hunting on lions with two-wheeled chariots was pursued in Egypt, in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Assyria and in Achaemenid Iran. The Assyrian kings constantly hunted on them in the jungles of Mesopotamia, where lions were very numerous. An Assyrian king proclaimed that he, on foot and on a two-wheeled chariot, killed 920 lions, another king «modestly» declared that he killed 450 lions.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ R. D. BARNETT: A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories.

The royal hunting on lions was in Assyria a particular form of «royal sport». On the other hand, it was also ritual. Sources from the year 570 (?) report that at the time of his yearly festival the god Nabû himself set out for the hunting-ground to hunt on lions. The king by this demonstrated (with a definite chronological interval) his divine hypostasis and at the same time his earthly power and aptitude to perform his earthly duties.

Another explanation is also possible. Aššur, Nergal, Ninurta and Ištar were deities, who appreciated the hunting on lions and helped the king during its time, thus the lion itself was the most sacred of the animals.¹⁷⁰

In Assyrian times, judged from the seals and the monuments of art, the lion was «the animal of the king.»¹⁷¹ In the chariot of Ištar seven lions were harnessed.¹⁷² According to a text, the monster Lamastu «had the face of an enraged lion».¹⁷³

On the colossal sculpture from the temple in Kalaḥ there is a long votive inscription of Aššur-našir-apla to the goddess Ištar.

Because still in the Sumerian period the statue of the lion bore the name of the king, it can be thought that the temple sculpture at the same time personified the king and the goddess Ištar, the patroness of the lions.¹⁷⁴

In Late-Hittite art the masculine deity and the king sometimes were represented sitting or standing on a pedestal, flanked by a pair of lions,¹⁷⁵ or right on a lion.¹⁷⁶ In a Hittite text the representation of the deity is described as being made of silver and travelling mounted on a wooden lion.¹⁷⁷ On a Hittite rock relief the representation of the god is shown with lion's fore parts substituting his shoulders and his arms, and with two figurines of lions hanging head first along the body of the god. The «lion's» character of the god is rendered this way.¹⁷⁸

The iconographic materials show that in the ancient world, including Mesopotamia, the lion received a solar symbol.¹⁷⁹ The lion was the attribute also of the Syrian solar deities. It was the animal of Astarte, Kedeš and Atargatis. In Hieropolis and Emesa the solar deity Gennaios (GNN') was worshipped by the Syrians in the form of a lion.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, in the Ancient East the killing

¹⁷⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *Ibidem*. 70—71; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. 24.

¹⁷¹ A. SALONEN: *Jagd*... 122.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*. 209.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*. 224.

¹⁷⁴ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman period*. Vol. VI. Toronto 1958. (Bollingen Series. XXXVIII) 39.

¹⁷⁵ E. AKURGAL: *Die Kunst der Hethiter*. München 1976. Pls. 109, 126—127.

¹⁷⁶ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* Vol. VII, 43, Fig. 41.

¹⁷⁷ H. GOLDMAN: *A Crystal Statuette from Tarsus*. AOEH. New York 1952. 131, with reference to a work not accessible to us.

¹⁷⁸ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* Pl. VII, p. 30; 43, Fig. 38.

¹⁷⁹ A. VOLLGRAFF-ROES: *The Lion with Body Marking in Oriental Art*. JNES 12 (1953) 44—45.

¹⁸⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*... 71; E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 44—45. On the lions in Syrian art and in religions, especially see: SEYRIG: *La triade héliopolitane et les temples de Baalbek*. Syria 10 (1929). (The lion was the incarnation of all members of the divine trinity.)

of the lion, in the ritual sense, must have been a sacral act of the connection of the king with this deity. The lions from the tomb of Antiochus I from Commagene are the symbol of the king, of his divine nature and, especially, of his solar hypostasis.¹⁸¹

The sacral, in particular the solar, symbology, connected with the lion, is known in the religious conception of many peoples of antiquity. Thus, the lion of Nemea, with which Heracles fights, according to the tradition, is believed to have appeared from the sky or from the moon. The lion is the sacred animal of Apollo of Patara. «In the lions the sun shines» — Seneca said — (when the sun at the verge of the summer arrives at the sign of the Lion, this is the hottest time of the year). With the Berbers and the Egyptians the lion is compared with the sun. At the same time it is the symbol of the star Venus, the attribute of Eros, Bacchus, Cybele, Astarte, the Syro-Phoenician Atargatis, the Punic Baal and Tanit.

In Egypt, Syria, and in the whole Graeco-Roman world the head of the lion was connected with the sources of water. In Athens, Ephesus, Olympia, and in many other places the lion's head with opened mouth was placed into the springs and the water flew through it,¹⁸² and in Assyria the sculptured heads of lions served as the guards of the springs.¹⁸³ In ancient Greece and in Rome the lion is the symbol of power, particularly that of the emperor. Still another hypostasis of the lion is chthonic, it is especially clearly shown in the conception on the lion as the guard of the graves (spread in the Graeco-Roman world and also beyond its boundaries).¹⁸⁴

In the ancient Indian epic the lion appears as the vehicle of physical strength, power, greatness, etc.¹⁸⁵ The comparison of the ruler with the lion, the meaning of the word «lion», as «hero», «intrepid», «knight», was wide-spread in medieval Tajik and Persian literature.¹⁸⁶

In Mithraism the lion was identified with the nature of power and energy of bodily and earthly existence. The lion is the fullest personification of the soul in a bodily cover. At the same time it is the natural principle of fire and its reason, the source of internal heat, giving motion and energy to others. This

¹⁸¹ K. HUMANN—O. PUCHSTEIN: *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. Berlin 1890. Pls. XIX—XL.

¹⁸² E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 58—60.

¹⁸³ G. RERROT—CH. CHIRPIEZ: *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*. II. Paris 1884. Fig. 311.

¹⁸⁴ Detailed references and sources see: E. KAGAROV: *Культ фетишей, растений и животных в древней Греции*. СПб. 1913. 216—217; O. KELLER: *Die Antike Tierwelt*. I. Leipzig 1909. 45—61; STEIER: *Löwe RE*, XXV. Stuttgart 1926. 983—984; E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 60—62.

¹⁸⁵ S. L. NEVELEVA: *Вопросы поэтики древнеиндийского эпоса. Эпитет и сравнение*. Moscow 1979. 103.

¹⁸⁶ M.-N. O. OSMANOV: *Стиль персидско-таджикской поэзии IX—X вв.* Moscow. 1974. 95.

animal is compared with Jupiter annihilating the earthly giants, the lion is the planetary symbol of Jupiter.¹⁸⁷

The lion was the travelling companion of the four-armed goddess, whose name is not yet known to us, but who was worshipped in Northern Asia. Her representations are everywhere found on seals, on jewellery and on works of tenebrics.

In the Far East and in Central Asia the image of the lion comes from Buddhist iconography, the lions are the usual guards or the carriers of the Buddha, the lion is the permanent companion of the deity of highest wisdom Mañjuśrī.¹⁸⁸

The reports, which we have regarding the beliefs connected with the stag, with the peoples of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, are considerably smaller in volume. In Mesopotamia the stag was not only a wild animal, but it was also kept as a domestic animal in the temples. The milk of the stag was e.g. a sacrificial food of the goddess Ningirsu. Besides this, the horns of the stag and its other parts were used as medicines.¹⁸⁹ According to the iconographic historians, the stag is the sacred animal of the Hittite masculine deity. The symbol of the third member of the holy trinity, Karḫuḫaša, was the horn or pair of horns of the stag.¹⁹⁰ According to a Hittite text from the end of the 8th century B. C., the god, patron of the fields, stood on a stag.¹⁹¹

The stag, especially the spotted stag, in the period of classic Greece, was held mainly an Asiatic animal. Its spotted hide was thought to be the reflection of the star-lit sky at night. Therefore, the stag was the attribute of the moon goddess, who was thought to be Artemis (and also Athene) by the Greeks. The stag occupied a significant place in the cult of Artemis, in her iconography, including coin iconography, as well as in her poetic descriptions. The stag was also the symbol of the night and darkness, of the evil principle, which is defeated by the solar lion, the representative of light and giver of happiness.¹⁹² In ancient India the stag, the fallow deer, was held the symbol of helplessness.¹⁹³ In popular imagination the Ossetic god, Afsati was an old man with a head decorated with stag-horns.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ L. A. CAMPBELL: *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*. Leiden 1968. (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain. T. 11) 68, 287, 309.

¹⁸⁸ N. V. ДИАКОНОВА: Материалы по культовой иконографии Центральной Азии до мусульманского периода. ТГЭ 5 (1961) 266—267; *eadem*: «Сасанидские» ткани. ТГЭ 10 (1969) 88.

¹⁸⁹ A. SALONEN: *op. cit.* 161.

¹⁹⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue* . . . 73.

¹⁹¹ L. ROST: Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen. *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 8 (1961) 179—180; E. PORADA: Of Deer, Bells and Pomegranates. *Archaeologia Iranica. Miscellanea in honorem R. Ghirshman*. Leiden 1970. 115.

¹⁹² E. КАГАРОВ: Культ. . . 267; O. KELLER: *op. cit.* 277.

¹⁹³ S. L. NEVELEVA: Вопросы. . . 106.

¹⁹⁴ V. I. АВАЕВ: Историко-этимологический словарь. . . , III. 14.

On the sheath of Takht-i Sangin the lion and the stag do not appear isolated, but in a scene, where the stag is seized by the lion, in which the incommensurability of their size is stressed. This is the scene of laceration and at the same time, the scene of the triumph of the power of the lion and that of the defencelessness of the stag. In the art of the Ancient East there is a frequent variation of the scene, where the lion lacerates another herbivorous animal, a bull. The fight between the lion and the bull, the scene of laceration of the bull by the lion, is regarded by the research as having a mythological or ritual meaning. However, the concrete interpretations proposed by the different researchers differ considerably from one another. Thus, in the light of the Canaanite myths, they presume that the lion and the bull, each one of them, personifies a certain deity fighting with another, at the same time the scene personifies the alternation of the seasons.¹⁹⁵

Publishing the Assyrian bronze disk with the scene of the laceration of the bull by the lion (the lion is on the back of the bull), the umbo of the shield of Sargon II (721—705 B. C.), E. Porada presumes that the Assyrians originally regarded the lion as an enemy. Thereafter the representation of the king of the animals was transformed into the representation of the conqueror and finally, into the king himself. The triumph of the lion over the bull had a symbolic character. Therefore the lion on the disk is shown considerably bigger than the bull. This corresponded to the ideology of both the customer and the artist. This meaning of the motif explains, why these representations are found on the embroidered tunic of Aššurnasirpal (9th century B. C.).¹⁹⁶

W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen suppose that this motif originally had an astrological meaning and this interpretation was preserved still in the Achaemenid period, for example at the time of the ceremonies of Nouruz in Persepolis. R. Ettinghausen, at the same time, points out that on the reliefs of the staircases of the *apadāna* of Persepolis there are no royal representations, and the scene of the fight of the lion with the bull is placed side by side with the inscription, where Xerxes praises his realm. This scene is found not less than sixteen times. R. Ettinghausen, following E. Herzfeld, arrives at the conclusion that in Persepolis, together with the original astral meaning, this scene represents a heraldic emblem.

R. Ettinghausen also underlined the evolution of this scene, *viz.* on the Assyrian disk the lion floats over the bull, while on the Achaemenid reliefs it really lacerates the herbivorous animal.¹⁹⁷ In the opinion of W. Hartner the

¹⁹⁵ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 72.

¹⁹⁶ E. PORADA: An Assyrian Bronze Disc. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Art*. Boston 48 (1950). Cited after: W. HARTNER—R. ETTINGHAUSEN: *Oriens* 17 (1964) 168.

¹⁹⁷ E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. 251—252; W. HARTNER—R. ETTINGHAUSEN: *The Conquering Lion. The Life Cycle of a Symbol*. *Oriens* 17 (1964) 169. In Achaemenian art the scene of laceration of a bull by a lion was the emblem of some cities, Biblos, Kition and Tarsus. (R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue* . . . 73.)

scene of the fight of the lion with the stag has to be regarded as an «equivalent» of the scene of the fight of the lion with the bull.¹⁹⁸

It has to be added that the solar symbology of the stag was well known in the Indo-European consciousness. In Russian folklore the sun is a glowing stag. In the «Tales of recurrent summers» the fawns fall from the sky. In the Scandinavian beliefs the stag is the son of the Sun,¹⁹⁹ four stags correspond to the four cardinal points.²⁰⁰ Of course, the possibility of entirely different interpretations should not be excluded either. We mention *e.g.* an Ossetic folk-tale motif: the heroine appears before the hero in the form of a fallow-deer to turn thereafter into a beauty.²⁰¹ The fallow deer is the image of feminine helplessness also in the ancient Indian epic, where the victory over the weak enemy resembles to the victory of the lion over a tiny animal, and the victory over a mighty enemy resembles to the victory over a big animal (a bull). It should also be kept in mind that the king in the ancient Indian epic is compared with the lion.²⁰²

We do not know exactly what conceptions are reflected by the scene on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, but it is clear that they belong to that group of conceptions, which was outlined above.

In conclusion we note that the lion on the sheath not only seizes and holds the stag, but if we take the sheath as a whole, with the bouterolle, then also together with it so to say tramples on the contracting goat, and although the primary image on the bouterolle, as a scene of laceration, in the iconographic relation was already almost lost, this representation very likely continued to be understood as the sign symbolizing such a scene.

V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov discovered the all Indo-European conception on the embedding of ritual symbols into each other, connected with the world (or sacred) tree, by which the world tree stands at the beginning of the chain and death is at the end.²⁰³ Conceptions of the same type have been discovered in ancient India and in Central Asia.²⁰⁴ And on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, apparently, we have to do with a continuously narrative series of sacrificial-ritual conceptions (acts), in which the scenes of the fight and victory of the lion over the stag (goat) substitute the stages of the fight of the earthly ruler (or divine hero) with their rival (rivals), of the fight, which ends with triumph and apotheosis, when the rival, in the form of a stag, is defeated and humiliated.

¹⁹⁸ W. HARTNER: The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat. JNES 24 N 1-2 (1965) 16; РН. АСКЕРМАН developed a similar conception, see: РН. АСКЕРМАН: Iconography. SPA I. 1967. 389-391.

¹⁹⁹ В. И. АБАЕВ: Историко-этимологический словарь III. 14.

²⁰⁰ В. В. ИВАНОВ—В. Н. ТОПОРОВ: Исследования в области славянских древностей. Moscow 1974. 28.

²⁰¹ В. И. АБАЕВ: Историко-этимологический. . . 14.

²⁰² S. N. NEVELEVA: *op. cit.* 103, 106.

²⁰³ В. В. ИВАНОВ—В. Н. ТОПОРОВ: *op. cit.* 35.

²⁰⁴ В. А. ЛИТВИНСКИЙ—Т. И. ЗЕУМАЛ: Некоторые аспекты иерархии и семантики ступа в Средней Азии и Индии. Древняя Индия. 1981.

If we accept the explanation of V. I. Abaev, according to which the ethnonym *Saka* originates from the reconstructed Old Iranian **saka*- «stag», and the opinion (of I. M. Artamonov, N. L. Chlenova and others), according to which the stag was the most wide-spread totem of the Sakas,²⁰⁵ then it would be tempting to concretize this scene, as the symbolically reflected victory of the Achaemenid king, or of his (Bactrian ?) governor over the Central Asian Sakas. However, the explanation *sak* «stag» cannot be regarded as the only possible²⁰⁶ and more or less firmly established explanation²⁰⁷ that renders the above mentioned interpretation problematic.

The sheath of Takht-i Sangin, with regard to its form, is close to the gold coverings of the sheaths originating from the treasure of the Oxus (No. 22). They coincide at an accuracy of millimetres both regarding their size (27.6 cm) and the time of their manufacture, *viz.* 6th century — turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. In the territory of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India, similar articles, close with regard to their time, have not been discovered. This confirms the opinion on the provenance of the treasure of the Oxus in the upper course, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya and it is possible that this speaks in favour of the origin of the treasure from temple treasuries. And the material — ivory —, a whole series of specific details of the form and conception of the representation, point to the local, Bactrian manufacture of these sheaths. So far sheaths of similar type were known only from the representations on the reliefs of Persepolis, while now as a result of the excavations the art of the world has been enriched with an excellently preserved, highly artistic original specimen made of ivory from the 6th—5th centuries B. C.

The circumstance that the Egyptian bouaterolles are very close to that of Takht-i Sangin, is not the only example for the width of the area of spreading of the imperial style in the Achaemenid period. The same phenomenon is seen by us at the study of the architectural monuments, especially in the spreading of the torus-shaped Achaemenid bases from Egypt and Palestine to Central Asia.²⁰⁸

All the 15 bouaterolles published by P. Bernard, are dated to the period 524—404 B. C., the epoch of the first hegemony of the Persians, to the time of the first conquest of Egypt. By this the dating in the broad sense, to the 5th century seems to us to be most acceptable. In this case the fact is also very important that we find the closest analogies of the form of sheaths on the ear-

²⁰⁵ V. I. АБАЕВ: *op. cit.* 12—15.

²⁰⁶ B. A. ЛИТВНСКИЙ: Древние кочевники «Крыш и мира». Moscow 1972. 151—152.

²⁰⁷ O. SZEMERÉNYI: Four Old Iranian Names: Scythian—Skudra—Sogdian—Saka. Wien 1980. ÖAW Phil.-hist. Kl. Sitzungberichte 371. Bd. P. 41.

²⁰⁸ I. R. ПИЧИКУАН: Торевидные базы (происхождение, хронология). Культура и искусство народов Средней Азии в древности и средневековье. Moscow 1979. 57—61.

liest specimen, No. 22, of the treasure of the Oxus and on the early representations of Persepolis.²⁰⁹

As far as the chronology is concerned, according to the continuous evolutionary scheme, proposed by P. Bernard, it seems to be very convincing to include in it also the sheath of Takht-i Sangin. The unbroken evolution, the similarity of the representations and of the stylistic marks, first of all, show that the bouferolle of Takht-i Sangin and, consequently also the sheath, cannot be dated later than the 5th century B. C. And if we take into consideration, as it is accepted in archeology and in history of art that the stylistic marks most frequently are also chronological characteristics, then it becomes an obvious fact that the sheath of Takht-i Sangin has to be dated to the first half of the 5th century B. C., and by no means later.

The ornament framing the upper part of the sheath also speaks in favour of this or an even earlier dating. It is dated to the transitional period (6th century B. C.) of the Minor Asian tonguelet ornament of Ionic ovoli with the initial stage of the intermediate stems,²¹⁰ hardly observed only in the lower part of the stripe between the upper representation and the bouferolle. The braiding above the dividing ornamental stripes above the bouferolle belongs to the Minor Asian and Iranian early archaic ornamental motifs²¹¹ borrowed from Asia Minor, and used by no means later than the first half of the 5th century B. C., similarly as the representations, ornamentation and form of the sheath as a whole has also to be dated.

In cultic deposit No. 4, together with the sheath a votive stone altar was found, with a bronze sculptured figure of Silenus Marsyas playing on an two-branched flute (Fig. 4), placed on it.

The first Ancient Greek inscription on the territory of Asia Minor reads as follows:

Ἐδχῆν
ἀνέδηκεν
Ἄτροσώκης
Ὀξωι

«Atrosokes dedicated his vow to Oxus» (Fig. 5). In the open altar the synthesis of Graeco-Bactrian culture is realized with unusual sharp clearness. The

²⁰⁹ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* N 22; E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. N 65 A. B, D., Pl. 120, 121. Unlike the late sheath of Artaxerxes III, where the bouferolle is trifoliate, see: E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. III. Pl. 75 (18).

²¹⁰ C. WEICKERT: *Das lesbische Kymation*. Leipzig 1913; W. B. DINSMOOR: *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*. London 1950. 13, 25, 29. 44.

²¹¹ R. GHIRSEMAN: *Tombe ...* Pl. IX, 6, 8, XII, 7; CH. WILKINSON: *Vessels from Ziwiyeh Terminating in Animal Heads*. Proceedings of the IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology. Part A, April 24—May 3, 1960. Teheran 1967. 2982, Fig. 1045.

local sacrificer of fire, Atrosokes (his name from Old Iranian is deciphered as «burning with the sacred fire», or «useful to the deity of fire» or mostly «having the force of the deity of fire») dedicates a small altar of Greek form with a figurine of the Greek Silenus, a Bacchic deity, with an Ancient Greek inscription in form and language to the local deity of river Oxus (the Greek transcription of the Vaxš — Amu-Darya). We have to do not with a superficial mixing, or the amalgamation of the forms, but with a deep process leading to the mutual penetration of the world view of the Bactrians and the Hellenes. The votive inscriptions are characteristic of the sacred groves, the Greek temene, they are to be found also in the area of temples, but they are always addressed to the deity to whom the temple is consecrated. Consequently, also the sanctuary of Takht-i Sangin, as it becomes clear from the inscription, was consecrated to Oxus, the highest deity of the river and of the primeval element of water. Therefore, the information included in the four words is very significant. The ancient Greeks rendered the hydronym «Vaxš» with the word Oxus (by which the local inhabitants at that time did not call only the river Vaxš, but also the whole Amu-Darya). The common name appeared quite late.²¹² On the Kušāṇa coins this deity is represented with the inscription OAXPO («Vaxš»). Thus, in antiquity not only one of the main rivers of Central Asia was denoted by this word, but also the deity connected with it.^{212a} In the sacred hierarchy it occupied a high place, because in the inscription on a gem (kept in the Calcutta museum) the phrase «Vaxš, the sole god» appears. The great Khorezmian scholar Bīrūnī in the 11th century stated that «Vaxš is the name of the angel placed (to supervise) the waters, especially river Jaiḥūn» (Amu-Darya, the ancient Vakhsh).²¹³ Up to the twenties with the Tajiks and the Uzbeks many beliefs connected with this river were preserved.

The figure of Silenus—Marsyas standing on the base of the altar is well known in the Greek pantheon. Silenus—Marsyas, playing a two-branched flute, is standing in full-size on the small bronze base, cast together with the figurine. The small base is mounted on the upper plain surface of the altar with the help of a hammered out slit, soldered with lead. Silenus holds the flute in his bent hands. His left foot is slightly stretched ahead. The legs are represented frontally, somewhat geometrically and generalized. The big head sharply separates in profile together with the protruding abdomen. The shoulders are in proportion very narrow, only slightly projecting from the line of the head. From the chin to the omphalos along the sternum there is a deep incision separating the big, hanging breasts (Fig. 5).

²¹² J. MARKWART: Wehrot und Arang. Leiden 1938. 351.

^{212a} J. HARMATTA: Cusanica. Acta Orient. Hung. 11 (1960) 198—200; J. ROSENFELD: The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967. 92, Pl. VIII/155.

²¹³ BIRUNI ABURAYKHAN: Памятники минувших поколений. Tashkent 1957. 258.

The big, bald skull is framed by long locks. The coiffure directly goes over to the short, broad beard, fashioned, like the locks, generalized, by deep, short incisions. On the forehead there are two wrinkles: the one is vertical, deep, the other is short, horizontal. The small eyes are deep-set. The cheeks are puffed-up from tension. The huge, jug-eared head, with broad nose, the stressed ugly figure, are characteristic of the outward appearance of Silenus. The grasp of the naked masculine body, the representation of the realistic Hellenistic mythological figure in the traditional manner, the caricaturing of the face, betray the hand of a Greek master. The face of Silenus belongs to the caricatured portrait representation of Socrates, favoured in Hellenism.

The altar combines Hellenistic and Bactrian traditions. Language, formula and script of the inscription are Greek, the contents — Bactrian. On the altar, dedicated to the Bactrian deity Oxus — Vaxš, is set the Hellenic sculptural figure of the Greek deity Marsyas whose function was among others the protection of the watercourses. Thus, one and the same semantic idea got twofold expressions: an epigraphic (written) expression (Oxus — Vaxš) and a sculptural one (Marsyas). This reduplication increased not only the sacred force of the altar but it also bore witness to the cultural synthesis and drew attention to the culturally and perhaps ethnically mingled Graeco-Bactrian environment.

The epigraphic analysis of the inscription,²¹⁴ the comparison with the monumental inscriptions of the 3rd century B. C. and financial dipinti of the 2nd century B. C. discovered in Ai-Khanum, as well as with the later inscriptions of Surkh Kotal, permit to date the dedication on the altar to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. that is to the last decades before the fall of Graeco-Bactria.²¹⁵

In cultic deposit No. 4 the basic mass of the finds consisted of polychrome clay sculpture. The large quantity of finds made of alabaster and unburnt clay, undoubtedly has to be included in local, Bactrian art. Their materials are so breakable that their local manufacture does not raise any doubts. Besides the forms and difference of the material, the heads, torsos and smaller details of the figures can be divided according to the style of manufacture and the chronology into three entirely independent schools.

²¹⁴ V. A. LIVSHITS agrees with the dating proposed by us. Adhering to our opinion, we quote with gratitude the views of the national epigraphists, specializing on the inscriptions of Olbia, Chersonesus and the Bosporus. E. I. LEVI, A. I. BOLTUNOVA, N. S. BELOVA and V. V. RUBAN are inclined to an earlier date, viz.: 3rd century — turn of the 3rd century-beginning of the 2nd century B. C. JU. G. VINOGRADOV believes that, according to the epigraphic data, the offering of Atrosokes should be dated to the middle of the 2nd century B. C.

²¹⁵ L. ROBERT: Les inscriptions. P. BERNARD: Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum. MDAFA XXX. Paris. 517—520, Pl. 11; P. BERNARD: Pratiques financières dans la Bactriane hellénisée. BSFN 34 Pl. II; H. HUMMACH: Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler. II. Wiesbaden 1967. Pls. 17—21, 22 above.

The sculpture of the Seleucid times, produced according to Greek traditions of Asia Minor belongs to the first school. The second, Graeco-Bactrian school is characterized by specific local traditions. The third school, the most numerous one, includes sculptures prepared in the Parthian and Indo-Gandharian style. At the same time it is clear that the sculptures were previously crushed, and thereafter brought and thrown into the distant northern dead-end of corridor No. 2, together with the inscription dedicated to Oxus, the sheath of akinakes, the silver hand bigger than the natural size, the Scytho-Siberian nephrite representation of the wolf-dragon, and the 15 stone disks, because it was seen already before the restoration that all the sculptures were fragmentary and only one whole alabaster statue could be put together that of an eastern satrap, and the rest were only separate parts.

The head of a beardless man with royal hair-band or diadem, representing the first school (Fig. 6), is the best with regard to style and the workmanship of preparation. The clay is local, yellowish brown in colour, with inclusions of sand and limestone. The head was formed separately from the body. The blue-black locks, held together with a pink fillet, drop on the forehead and the temples with bent, elegant plaits thinning towards the ends, divided with a modelling tool into several parts. The pupils of the deep-set eyes are not shown plastically, they were painted. The curls of the locks stress the beauty of the straight forehead. In spite of the small dimensions (its scale is half of the natural size) the head looks monumental. The head is modelled with hand. The master was undoubtedly a Greek, or a strongly Hellenized Bactrian, acquainted with the best traditions of the Greek sculptors Scopas and Lysippus, widely known from original works and copies to the local masters creating the Hellenistic sculptural koine. The sculptor modelling the head of a large statue was familiar with the Seleucid specimens of Asia Minor, both in monumental and minor sculpture, including the coin representations of the early Hellenistic rulers. The affinity of the general appearance, as well as of the conception of the small details, *viz.* the hair-do, the forehead, the eyes, the oval face, betray the nearness of the schools, of that to which the master of northern Bactria, more accurately that of the Takht-i Sangin, belonged, with the best workmanships of Pergamum, Priene, Magnesia on the Maeander, working in the 3rd century B. C. The head is a portrait. On the basis of the hair-band or diadem worn by the diadochoi and epigons, it represents the governing dynast.

The work of the second local school deserves special interest. It is represented by the sculpture of the satrap robed in kyrbasia (Fig. 7). The masculine head is represented in front-view, its scale is one third of the natural size. The face is slightly broadening below. The nose is thin, high, with a slight sinking on the ridge and with a moderate convexity towards the tip. The nostrils are fashioned with arches. The deep-set eyes are outlined with linear black ovals, pointed at the outer edge and rounded off at the nose. In the middle of the upper

line of the oval there is a circular spot, the pupil. The arches of the eyebrows are indicated by black lines reaching over the lateral edges of the nose. The mouth is not big. Partly, especially the upper lip, is covered by moustache and beard. The lower lip is straight, the small, semioval upper lip fits tight to it. The lips are painted with red colour. The whole lower part of the face is framed by thick, black hair, into which the moustache and the beard melt. The broad moustache is parted in the middle, it turns into the beard, which begins below the cheeks. The beard in the beginning hangs along the contours of the face broadening downwards, and below it is pulled together wedgewise. The hairs in the moustache are represented with several oblique notches. The finishing of the beard is much more detailed. The naturalness of the representation is enhanced by the relief-like shaping of the beard as compared with the plane of the face. Above the low forehead a bulging and almost smooth stripe of locks is hanging, clipped. Higher up the hair-dress, the kyrbasia begins. It consists of a surrounding, smoothly projecting cylinder or band, above which the hammered semispheric or conic part projects. Around the band the smooth plates-face-guards hang down, covering the lateral parts of the head and reaching to the level of the chin. Below they have round outlines. The modelling is very accurate and convincing. The sculpture is painted: the beard, the moustache, the eyebrows, the oval of the face, the eyes and the pupils are black, the face is brown, the lips are vermilion, the head-dress is white. This sculpture is masterly, although it is a laconically scanty portrait representation of a man, imperatively and attentively looking before himself. The head is made of white alabaster, it is hollow inside. A study of the reversed side creates the impression that at the preparation of the relief the mass was so to say crammed into the form. Meanwhile, into the necessary places from the reversed side additional lumps of alabaster were put inside. It is hoped that the subsequent restoration will permit the publishing of the whole figure. The dimensions of the fragment are as follows: height 12 cm., breadth 7.4 cm.

Khalchayan furnished a whole series of masculine heads, including also heads with beard and moustache and even with similar head-dress. However, with regard to style they differ from that of Takht-i Sangin. It is especially important that the common oval of the face in Khalchayan becomes narrower downwards, while in Takht-i Sangin, on the contrary, it is broadening below. In this respect the nearness to the sculpture of Hatra and to the sculptures from two Parthian centres can be followed. The question of the Partho-Bactrian mutual relations in the field of art and architecture has been elaborated repeatedly and in a detailed form. The sculpture of Takht-i Sangin showing traces of Partho-Bactrian mutual relations in the field of art, supports this thesis. At the same time it expands our conceptions about the appearance of Bactrian sculpture as a whole. As for the dating, the broad dating to the 3rd—2nd centuries B. C. seems to be most acceptable.

One of the numerous sculptures, the alabaster sculpture representing a Bactrian, of the third local school (Fig. 8), is very interesting. The head, the arms and legs are partly broken off. The man was represented in motion. The right leg is ahead, the left one is kept behind. The clothing is local, Indo-Bactrian, in the form of a long, pleated chiton girded with a sash, fastened with a knot with two long ends hanging down. Of the iconography, the stretched proportions with narrow waist, with rather thin thighs and narrow shoulders, the accurate, almost graphic conception of the dimensions and the sure, somewhat generalized representation of the form, are characteristic.

The comparison with the Kuṣāṇa iconography shows some points of contact with the image of Kaniška eternized on coins. On the coins of Kaniška, the standing king is in girded kaftan, sharply, almost triangularly broadening in the lower half. The line of the lower edge of the garment is straight or wavy, festoon-like tripartite, rounded off in the centre. On the lower half sometimes folds are shown: two rows of horizontal arches closed on the axle line.²¹⁶ The similarity of the statuette discussed, with this image is insignificant.

The same can be said also about the sculpture from the Kuṣāṇa times belonging to the Mathura school. The belt on the statue of Kaniška from Mathura²¹⁷ is decorated with plaques. It surrounds the under-garment, on which the long, open kaftan is spread. Under the belt arch-shaped folds are indicated with engraving, turned downwards. The lower edge is straight. The lower edge is similar also on the statue of the Kuṣāṇa prince from Mathura,²¹⁸ where a tassel is hanging down from the broad belt on the axle line. The strap fastened in the centre with two tassels hanging down is rare in the art of Mathura. Such fastening of the belt is found on earlier monuments of Indian art, belonging to the 2nd century B. C. — the beginning of our era, in Bharhut, Bhaja, Pitalhor, Sanchi, etc.²¹⁹

Certain parallels are observed also with the Parthian culture. The belt with two hanging tassels is usual in Parthian art. By way of example we can mention the stone reliefs from Bisutun with the representation of a Parthian prince (1st—2nd centuries A. D.),²²⁰ where the line of the lower edge consists of two arches closed in the centre, so that between them a tip turning downwards is formed. Such character of the belt is established in Parthian art already in the

²¹⁶ J. M. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Los Angeles 1967. Pl. 11 (30, 38); P. GARDNER: *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings in Bactria and India in the British Museum*. Chicago 1959. (reprint) Pls. XXVI—XXVII.

²¹⁷ J. M. ROSENFELD: *op. cit.* Fig. 2, 94.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*. Figs. 8, 13, 21, 22.

²¹⁹ A. M. LOTH: *La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne II^e siècle avant J.-C. — VII^e siècle environ*. Fasc. VII. Planches. Paris 1979. (Publications du Musée Guimet. Recherches et documents d'art et d'archéologie. VI) Pls. III (1—4), IV (1, 2), VII (1).

²²⁰ R. GHIRSHMAN: *Iran. Parthians and Sasanians*. Paris 1962. Fig. 66. Such fixing of the belt is found in the women's costume of the Parthians. *Ibidem*, Fig. 103.

1st century B. C. (reliefs from Nimrud-Dag).²²¹ This «fashion» was spread also in Palmyra, at any rate in the 2nd—1st centuries B. C.²²² Its sources, apparently, are still in Achaemenid art, especially in its works, reflecting the direct influence of Greek art.²²³

The statuette of Takht-i Sangin, on the basis of its proportions and, partly, its garment, is probably nearest to the «statue of the standing aristocrat» from Dalverzin-Tepe.²²⁴ A certain exchange of experiences is discovered also from the sculpture of the «sitting ruler» from Khalchayan.²²⁵ However, also these analogies have a very approximate and partial character. On the basis of comparison with them, it can be confirmed at a certain degree of surety that this statuette belongs to the circle of the works of Bactrian art. Its dating, however, contains significant complications. At the present phase of research we date it within the broad limits, from the 3rd century B. C. to the beginning of our era. If one also takes into account the resemblance to the ancient sculpture from Asia Minor then the dating to the first half of this period seems to be preferable.

Thus, in cultic deposit No. 4, besides the great variety in the material of the works of art, and the richness of cultural representational sources, we get the widest chronological range of the objects cast together, viz. from the 5th century B. C. through the 1st century A. D. The monuments of art are in an excellent condition of preservation (with the exception of the various alabaster sculpture transported in a broken condition), they have been preserved really in museum condition. The questions raised by this complex are so extensive that all the monuments require a special edition, each of which is unique in this territory, and a whole series also in world culture.

The great significance of the treasure of Takht-i Sangin, particularly, on the basis of the results of cultic deposit No. 4, consists in the fact that they contain the dynamics of development of the art of Bactria, unknown so far, of the second half of the millennium B. C., from the Achaemenid style through the Graeco-Bactrian tradition to the development of the Kuşāna schools of art. The date of the deposit, on the basis of the last find, is in the neighbourhood of the beginning of our era.

One of the most significant finds in the temple was the discovery of the sheath of a miniature votive makhaira embellished with the relief representation of Alexander of Macedonia depicted as Heracles. The head of Alexander is

²²¹ *Ibidem*, Figs 79—80. See also B. GOLDMAN: Parthians at Gandhāra. EW 28 (1978) Fig. 6.

²²² R. GHIRSEMAN *op. cit* Figs. 84, 91.

²²³ A. U. POPE: A Survey of Persian Art. VI. Teheran—London—New York 1967. (Reprint). Pl. 108 (A—C). Especially: A. SHAPUR SHAHBAZI: The Irano-Lycian Monuments. Teheran 1975. (Institute of Achaemenid Research Publications. II) 138, Pl. LXXVIII.

²²⁴ G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: Искусство Бактрии эпохи кушан. Moscow 1979. Pls. 129—130.

²²⁵ G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: Скульптура Халчаяна. Moscow 1971. 57—58, Pl. 68.

represented in front-view slightly turned to the left and hardly perceptibly leaned to the left shoulder. The look of the widely opened eyes without the drawing of the pupils is directed above the onlooker. The round oval of the face with the chin drawn into it is contracted with a helmet representing the head of a scalped lion. The upper jaw of the lion garlands the forehead, while the two halves of the lower jaw frame the cheeks of the hero in the form of face-guards of the helmet. The streaming, thinly modelled twirls-locks of the mane are behind the head of Alexander, and on his chest there are the legs of the lion, fastened in the «knot of Heracles» (one of the legs and a part of the hide on the left shoulder have been preserved, the right leg and the knot have been lost). Because of abrasion, the nose and the lips are somewhat blurred (Fig. 9).²²⁶

The contour of the face of the Alexander of Takht-i Sangin is oval, unlike the round types of heads sculptured by Scopas. The wide open eyes are set close to each other and not very deep, but the massive muscles of the eyebrows at the ridge of the nose are projecting ahead, not hanging above the eyes that still gives the expression of pathos to the face, characteristic of all portraits of Alexander, showing their affinity and uniting them on the basis of this one mark. It is also noted that the furrows on the forehead and on the ridge of the nose and the squinting of the eyes, characteristic of the late Hellenistic period, are missing.

As was correctly remarked by K. Gebauer, the question of the attribution of each portrait of Alexander, has the only perspective of solution, if we examine it from the view-point of the whole existing material.²²⁷ Alexander the Great was represented by the best known sculptors of Greece, *viz.* Lysippus, Leochares, Euthycrates, Euphanor. At present the iconography of the portraits of Alexander is well elaborated,²²⁸ and the literature on the attribution of his

²²⁶ The fragment was glued together by I. R. PICHIKYAN of several vertically stratified scales of ivory, found in different parts of the iron conglomerate. Inv. No. 1134/1091, Institute of History A. Donish of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR. The conglomerate consisting of over 2000 arrow-heads and other iron objects of armament, was recorded by us as cultic deposit No. 2 in the most distant north-western corner of the 20 metres long ambulatory corridor (No. 2). Deposit No. 2 was discovered in a depth of 3.5 metres from the present-day surface, 0.5—0.65 metres above the real sub-soil. On the glued fragment of bouterolle the dimensions of the portrait bust of Alexander are as follows: height: 33 mm, breadth: 28 mm. The representation of the head has been preserved completely, *viz.* height: 20 mm, eyes: 13 mm, nose: 3 mm. On the opposite side of the half of the bouterolle there are traces of a slit of a vertical incision usual for the functional and votive-decorative mouth of sheaths of daggers, found in large quantities in the cultic deposits of the temple. See I. R. PICHIKYAN: Ножны ксифосов и махайр в Северной Бактрии. СА 4 (1980) 202—212.

²²⁷ K. GEBAUER: Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus. AM 63/64 (1939/9) 32.

²²⁸ The works of sculptors of the 4th century B. C. are reviewed in detail in the works of the eminent Soviet researcher O. F. Valdgauer. See O. F. VALDGAUER: Портреты Александра и их значение для истории портретной скульптуры IV в. до н. э. *Idem*: Этюды по истории античного портрета. Leningrad 1938. 150 foll. TH. SCHREIBER: Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen. Leipzig 1903; W. HOFFMANN: Das literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im griechischen und römischen Altertum. Leipzig 1907; F. WEBER: Alexander der Grosse im Urteil der Griechen und Römer bis an

portraits is incredibly comprehensive, which facilitates our work considerably. Inasmuch as the attribution of the portrait at Takht-i Sangin does not give complications, therefore besides the analogies it is necessary to establish its place in iconographic typology.

The successful classification according to the creative masters has been done by O. F. Valdgauer. His work could be continued with a broadening classification according to schools, because the authorship of the majority of the indefinable portraits of Alexander is impossible to establish. In this plan, in a special monographic research, all known works should be grouped according to the method of J. Beazley, applied by him in the study of Attic vase painting, and named the masters after the names of the most characteristic portraits,²²⁹ but this is not at all our task.

The classification according to schools of sculpture in the geographic range has been made by M. Bieber and K. Gebauer, but their works do not excel with a comprehensive fullness.²³⁰ The excellent work of K. Gebauer arranges the coinages and sculptures with the representations of Heracles and Alexander known to the author, according to regional schools. In his opinion the sculptural works of the Alexandrian school collected by him, can be set against altogether only 12 marble works of the whole remaining Mediterranean.²³¹ However, it is not so. In the last years the archeological journals have published new attributions that are completed on the basis of the study of museum and private collections,²³² and also by archaeological excavations, which can be testified by the excavations in Aigai,²³³ and in Takht-i Sangin. The classification with the selection of the Roman idealized portrait and the so called group of Roman historical portraits has earned already justification in the iconography of Alexander the Great.²³⁴ There are also typological groups, based on the most diversified marks, including the emotional characteristics. Thus, O. Ya. Neverov, classifying the deification of the creator of the vast Hellenistic monarchy according to the phases of the apotheosis of the ruler (what in itself contains a very sensi-

die Konstantinische Zeit. Giessen 1909; K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.*; V. v. GRAVE: Zum Herrscher Philippos II. und Philippos III. von Makedonien. AA 3 (1973) 236—249, Figs 5, 6; M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt Alexanders des Grossen. JDAI 40 (1925) 167; M. BIEBER: The Portraits of Alexander the Great. PPS 93 (1949) 349; M. BIEBER: The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age. New York 1955; G. KLEINER: Das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen. JDAI. 65/66 (1950/1951) 206 ff.; G. BERTELLI: Alexandros III di Macedonia. Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata di Giovanni Treccani. I. Rome 1957.

²²⁹ J. D. BEAZLEY: *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford 1963.

²³⁰ M. BIEBER: *op. cit.*; K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.*

²³¹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 33.

²³² M. A. ZAGDAUN: Collection Paul Canellopoulos. BCH, C III, 1979. 411, Figs. 29—32; H. G. NIMEYER: Alexanderkopf in Sevilla. AA 1978. I. 106—115.

²³³ M. ANDRONIKOS: Гробницы Македонских царей. Уникальная археологическая находка — возможно, захоронение отца Александра Македонского. Курьер ЮНЕСКО 7 (1979) 3 foll. Фото на обложке.

²³⁴ M. A. ZAGDAUN: *op. cit.*; H. G. NIMEYER: *op. cit.*

ble idea, but not a new one),²³⁵ sees the evolution also in the style of the portrait of Alexander. This is what leads O. Ya. Neverov to the typology based on emotional principles.²³⁶ There are classifications that are arbitrary, difficult to define, based on typology of principle unknown to us.²³⁷

The classification according to kinds and genres of art was realized only by numismatists, selecting from the whole complex of representations, the representations in profile on the coins.

As a matter of fact, there is no generalizing iconographic typology of the image of Alexander in representational art, since each researcher started out from portraits, in the course of time increasing considerably, which were at their disposal, or which were more or less close to them, or within their reach. This is also understandable. The diversity of the material, the chronological differences, the stylistic characteristics, the non-adequacy of the age and the subject, give complications for a single, methodologically reliable typology of the representations of Alexander.

We propose the typological characteristic of the representations of Alexander the Great according to statuary subjects, in which all antique representations would be included, regardless of time, place of preparation, material, and the author creating the portrait of the great strategist. Following this method, the same works of ancient sculptors-portraitists may be included in different typological groups, *viz.*:

1. Alexander, the child.
2. Alexander, the palaestic, warrior.
3. Alexander, the philosopher, the statesman.
4. Alexander, the deified hero, or god.
5. Alexander, an idealized image.

In each typological group it is proposed to follow the chronological division from the portraits prepared during his lifetime to the Hellenistic copies, and from the latter to the Roman historical portraits. After the monumental sculpture, if it exists, in each group the small sculpture, glyptics and coin representations follow, consequently, the material of the sculptural works in marble, limestone, and bone precedes the copies in terracotta and metals (because original bronze masterpieces are unknown so far).

According to the idea, the first group of the portraits from the early youth should be the earliest. As a matter of fact, a great part of this group belonged

²³⁵ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 2.

²³⁶ O. YA. NEVEROV: Митридат и Александр. К иконографии Митридата VI. СА 2 (1971) 88 foll.

²³⁷ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.*; G. KLEINER: *op. cit.*

among the Roman copies that is they were executed in the Roman style of portraiture.²³⁸

The second group is Alexander, the palaestric, or the nude Alexander with spear (*doryphoros*), going back to the praised statue by Lysippus known from written sources.²³⁹ However, in the copies the figure of Alexander is altered by the too free conception (sometimes in reversed, reflected representation). Two groups of similar statues are known, made of bronze and of marble.²⁴⁰ Their characteristics are: the polycletic presentation of the figure depending on the degree of qualities of the copyist (chiasmus and motion in statics), heroic nakedness of the young athletic body, and a very generalized conception of the face that permits us to include them in the group of warriors. Alexander, the warrior was represented in armour, in helmet, sometimes with shield (Alexander on horseback in full military equipment). However, the main difference of all representations of Alexander the warrior is the emotional saturation of the characteristic of the image of the hero, or his idealized presentation. All copies are very different in character, executed in different material, and as a whole they strongly fall behind the originals, prepared by sculptors from nature. With the exception of the mosaic of Pompeii,²⁴¹ their majority consist of considerably reduced replicas of the kind of the statuette «Alexander on horseback»,²⁴² from Herculaneum not permitting a judgement of similarity with original as a result of the generalization of the face. Very likely, the copy of the portrait by Lysippus, perhaps, a mounted statue, going back to the gold medallion of Abukir,²⁴³ is the best specimen of this group.

The third group is Alexander, the philosopher. The degree of surety in the attribution of these representations of Alexander is different in antique history of art. There is no doubt that the signed herma in the Louvre (collection of Azar) represents Alexander the Great. However, in the beginning it was attributed by L. Curtius to Leochares,²⁴⁴ by Th. Schreiber to Lysippus,²⁴⁵ and then, much more convincingly, it was re-attributed by O. F. Valdgauer to Euphonor.²⁴⁶ It has a close analogy in the British Museum, also erroneously included among the copies from the sculpture of Lysippus.²⁴⁷ The signed herma, accepted at present as the initial one, is valued very low, possibly undeservedly, on account of the bad preservation of the monument. M. Bieber writes straight that

²³⁸ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 41, Pl. 1(B); K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* Pls. 8, 12.

²³⁹ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 217, Fig. 27.

²⁴⁰ O. F. VALDGAUER: *Портреты Александра*, 165, 152, Figs 69, 62; TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* Pls. VI, XI.

²⁴¹ C. BERTELLI: *op. cit.* 240.

²⁴² *Ibidem.* 357.

²⁴³ R. DELBRUECK: *Zwei Porträts*. JDAI. 40 (1925) 12, Fig. 5; V. v. GRAVE: *op. cit.* 254, Fig. 5.

²⁴⁴ H. G. NIMAYER: *op. cit.*

²⁴⁵ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 28—40, Pl. 14.

²⁴⁶ O. F. VALDGAUER: *Портреты Александра*. 164—165.

²⁴⁷ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 97, Pl. 14 (3; 4).

this is a very bad copy,²⁴⁸ and O. F. Valdgauer points out the deformation of the eyes, made by the copyist. And still, this representation shows in a sufficient degree not only the literary image of Alexander, the wise strategist and statesman, created by the antique authors, but it also reflects the excellent characterization by O. F. Valdgauer: «Alexander is the pupil of Aristotle, well versed on the great Hellenic teachers and poets. Alexander is a hero and great conqueror, realizer of the expectations of Hellenism about the submission of the East, talented with genial organizatory qualities».²⁴⁹ As Th. Schreiber remarks, Alexander is represented on the portrait in mature age. We should add that in him the wisdom of the statesman is stressed, Alexander, the philosopher should be ranged by the portraits of the Louvre and the British Museum with this type of iconography.

In the examination of the fourth typological group the main attention will be paid only to the appearance of Alexander in the image of Heracles, since the rest of the hypostases, being not so wide-spread, add little in comparison with the representation discussed here.

The fifth typological group, the largest one, consists mainly of copies presenting the idealized Alexander.²⁵⁰ In reality, Alexander was very handsome (Arr., Anab. VII, 26,1), but the sculptors of Hellenism, after his death endeavoured to invest him in addition also with features of heavenly beauty. Judged from the number of the copies, this trend of development stood nearest to the taste of the Roman age.

Returning to the fourth typological group, we remark that the researchers propose different numbers of specimens of the deification of Alexander. O. Ya. Neverov, touching this question to some extent, mentions only the main iconographic types of this group, *viz.* Alexander, in the image of Heracles, Dionysus, Ammon and Helios.²⁵¹ K. Gebauer gives a more general, but also incomplete list in the form of a foot-note without the illustration of the examples. *viz.* Alexander, Helios, a Genius, a Dioscur, Ammon-Carneios, Hermes Dionysus, Heracles, Ares, Asclepius, River god, Satyr, Attis.²⁵² Alexander-Zeus (Jupiter)²⁵³ is missing in both cases, and Alexander in elephant helmet, serving, apparently, as a model of the representation of the Graeco-Bactrian coinage of Demetrius,²⁵⁴ is not mentioned either.

²⁴⁸ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt... 181.

²⁴⁹ O. F. VALDGAUER: Портреты Александра... 165.

²⁵⁰ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 25, Pls. 11-D, III-F, IV, V, VII; TH. WIEGAND: Ein neues Alexanderporträt. JDAI 14 (1899) 1; M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt... Figs. 1-6, Pls. 6-8; V. v. GRAVE: *op. cit.* Pl. 24 (9-12); K. G. KLEINER: *op. cit.* Pls. 1-4, 5, 7, 14.

²⁵¹ O. Ja. NEVEROV: *op. cit.* 88 foll.

²⁵² K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 1.

²⁵³ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 113, pl. VII-O.

²⁵⁴ A. CUNNINGHAM: Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper. JASB 24 (1888) 172; B. STAWISKI: Kunst der Kuschan. Leipzig 1979. Fig. 29.

Let us stop at the representation of Alexander in the image of Heracles. The representations in profile of Heracles-Alexander and Alexander in lion helmet dominate over the statuary representations of portraits of other groups, because they are represented by a vast material of numismatics on numerous series of coins from the time of Alexander, of the diadochoi, especially of Lysimachus, and the epigons. The comparison of the coin representations of Heracles, of Alexander in the image of Heracles, of Mithridates in the image of Alexander-Heracles and Commodus in the image of Heracles, shows the evolution of the represented image. Originally Heracles was represented on the coins with the apotrope, the lion's hide, reliable for attribution, *i.e.*, the head of Heracles, represented in profile, was garlanded with a lion's mask. Similar representations of Heracles in profile are widely known on the coins of the 5th—4th centuries, on the gold stater from Tarentum,²⁵⁵ on the tetradrachmas of Thasos,²⁵⁶ on the double staters of Dicaeos (Thrace).²⁵⁷

Heracles on the tetradrachmas of Alexander personifies a manly warrior skilled in fights (frequently with broken ridge of the nose, with hypothetically bulgings of the arches above the eyebrows and the cheeks, like after a pancratium just finished).²⁵⁸ It is not for nothing that all representations of boxers show a great similarity with his virile and somewhat tired and gloomy appearance.

Alexander «was transformed into Heracles» still in his lifetime, not only on the coins through the mechanic changing of Heracles with the portrait of Alexander in profile. The repeated and obviously not accidental mentioning of Alexander's affinity with Heracles by the authors, about his endeavour to ascend, and perform a heroic deed, worthy of his legendary ancestor, or to surpass him, including not only the attacking of insurmountable obstacles and taking up fight alone with numerous enemies, but also the direct single fight with a lion, mentioned above (Curt., VIII, 11—14). The complicated process of transformation of Alexander on the coins is very accurately described by K. Gebauer: «On the tetradrachmas of Alexander — K. Gebauer writes — the observer, at desire, can recognize Alexander in the image of Heracles, because Alexander personally assimilated himself to this god.»²⁵⁹

However, the majority of the researchers, including also K. Gebauer, see the decisive moment in the iconography of Alexander simultaneously on all coins exactly in 327 B. C. This is shown by the study of the coinage of Amphi-

²⁵⁵ K. LANGE: *Götter Griechenlands. Meisterwerke Antiken Münzkunst*. Berlin (without year). Fig. 64.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*. Fig. 61.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*. Fig. 60.

²⁵⁸ *Monnaies. Grecques-Romaines. Byzantines-Gauloises, Françaises-Étrangères*. Drouet rive Gauche-Salle, n. 6. Astole-France, 75007. Paris 21—22 juin 1979. N. 31—39.

²⁵⁹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 2, 11, 12.

polis, Tarsus, Sidon, Pella, Tyre, Babylon, Alexandria, and other smaller series. In the opinion of K. Gebauer: «Alexander then arrived at the recognition of the man of that time as a supreme power, on which the fate of everything depends. The legend of his fabulous results in India reached the West in this year; at the same time rumours were spread that he himself appeared sometimes in the form of Heracles.» Therefore, the engraver may have ventured to individualize the head of Heracles, as the portrait of Alexander. Since then not a single representation of Heracles exists in a strict sense. If the type is somewhere interrupted, then the new face, at least in some minute difference, always appears since then.²⁶⁰ Even if the concepts of Nietzsche mix with naivety in the judgments of K. Gebauer, the main trend of development in the iconography of Alexander is presented correctly. At the moment we are interested in the date of the «decisive moment» of this evolutionary series. M. Bieber showed an interesting scheme of the transformation of Alexander into Heracles on the coins. Cos, as well as other city-states of the disintegrating great empire, between the years 300 and 200, minted the idealized head of Alexander in the image of Heracles, instead of the bearded Heracles.²⁶¹ It can be presumed at a high degree of probability that in the formation of the iconography of Alexander in the image of Heracles, not the coin representations themselves played a significant role, but the monumental sculptures, one of whose authors was, most probably, the favourite courtsculptor, Lysippus. The sculpture could come into existence soon after the successful single fight with the lion, when Alexander was not far from Maracanda, pushing aside Lysimachus, standing behind the king, entered into single fight and slained the lion of exceptional size, similarly to Heracles, with one stroke.²⁶² The statuary representations of Alexander in the image of Heracles are convincingly shown by the originals of the period of Hellenism,²⁶³ and by his representation in lion helmet on the sarcophagus of Alexander.²⁶⁴ But the diversity itself of the coin representations shows that various statuary specimens were utilized.²⁶⁵ The mentioned spreading of the representations of Alexander on coins of his numerous successors, diadochoi and epigons, was brought about by the fact that, according to the very accurate remark of O. Ya. Neverov, Alexander became «the necessary component of dynastic cult, which was formed in the empires of the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Attalids. The image of Alexander the Great surrounded with mystic aureola furnished so to say the visibility of legitimacy to their power.»²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ *Ibidem.* 11—12.

²⁶¹ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . 178, Fig. 10.

²⁶² Q. CURTI RUFII: Hist. Alex., VIII, I, 11—17. Cf. above p. 38, n. 59.

²⁶³ E. BUSCHOR: Das hellenistische Bildnis. München 1949. Fig. 20.

²⁶⁴ E. AKURGAL: Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey. Istanbul 1969. Pl. 23.

²⁶⁵ E. T. NEWELL: Alexander Hoards. Numismatic Notes and Monographs. N 19. New York 1923. Pls. I—VIII.

²⁶⁶ O. YA. NEVEROV: *op. cit.* 88 foll.

Parallel with the general trend of development of the representations of Alexander, an additional «masked» trend of the images of Alexander-Heracles and Alexander-Ammon appears already on the coins of the diadochoi. The Seleucids and the Ptolemies borrow from their predecessor the image of Ammon, and within two hundred years after Alexander, the image of Alexander-Heracles is revived again by another great strategist of antiquity, Mithridates Eupator and after nearly five centuries — already in the genre of the farce — by the lenient Roman emperor Commodus, for the reflection of the share of the clan of the Antonini in the patronage of Heracles. Mithridates Eupator borrowed two statuary types of Alexander the Great. His predecessor was Lysimachus.²⁶⁷ The circumstance is interesting that not only coin representations of Commodus have been preserved, but also his sculptured portrait in lion's hide, with the club of Heracles and the apples of the Hesperids in his hands. However, the image of the emperor, created by the court sculptors entirely corresponds to the judgment of Lampidius, *viz.* «the expression of the face is dull, like that of a drunkard, and his speech is indolent.»²⁶⁸ The coins of Commodus (182—192) iconographically repeat his monumental sculptural prototype, just like the coins of Alexander. On them Commodus is represented in left profile, the face with thin aristocratic nose, small mouth and modestly cast down eyes, reflects inner apathy²⁶⁹ that sharply distinguishes him from Alexander.

In addition to the iconographic analysis according to the similarity of the representations, for the identification of the portrait from Takht-i Sangin, the logical method of exclusion can also be applied. Of the four representations in lion helmet, considering the site of discovery, only Alexander remains as a real competitor. This is shown by the canonical character of the idealization of the appearance, by the open juvenile face, not characteristic of Heracles. Mithridates and Commodus do not fit in, because the time of manufacture of the makhaira is earlier than their appearance in the historical arena.²⁷⁰

According to the general similarity of the representations, of the idealizing tendency of the 3rd century B. C., the portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexan-

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁶⁸ Monnaies ... N 54; N. N. ВРИТОВА—N. M. ЛОСЕВА—N. A. СИДОРОВА: Римский скульптурный портрет. Очерки. Moscow 1975. 67, Fig. 112.

²⁶⁹ K. LANGE: *op. cit.* Fig. 141.

²⁷⁰ In fact our attribution of the relief representation of Alexander the Great in the image of Heracles did not raise doubts in any of the Soviet. After the lecture on the antique treasures of Takht-i-Sangin in 1980 in Moscow (ИБ АН СССР, Институт археологии АН СССР, ГМИИ им. А. С. Пушкина), in Leningrad (Гос. Эрмитаж, ЛОИА АН СССР) and in Dushanbe (Институт истории им. А. Дониша АН Тадж. ССР) the speakers confirmed the opinion on the doubtlessness of the attribution. We wish to extend our sincere gratitude to O. YA. NEVEROV, to YU. E. ХИСТУАКОВ and to V. D. BLAVATSKIY for the valuable advices. N. A. FROLOVA and A. НИКИТИН extended help in the work on the numismatic collection of the State Historical Museum (Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskiy Muzei — GIM, Moscow), kindly furnishing photographs of the coins with the representation of Alexander in lion helmet.

der is similar not only to the images of the strategist on the coins, but it is also close to the sculptures of the school of Alexandria and Cos of the Hellenistic period,²⁷¹ partly reaching to the copies of the Roman times.²⁷²

The juvenile portrait of Alexander from the museum of the Acropolis of Athens can serve as a good analogy of Alexander from Takht-i Sangin. There is a similarity in the soft appearance of the eyes, in the butterfly-like form of the lips,²⁷³ in the round oval of the face with the chin drawn into it. The Athenian portrait is counted to the copies from the work of Leochares that was consecrated after the battle of Chaironeia (338 B. C.) in the Philippeion. V. Grave writes that it looks like a Greek original of the Late-Hellenistic period.²⁷⁴

As it appears, the differentiation according to the material cannot be at all determinative, because the sculpture made of ivory, on account of the fragility of the material, is preserved under very favourable circumstances. The known sculptures of the Hellenistic times²⁷⁵ have recently been completed by the portrait heads from the presumed tomb of Philip of Macedonia in Aigai, one of which represents Alexander.²⁷⁶ The attribution of the portrait head from Aigai is reliable, *viz.* the sculptor representing the young Alexander with the head lifted up, presented the whole gallery of the similar iconography of the Hellenistic period and the Roman imitations. The marble head from the Alexandrian museum No. 3405, dated to the 3rd century B. C., possibly, really of the circle of Lysippus,²⁷⁷ in nearest according to the artistic characteristics and conception to the representation of Alexander from Aigai.

The heads from the so called sarcophagus of Alexander of Macedonia, representing Alexander in the scene of fighting and in the scene of hunting, are very close to the portrait from Takht-i Sangin. In our opinion, these representations are unanimously attributed by all researchers to Alexander with justification.²⁷⁸ The bending of the heads with the forehead ahead add dramatism and a firm will to victory to these, images that is seldom found in the iconography of the strategist, whose head is usually represented slightly lifted up and slightly turned to the left, as on the gigantic, famous replica from Pergamum,²⁷⁹ and on other representations including also the portrait from Takht-i Sangin. The «Heracles» of Pergamum is also very close to this type, personified by G. Kraemer as Mithridates. The identification of this statue by G. Kraemer with the

²⁷¹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 35, 95, Pls. 6 (1,2), 9.

²⁷² *Ibidem.* 48, 63, Pls. 14, 15.

²⁷³ B. ASHMOLE: Demeter of Cnidus. JHS. 71 (1951) 13—28.

²⁷⁴ V. V. GRAVE: *op. cit.* 246, 249, Figs. 5, 6.

²⁷⁵ M. BIEBER: The Sculpture . . .

²⁷⁶ M. ANDRONIKOS: *op. cit.* Photograph on the cover of the journal.

²⁷⁷ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 35, Pl. 6 (1,2).

²⁷⁸ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . Figs. 7, 8; G. M. A. RICHTER: Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks. New Haven 1930. 76, Fig. 176; E. AKURGAL: *op. cit.* Pl. 23.

²⁷⁹ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . Fig. 11.

image of Mithridates Eupator seems to be absolutely inconsistent.²⁸⁰ «Heracles is considerably more similar to Alexander from the sarcophagus of Alexander (both are in lion helmet, the expression and the similarity of the faces are striking), and even more to the gigantic head of Alexander from Pergamum, ascribed to Lysippus,²⁸¹ than to the portrait of Mithridates Eupator, and even to those of Attalus II or Attalus III, as it was thought by the great specialists in antiquity, Winter and L. Curtius.²⁸² We have to do here rather directly with the influence of the portraits of Alexander on Hellenistic sculpture. Inasmuch as the Pergamum Heracles from the northern hall of the sanctuary of Athena is connected with the sculptural group of Prometheus, we cannot maintain the attribution of this sculpture to Alexander, however, the unusual similarity must be stated. The gigantic head from Pergamum is connected with the Pergamum Heracles not only by the common Pergamum school, but also by the absolute similarity of the general appearance, as well as of the certain features of the face, *viz.* the representation of the forehead, the nose, the lips, the deportment of the head, and also the presentation of the juvenile appearance, and the presence of the predatory, lion-like pathos, characteristic, as K. Gebauer remarks, «of a large number of original marble heads, which can be compared rather on the basis of the presence of pathos, than on the basis of outward similarity.»²⁸³

The portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexander the Great unites a whole series of works both sculptural and minted on coins, where Alexander is represented in the image of Heracles in lion helmet. Inasmuch as in the portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexander obviously an unknown original is copied, which became the prototype for numerous replicas and copies of the 3rd century B. C., and in the portrait discussed idealizing features are felt, characteristic of early Hellenism, we date the representation of Alexander to the broad frames of the third century. The proposed date is supported by the comparison with identical coin mintings from 300—200 B. C. This fully corresponds to the dating characteristic of the miniature Greek votive makhaira, which the relief embellishes. The conceptions mentioned firmly point to the date of the 3rd century B. C.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance from the view-point of the history of culture, because of the high importance of the purely Greek portrait, lifting the curtain of the «enigmatic» Graeco-Bactrian art. This highly artistic work is the first Graeco-Bactrian portrait of Alexander, representing the image of the king and hero Iskander, robed in the victorious insignia, as he was preserved in the Central Asian popular traditions so far.

²⁸⁰ G. KRAHMER: Eine Ehrung für Mithridates VI. Eupator in Pergamum. *JDAI* 40 (1925) 182, 200—205, Figs 2, 7, 11, 12.

²⁸¹ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . Figs 7, 11.

²⁸² L. CURTIUS: Bronzestatuetten eines Heracles in Neapel. *Walter Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*. Leipzig 1928. 65, Fig. 7.

²⁸³ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 22.

Cultic deposit No. 3, to be found in the centre of the southern third of corridor No. 2, with a diameter of 1.5 metres, on a level of 1 metre (10 cm. above the real subsoil), consists mainly of cutting and thrusting weapons, whole iron akinakai, spear-heads, coverings of ivory sheaths of Greek swords: xiphe and makhairai, of a gilded bronze face-guard of a Greek helmet, and of two plates with scenes of hunting from the 2nd—1st centuries B. C. About these we have to speak in detail, because these plates date cultic deposit No. 3, as the latest ones.

This arsenal enters the history of military affairs of the period of Hellenism, although certain single monuments are dated to the 5th century B. C., and others are definitely later, from the 2nd century B. C., and even from the 1st century B. C. But first of all let us stop at certain representations, because they are rarest even for the considerably elaborated Greek mythology.

One handle of a xiphos is ornamented on both sides, the outer and the inner one, with exactly identical high relief representations of two statuary groups, *viz.* Heracles, throwing down Silenus (Fig. 10 a, b), Heracles is standing in full height, his right hand holding a knotted club, lifted up to administer a stroke; with his left hand he seized Silenus by the long hair, and pulling him down, pressed him to his thigh. Heracles with his leg preventing Silenus from running away, stepped on his thigh and pressed him to the earth. Silenus, standing on one knee in canonical pose of run with bent knee, is full of desire to free himself from the grasp of the mighty enemy. Resisting, with his left hand he strives to take off the hand of Heracles, holding him by the hair and causing pain to him. On Heracles there is a cloak made of lion's hide, the paws of the lion are fastened at his neck in the «Heracleian knot». Silenus, as always, is nude. His attributing mark, the goat's ear, is clearly seen, directed upwards. Both figures are athletic, with anatomically correct representation of the trained, well developed and relief-like projecting muscles. The dynamism of the fight is rendered by the motion of Heracles, lifting the club to a stroke, by the position of the legs of Silenus striving to rise, and their strong bodies, pressed together in fight, consisting of bundles of muscles. On the basis of the style of representation, the handle of xiphos should be dated to a period from the beginning of the 4th century to early Hellenism.

The third relief on the ivory sheath ornamenting the boueterolle of the Greek sword, represents a fantastic creature, a female figure with a serpent's, or fish-tail, with horse's legs and with bird's wings (Fig. 11). In her left hand she holds a paddle vertically, and in her right hand a round object, a shell, an apple or a stone, ready to be thrown. The loose long locks stream in thick curls. The face with the long straight nose and with the high forehead, with big eyes, with carefully elaborated upper eyelid, with round brows rendered with incision, and pupils indicated with dots, is wilful and at the same time beautiful. A smile hovers about her lips. The round relief here and there goes over to a sculptural

solution, and here and there, intentionally in half relief on the base of the smoothly polished bone. This is determined by the given round form of the *bouterolle*, and also by the fragility of the material. The bent and curled tail of the monster ends in a noose and fins, the wings are represented in a swing, the horse's legs in run: the right one before the left one. However, the dynamism still is missing in the whole figure. The given planeness, characteristic of the representation as a whole, can be observed in all parts of the body. The improbable junctions of the various elements of the creature are rendered fairly successfully. The details are very carefully elaborated, *viz.* the scales of the tail, the feathers of the wings, the hoofs, ornamented with incisions, all these are rendered with a naive carefulness, but spiritlessly. On the other hand, the female torso and the horse's legs are executed masterfully, the perspective shortening of the complicated joints not existing in nature is rendered artistically. The work betrays the hand of an experienced master, but that of a craftsman.

The attribution of this personality can be twofold, although it is monosyllabic. It is clear that we have to do with the nymph of the water element, close to the Mediterranean Scylla or female hippocampus. The Scylla was represented with fish-tail and with wings, with the attribute paddle and with shell. It is connected with the representation from Takht-i Sangin also by the transition from the female torso to the fish-tail framed by palmettes. The energetic swing of the wings, the loose locks and the aggressive swing of the right hand are also analogous. However, in the case of the Scylla, especially in the representation on the cover of the mirror from the tumulus of Artyukhov, two dogs appear from under the curl, personifying the monstrosity and the fury of the Scylla. On the representation from Takht-i Sangin they are missing. We feel that on the Artyukhov Scylla there were also horse's legs, part of a leg with hoof has been preserved under the figure, left to us fragmentarily.²⁸⁴ The second attribution, close to the first one, is similarly probable: this is the hippocampus, the nymph of the water element, or as it is called otherwise, *centaurotritonis*.²⁸⁵ In both cases, the Greek sea deity could be transformed into a nymph, the companion of the god of river Oxus. The dry, and at the same time careful style of the work does not permit its dating earlier than the 2nd century, more accurately it should be dated to the first half of the 2nd century B. C.

Together with other, purely Greek finds, the Greek weapon embellished with representations, found in the depth of Central Asia, far from the Mediterranean coasts, shows the fact of the Hellenization of the culture of Bactria and the significance of the antique elements in the synthesis of Graeco-Bactrian art.

²⁸⁴ M. I. МАКСИМОВА: Артыуховский курган. Leningrad 1979. Figs on pp. 31, 89.

²⁸⁵ B. SAUER: Hippokamp. *ML I* (2) 2673—2677; S. REINACH: *Répertoire de la statuaire Grecque et Romaine*. I. Paris 1906. 95—68, 113, 429, 430.

The scenes of hunting on the walls of the casket made of ivory (21.6 by 6.2 by 0.7 cm), have furnished very valuable representations, *viz.* documentary portraits, costumes, armament, horse-furniture, species of horses, sitting of the horsemen, the irresistible blow of the Yueh-chih or early Kuṣāṇa warriors and conquerors of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom (Fig. 12).

Two horsemen in full gallop (one turning back) are shooting from bows on wild animals. The field is full of running, wounded and already killed animals. A she-panther, already wounded by two arrows in the breast, defending her cubs, tries to jump on the horseman, two small panther's cubs are beside her. The hunters have killed several mountain rams with spirally curving horns, hares and foxes are running away. The engraver carefully and artistically engraved the smallest details. From the compositional point of view, the scene is solved with great skill. The horsemen galloping in the opposite directions, are arranged at the edges, but this does not cut the picture into two parts, because both horsemen are shooting in one direction, they are united also by the animal, filling two parts of the field between the horsemen. At the same time, we have to note the sharp contrast between the direct and vivid, very accurate rendering of the movements of the beasts and animals, especially the wonderful rendering of the galloping horses, and the figures of the horsemen, who are represented as if they were not sitting on horses flying in gallop, but in court thrones. In this the following of the canon showed itself, what at first was discovered on this monument, and later can be followed on wall paintings and other representations of early medieval Central Asian art. As a whole, dynamism is the main artistic dominant feature of this composition. The scene of hunting is one of the most favourite motifs of the art of the East. It developed and was diversified in the art of Parthian and Sassanian Iran.

The panels from Takht-i Sangin (together with the portrait and ethnic similarity found in them with the sculptures and representations of Kuṣāṇa princes from Khalchayan and Dalverzin)²⁸⁶ are made excellent works of art by the documentary character of their portrait characteristics.

Two circumstances are of interest. In Takht-i Sangin, a fortress protecting the ford through the Amu-Darya, which was neither a capital, nor a big city, more sheaths of daggers from the times of Alexander the Great were found, than in the whole Greek world.²⁸⁷ Secondly, the fortress and temple have not only not been destroyed by the passing of the Kuṣāṇas, but on the contrary, they continued to flourish, judged from the rich Kuṣāṇa, Indian and Parthian sacrificial gifts and coins.

²⁸⁶ G. A. РУГАШЕНКОВА: Скульптура Халчяйна. 1971. Pls. 43, 55, 65, 68, 78, 112.

²⁸⁷ The list of the material known to us see: I. R. ПИЧИКЯН: Ножны...

The panels from Takht-i Sangin with the representation of «Kuşāṇas on hunting» are dated to the time after the conquest of Graeco-Bactria by the Yueh-chih that is to the end of the 2nd—1st century B. C.

The discovery in Takht-i Sangin in the year 1979, of single monuments of the Achaemenid period and of a mass of works of Graeco-Bactrian art, permit at the present time to draw some preliminary conclusions :

1. The treasure of the Oxus, up to the present time the main material on the history of Bactrian art of the pre-Hellenistic and Graeco-Bactrian times has so far special chronological and stylistic parallels only in Takht-i Sangin. This supports the opinion of scholars, localizing the site of the treasure in the upper course of the Amu-Darya to Takht-i Kubad or Takht-i Sangin.

2. The Graeco-Bactrian culture, more accurately its establishers, in their creation relied on the broad circle of imported or trophied works of Greek and Achaemenid art which directly or indirectly influenced the synthesis of the Graeco-Bactrian style.

3. The basic impulse to the Hellenization of art and culture of Bactria after 329 B. C. was given by the establishment of new Hellenic cities and fortresses, in the architecture of which there was a considerable local and eastern influence.

4. In Hellenistic times, in the period of the accession of Bactria to the state of the Seleucids, and after that at the time of the independent Graeco-Bactrian state, the contacts with the Greek cities of the Mediterranean were regular. The subsequent pouring of Greeks to Central Asia after the Graeco-Macedonian conquest is not excluded, what is shown by the schools of art developing under the direct influence of the contemporary specimens of the art of Seleucid Asia Minor.

5. The multitude of finds of armament — Greek, Saka-Scythian and Sarmatian-Kuşāṇa — permits to approach them with a more scientific conception, as a result of a considerable quantitative increase of material of armament of the peoples of Central Asia from the wide chronological range of the 6th century B. C. — 4th century B. C.

6. The multitude of the most different armament, including ornate and highly artistic specimens, of Greeks, Bactrians and nomads, shows the strict necessity of the times when the helmets, shields, swords, spears, javelins and arrows served not only as indispensable instruments of fight, but also as valuable sacrificial gifts.

7. The numerous articles made of ivory, the multitude of goods made of this rare and expensive material show not only the close political and economic relations with India. The analysis and attribution of the representational works made of ivory points to the probability of the local Bactrian manufacture of the basic mass of the articles, which at the same time frequently correspond to Greek standards, types and conceptions.

8. Certain finds from different times point to the constant connections with the Saka-Scythian world of the steppe.

9. The intermediate Graeco-Bactrian trade with the Altai, India, Iran, Parthia and with the cities of the coastal region of Asia Minor, promoted the flourishing of jewellery and bone carving craft, what is testified by the Takht-i Sangin treasure. The trade with works of representational art played a part in the cultural relations, in which the Hellenic goods had a general and wide demand.

10. The formation of anything architectural and artistic Eastern-Hellenistic koine in the vast territory promoted the development of representational art and the flourishing of local schools. In this phase the ethnic, religious and cultural components of Greeks and Bactrians amalgamated into a unique and not reproducible Graeco-Bactrian phenomenon.

11. The functioning of the Graeco-Bactrian temple at the Oxus in the Kuşāṇa period and the protecting relation to the existing religious tradition, show not only the religious tolerance of the Kuşāṇas, but also the symbiosis of Greek, eastern-Zoroastrian and Kuşāṇa conceptions.²⁸⁸

12. The components of the art of Central Asia of the beginning of the 1st millennium, after the finds at Takht-i Sangin appear to be the symbiosis of trends of different character in style, of the synthesis of primary eastern, introduced Hellenic, Gandhara — amalgamated Graeco-Indian and Bactrian arts.

13. The achievements of Bactrian civilization became possible not as a result of its seclusion, but on the contrary, as a result of the presence of broad and diversified cultural and economic relations. That mighty creative synthesis developed exactly under these circumstances, which by itself gave strong impulses to the development of culture.

14. The unique treasures of Takht-i Sangin have enriched the ancient culture of Tajikistan and Central Asia with a vast collection of significant works of art. However, the significance of these finds is much broader, *viz.* we have to do with clear and unambiguous evidences of the close mutual relations between Central Asia, the countries of the Far East and the Mediterranean.

15. The discovery, at Takht-i Sangin, of a whole series of excellent antique monuments of world art visibly complete the reports of the antique authors on the whole cultural and historical phase of the peoples of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

16. The sculptures of Takht-i Sangin made of the local clay and alabaster, of a material so fragile and unsuitable for transportation, point to the local manufacture of the highly artistic monuments of art, which has its subsequent development in the Kuşāṇa and early medieval period.

²⁸⁸ B. A. LITVINSKY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Кушанские Эроты. (One of the aspects of antique influence on Central Asian culture.) ВДИ 1979/2 89—109.

17. On the right bank of the Oxus—Amu-Darya, as well as on the left bank of the river, Greek was not only written, but it is now clear that it was also spoken and Greek deities were worshipped. The power of the antique tradition was so great in the Kuṣāṇa period that the hypothesis according to which the elements of this culture could exist also after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa state seemed to be quite probable. The getting of further materials in this direction is very important, because the demonstration of the traditions of antique art and culture in medieval Central Asia would change the whole conception of the appearance and development of science and culture in the Mussulman East.²⁸⁹

Moscow.

²⁸⁹ G. V. ШНАУМУКНАМВЕТОВА: Арабоязычная философия средневековья и классическая традиция. Moscow 1979. (With literature on the question.)

ZENTRALASIATISCHE ELEMENTE IN DEM ALEXANDERROMAN

Die in einer kaiserzeitlichen Hippokrates-Biographie überlieferte Geschichte von Hippokrates und Perdikkas, dem Sohne des Makedonenkönigs Alexanders I. bietet eine genaue Parallele zur «zarten Sage» von Antiochos und Stratonike, in welcher die Rolle des klugen Arztes der berühmte Erasistratos, anderswo der noch berühmtere Galenos, in einer orientalischen Fassung derselben Geschichte aber der arabische Galenos, d.h. Avicenna spielt. Ob es sich dabei um eine spätere Übernahme der Hippokrates-, bzw. Erasistratos- oder Galenos-Anekdote handelt, oder man die Wanderungen und Wandlungen der Sage in einer *umgekehrten* Richtung sich zu denken hat? Unseren Gedankengang* haben wir mit einem Hinweis auf eine andere «anmutige Sage», d.h. auf die rührende Liebesgeschichte von Zariadres¹ und Odatis (Athen. XIII c.35 = Jac. FGrHist 125, frg.5) geschlossen, von welcher Chares von Mytilene versichert, sie sei ἐν ταῖς ἰστορίαις, in den *persischen* Geschichtsbüchern aufgeschrieben, und welche — «im Orient weit und lange verbreitet» — sich wie in einem matteren Abbild in einer bei Aristoteles (frg.503, p.499 Rose) und Iustinus (XLIII 3,8 ff.) zu lesenden phokäisch-massaliotischen Sage wiederholt.²

Eigentlich bewegen wir uns in demselben Gedankenkreis, wenn wir uns nun der Interpretation einer anderen Perdikkas-Geschichte zuwenden. Es handelt sich um Perdikkas I., den Helden des herodoteischen Berichts über den Ursprung des makedonischen Herrscherhauses (VIII 137 ff.). Eine bekannte, oft behandelte und gründlich mißverständene Erzählung, über deren Sinn man sich viel den Kopf zerbrach. Nach Salamis, anlässlich des Botendienstes, den Alexander I. — der Philhellen, zu gleicher Zeit persischer Vasall — auf Mardonios' Geheiß nach Athen tut, erzählt Herodotos, wie Perdikkas, der Vorfahr siebenten Gliedes dieses Alexanders, den makedonischen Königsthron erlangt hatte. Drei Söhne des Temenos entflohen aus Argos und nahmen in der makedonischen Stadt Lebaia Dienst beim König. Der älteste hütete die Pferde, der

* Der Hinweis gilt unserem Vortrag «Avicennas Qānūn im westlichen Ärztekanon», gehalten anlässlich des Avicenna-Millenniums in Budapest am 1.10.1980 (bisher nicht erschienen).

¹ D. h. *Zairiwairi*, «der mit goldfarbenem Harnisch», vgl. K. ZIEGLER—W. HINZ: RE «Zariadres» 2325.

² Vgl. E. ROHDE: Der griech. Roman und seine Vorläufer.³ Leipzig 1914, 51.

zweite die Rinder, der jüngste, Perdikkas, das Kleinvieh. Als sich ein Brotprodigium mehrmals wiederholte, dachte der König, daß es ein göttliches Zeichen (*τέρας*) sei und auf etwas Großes hindeute (*φέρει ες μεγά τι*). Er befahl also den Temeniden, sein Land zu verlassen, sie aber sagten, es sei billig, daß sie ihren Lohn als etwas Geschuldetes bekämen (*τὸν μισθὸν . . . ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέλναι*). Als der König von dem Lohn hörte, sagte er in seiner Verblendung (*θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος*): *Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι*, «das ist der Lohn, eurer würdig, den gebe ich euch», damit zeigte er auf die Sonne am Boden, die durch das Rauchabzugsloch ins Haus hineinschien. Die beiden Älteren standen fassungslos da (*ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι*), der Knabe aber sagte: *Δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς* (wie Alexander d.Gr. vor Issos: *δέχομαι τὴν κληδόνα*),³ und machte mit dem Messer, das er bei sich hatte, einen Schnitt rings um die Sonne auf dem Estrich des Hauses (*περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ . . . τὸν ἥλιον*), *περιγράφας δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρις ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἥλιου ἀπαλλάσσετο . . .*, d. h.: «dann schöpfte er dreimal von dem umrissenen Sonnenfleck in seinen Busen und ging davon» (mit seinen Brüdern). Erst zu spät stellt es sich heraus, daß Perdikkas das ihm Angebotene mit Sinn und Verstand angenommen habe (*σὸν νόω . . . λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα*), vergeblich sandte der König den Temeniden Reiter nach, um sie umzubringen: der Grenzfluß schwoll so gewaltig an, daß die Verfolger nicht mehr hindurch konnten. Dieser Knabe war Perdikkas, der so die Königsherrschaft an sich gebracht hatte.

Statt eine kritische historiographische Übersicht zu geben, die die «Ergebnisse» des daran verschwendeten Philologenwitzes zeigen würde, nehmen wir zuerst mit dem Wenigen fürlieb, was in den alten Kommentaren als gesichert gelten kann. Im skythischen Logos des Herodotos liest man innerhalb der vier Traditionen von den Ursprüngen der Skythen zwei Versionen, diejenige der Skythen (IV 5—7) und der pontischen Hellenen (8—10), die sich mit der eben besprochenen makedonischen Königsgeschichte vergleichen lassen. Von den drei Söhnen des Targitaos konnte die vom Himmel herabgefallenen goldenen Geräte (*χρόσια ποιήματα*) nur der Jüngste anfassen, so daß die älteren Brüder auf die Herrschaft verzichteten und sie dem Jüngsten übergaben, und dergleichen war von den drei Söhnen des Herakles, die ihm die skythische *μυξοπάροθενος* geboren hatte, nur der jüngste Skythes imstande, die herakleischen Aufgaben zu vollbringen: so blieb er im Lande, und die Könige der Skythen stammen von ihm ab.

Einen unbetretenen Weg schlug neuerdings Hermann Kleinknecht in seinem postum erschienenen Aufsatz «Herodotos und die makedonische Urgeschichte»⁴ ein. Seine Deutung des «Sonneschöpfens» aus der iranisch-persischen *χvarənah*-Vorstellung darf in der Tat als «ein bedeutungsvoller interpretatori-

³ Luk., De lapsu in salut. 8; vgl. Herod. VIII 115 oder IX 91, oder etwa Tac. Ann. II, 133 mit Komm.

⁴ Hermes 94 (1966) 134 ff.

scher Fund»⁵ betrachtet werden. Diese Trouvaille wollen wir hier nicht in allen Einzelheiten rekapitulieren. Mit vollem Recht wies Kleinknecht die unverantwortlichen «Erklärungen» ab, die im herodoteischen Bericht eine «geschichtlich wertlose Gründungssage», eine «verdunkelte und entstellte Märchendichtung» oder gar ein Kuriosum erblickten, «mit welchem man sich nicht weiter zu beschäftigen brauche» usw. Dieses «Volksmärchen» entpuppt sich als eine ausgesprochene *Königsgeschichte*, die Sonne aber, deren goldene Strahlen der zum Königtum Auserwählte «in seinen Busen schöpft», muß der iranische «Lichtglanz der königlichen Majestät», die «Königsglorie» (H. H. Schaeder), also das *χvarənah* sein, das «als Versinnbildlichung und Unterpfand höchster, gottgewollter Herrschaft» in besonderer Weise dem irdischen Könige eignet, «der dadurch als rechtmäßiger Herrscher legitimisiert, geschützt, in seinem Verstand zum Regieren erleuchtet und zum Sieg über seine Feinde befähigt ist. Es ist eine göttliche Gestaltwerdung des sonnenhaften, sieghaften *Glücks*, das ein Wesensmerkmal echten Königtums ist.»⁶

Kleinknecht kannte freilich auch Altheims Ausführungen, der aber die Form- und Motivverwandtschaft mit der Perdikkas-Geschichte noch nicht gesehen hat. Im Sasaniden-Kapitel seines Buches «Gesicht vom Abend und Morgen»⁷ erzählt er in seinem verführerisch-geschmeidigen Stil den Mythos des Reichsgründers und der Reichsgründung dem mittelpersischen «Königsbuch» nach, wie Ardašīr, Sasans Sohn, in Kenntnis der Weissagungen der Sternkundigen seinem Herrn Ardewan mit dem Mädchen, das um das Geheimnis der Machtergreifung wußte, sowie mit einer Krone und vielen Kostbarkeiten entflohe.⁸ Leute, die dem sie verfolgenden König begegneten, sagten, des Morgens seien beide Reiter vorübergekommen, schnell wie der Wind, und ein dicker Widder sei ihnen gefolgt. Als das sich wiederholt, fragt der König den Obersten der Magier, was es bedeute, und er erhält die Antwort; «Der Widder ist der Glanz der königlichen Herrschaft; *noch* hat er Ardašīr *nicht erreicht* . . .» Am nächsten Tage berichten die Karawanleute schon davon, daß mit einem von den beiden Reitern zugleich ein großer Widder zu Pferde saß, —d.h. daß der Glücksglanz der königlichen Majestät Ardašīr *erreicht hat*. Und weil das *χvarənah* bei Ardašīr war, gewann dieser den Sieg, tötete Ardewan und nahm dessen Tochter zur Frau.

Das *χvarənah* als «göttliche Wesenheit» verleiht dem Helden Gelingen.⁹ Die griechisch-baktrischen Königsmünzen stellen dieses *χvarənah* in der Gestalt der *Tyche* dar; in mittelpersischer Schrift wird es durch ein aramäisches Ideogramm (*GDH*) wiedergegeben, das ebenso «*Glück*» heißt. *χvarənah* als Widder hat auch in der griechischen Heldensage sein Gegenstück: ¹⁰ in Pelops'

⁵ Bemerkung des Herausgebers G. MÜLLER: a. O. 134.

⁶ KLEINKNECHT: 139.

⁷ Fischer-Bücherei 79: Frankfurt a. M.—Hamburg 1955.

⁸ Ausführlicher bei KLEINKNECHT: 143.

⁹ Zum Folgenden vgl. ALTHEIM: 108.

¹⁰ Vgl. KLEINKNECHT: 139.

Nachfolge wurde die Herrschaft über Mykene durch ein von Hermes dem Atreus geschenktes Lamm mit goldenem Vließ gesichert (vgl. Eur., El. 705 ff.; Or. 998 ff.)* «Gold und himmlischer Glanz ist auch dem *χvarənah* wesenhaft zu eigen, . . . sein Name ist dem der Sonne (*hvar-*) verwandt». Feuoriges Gold, vom Himmel herabgekommen, spielte auch in der besprochenen skythischen Sage die Rolle, die sonst dem *χvarənah* zukommt: dadurch, daß Skythes das glühende Metall anfassen kann, ergreift er sein Glück, «erweist sich als gottgewollter Herrscher».

Und jetzt wollen wir zeigen, daß es nicht nur im mittelpersischen Königsbuch, d. h. in jener «Zusammenstellung der heimischen Überlieferung, die kurz vor dem Untergang des Sasanidenreiches niedergeschrieben wurde und dieses als ein nationales Vermächtnis überdauert hat»,¹¹ sondern hie und da auch im berühmigten Alexanderroman Überreste uralter mythischer Vorstellungen gibt. Dabei denken wir an eine Episode, die selbst die besten Kenner dazu bewog, über die romanhafte Alexander-Überlieferung im allgemeinen recht ungünstig zu urteilen. Alexander sucht auf Ammons Geheiß, der ihm im Traum in der Gestalt des Hermes erschien, als sein eigener Bote verkleidet den Dareios auf, um ihm zu melden, daß Alexander da ist, und zu fragen, wann er den Krieg beginnen will (II 14). Der erzürnte Dareios faßt den Boten bei der Hand und führt ihn in seinen Palast, was Alexander als ein *σημείον αγαθόν* betrachtet und legt sich im Palast als erster zur Tafel des Dareios nieder. Die Perser aber (15) sahen Alexander voll Verwunderung über seine kleine Gestalt an, wußten sie doch nicht, *ὅτι ἐν μικρῷ ἀγγεῖῳ τύχης οὐρανίου ἦν δόξα* (daß in einem kleinen Gefäß der Glanz eines himmlischen Glückes verborgen war).¹² Als sie nun dem Wein stärker zusprachen, hatte Alexander folgenden Einfall: *ἄσους σκόφους ἔλαβεν, ἔσωθεν τοῦ κόλπου ἔβαλεν*. Als darauf Dareios ihn fragte: *ὦ γενναῖε, πρὸς τί ταῦτα ἐγκολπίζει κατακείμενος ἐπὶ δειπνον*, ersann Alexander eine Ausrede, die die Perser erstaunt anhörten. Bald aber sah sich Alexander erkannt, so daß er mit den goldenen Bechern in seinem Busen (*ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις . . . τοὺς χρυσοὺς σκόφους*: B'L; *ἔχων τὸ χρυσόν* . . . Kroll) aufsprang, ging heimlich hinaus, dort schwang er sich aufs Pferd, um der drohenden Gefahr zu entgehen. Man verfolgt ihn bis an einen Fluß, der zugefroren war: Alexander ritt übers Eis. Als das Pferd das gegenüberliegende Ufer erreicht hatte, taute der Fluß auf; das Pferd konnte gerade noch seinen Reiter ans Ufer schleudern und wurde von der Strömung fortgerissen. Die Verfolger konnten den aufgetauten Fluß nicht mehr überschreiten.

* *Korr.-N.*: Ziegen als *regni auctores* in der makedonischen Königsgeschichte bei Iust. VII 1, 9.

¹¹ ALTHEIM: 96.

¹² Der Text nach B' und L (ed. van Thiel); bei KROLL heißt es: *ὅτι ἐν μ. ἀ. ἔκχυμα τύχης <οὐρανίου> ἐστίν*, vgl. den app. crit.

«Man meint, dem Baron von Münchhausen zuzuhören» — bemerkt R. Merkelbach dazu,¹³ nicht ohne allen Grund. Ja, der Held des «Romans» benimmt sich manchmal wenig heldenhaft,¹⁴ oder wie Ad. Ausfeld¹⁵ seinerzeit über die «alexandrinischen» Züge dieses Alexanders schrieb: statt echten Heldentums wird Alexander im Roman «mit Eigenschaften ausgestattet, die den alexandrinischen Handelsleuten vertrauter sind als Königstolz und Heldensinn. Er ist klug und schlau wie sie, versteht zu beschwatzen und zu betrügen; bricht gelegentlich sein Wort, *stiehlt auch wohl einmal* . . . » Fataler Diebstahl, den offensichtlich nicht nur die modernen Forscher, sondern bereits die Kompilatoren der hybriden Alexander-«Geschichte» mißverstanden hatten. U. E. handelt es sich um ein Überbleibsel einer uralten Ideologie der Königsherrschaft, deren äußere Formen für spätere Betrachter ihren wahren Sinn längst verloren haben. Herodotos vermochte noch den mythischen Sinngehalt der Perdikkas-Geschichte als *Königsgeschichte*¹⁶ aufzufassen und zu veranschaulichen, die Repräsentanten der späthellenistischen Geschichtsklitterung samt ihren Lesern nicht mehr: sie werden in einer tiefsinnigen Szene der *translatio imperii*,^{17a} wie der zukünftige makedonische Weltherrscher der goldenen Trinkschalen des persischen Königs der Könige — gleichsam seines *xvarənah* — habhaft wird, nur etwas Groteskes, Sensationelles empfunden haben.*

In derselben Erzählung findet man noch weitere Einzelheiten, die geeignet sein dürften, unsere oben skizzierte These zu erhärten. Dazu müssen wir ein wenig ausholen.

In einer Anmerkung von G. Widengrens lehrreichem Buche «Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit» (Köln — Opladen 1960, S.68, 238), dessen Kenntnis ich der freundlichen Zuvorkommenheit H. Humbachs verdanke, wird u. a. auf H. W. Bailey (Zoroastr. Problems in the 9th Cent. Books, Oxford 1943, 32) hingewiesen, der aufgrund einer Textstelle aus dem

* *Korr.-N.*: Interessant ist die «Erklärung» der gelungenen Flucht im sog. Wiener Prosatext (Paraphrase von H. J. GLEIXNER: Das Alex.-bild der Byzantiner. Diss. München 1961, 82): «Die Torwächter überlistete Alexander, indem er die goldenen Becher als Zeichen des Perserkönigs ausgab.

¹³ Die Quellen des griech. Alexanderromans. München 1954. 57.

¹⁴ W. KROLL: RE «Kallisthenes» 1711.

¹⁵ Der griech. Alexanderroman. Leipzig 1907. 236.

¹⁶ Und als Überlieferung von einer Herrschaftsgründung, deren weltgeschichtliche Perspektiven zu Alexanders I. Zeiten noch niemand ahnen konnte! Über Herodots Leistung vgl. KLEINKNECHT: 146: (Die Perdikkas-Erzählung ist) «durch und durch herodoteisch: Weit davon entfernt, Überlieferung unverstanden oder nicht voll verstanden weiterzugeben oder gar selbst zu entstellen, hat die eigene reife Erzählergabe und Deutungskraft die fremde Tradition in der griechischen Form erst das sein lassen, was sie vom Hause aus ist: ein Stück Urgeschichte.» — Als Parallele (wie die mythischen Bezüge einer Stadtgründung bei Pindar, Pyth. I später nicht mehr verstanden wurden) mag hingewiesen werden auf J. TRUMPFs Interpretation: Stadtgründung und Drachenkampf. Hermes 86 (1958) 129 ff., insbes. 140.

^{17a} Vgl. W. GOEZ: *Translatio imperii*. Tübingen 1958. *passim*, und unseren Versuch (mit dem gleichen Titel) in der Festschrift für K. Marót (Idő és történelem, Budapest 1974), 33.

Dēnkart (ed. Sanjana, VII 1, 56—58) schildert, «wie ein Licht von dem *χαρανάη* der Mutter Zarathustras auf den von ihr gewandelten Weg fällt. Ihr *χαρανάη* hat sich beim Eintritt in sie wie ein Feuer gezeigt . . . »

Nun liest man im Alexanderroman (nach der Handschrift L, in der Übersetzung H. van Thiels, II 15,6): «Als Alexander . . . sich erkannt sah, . . . sprang auf mit den goldenen Bechern in seinem Gewand (*ἐν τοῖς κόλοις*) und ging heimlich hinaus. Dort schwang er sich auf sein Pferd . . . , und als er am Tor einen Perser auf Wache fand, tötete ihn und floh aus der Perserstadt. (7) Dareios . . . schickte bewaffnete Perser aus, um ihn zu fangen. Alexander aber spornte sein Pferd und erhellte ihm den Weg (*διευθύνων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁδόν*), denn es war tiefe Nacht und der Himmel finster.» (Seine Verfolger stürzen in der Dunkelheit in die Abgründe.) *ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ὥσπερ ἀστὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φαιδρὸς ἀνιὼν μόνος . . .* (9: Nach der Rückkehr berichtet man dem Großkönig vom *εὐτόχημα* Alexanders.)

Noch interessanter als die zitierte Stelle selbst ist der *Unterschied* zwischen dem Wortlaut der Handschrift L und dem von W. Kroll nach der *recensio vetusta* herausgegebenen Text, wo die offensichtlich nicht mehr verstandene, gewissermaßen noch mythische Erzählung «sinngemäß» ergänzt, d. h. ihres ursprünglichen Sinnes völlig beraubt wurde (p. 84,11—): *ἐκτὸς δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἰδὼν τινα Πέρσην παραφυλάσσοντα δᾶδας μετὰ χειρας ἔχοντα, ταύτας βαστάξας ἐσφαγίασε τὸν ἄνδρα . . . (15) ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθούμενος . . . προέβαλλε τὴν πεύκην καὶ ἐφωταγῶγει τὸν πῶλον ἦν γὰρ νῆξ βαθεῖα . . . ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων πεύκην ὡς ἀστὴρ ἀπέλαμπεν ἑαυτῷ . . .* U. E. unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß die Version L (ohne die Ergänzungen van Thiels) ursprünglicher ist, als die sog. *recensio vetusta*. Die Verballhornungen zeigen, daß man mit der lichthafter Natur des Besitzers des Glücksglanzes nichts anzufangen wußte und die «unverständlichen» Hinweise «erklären» zu müssen glaubte.

Eine Bemerkung W. Krolls^{17b} zeigt, daß die soeben behandelte Szene auch diesem hervorragenden Kenner des Alexanderromans zu bedenken gab. In Wirklichkeit läßt Leo (II 15 p. 91 Pfister) den königlichen Gast genauso verfahren und dann fliehen: *Alexander . . . vidit quendam Persen tenendo in manu facculam tollensque eam illi percussit eum, ascendit equum et [h]abiit . . . Alexander portans in manu facculam, tenens iter rectum (erat enim obscura nox), insequentes eum cadebant in foveas.* Umso mehr gewinnt eine Stelle der darauffolgenden Kampfschilderung (II 16 p. 93 Pf.) besondere Bedeutung: . . . *tunc ascendit Alexander equum, qui dicitur Bucefalo, et occurrit et stetit in medio ante omnes. Videntes eum (sc. Alexandrum) Perses dubitabant . . . ire super eum (sc. Alexandrum) eo, quod divinitas cooperiebatur eum . . .*, desgleichen in der Leo sehr naheliegenden syrischen Version (laut der deutschen Überset-

^{17b} W. KROLL: RE «Kallisthenes» 1711: «Für die Moral des Autors ist es bezeichnend, daß der König als Gast an Dareios' Tafel die kostbaren Becher einsteckt; Leo hat das geändert.»

zung von V. Ryssel): «Weil *Götterkraft* auf ihm ruhte.» Leider hilft dabei weder die *recensio vetusta* (II 16,4 p. 86 Kroll *προσεγγίσαι δὲ τούτῳ οὐδεις ἠδύνατο διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ θεοδύωτητα*),^{17c} noch die auch hier verballhornte Handschrift L (II 16,6 *προσεγγίσαι δὲ τούτῳ τῷ Ἰππῳ οὐδεις ἐδύνατο*) weiter, und man sieht auch hier nur die Anstrengungen der späteren Redaktoren, die «unverständlichen» Elemente der überlieferten Erzählung durch schulmeisterliche Einschübel, Glossen o. ä. zu erklären.

Nach diesem nachträglichen Exkurs dürfte unsere Hypothese noch weniger gewagt erscheinen, laut welcher es in der romanhaft aufgebauchten Alexander-«Geschichte» gewisse rudimentäre *χvarənah*-Vorstellungen gegeben haben muß, deren mythischer Sinn im Wandel der Jahrhunderte völlig der Vergessenheit anheimfiel, deren Spuren aber hie und da selbst in den hoffnungslos trüben Redaktionen des Alexanderromans aufgezeigt werden können.

Und nun — mit einem kleinen Sprung — möchte ich die Geburtslegende Dschingis Khans, wie sie in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen¹⁸ zu lesen ist, besprechen. Da rechtfertigt Alanqo'a die übernatürliche Empfängnis ihrer drei Kinder vor ihren zwei anderen, aus der Ehe mit Dobun mergen (D. dem Klugen) hervorgegangenen Söhnen: «Nacht für Nacht kam ein goldglänzender Mann durch die Dachluke der Jurte herein. Er streichelte meinen Bauch, und sein Strahl senkte sich in meinen Leib. Wenn er hinausging, kroch er hinaus auf dem Sonnen- oder Mondstrahl wie ein gelber Hund.» Alanqo'a nimmt dies zum Beweis, daß sie «Söhne des Himmels» geboren hat: «Wie könnt ihr . . . sie mit schwarzköpfigen, gewöhnlichen Menschen vergleichen? Wenn sie einmal Könige über alle sind, dann wird das gemeine Volk sie erkennen.»¹⁹ Wir haben nicht vor, das riesige Material, das in Zusammenhang sei es mit dem Danae-Mythos, sei es mit Gilgameš oder mit gewissen christlichen Legenden mehrfach vorgelegt und interpretiert wurde, bei dieser Gelegenheit noch einmal zu registrieren. Nur einige Bezüge dieses Materials wollen wir hervorheben, um die Verbreitung des Alexanderromans, bzw. den mythischen Gehalt gewisser Bestandteile dieses «Romans» zu zeigen.

Den Zusammenhang des Danae-Mythos und der Geburtslegende Dschingis Khans mit einer Einzelheit der Perdikkas-Geschichte hielt auch weiland I. Trensényi-Waldapfel in Evidenz: das Gottesurteil in der Ursprungssage der Kirgisen,²⁰ durch welches Altyn Bels Tochter die Auserwähltheit des Dschin-

^{17c} *θευώτητα* con. KROLL (coll. Syr. Leo); equidem *εσθλότητα* malim, cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s. v. *εσθλός* II. 3.

¹⁸ Hrsg. von E. HAENISCH: ²Leipzig 1948. 3 f. und 209; P. PELLIOU: *Histoire secr. des Mongols*. Paris 1949. 121 ff.; L. LIGETI: *A mongolok titkos története*. Budapest 1962. 11.

¹⁹ Vgl. I. TRENSÉNYI-WALDAPFEL: *Der Danae-Mythos im Osten und Westen*. Unters. zur Religionsgesch. Amsterdam 1966. 192 ff.; G. BINDER: *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes*. Meisenheim a. Gl. 1964. 220 f. und *Enz. des Märchens*. III. 263 ff. («Danae»).

²⁰ Vgl. W. RADLOFF: *Proben der Volkslit. der türk. Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*. III. Petersburg 1870. 82 ff.

gis gegenüber dessen drei Halbbrüdern dertut, erinnerte ihn an die «genealogische Sage des makedonischen Herrscherhauses insofern als die Sonnenstrahlen auch hier für den auserwählten Perdikkas eine handgreifliche Realität und zugleich Vorzeichen seiner Herrschaft bedeuten.» Als erster hatte J. G. Frazer²¹ eine andere Einzelheit des griechischen Mythos mit der innerasiatischen Sage verglichen.

Was die innerasiatische Verbreitung der Alexander-Sage betrifft, so will man eine wichtige Beobachtung von E. Herzfeld kurioserweise noch immer nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen. In Plutarchs Alexander-Biographie (c.2) liest man, daß Olympias als Braut Philipps einen Traum hatte: Es war ihr, als wenn bei einem Gewitter der Blitz ihr in den Leib schlug und durch diesen Schlag helles Feuer hervorbräche usw. Herzfeld hat nun erwiesen, daß die zur Verherrlichung Dschingis Khans konstruierte mongolische Legende aus «Griechenland» (d. h. aus der griechischen Alexander-Überlieferung) stammt.²² Der Name Alongoa (Alan-qo'a, Alan-koa) ist nichts anderes als eine durch falsche Punktsetzung entstellte Form für griech. Olympia(s); zur Verderbnis $p(h) \sim f - q$, die «bereits in der am Hofe Dschingis-Khans gelesenen Gestalt des Iskandar-nāmāh vorlag»,²³ vergleiche man die Formen Filifus — Filiqus — Feilaqus oder Failaquus (statt Philippos) oder Kaidafe (statt Kandake) usw. Dementsprechend ist die gewöhnliche Übersetzung «Alan die Schöne» (Alanqava, Along-goa) «eine sehr naheliegende mongolische Etymologisierung», die nichts daran ändert, daß die mongolische Dschingis-Legende undenkbar ohne ihr griechisches Vorbild ist.²⁴

Damit ist aber nicht so einfach bestellt. Alanqo'as Name kann getrost als entstellte Form des griech. Eigennamens Olympias erklärt werden, desgleichen dürften einige Einzelheiten der Dschingis-Legende aus der Alexander-Überlieferung hergeleitet werden, es gibt aber ganz verblüffende Parallelen, deren ursprüngliche Fassung bzw. Heimat nicht so leicht erschlossen werden kann. Dazu nur ein einziges Beispiel, à travers les âges.

Ktesias, der als Leibarzt und neugieriger Grieche am persischen Königshof Gelegenheit genug hatte, um orientalische Sensationen anzuhäufen, erzählt in den Semiramis-Kapiteln des Diodor (II 16 f.), was die ehemalige Königin für eine Kriegslist gegen die Elefanten der Inder ersann: aus der abgezogenen Haut von schwarzen Ochsen ließ sie Trugbilder (*εἰδωλα*) von Elefanten verfertigen, welche von Kameltreibern getragen durch ihre Riesenzahl die Inder in die Flucht hätten jagen sollen. Ein ähnliches Strategem kehrt im Alexanderroman (III 3) in einer grotesken Fassung wieder: der listenreiche Alexander läßt alle

²¹ The Golden Bough, London 1913. 74 f.

²² Alongoa. Der Islam 6 (1916) 320 ff.

²³ HERZFELD: 324; vgl. ED. MEYER: Kl. Schriften II. Halle 1924. 436,4; ebenso J. E. BERTELS: Roman ob Aleksandre. M.-L. 1948. 26,2. Vgl. noch N. POPPE: Eine mong. Fassung der Alex.-Sage. Zeitschr. f. D. Morg. Ges. 32 (1957) 105 ff.

²⁴ HERZFELD: 327.

ehernen Standbilder (*ἀνδριάντας χαλκούς*), die er bei sich hatte, und die erbeuteten Panzer (*καταργήματα*) der Soldaten stark erhitzen, so daß das Metall glühend wurde (in der syr. Variante: «die Statuen hatten feurige Kohlen in sich»), und sie vor der Schlachtreihe aufstellen. Als die Tiere des Poros auf die Statuen lossprangen, verbrannten sich die Rüssel, flohen bestürzt zurück und waren nicht mehr zu gebrauchen.

Interessant ist zu sehen, wie die Kriegslust der Semiramis und des «klugen» Alexander nach tausend Jahren bei den Mongolen wiederkehrt. Wie man in der tatarischen Reisebeschreibung des Plano Carpini²⁵ liest, ließ Dschingis Khan während seines indischen Feldzuges «Puppen von Menschengröße aus Kupfer anfertigen, setzte sie in Sättel auf Pferde, tat Feuer hinein und setzte hinter jede dieser kupfernen Puppen einen Mann mit Blasebalg aufs Pferd . . . Die Männer warfen etwas Unbekanntes ins Feuer [Firdausi läßt Alexander Erdöl gegen Poros verwenden] und fachten dann mit ihren Blasebälgen die Flamme mächtig an . . . » Fr. Risch (a. O.) wies mit Recht darauf hin, daß Plano Carpini das ursprüngliche innerasiatische Sagenmaterial mit antiken Requisiten — d. h. mit denjenigen der Alexander-Überlieferung — bereichert hatte. Die ursprüngliche mongolische Fassung findet man in Rašid-ed-Dins Jahrbüchern: ²⁶ dort wird der Feind durch Popanzen aus Filz, die hinter einem jeden Reiter «sitzen», getäuscht.

Und das ist keine Fiktion: die Verwendung solcher Popanzen, um die Gegner durch ihre dahinsausende Menge zu erschüttern, gehörte in der Tat zur Taktik der Mongolen. Dafür haben wir den Bericht eines Augenzeugen aus der Zeit der mongolischen Invasion im J. 1241. Rogerius, Erzdechant von Großwardein erzählte in seinem «Carmen miserabile» (c. 27, Szentpétery, SRH II 568) u. a., wie die Leute seines Bischofs *per Tartaros* ins Garn gelockt wurden: *cum (Tartari) haberent equos plurimos et ipsi pauci existerent, . . . fecerunt larvas et monstra quam plurima; ea super equos vacuos, tanquam si essent milites, ordinando, et equos illos . . . paucis cum servientibus dimiserunt mandantes eisdem, ut cum Hungaris ingrederentur in pugnam, ipsi . . . procederent versus eos . . . Tartari numero pauciores terga eis (sc. Hungaris) dare fingentes . . . retrocedere inceperunt. Et dum ipsi cum larvis exierunt . . . Hungari opinantes eis (d. h. sibi) insidias factas terga dederunt . . . , Tartari autem etc.* (richteten ein fürchterliches Blutbad an).

Das war im 13. Jahrhundert. Ob ich mich zum Schluß an ein Leseerlebnis aus meiner Kinderzeit wiedererinnern darf? In einer alten illustrierten Familienwochenschrift guckte ich staunend einen interessanten Stahlstich an, der bewegliche Reiterattrappen darstellte, wie sie Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts im

²⁵ Hrsg. von FR. RISCH: Leipzig 1930. 123.

²⁶ Vgl. O. I. SMIRNOWA—B. I. PANKRATOW—A. A. SEMENOW: R. Sbornik letopisei I/2. M.-L. 1952. 221 ff.

russisch-japanischen Krieg verwendet wurden. Auch diese Einzelheit dürfte uns nachdenklich stimmen: innerhalb der romanhaften Alexander-Überlieferung gibt es auch wertvolle Tradition, deren Elemente aufzuhellen, wie sie gewisse Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Osten und Westen spiegeln, eine lohnende Aufgabe nicht nur für einen klassischen Philologen sein würde.

Budapest.

B. STAVISKIY

KARA TEPE IN OLD TERMEZ

A BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD
ON THE BANK OF THE OXUS

A vast site, occupying an area of over 500 hectares, is situated in the neighbourhood of modern Termez, a regional centre of South Uzbekistan, on the right bank of the ancient Oxus (now Amu-Darya). It is the site of Old Termez (Fig. 1), which attracted the attention of travellers already in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.¹ It became the principal object of research made by the first major archaeological expedition of Soviet scholars to Central Asia in 1926—28 — the expedition of the Moscow Museum of Eastern Cultures (now the State Museum of Oriental Arts), headed by prof. B. P. Denike,² which was followed in 1936—38 by the large Termez Archaeological Complex Expedition (TACE) under prof. M. E. Masson.³

Excavations carried out by the two expeditions revealed that Old Termez was the site of a town destroyed in 1220 by the armies of Chenghis Khan. It was also found out that there was a settlement there going back as far as the 3rd—2nd centuries B.C., when Bactria⁴ was under Greek rulers. The town reached its heyday at the time of the Kushan Empire, which, in the first centuries of our era united under its dominion the present territories of Afghanistan, Northern Pakistan, Northern India, Southern regions of the Soviet Uzbek and Tajik republics and Eastern Turkistan (Sinkiang).

In 1928 A. S. Strelkov of the Museum of Eastern Cultures expedition found three filled-up caves on the eastern slope of a three-top hill rising in the north-western corner of the site, close to the bank of the Amu-Darya. The caves

¹ М. Е. Массон: Городища Старого Термеза и их изучение — ТАКЭ 1936 года (Труды Узбекстанского филиала АН СССР, серия I вып. 2); Ташкент, 1941, 5—122

² Культура Востока. (вып. I), М., (1927), вып. II, М., (1928).

³ See Труды ТАКЭ: т. I — ТАКЭ 1936 года; т. II — Труды АН Уз. ССР, серия I, т. II, Ташкент, 1945.

⁴ I share the view held by most of the Soviet scholars and many Western researchers that Bactria, as a historico-cultural entity, included not only the left bank of Amu-Darya up to the Hindu Kush on the South (the present Northern Afghanistan), but also the right bank of this great river, *i.e.*, southern regions of the present Uzbek and Tajik Soviet republics.

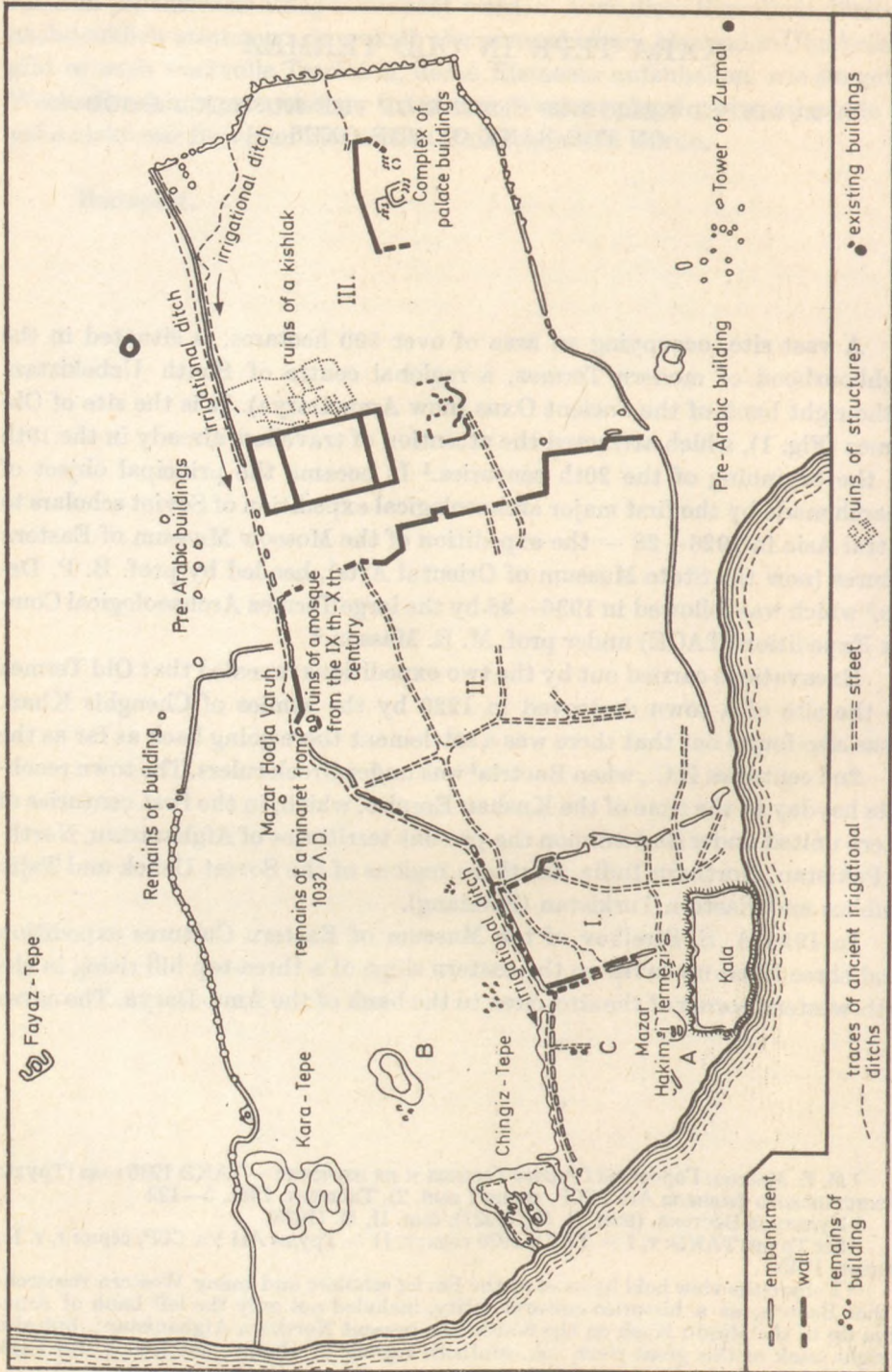


Fig. 1. Town-site of Old Termez. Schematic plan

in his view, might have been small Buddhist temples of the pre-Moslem (prior to 7th—8th centuries A.D.) period.⁵

The three-top hill, on which A. S. Strelkov discovered the caves, was known locally as Black Hill (Kara tepe in Uzbek), the epithet «black» referring not to its colour which was as of all the other hills here sandy light yellow, but to its sombre past: according to legend a multitude of people had once perished on this very spot. The hill is known in scientific literature under that name.

In 1934—36 the caves found by A. S. Strelkov (Nos. 1—3) were investigated by G. V. Parfenov, director of the Termez Museum, who made the description of the caves and measured them. Since 1936 excavation work on Kara tepe was carried on by the TACE: V. I. Kesayev and A. S. Strelkov cleared two manholes in cave No. 2, which had formed after the ceiling caved in; B. B. Pyotrovskiy studied the remains of the mud brickwork on the hill's surface.⁶

In the 1937 season, a group of the TACE archaeologists headed by E. G. Pchelina drove three exploratory trenches on the eastern slope of the hill north of the caves 1, 2 and 3. In one of the trenches, remains of a small ground temple were discovered, in another — a passage leading inside one of the caves and an adjoining cave sell, and in the third — a passage leading into another cave. Four Kushan copper coins (two of them issues of Kanishka) and red-slip pottery were found in the course of the excavations, which gave E. G. Pchelina sufficient ground to date her discoveries to the Kushan period. Data pointing to the existence on Kara tepe of numerous cave and ground structures also led her to the conclusion that the hill was actually the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery.⁷ In 1938, G. A. Pugachenkova, the TACE architect, measured the caves E. G. Pchelina had been excavating and drew their plans and architectural cross sections.⁸ After that, excavation work on Kara tepe was discontinued.⁹

It has been carried on since 1961 by the joint archaeological expedition sponsored by the institutions under the USSR Ministry of Culture. The expedition was originally formed by the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage

⁵ E. G. Пчелина: Начало работ по обследованию буддийского монастыря Кара-тепе в Термезе — Материалы совместной археологической экспедиции на Кара-тепе (вып. I). *Kara-tepe* — буддийский пещерный монастырь в Старом Термезе, Москва, 1964, 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 83—85; M. E. Массон: Городища Старого Термеза, 39.

⁷ E. G. Пчелина, Древнебуддийский монастырь Кара-тепе. Термез. Доклады и сообщения исторического факультета Московского Университета, вып. 4, М., 1946, p. 52—56; the same author, Начало работ . . . , 85—99.

⁸ See H. FIELD and E. PROSTOV: Excavations in Uzbekistan. 1937—1939. *Arts Islamica* vol. IX, 1942 pt. 1—2, 144, Figs 6—8; Г. А. Пугаченкова, Л. И. Ремпель: История искусств Узбекистана. Москва 1965. 52—53, Fig. 20; Г. А. Пугаченкова: В поисках памятников древнего искусства Средней Азии. In: Наука и человечество 1971—1972, Москва, 1972, 69—70.

⁹ E. G. PCHELINA summed up the results of the 1937 excavations in her Master of Sciences thesis which she maintained in 1944 at the historical department of Moscow State University. (See E. G. Пчелина: Древнебуддийский монастырь Кара-тепе. Термез).

Museum. Since 1962, the State Museum of Oriental Arts has also taken part in its organization. In 1968 the above-mentioned institutions were joined by the USSR Central Research Laboratory on the Conservation and Restoration of objects of art (WCNILKR), and in 1977 — by the State Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism (GMIR).

Besides archaeologists and restorers, many other specialists (on oriental languages, history of art, architecture, etc.) take part in the annual excavation seasons of the joint expedition. Its finds are studied by researchers from the sponsoring institutions, and from the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its Leningrad branch, from the Academies of Sciences of the Tajik and Uzbek republics, as well as by specialists from Hungary, India, the USA and West Germany. The results of the research work done by this vast collective have been published in over a hundred articles in Soviet and Western publications. A special collection of articles is also put out devoted to the work of the expedition (Materials of the Joint Expedition). The four issues already published cover the period from 1961 to 1973,¹⁰ and the fifth which is now being prepared for the press will deal with the 1974—1977 seasons.¹¹

BUDDHIST COMPLEXES OF KARA TEPE IN THE LIGHT OF THE 1961—77 EXCAVATIONS

The excavation work of our predecessors and excavations of 1961—77 covered only one of Kara tepe's three tops — the South (or, to be more exact its exposed slope) reminding of a horseshoe in plan (Fig. 2).¹²

On the eastern part of the slope three caves (Nos. 1, 2 and 3) were discovered in 1928 and 1934—36. North of them, two more caves were later found by E. G. Pchelina. Excavation of the latter caves was carried on by our expedition. These are caves P-I and P-II (P for the Russian «peshchera» — cave, with the numbers denoting the order in which the caves were discovered during our 1961—64 seasons). * Six other caves are being excavated on the northern slope: caves 1, 2, 3 (or P-III) and 4 of the C complex and P-IV and P-V caves. Thus there are eleven caves that we know of on the southern top on less than half of its exposed slope. Consequently, we have every ground to believe that there might have been 25—30 caves all told on the top.

¹⁰ Materials of the joint expedition: I — Кара-тепе — буддийский пещерный монастырь в Старом Термезе, Москва 1964; II — Буддийские пещеры Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, Москва 1969; III — Буддийский культовый центр Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, М., 1972; IV — Новые находки на Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, Москва 1975 (And further — Кара-тепе, I; Кара-тепе, II, Кара-тепе, III; and Кара-тепе, IV).

¹¹ For brief data on Kara-tepe excavations in 1974—1977 see Археологические открытия 1974 года, М., 1975, 512—513; Археологические открытия 1975 года, М., 1976, 535—536; Археологические открытия 1976 года, М., 1977, 543—544; Археологические открытия 1977 года, М., 1978, 538—539.

¹² In 1963 a cave was incidentally found on the northern top of the hill. However, its plan and purpose is still to be discovered by special excavations.

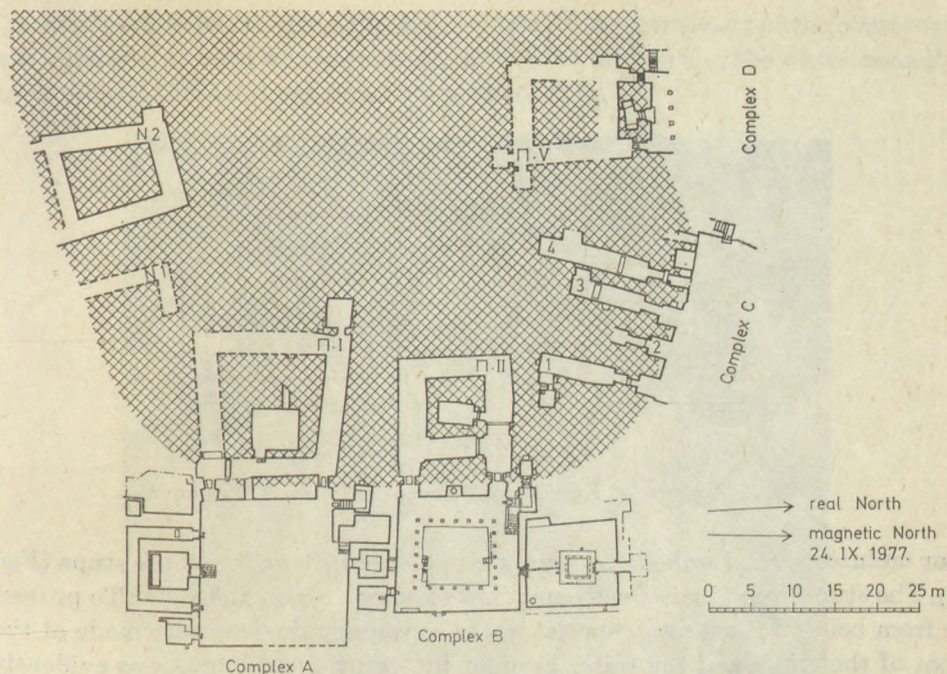


Fig. 2. Plan of the excavations of the southern top of Kara tepe

As excavations and studies of the microrelief of the hill slopes have shown, the Kara tepe caves were not isolated but constituted part of a complex which also included a large square (or rectangular) courtyard and other ground structures. Such mixed ground and cave complexes might be situated next to each other or separated by vacant plots. The excavations of 1961—1977 brought out more or less distinctly four complexes — A, B, C and D.*

A AND B COMPLEXES

The A and B complexes, isolated at a later period, were originally incorporated into a single group of structures on the southern top. This group included three courtyards which were placed next to one another on a terrace along the eastern slope from north to south.

In the middle of the northern courtyard the remains of a stupa made of mud brick and rammed clay (*pakhsa*) and faced with tiles of white lime were uncovered. Study of the remains of the stupa and its facing, a fragment of its cupola, and of the stone umbrellas (*chatra*), as well as two identical representations of a stupa scratched on a wall in cave 2 (on the eastern slope) prompted

* The subjoined charts give Russian letters to denote cave temples and complexes: П for P, and А, Б, В, Г for A, B, C, D respectively.

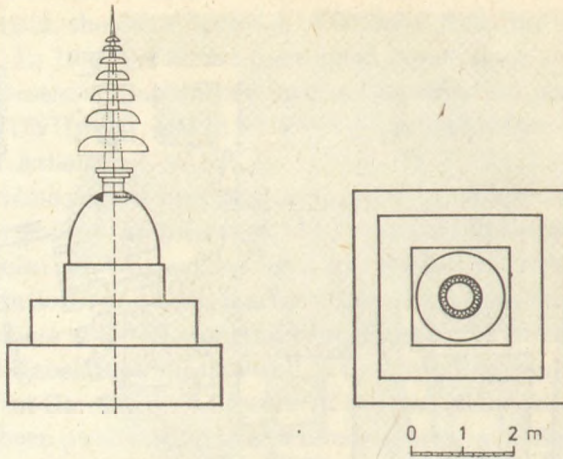


Fig. 3. A stupa at Kara tepe. Reconstruction by I. Lunkova

our architect I. P. Lunkova to trace a graphic reconstruction of the stupa (Fig. 3). The stupa stood in an open courtyard exposed to rain and snow. To protect it from being washed away special water-consuming devices were made at the foot of the stupa and the water brought by spring cloud-bursts was evidently drained from the yard through a ceramic tube (koubour) built into the base of the eastern wall of the courtyard.

Unlike the northern courtyard, the central and the southern ones were bordered with porticos (aiwans). Their wooden columns placed on stone Attic-type bases supported flat wooden ceiling which protected the greater part of

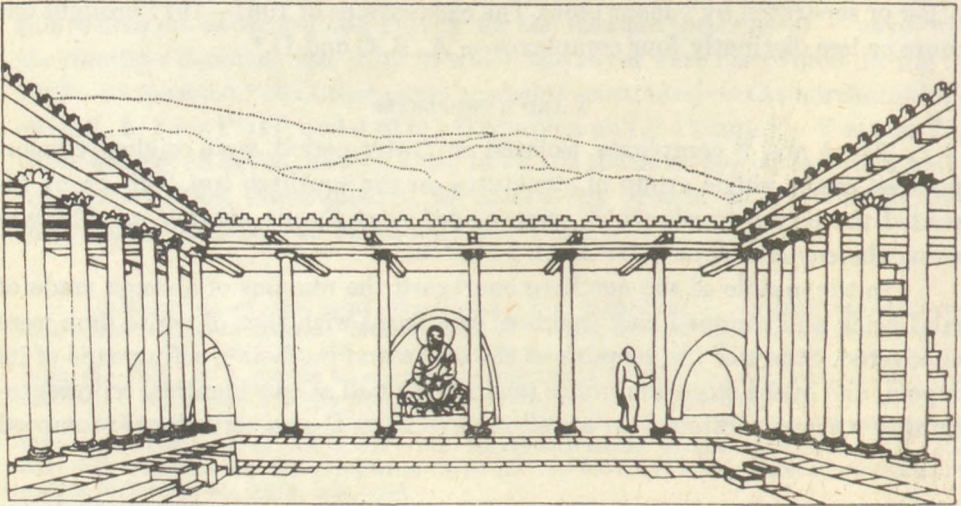


Fig. 4. The courtyard of the B complex. Reconstruction by I. Macheret

the courtyard from the sun, rain or snow. Only the central part of the courtyard was open but its level was lower than that of the aiwans and the water casually accumulated there did not flood the porticos (Fig. 4).

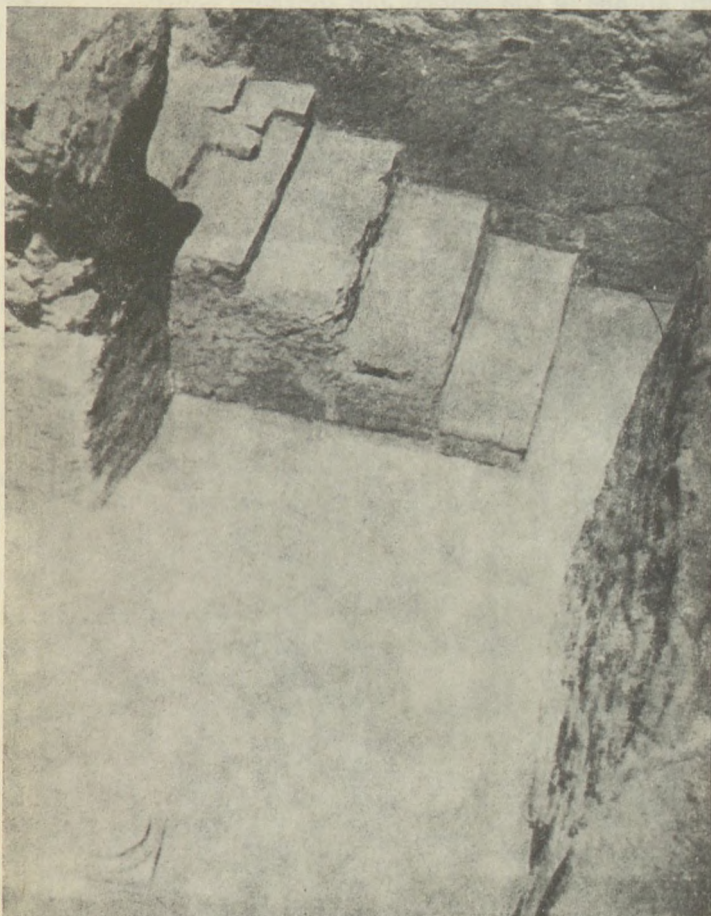


Fig. 5a. The staircase leading from the southern courtyard up hill

The western aiwans of the central and southern courtyards adjoined the vertically cut off slope of the hill, in which niches were hewn framing entrances to P-II and P-I caves. Each cave had two entrances situated close to the south-western and north-western corners of the courtyards. In the central courtyard there was one more niche in the middle of the western aiwan, in which probably a big Buddhist statue stood.

To the north of the northern entrances into the caves in both courtyards cave cells were discovered: one in the southern and two in the central courtyard, one above the other. Narrow entrances with steps descending into the cells led to them from the aiwans. The similar passage with steps connected the

two cells in the central courtyard. The upper cell and the one in the southern courtyard had couches (sufas) along the walls cut out, as the cells themselves, in sandstone (Fig. 22). There were flights of stairs above the cells that led from the northern aiwans of the central and southern courtyards up to the upper part of the hill side or up to the upper premises (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5b. The staircase leading from the central courtyard up hill

All these stairs, as well as the few steps from the aiwans to the lower, central, part of the courtyards were paved with plates of baked brick, evidently to protect sandstone and mudbrick steps from damage.

There was a chamber between the central and the southern courtyards. Originally it gave access to both yards, thus connecting the A and B complexes. Later, however, it was isolated from the courtyards: from the southern — by a plastered mud-brick wall, and from the central by a mud-brick partitioning. It was undoubtedly a place of worship. The remains of a square dais faced with

blocks of white lime were uncovered in the centre of the chamber. Floor space around the dais was also paved with flat plates of white lime. Besides, fragments of stone umbrellas were found here which confirmed the assumption that a votive stupa (probably a diminutive replica of the northern courtyard stupa) stood in the centre of this relatively small chamber.

To the east of it (in the south-eastern corner of the central courtyard) was another chamber, most probably a monk cell. True, there was no couch in it, but its owner might well make himself comfortable on mats behind the clay wall overlaid with plaster (alabaster) and painted, which was built near the entrance and partitioned off the north-eastern corner of the cell.

Another ground structure was excavated to the south of the southern courtyard, which E. G. Pchelina, being the first to discover it, defined as a Buddhist temple. It consisted of a cell and three corridors surrounding it (eastern, southern and western). The southern aiwan of the southern courtyard which adjoined the cell on the fourth side and communicated with it and the corridors closed the ring, so to say. The floor level of the cell was lower than that of the aiwan and the entrance in to the cell had a high threshold made of blocks of white lime. The blocks were originally adorned with a contour flower design and later plastered over and painted red. The path leading to the entrance was paved with white lime plates (Fig. 6). To the east of the eastern corridor there was a small cell with a couch made of mud bricks.

The P-I and P-II caves, which were evidently cave temples, in general outline repeated the ground temple structure. Each consisted of a cell and vaulted corridors that encircled it (Fig. 24). As mentioned above, each cave temple had a cell next to one of its entrances which housed a monk, a guard and attendant of the Buddhist sanctity. In detail, however, the P-I and P-II cave temples differed both from the ground temple and from one another.

Thus, as distinct from the ground temple, the cave temples had four corridors each. The cell of the P-I temple had a floor space of over 28 sq.m., high (not less than 4 metres) vertical walls and, evidently, a wooden ceiling, while the floor space of the central part of the P-II cave was under 12 sq.m. and it had a vaulted ceiling cut in sandstone. The entrance into the P-I cell was in the eastern wall and that of the P-II cell — in the northern wall. In the north-western corner of the P-I temple there was a small cave, most probably a store-room. In the P-II cell excavations revealed (in the southern wall, and southern parts of the adjoining walls) small sockets from timbering of a wooden dais, the like of which may be found in Buddhist cave temples of Eastern Turkistan (Sinkiang) and on which Buddhist statues and oil lamps evidently stood. Its front (northern) surface might have been adorned with reliefs.¹³

¹³ See A. GRÜNWEDEL: *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkistan*. Berlin 1912. 316—317, Figs 635, 635a.

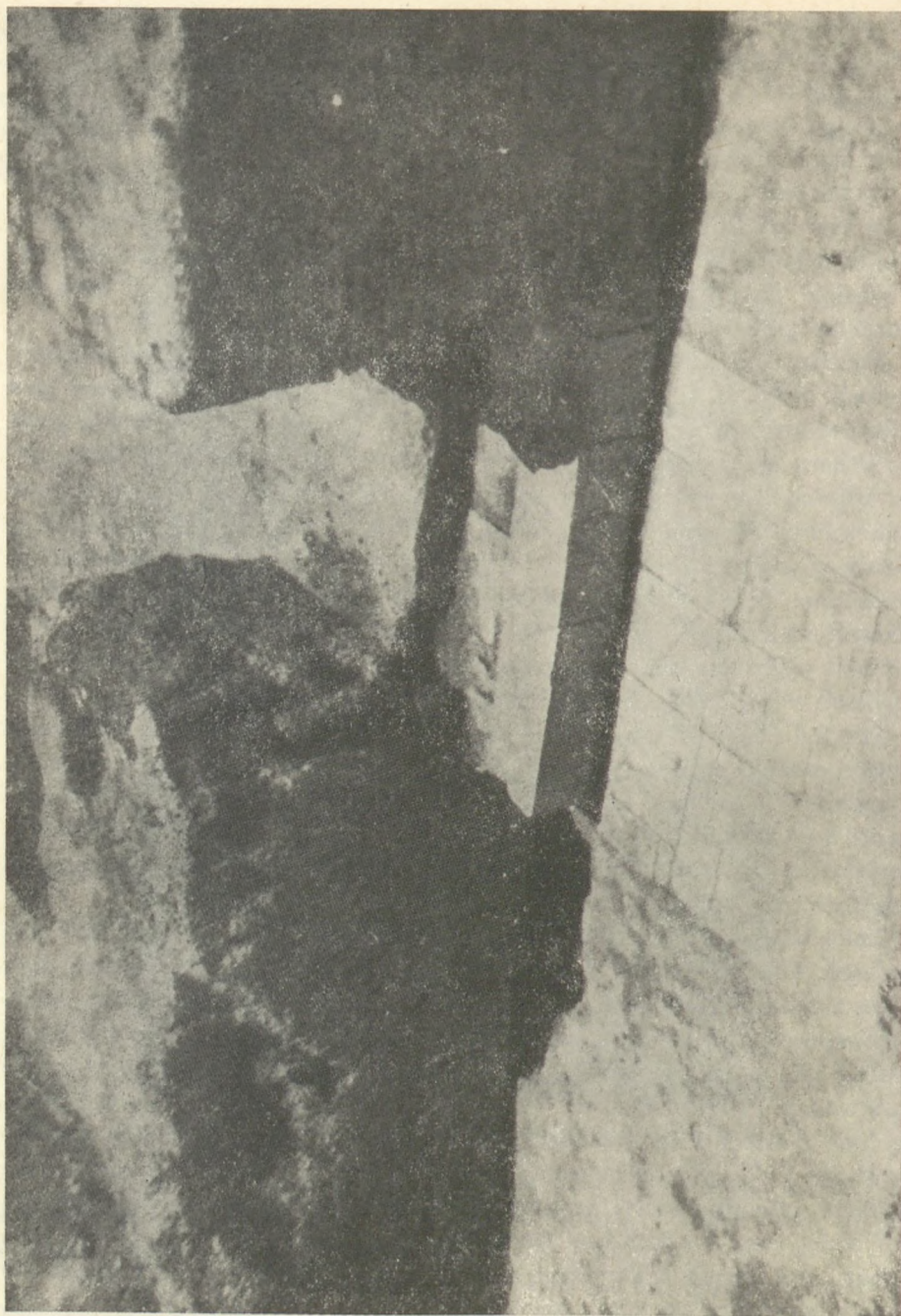


Fig. 6. The path leading to a Buddhist temple (A complex)

It should also be noted that walls in almost all ground and cave premises of the A and B complexes were painted over the plaster (mostly with red paint). In niches, cells and corridors of cave temples the red panels often hid ornamental geometric or floral designs. It is only at the entrances in to the ground temples (the one with the small stupa in the southern aiwan of the B complex courtyard and the temple in the southern aiwan of the A complex courtyard) that fragments of compositions depicting Buddhist personages and donators were found.

The A and B complexes were, evidently, connected in some way with the ground structures that were built above the P-I and P-II temples. We may merely conjecture the existence of such a structure above the P-I temple for it has not been brought out yet. However, in the course of the excavation of the P-I cell mud brickwork was uncovered over the temple's sandstone walls, apparently the remains of the walls of the ground structure. The structure above the P-II ground temple has been fully excavated (Fig. 7). Its lower part was cut in the hill's sandstone slope, with the southern and northern walls coinciding in plan with the walls of the southern and northern corridors of the cave temple, which may testify to their simultaneous construction.

The structure over the P-II temple was situated not far from the southern top of the hill. It was entered not from below (from the B complex) but from above, a short flight of stairs leading down the slope of the southern top into the premises. On the right of the stairs, inside the antechamber there was a big jug (khum) dug into the ground, and on the left, also sunk in the ground — a mud brick plate with holes in it, a kind of «wash-stand».

The jug was, apparently, filled with water for ritual ablutions, which were performed over the «wash-stand». Though merely a symbolic operation, it nevertheless called for certain measures to be taken to drain water out of the building, and, what was probably most important, further away from the temple below. A rectangular reservoir was made for the purpose under the «wash-stand» plate, connected with the system of eight koubours which were laid towards the northern outer wall of the building and drained water beyond it onto the vacant lot on the northern slope of the southern hilltop. It is peculiar to note that the inclination of the drainage system was 3° , *i.e.*, fully conformed to the modern standards.

The Kara tepe antechamber with the «wash-stand» brings to mind the Gandhasala mentioned in Buddhist texts, though the analogy may be slightly far-fetched. Besides the antechamber, there were six more rooms in the building, one of them an elongated chamber stretching from south to north along the western side of the building (Fig. 8). At the northern wall of the chamber there was a wide sufa plastered with clay and alabaster. The room was probably a Kathikasala where people gathered to be taught and to discuss themes connected with Buddhist texts. If so, the monk-teacher (probably even Buddhasira

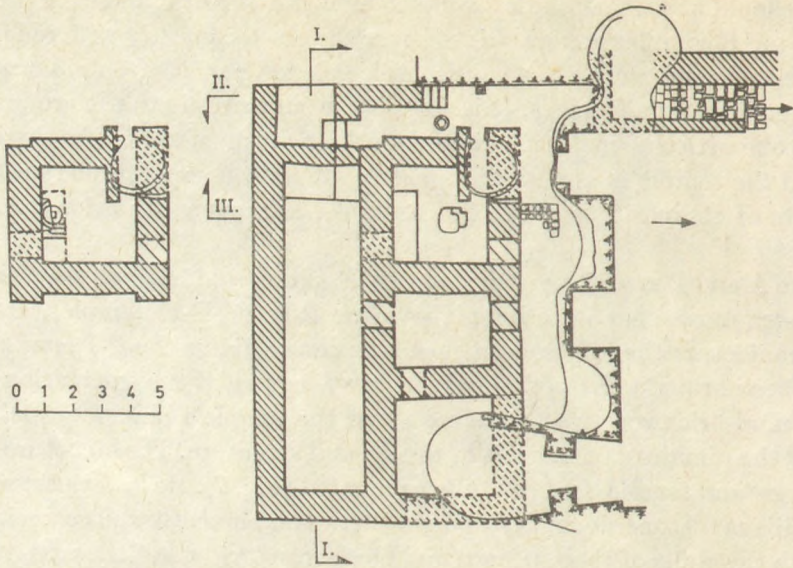


Fig. 7a. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — a) plan

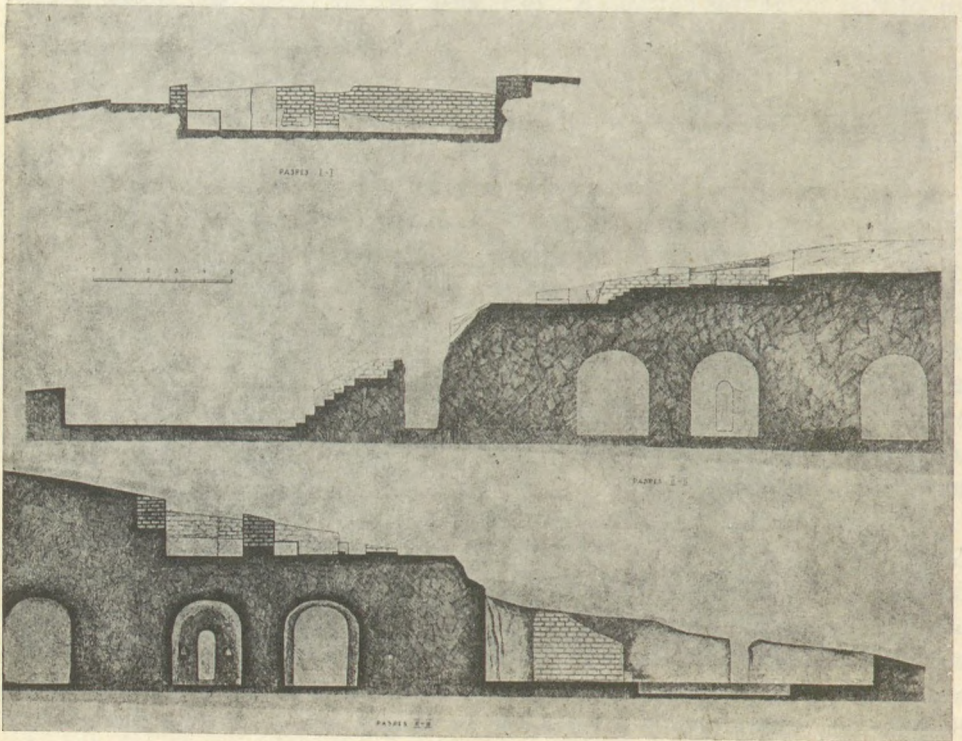


Fig. 7b. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — b) cross-sections

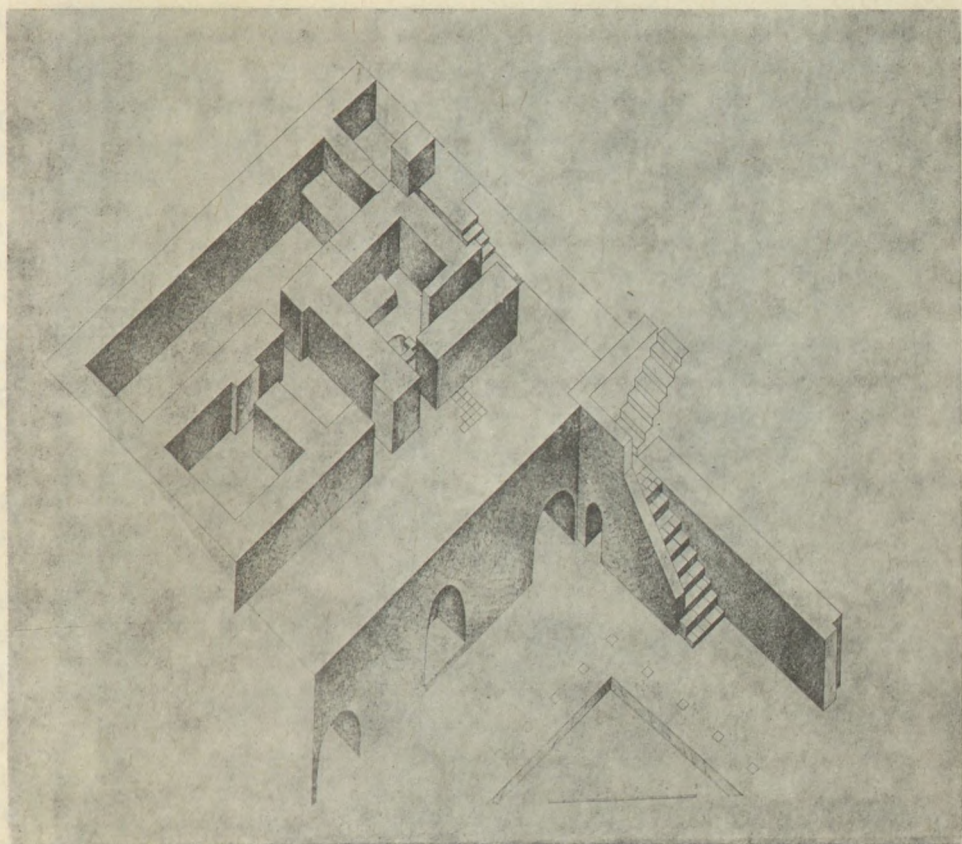


Fig. 7. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — c) reconstruction by I. Lunkova

dharmakathika himself, who was mentioned in a Kara tepe inscription on ceramics)¹⁴ occupied the *sufa*, and in front of him, on mats, sat his pupils or monks.

Of special interest were excavations of a small room next to the antechamber, to the south of its eastern part. Originally a communicating passage, an extension of the antechamber, it later became a cell. Before it was turned into a cell, it had three entrances: one — from the antechamber, another from the lecture-room (*Kathikasala*), and the third — from the *aiwan*-type structure fringing the building on the east. There was an altar at the western wall of the chamber — an attached niche with a shell-shaped back wall, in which a flame, eternal or kindled from time to time, burned. The back wall and the bottom of the niche were scorched and tempered and the hollow for the flame at the bot-

¹⁴ See below.



Fig. 8. The western chamber of the structure above P-II

tom filled to the brim with pure grey ash. The altar was used during a long period, for we have found traces of over 18 repairs and reconstructions (Fig. 9).

Subsequently the room with the altar was reconstructed: the entrance from the lecture-room was walled, a clay screen was put before the entrance from the antechamber, and, besides, against the western wall of the room, a sofa was built, in which fragments of the altar niche were immured. The altar-room was thus turned into an abode, more comfortable and rich than the cells next to the P-I and P-II temples, the A complex ground temple and to the B complex premises with the stupa. The status of the owner of the former altar-room was apparently much higher than that of the monks inhabiting the above-mentioned cells. He might have been a tutor or Buddhist preacher (probably *Buddhasira dharmakathika* we have already spoken about), who actually had the whole of six or seven-room building at his disposal.

Naturally the explanation given here of the purpose of the premises described, including the ground structure near the hilltop, is no more than a hypothesis, but it is based on the latest data, and, therefore, has the right to life.

The existence and functioning for a long period of a fire altar in a Buddhist structure is significant. The fire altar with its attached niche may definitely traced to the fire-places found in the Graeco-Bactrian town of Ai-Khanoum.¹⁵ However, it would be wrong to conclude that it was a warming device. First, unlike the fire-places in Ai-Khanoum which are rather common there and may even be found in neighbouring premises, the Kara tepe altar is the only one discovered on the site so far. Second, traces of frequent repairs testify to the fact that it was an object of special concern. And, third, what gives sufficient ground to speak of its ritual nature is its similarity to fire altars of the Kushan period found in Gyaur-Kala (Khorezm)¹⁶ and in Samarkand (excavations under A. I. Terenoshkin),¹⁷ as well as to altars of a later period — from Toprak Kala in Khorezm¹⁸ (3rd—4th centuries) and from Penjikent in Soghd¹⁹ (6th—8th centuries). It is probable that Bactria-Tokharistan of the Kushan period was the first region in Central Asia to use the Graeco-Bactrian-type fire-places²⁰ as

¹⁵ See Fouilles d' Ai Khanoum, I/MDAFA, t. XXI/P. 1973, 283, 284, CRAIBL — 1969, P., 1970, 318; CRAIBL — 1970, P., 1970, 307, CRAIBL — 1974, P., 1974, 284, CRAIBL — 1975, P., 1975, 172; Б. Я. Ставиский: Кушанская Бактрия: проблемы истории и культуры. Москва 1977. 153 and Fig. 21, a, b, and Fig. 95,2 on p. 206.

¹⁶ Ю. А. Рапопорт—С. А. Трудновская: Городище Гяур-кала. Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции, т. II, М, 1958, 359—360.

¹⁷ See Л. И. Ремпель: Изображение «дома огня» на двух терракотовых плитках с Афрасиаба. Доклады АН Тадж. ССР, IX, Душанбе, 1953, 27—29.

¹⁸ С. П. Толстов: Работы Хорезмийской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг. Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции т. II.,

¹⁹ See В. Л. Воронина: Архитектура Древнего Пенджикента. Материалы и исследование по археологии СССР. № 124. М.-Л. 1964, 67—72; А. М. Беленицкий: Монументальное искусство Пенджикента, Москва 1973, 14.

²⁰ It should be remembered, naturally, that domestic hearths in antiquity (in the Hellenic world, as well as in the East) were also connected with worshipping, of the fire as a home patron god, etc.



Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — *a*) at the earliest stage



Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — b) at the latest stage

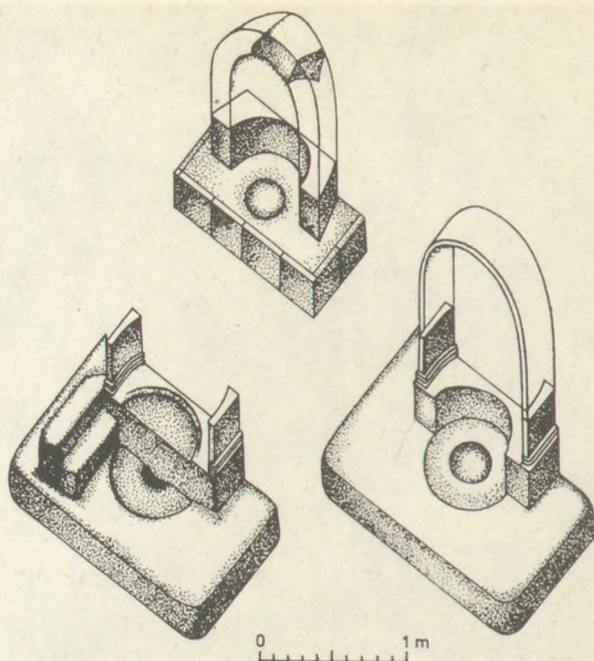


Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — c) at the three principal stages.
Reconstruction by I. Lunkova

altars. In that period, the borrowed Hellenic traditions were undergoing transformation under the impact of ethnic, historical and cultural factors. Altars of this kind were used by fire worshippers and in temples of the local Mazdean cults, and also in early Buddhist structures.

According to the data acquired in Toprak Kala and Penjikent, the tradition of building such altars to be used by local cults survived up to the period of Arab conquest. As to the Kara tepe fire altar, its fate may serve as evidence of the change in attitude of the Buddhist community (or, at least, the Buddhist community of the Kushan Termez) to fire worshipping as early as the 3rd—4th centuries. At first treated with respect (or tolerance) it was finally destroyed and on its ruins a sufa was made, somewhat demonstratively, we may presume, upon which sat or slept the high-placed occupant of the room.

The fact that the ground structure was placed above the Buddhist cave temple is peculiar and may be the object of special study.

C AND D COMPLEXES

The excavation of the C and D complexes on the northern slope of the southern hilltop of Kara tepe is far from completion. One of the caves of the C complex — P-III (now cave 3) was discovered in the course of exploratory dig-

ging in 1962, and the D complex cave — P-V — in 1964. But systematic excavations of the C complex have been going on since 1971, and of the D complex — since 1976.

The D complex is, evidently, similar in its composition and planning to the A and B complexes. The central part of its courtyard was also situated on a lower level and surrounded along its perimeter with aiwans. The wooden columns of the aiwans were placed on stone Attic-type bases. The southern aiwan, which has been completely excavated, adjoined, like the western aiwans of the A and B complexes, the vertically cut off slope of the sandstone hill and was similar to those aiwans: there were vaulted niches at its both ends with entrances to the P-V cave, and in the centre there was a big niche for a Buddhist statue. On the right of the western entrance to the cave there was the entrance to the cave cell of a monk attendant. The construction of the cell was not completed, however. Having hewn out the vaulted passage with steps leading down from the courtyard into the cell and part of the cell, the builders discontinued the work, most probably, from fear of a possible caving-in, for they had overestimated the height of the hill at this particular spot. The entrance was then walled with mud bricks, plastered with clay and painted with red paint. The central niche (as distinct from that of the B complex) had a hiding-place — a small cave behind the thin sandstone back wall of the niche.

The P-V cave (most probably a cave temple), like the P-I and P-II temples, had two entrances, and four vaulted corridors. Whether the corridors surrounded a sandstone-filled space or a cell as in the P-I and P-II temples is yet to be seen. It will be made clear by further excavations. There was a ground structure above the P-V cave, too. However, excavations have revealed only two rooms, the nature and purpose of which remains unknown.

The C complex, situated between the B and D complexes, differed substantially from the latter two (and to a lesser degree from the A complex). Only part of the courtyard has been undug as yet, and it is, therefore, too early to draw conclusions. But as far as one could judge, there were no aiwans in it, at least no trace of columns has been found in the southern part of the courtyard. And what is more, instead of a single cave temple with a cell and four corridors, the complex had four (or five) isolated caves. Three of them (1, 2 and 3) were long and narrow chambers with vaulted ceilings. Caves 1 and 3 ended in a niche (there was a small cell, evidently a hiding place, behind the niche in cave 1). Cave 2, judging by its situation, is similar in character but its excavation has not yet been completed. The planning of cave 4 is not yet clear so far. It had either an offshoot or (and this is more probable) it communicated with the cave corridor that led to the westernmost (the sixth) vaulted niche of the C complex courtyard. In the latter case cave 4 was h-shaped in plan (with a niche at the end of the eastern corridor, extending it to the south from its juncture with the southern corridor), its three sides (corridors) framing the fifth vaulted niche of

the courtyard, or vaulted aiwan (Fig. 25). Such aiwans were typical not so much for Central Asia, where aiwans with columns were more common, but for the Near East and Iran, particularly in the Parthian and Sasanian periods. There were six such niches in the C complex courtyard along its southern fringe.

The purpose of the C complex caves is not yet clear. However, their general structure and the fact that there were no sufas or any traces of hearths in them are all evidence that they were not dwelling premises. They were hardly used as storerooms or for any other household purposes. It is much more likely that the caves were places of worship and the niches in their walls held statues, reliquaries or Buddhist relics.

What we may definitely assert, however, is that the Kara tepe caves and complexes in their structure did not follow a strict pattern. Though identical in many respects, they differed in details.

TRACES OF RECONSTRUCTIONS, A BURIAL GROUND AND
MORE RECENT LAYERS ON KARA TEPE

In the course of excavations, E. G. Pchelina and, later, our expedition came across traces of numerous reconstructions in all the four complexes described above. Not going into details, we may assert that these reconstructions (some of them mentioned earlier) which might have been explained by the need to make repairs or to prevent caving-in, and sometimes by reasons not clear to us, never brought about changes in the character and purpose of the Kara tepe complexes as a Buddhist religious centre. Note should be taken, though, of one instance of a reconstruction of a different order, that of the central niche in the western aiwan of the B complex.

This grand niche between the two entrances to the P-II cave temple, like the similar one in the southern aiwan of the D complex, most probably held a big Buddhist statue (as we pointed out earlier). However excavation of the niche first revealed a mud-brick wall, built over a layer of debris, pieces of mud brick and sand and screening it from the courtyard, and, then, when the niche itself was uncovered, a hearth circular in plan. It was built with mud bricks over clay and ganch plaster fallen from the arched upper part of the niche and not in the middle of it but closer to its left-hand (southern) corner. This was, evidently, a fire altar: the hearth was burned out inside and filled with fine whitish ash, which contained no pieces of coal, bones, or fragments of pottery always found in domestic ovens. Its position too shows that it was used for religious and not domestic purposes. We may well believe that after the B complex was destroyed or fallen to desolation a fire altar was built in the niche which had previously held a Buddhist statue. It was made hastily, out of materials that were at hand and symbolized the victory of some other cult (most likely Zoroastrian) over Buddhism. Who walled the niche with the fire altar and

why is not known. But whoever he might be he did not destroy this fragile symbol of fire worship, but rather protected it from destruction or desecration.

The period of desolation of the Kara tepe site is connected with the layer discovered directly over the floors of all ground and cave structures. The layer was not even. In the caves it was thinner than in the ground premises, and thicker at the entrances into the caves (50—60 cm. above the floor level) than inside (5—10 cm). Its maximum thickness exceeded 80 cm. The layer included dust, blown-in sand and debris — plaster fallen down from walls and ceilings and sometimes fragments of the upper part of sandstone or mudbrick walls or of the ceilings. Rains or rainy seasons left marks on the clay over the layer or inside it.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that numerous inscriptions and drawings scratched on the plastered walls of the caves and their entrance niches refer to the period of desolation. Some of these graffiti, in fact, may be dated by a much later period, the Moslem Middle Ages (most probably the 10th—12th centuries). However, the nature and linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions make it possible to distinguish between those left by the Moslems and those made earlier, in the period immediately following the destruction or decline of the site.

Above the period of desolation layer E. G. Pchelina and our expedition discovered, more than once, human bones. A number of burials found gave us ground to believe that finds of single bones were also remains of burial grounds, rather than a result of some casualty.

The burials in the desolated caves and ground premises of Kara tepe sometimes contained ten or more corpses laid in rows and even several rows one above the other. It may be that the upper rows in some cases presented later burials, but it seems the greater part of the burials were simultaneous affairs, most probably connected (according to the special analysis of the bones made by paleopathologist Z. B. Altman)²¹ with some epidemics, and not with mass slaughter, as the legend explaining the sinister name of Kara tepe has it.

In the better preserved burial we also found pottery, remains of clothes, adornments and other things (bracelets, rings, ear-rings, a gold pendant, a brooch, an iron knife, mirrors, etc.). The objects that went into the burials were sometimes quite valuable. It should be noted that a coin or even two were often put into the hand of the deceased. What might be added is that the entrances into all the premises, where burials or their remains occurred, had been walled. In such cases we invariably discovered, above the period of desolation layer, the remains of unplastered crudely built walls laid out of mud bricks or their fragments. Sometimes stone blocks that had faced the stupa, or probably the terrace, were used for the purpose, and once even a capital of an ornamental pilaster.

²¹ З. Б. Альтман: Антропологические и палеопатологические исследования останков людей в пещерах Кара-тепе — Кара-тепе. III, Москва 1972, 104—110.

Apart from group burial grounds of the time immediately following the period of desolation (most probably the walls and ceiling were still intact then), excavations of some cells and chambers brought out, in the layers high above the floor level, single human skeletons or bones of the Moslem Middle Ages period. They are all in a poor state of preservation, therefore one could only guess whether these are burials or casualties.

In cases when it is possible to trace the stratification of the caves' filling, it becomes apparent that the layers with skeletons and bones of the 10th—12th centuries contain also pottery of the same period and coincide in time with the destruction of the walls and ceilings of the caves. It is through gaps formed after that the later visitors (up to A. S. Strelkov and G. V. Parfenov, for that matter) entered filled or half-filled caves.

MAJOR FINDS

The Kara tepe excavations brought out wall paintings, stone and stucco (ganch in local terminology) sculpture, terracottas and pottery, metalware and coins, inscriptions on pottery and graffiti on the wall of the caves and their entrance niches.

WALL PAINTING

In almost all of the Kara tepe cave or ground premises excavations uncovered traces of red or black paint on the walls, and, in a number of cases, traces of ornamental colour design: geometric or, rarely, flower patterns or panels (usually made with red paint) on white ganch plastering.

A representation of a human figure was first found here in 1937 by E. G. Pchelina who discovered (on the wall of the A complex ground temple, at the entrance into the cell) a fragment of wall painting showing two feet in a frontal position with toes turned outward and a border of a robe above them «coloured rhythmically with spots of white, light blue, blue, pink, red and brown».²² The painting has not survived, but, besides the description, we have a black-and-white photograph of it. Judging by the footwear (soft leather boots) and the border of a rich robe, we may presume that what E. G. Pchelina found was a fragment of a painting depicting a Kushan nobleman as a Buddhist donator.

This view was borne out in the course of our excavations in 1971—71. Fragments of multi-figure compositions were found in the southern aiwan of the B complex temple courtyard. One of them represented a group of donators, the other — the Buddha with monks. Like the wall painting discovered by E. G. Pchelina, these compositions adorned the wall space next to the entrance into a place of worship, in this case the chamber with the votive stupa.

The fragment of the first composition found on the wall west of the entrance showed the feet of seven donators: five men in soft leather boots laced

²² E. Г. Пчелина: Начало работ. . . , Кара-тепе. I. М. 1964. 89.

with straps and buckled at the side, and two women in long robes from under which only their toes showed (Fig. 10). The donators stood in a line, in some cases only slightly covering one another. Their feet are placed in a frontal position (as on the fragment found by E. G. Pchelina). In the same strictly frontal position are represented the feet and the robes of the women. Drawing on the analogies in representations of donators and other Kushan personages in sculpture²³ and in imperial Kushan coinage (the figure of a King before the altar)²⁴ we may assume that a rigid strictly frontal posture was typical for donators on the Kara tepe wall paintings. It should be noted that the heads of the donators (or at least of some of them) are shown in profile (as those of Kings on the Kushan coins). It may be concluded from a fragment of the painting that had evidently slid down from the wall and was found next to it. The head we see on the fragment is turned to the left. It is that of a man with bald head framed with grey hair, bearded and with moustache, and with an ear-ring. His face above the sharply outlined collar of his robe is calm and concentrated, his longish eyes turned upwards (Fig. 11).

The donator (and may be all the donators on this painting) was probably shown looking at the composition with the Buddha, which was placed on the same wall on the left (east) of the first painting and, evidently, on a higher level. A piece of plaster with a fragment of the composition depicting the Buddha and monks was found face down on a layer of the debris which had accumulated on the floor of the aiwan to the east of the entrance. The painting was cleared and fixed on the spot and transported to Moscow to the WCNILKR, where its restoration was completed and the painting was prepared for an exposition in the State Hermitage Museum.

The restored fragment (Figs. 12a—b) reveals figures of the Buddha sitting under a tree with rich foliage (on the right) and three monks standing each under a tree (on the left). It is highly probable that it is only a part of the scene which might have included three other monks placed symmetrically on the Buddha's right. The scene is identical with the Miran painting (Eastern Turkistan)²⁵ but is executed in a style closer to the Indian manner. It is peculiar that in the Kara tepe wall painting the Buddha has not merely a nimbus but a halo around the body, which is probably to be traced not to the Indian, but to the local, Bactrian, artistic tradition (see further).

²³ See, e.g. J. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley 1967. Figs 20, 21, 28—39, 98, 98a, 104, 108, 109, 112.

²⁴ See., e.g. J. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts*. Pl. II, 19—27, 29—38; Pl. III, 50—60; Pl. IV, 61, 63, 65—66; Pl. V, 84—91, 93—97, 99—102; Pl. VI, 103—123; Pl. VII, 124—135, 143, Pl. VIII, 155—156, 158—159, 163—164; Pl. IX, 167—181, 185, 187; Pl. X, 188—196, 199, 203, 205—208; Pl. XI, 209—229; Pl. XII, 230—246 (images of gods and rulers).

²⁵ M. BUSSAGLI: *Le peinture de l'Asie Centrale*. Genève 1963. 23; B. ROWLAND: *The Art of Central Asia*. N. Y., 1974. 33.

The head of the Buddha is depicted in front view (as distinct from that of the donator mentioned above), and the heads of the monks turned slightly towards him. The trees are stylized. In their foliage, above the monks, flowers and ovaries may be discerned, and above the Buddha — circles, evidently ripe fruit.

The background of the wall paintings in the southern aiwan of the B complex courtyard was blue, the faces of the personages — flesh-coloured, the hair of the Buddha — black, his nimbus and the halo — white, the robes — multi-coloured. The trees with black foliage and golden trunks were dotted with red and white ovaries and fruit.

All the wall paintings discovered in the course of excavations on Kara tepe were made on stucco (alabaster) priming laid over clay plaster which covered sandstone and mud-brick walls of the premises. This technique is known to be used in the most ancient wall painting found in Central Asia, in Pessedjik-tepe (Southern Turkmenistan) dated by the 5th millennium B.C.²⁶ The Kara tepe wall paintings with their elaborate technique are a product of a long history of the development of painting, which by then already had ancient traditions.

Undoubtedly, what we have here are not the first steps of the local, Bactrian school of painting but mature works of art.

SCULPTURE

Judging by the abundance of fragments among the finds, stone and stucco (alabaster) sculpture was common at Kara tepe. A hand of a stucco statue of the Buddha or a Bodhisattva and other fragments derived from the temple courtyard of the A complex gives us ground to believe that big Buddhist statues were placed in the grand niches of the aiwans, and, probably, in the cells. The fragments of stucco relief with floral design found near the central niche in the D complex courtyard gives us good evidence that carved stucco was an element of the decoration at Kara tepe.

But stone sculpture prevails among the finds of this kind. Among them are column bases, blocks from the facing of the big and the votive stupas and also two stone capitals of pilasters reminding those of the Buddhist «platform of statues» near Surkh Kotal²⁷ as well as the pilasters adorning the terraces of the Kanishka temple.²⁸ The latter conclusion is prompted by the finds of a lower part of a pilaster and a fragment of its base.²⁹ The capitals and fragment of the

²⁶ See Л. А. Лелеков: Монументальная живопись Передней Азии VI—I тыс. до н. э. Художественное наследие. Хранение. Исследование. Реставрация. № 3, Москва 1977, 84, 93, 96.

²⁷ See., e.g. D. SCHLUMBERGER: The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India. Proceedings of the British Academy XLVII. 1962. Pl. XXII. a, XXIV. a, b.

²⁸ D. SCHLUMBERGER: The Excavations at Surkh Kotal. Pl. XVIII, b.

²⁹ See Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969, 159 and Pl. 37, a, б.

pilaster were not found *in situ*, therefore their original disposition is still to seek. Most likely they were part of the lateral facing of the terrace upon which courtyards, caves and other structures of the southern hilltop were situated.

One of the capitals (Fig. 14) was discovered in 1964 in the brickwork walling the entrance to the cave sell of the P-II temple, the other (Fig. 15) — in 1976 in the filling of the D complex courtyard. Both belonged to one type, with two belts of carved design. The lower belt represented a composite (*i.e.*, Corinthianized) capital with volutes and a human half-figure against the background of acanthus leaves: on the first capital — a man in front view with a trefoil in his right hand, on the second — a girl in profil supporting a flower garland. On the upper belt three animals are depicted, two lying zebu-bulls, their heads turned outwards flanking a beast of prey — a tiger or lion on the first capital, and a fantastic horned and winged griffon on the second.

Some of the fragments of stone reliefs brought out in the course of the Kara tepe excavations might have been those of similar capitals. But the greater part of the fragments are to be connected rather with the reliefs decorating the stupas, the bases of Buddhist statues and daises where statues were placed (*e.g.* the wooden platform in the P-II cave temple cell), etc.³⁰

As revealed by finds on Kara tepe and other sites in Middle and Central Asia (Dalverzin tepe in Southern Uzbekistan,³¹ monuments of Eastern Turkistan³² etc.³³, the technique of preparation of alabaster sculptures was elaborate enough. Clay pig, evidently on a wooden carcass was wound round with cloth and covered with alabaster, which was then modelled or moulded and painted. The cloth, the imprints of which are easily discernible on the inner surface of a number of fragments³⁴ formed a conjunctive tissue, so to say, between clay and alabaster that combines badly with each other. Inside fingers and toes of the alabaster statues traces may be seen left by wooden sticks. Details (rosettes and small balls adorning the garments, etc.) were modelled or moulded separately and then fixed.

Stone sculpture of Kara tepe, as well as stone architectural details (column bases, capitals, fragments of the facing, etc.) are made of white lime-stone, the deposits of which are to be found on the right bank of the Amu-Darya,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 159—173.

³¹ Г. А. Пугаченкова: Кушанская скульптура из Дальверзин-тепе. Искусство (Magazine) 1970. No. 2, 62; the same author. Les trésors de Dalverzine-tepe. Leningrad 1978. Figs 15—31.

³² С. М. Дудин: Техника стенописи и скульптуры в древнихбуддийских пещерах и храмах Западного Китая. Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии т. V, вып. I, Petrograd 1918; A. STEIN: Serindia. Vol. IV, Oxford 1921, Pl. XLIX, CXXIX—CXXXIX; The same author: Innermost Asia. Vol. III, Oxford 1928. Pl. IV, VIII, IX, XII, XIX, XX, LIII, LIV, LXXII.

³³ See Б. Я. Ставиский: Основные итоги раскопок Кара-тепе в 1961—1962 гг. Кара-тепе, I, М., 1964, 22—25.

³⁴ See Кара-тепе. I. Pl. 25.

particularly on the Hodja Gulsuar mountain (to the northeast of Termez) where a gold coin of Kanishka³⁵ was found in 1904 in ancient pits. Special petrographic analysis of lime-stone samples has shown that the lime-stone used for the Kara tepe sculpture and architectural details most likely came from the Hodja Gulsuar mines.³⁶

The alabaster and stone sculpture was brightly painted and, sometimes, in many colours. The finds of Kara tepe revealed traces of gilt laid over red ground and red, blue and green paint against white background.

Mention should be made of white lime-stone chatras (umbrellas) adorning the pole over the grand stupa in the A complex northern courtyard and the votive stupa in the sanctuary between the A and B complexes temple courtyards. The chatras were painted red and blue and gilded.

Another Buddhist attribute, along with the wall painting, sculpture and chatras, were undoubtedly the discs (probably the lids of reliquaries) decorated with lotus flower reliefs. The discs (Fig. 15) were either made of stone or of baked clay.

The sculpture also included terracottas: a Buddhist figurine, a relief depicting the local Bactrian mother-goddess, and other personages or figures of animals (for instance zebu-bulls reminding those on the stone capitals).

CERAMICS

The layer that yielded the greater part of ceramics, usually the most numerous among archaeological finds, was that with the burials, in which more than 40 vessels, whole or fitted together from fragments have been discovered. Typical pieces of glazed or painted pottery found in fragments refer to the 10th—12th or later centuries. Finds that may be dated by the time when the Kara tepe Buddhist centre was functioning, are scant: oil lamps, several vessels, which would be restored, and relatively few disconnected fragments. It may, evidently, be explained by the nature of the monument: ceramics is seldom found in religious or dwelling premises which were looked after, swept and otherwise cleared out.

Among the ceramic objects discovered on the floors of the caves and ground premises of the Kara tepe Buddhist complexes oil lamps prevailed. These were simple saucers with a small dent closer to the rim for a fuse (Fig. 16).

³⁵ М. Е. Массон: Монетные находки, зарегистрированные в Средней Азии за время с 1917 по 1927 г. Известия Средазкомстариса, вып. II. Ташкент 1928, 286.

³⁶ The material was usually referred to in literature as marl lime-stone, according to the definition given by the geologist N. L. NIKOLAYEV who inspected the famous Airtam stone relief representing three musicians (see М. Е. Массон: Находка фрагмента скульптурного карниза первых веков н. э. Материалы Узкомстариса, вып. I. Ташкент 1933. 16). The erroneous nature of this conclusion was revealed by E. N. AGAYEVA, member of our expedition, in 1977.

Some of the decorative clay pottery may, with an adequate degree of accuracy, also be referred to that early period: vessels with stuck-on moulded representations of a human head, bowls with lion heads or jugs with handles shaped like birds or animals (*e.g.* monkey, Fig. 17). The vessels were made of yellow or grey clay, over which red, brownish-crimson or grey slip was laid. The polish either covered the entire surface of the vessel or formed arches stripes or rhombic network. Some vessels were decorated with stamped pattern placed at intervals. Stamps common at the time bore representations of a man standing upright, smaller ones with the so-called «Foot of the Buddha» and also circles, rosettes, herringbone, etc. At the bottom part of the vessels trickles of slip are sometimes to be seen.

Ceramics from the burials (Fig. 18) followed the traditions of the preceding period. Red or crimson slip bowls (*tagora*), one or two handle jugs, basins and saucers were adorned with polished waves, arches and rhombs or stamped continuous small flower pattern. Irregular flows of slip were, evidently, also used as a decorative element. Vessels with long curved spouts («tea-pots») may belong to a new type of pottery.

The data, based on the study of the Kara tepe ceramics and its comparison with the pottery from other sites of Northern Bactria made by N. S. Sycheva, member of our expedition, gives sufficient ground to believe that Termez of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods had its own, local, centre of ceramic production.³⁷

COINS

The Kara tepe excavations, since the time they started, have brought out 65 coins (one coin — in 1936 by V. N. Kesayev, when he was uncovering the manhole into cave 2, five coins — in 1937 by E. G. Pchelina, and the rest, 59, — in 1961—1977 by our expedition). Thirty-five of them has been defined. Chronologically they may be divided into two distinct groups. The first one, connected with the Buddhist complexes, consists of Kushan coins, the second derived from the layers with the burials, includes Kushano-Sasanian, post-Kushan (Chionite?) and early Hephthalite coinage. All of them are copper, except one early Hephthalite coin which is made of silver.

Of the 15 Kushan coins, 13 have been defined with greater chronological accuracy:³⁸ 1 — as belonging to the coinage of Vima Kadphises (the definition is conditional for the image on the coin is almost effaced); 3 — to that of Kanishka; 3 — of Huvishka, 5 — of Vasudeva, and 1 — an imitation of the coinage of Vasudeva. It should be noted that two of the coins of Huvishka have

³⁷ See H. C. Сычева: Керамика Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе IV. М. 1975. 88—148.

³⁸ Definitions given by M. E. MASSON (1937 finds), E. V. ZEIMAL (1961—71 finds) and B. I. VAINBERG (1972—77 finds).

been found inside a mud brick, and one coin of Vasudeva in a crack in a limestone pilaster base, which is important for dating reconstructions of the Kara tepe complexes.

Of the 20 coins of the second group 1 was defined as belonging to the coinage of the Sasanian Kushanshah Hormizd I, 4 — to the coinage of Varahran I (one of them suppositionally); 4 — to the coinage of Varahran II (three of them suppositionally); 5 — as Kushano-Sasanian coins (a more accurate dating could not be gained);³⁹ 5 coins (Fig. 19), with the bust of an unidentified ruler on the averse and tribal mark (tamga) on the reverse,⁴⁰ might be minted by a local, post-Kushan (probably Chionite) ruler, and 1 coin (Fig. 20), early Hephthalite, referred to the 6th century A.D.⁴¹ Most of the Kushano-Sasanian coins (11 out of 14) have been derived from the layer with the burials in the central chamber of the P-I temple in the A complex, while the Chionite (?) coins come from the same layer in the P-II temple of the B complex and in a hiding-place in the D complex. It may be that the coin of Varahran II (?) found in the ground cleared out of the B complex is also connected with the burials in the P-II temple, and the Kushano-Sasanian coin, discovered in the rubble in the A complex courtyard southern aiwan, — with the burials in the P-I temple. The early Hephthalite coin found in cave 3 of the C complex, along with another two small coins (Kushano-Sasanian or Chionite?). Whether it comes from the burials of the 6th century or was brought here by some later visitor is still to be cleared.

INSCRIPTIONS

Among the major finds that immediately attracted the attention of scholars to the Kara tepe site were undoubtedly the inscriptions of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods. The former, made in black or Indian ink, are to be found on pottery, and the latter were scratched on cave walls and entrance niches, probably upon the decline of the Buddhist complexes but before the premises were used as burial grounds. The graffiti left by Moslems visiting the place in the 10th—12th centuries form a group of their own. They have been studied by S. B. Pevzner, specialist in Arabic languages.⁴²

Of the inscriptions on pottery we are in possession of only two complete texts — one on a jug that was preserved almost intact, and the other on the fragments of a vessel.⁴³ The rest have been found in fragments.

³⁹ Defined by V. G. LUKONIN and E. V. ZEIMAL.

⁴⁰ Defined by B. I. VAINBERG and E. V. ZEIMAL.

⁴¹ Defined by B. I. VAINBERG.

⁴² See С. Б. Певзнер: Арабские надписи — граффити из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. Москва 1975. 82—87.

⁴³ See Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. Fig. 11—13, and Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. Pl. XXIII.

The Kara tepe inscriptions have been studied by the Soviet Indologists T. V. Grek and V. V. Vertogradova and the specialist in Iranian languages V. A. Livshits — and also by Prof. J. Harmatta from Hungary and Prof. H. Humbach from West Germany.⁴⁴

Most of the inscriptions were written in Indian Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, some in the Kushan script (the language of such inscriptions is commonly known as Bactrian). There were also bilingual texts in Brāhmī and Kushan scripts. Three fragments revealed an «unknown script» which G. Fussman conventionally called «Kambodian».⁴⁵ In the opinion of V. A. Livshits it might be the script of the Sacas.⁴⁶

Considerable part of the Kara tepe inscriptions on pottery was made by or in the name of donators.⁴⁷ In the bilingual (Brāhmī and Kushan scripts) inscription collected from fragments and on a number of fragments the donator mentioned is «Buddhasira dharmakathika» («the Buddha preaching a good deed» or «creed» in the Bactrian variant),⁴⁸ «Saṅghapala»⁴⁹ of the Kharoshthī inscription found in fragments might be the name of another donator. Some inscriptions are of didactic nature.⁵⁰ Peculiar is the mention in a number of inscriptions of the Mahasaṅghika Buddhist school.⁵¹

The Kara tepe graffiti of the post-Kushan period were discovered at the entrance to the P-II temple — its corridors (southern, eastern and northern) and its northern entrance niche in the B complex courtyard. These inscriptions have been published and discussed in a number of articles.⁵² The bilingual brief

⁴⁴ See Кара-тепе. I. Москва 1964. 62—81; Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969. 32—39, 47—76; Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. 114—117, 118—121, 122—123; Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 47—52, 62—69, 70—81. See also J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Inscriptions at Kara Tepe. — Central Asia in the Kushan Period. Vol. I. Moscow 1974. 328.

⁴⁵ See G. FUSSMAN: Documents epigraphiques Kouchans. BEFEO t. LXI, 1974. 22—34; G. FUSSMAN—M. LE VERRE: Monuments bouddhiques de la Region de Kaboul. MDFA, t. XXII, P., 1976. 94.

⁴⁶ В. А. Лившиц: Надписи из Дильберджина. Древняя Бактрия (ed. I. Т. КРУГЛИКОВА) Москва 1976. 165—166, note 14.

⁴⁷ The donatory nature of the inscriptions on pottery was first pointed out to by J. НАРМАТТА, who also offered the most complete interpretation: «To the (Buddhist) community of the four cardinal points (with the consent of the monks (or tutors) Ma[ha]-saṅghika (monk's gift) from Saṅghapala». See Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969. 34—35.

⁴⁸ See Т. В. Грек—В. А. Лившиц: Двухязычная надпись из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. III. Москва 1972. 118—120; Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи из раскопок Кара-тепе. *Ibid.* 114—116. Cf. Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. 37—39. For arguments against the interpretation of the inscription as a bilingual see X. Хумбах: К находкам бактрийских надписей на Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 62—69.

⁴⁹ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей . . . , 34—35.

⁵⁰ В. В. Вертоградова: Об одной индийской надписи на сосуде из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 70—81.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 81; Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей . . . , 34.

⁵² В. Г. Луконин: Среднеперсидские надписи на Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. Москва 1969. 40—46; В. А. Лившиц: К открытию бактрийских надписей на Кара-тепе. *Ibid.* 47—81 (particularly 50—52, 76—81); J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Wall Inscriptions from Kara Tepe. *Ibid.*, 82—125; the same author: The Bactrian Inscriptions at Kara

inscription scratched on the cornice of the vaulted entrance niche of cave 3 in the C complex⁵³ has also been published. The graffiti in Kharoshthī and Kushan scripts found in 1977 in the entrance part of the P-V cave of the D complex are being prepared for publication.

As distinct from the inscriptions on pottery, the Indian graffiti are not numerous: 3 in Kharoshthī and 2 in Brāhmī. According to T. V. Grek, in the inscriptions in Brāhmī mention is made of «Maheśvara» and «dharma».⁵⁴ The nature of the Kharoshthī inscription is not yet clear.

Two inscriptions in Middle Persian,⁵⁵ a bilingual inscription (in Kushan and Middle Persian scripts)⁵⁶ and over a dozen inscriptions in Kushan script⁵⁷ (Fig. 21a—b) consist, primarily, of the names of visitors and, in some cases the dates of their visits. J. Harmatta believes that among the names scratched on the walls of the P-II temple there also were those of the Sasanian Kushan-shahs.⁵⁸ V. A. Livshits, however, disagrees with him.⁵⁹ Deciphering of some of the dates has been disputed. It seems that some of the dates may be accepted, such as those given in a Middle Persian inscription — 60 or 61,⁶⁰ and in two Kushan inscriptions from the P-II temple — 97⁶¹ and 35.⁶²

To conclude, I would like to note that there is no unanimous opinion as to the reading and interpretation of the Kara tepe graffiti which are fragmentary and often effaced, and that therefore one should display maximum caution for conclusion from the data acquired by their analysis.

Тере. Central Asia in the Kushan Period, V. I, Москва 1974. 328—333. Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи из раскопок Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. III, М. 1972. 117; X. Хумбах: Кара-тепе—Тоци—Сурх—Котал. *Ibid.*, 122—128; Н. НУМВАХ: Кара Тере-Тоци-Surkh Kotal. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*. 28 (1970) 43—50; В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. М 1975. 47—60; В. Н. МУКНЕРДЖЕЕ: The Epigraphic Evidence from Kara Tepe and the So-called Old Saka Era. *East and West* 21 (1971) 69—73.

⁵³ See Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 8 and Pl. 10.

⁵⁴ Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи. 117.

⁵⁵ В. Г. Луковин: Среднеперсидские надписи. 40—46.

⁵⁶ See note 53.

⁵⁷ Here according to V. A. LIVSHITS (see В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей, 53—60), who believes there were 11 inscriptions in the P-II temple. Probably, there were more.

⁵⁸ J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (Nos. 17, 26, 49, 50, 52, 61), 94—95, 100, 111—112, 114—115, 122—124; the same author: The Bactrian Inscriptions. 329, 332—333.

⁵⁹ В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей. 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60.

⁶⁰ В. Г. Луковин: Среднеперсидские надписи. 41—46.

⁶¹ J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (No. 20), 95—97 X, Хумбах: Кара-тепе — Тоци—Сурх—Котал, 128; В. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей, 57. J. НАРМАТТА and V. А. LIVSHITS hold that number 3 might have preceded the date which is then to be read as 397.

⁶² J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (No. 35), 104—108; X. Хумбах: Кара-тепе — Тоци—Сурх—Котал, 128; В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей. . . , 59. J. НАРМАТТА believes that in this case the first number was omitted and the inscription is to be dated by 435. Н. НУМВАХ and V. А. LIVSHITS disagree with him on this point.

GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY

Scholars who were the first to get interested in Kara tepe dated its caves by the pre-Moslem period. The excavations of 1937 allowed E. G. Pchelina to make more accurate dating by referring the Kara tepe Buddhist monuments to the time of the Kushans. The 1961—77 excavations confirmed Pchelina's conclusions. The fact that the Kara tepe Buddhist religious centre emerged and functioned in Kushan times is evidenced by the finds made by our expedition — Kushan coins, ceramics, inscriptions on pottery, and objects d'art. Details of the Kara tepe history, however, are not to be easily ascertained.

The emergence of the centre is most probably to be connected with the reign of the famous Kushan emperor Kanishka. The only pre-Kanishka coin found in 1961, that of Vima Kadphises (thus defined by its dimensions and weight for the images were effaced)⁶³ is not enough to disprove this hypothesis, while there are already three coins of Kanishka among the finds. The early ceramics of Kara tepe draws analogies in the pottery connected with the heyday of the Kushan Empire, and not with the period of its foundation. The Kushan script, based on the Greek alphabet, according to numismatic data, was created at the time of Kanishka, therefore even the earliest inscription in Kushan script found cannot be referred to a pre-Kanishka period. Inscriptions analogous to the Indian inscriptions on Kara tepe pottery do not refer (as far as I can judge) to an earlier period either. According to Buddhist traditions Kanishka encouraged the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist communities beyond the borders of the Indian sub-continent. Thus the conjecture as to the emergence of a Buddhist religious centre on the outskirts of a big city of Kushan Bactria—Termez — at the time of Kanishka is borne out both by archaeological data and the Buddhist tradition.

On the evidence of the finds — three coins of Huvishka and four coins of Vasudeva (one of them, as has already been mentioned, discovered in a crack in the base of a pilaster which was found *in situ*, puttied into a wall so that only one of its lower edges jutted out) — and also the palaeography of the cursive and half-cursive inscriptions in the Kushan script and the Kharoshthī and Brāhmī inscriptions of pottery, we may well believe that the Buddhist religious centre existed on Kara tepe all through the period of heyday of the Kushan Empire, which covered also the reign of Kanishka's successors. It tallies fully with the data on the cultural development of the Kushan Empire. According to the general point of view, Huvishka continued his famous predecessor's policy of religious tolerance. It is with his name, for instance, that the Buddhist vihāra

⁶³ See. E. В. Зеймаль—В. Г. Луконин: Монеты из раскопок Кара-тепе 1961—1971 г. Кара-тепе. II. 1972. 101 (№. 1).

in Jamalpur is connected. Judging by the inscriptions it existed in Vasudeva's time too, at least as far as year 77 of the «Kanishka era.»⁶⁴

It is not so easy, however, to determine the cause and the time of the desolation of the Buddhist complexes. The data collected so far are insufficient for drawing any definite conclusions as to whether it was destroyed by enemies or just forsaken in good time by its inhabitants. One might be tempted to explain the destruction or desolation of Kara tepe by the conquest of Termez by the Sasanian army. Of the appearance here of Sasanian troops we have good evidence now that Middle Persian graffiti have been discovered in the P-II temple. Especially since one of them was interpreted as a text written by a *dibir*, i.e., scribe or secretary at the chancellery of the Sasanian ruler or military leader.⁶⁵ It is not unreasonable to suppose that the mud-brick fire altar built in the central (grand) niche in the aiwan of the B complex western courtyard is connected with the presence of Sasanian soldiers here. For the fact that the region of Termez was under Sasanian rule we also have evidence in Kushano-Sasanian coins from the layer of burials. Nevertheless it would still be an oversimplification to state that the desolation of the complexes was the result of an invasion or an exodus in anticipation of an invasion. Archaeological data rather prompts the conclusion that the fire altar and the Middle Persian inscriptions appeared on the grounds *after* the B complex and its P-II temple were abandoned. However, how much time elapsed from the moment the B complex was destroyed or abandoned till Sasanian troops appeared here — a few days or a number of years — is unknown.

It seems that the time of the desolation of the Kara tepe Buddhist complexes might be determined by the dates given in the graffiti. But, unfortunately, in this case, too, it remains a matter for conjecture.

According to H. Humbach, the dates given in the graffiti inscriptions in the Kushan script — 35 and 97 — might be the years of the Kushano-Sasanian era of the famous inscriptions from the Tochi Valley (the beginning of the era refers to 232 A.D.). If so, the dates of the P-II temple inscriptions may be deciphered as 267/268 and 329/330 A.D.⁶⁶ If, however, we adopt the interpretation given by J. Harmatta, the dates 97 and 35 are to be read as 397 and 435 of the so-called Old Saka era which started in 67 B.C. and should, therefore, correspond to 330 and 368 A.D.⁶⁷ Besides, we cannot be certain that the era of the Kara tepe inscriptions in the Kushan script is the same as that of the Tochi inscriptions or of the post-Kushan inscriptions of the territory of Ancient

⁶⁴ For inscriptions from the Vihāra of Huvishka see L. LÜDERS: *Mathura Inscriptions*. Göttingen 1961. §§ 29—63, 57—105.

⁶⁵ See B. Г. Луконин: *Среднеперидские надписи*. 41, 43—44.

⁶⁶ X. Хумбах: *Кара-тепе — Точи — Сурх — Котал*. 128.

⁶⁷ J. HARMATTA: *The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions*. 95—97, 104—108, 122—125.

India. All this makes it impossible to determine the dates of inscriptions in Kushan script with sufficient accuracy.

Different interpretations are also given of the date 60 or 61 in the Middle Persian inscription. The late W. B. Henning thought it to be a date of the «royal Sasanian era» which corresponded to 264/265 A.D.,⁶⁸ while V. G. Lukonin believes that it is the 61st year of the reign of Shapur II, *i.e.*, 369/370 A.D.⁶⁹ In the first instance the date of the Middle Persian inscription is close to those of the inscriptions in the Kushan script offered by H. Humbach, in the second — to the dates given by J. Harmatta. This alone shows that coincidences of this order might be fortuitous.

We hope that new discoveries will throw light on this problem and help to establish the era of the inscriptions and, consequently, the exact year in which they were made.

Until then the inscriptions help us in answering one question only, that of how long the period of the B complex desolation lasted, the period in the course of which visitors scratched their names on the walls of this complex.

Since the Kara tepe graffiti in Kushan script definitely belong to a single era we may assert that the interval in time between the two inscriptions known to us is either 62 years (if we accept H. Humbach's interpretation of the dates 35 and 97 as belonging to one century) or 38 (if we agree with J. Harmatta who reads them as 397 and 435). Correspondingly we may conclude that the period of desolation of the B complex and, most likely, of the Kara tepe Buddhist centre as a whole, covered not less than 62 or at least 38 years.

It will be remembered that at the end of this period the abandoned premises were used for mass burials. The date of the burials found in P-I temple may be established on the basis of the copper coins of the Kushano-Sasanian rulers Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II that occurred in them.

The dating of the Kushano-Sasanian coins generally fluctuates within the limits of over 100 years, though three new approaches to the problem have been offered lately to replace the outdated system of E. Herzfeld.⁷⁰ A. D. H. Bivar refers their coinage to the period ranging from the middle of the 3rd century to the late 4th century,⁷¹ R. Göbl — to 371 — 400,⁷² and V. G. Lukonin — to the 60s of the 4th century — the 30s of the 5th century.⁷³ The divergence

⁶⁸ See Кара-тепе. II. 46, note 24.

⁶⁹ В. Г. Луконин: Среднеперсидские надписи, 41, 44, 46.

⁷⁰ E. HERZFELD: Kushano-Sasanian Coins. Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 38. Calcutta 1930.

⁷¹ A. D. BIVAR: The Kushano-Sasanian Coins Series. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India 18 (1956) Pl. I. Cf. Central Asia ed. by C. Hambly, L. 1970. 51—52.

⁷² R. GÖBL: Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Bactrien und Indien. Wiesbaden 1967. Bd. I. Ss. 24—25; Bd. II. Ss. 47—48.

⁷³ В. Г. Луконин: Кушано-сасанидские монеты. Эпиграфика Востока 18 (1967) 16—33; the same author: Завоевания Сасанидов на востоке и проблема Кушанской абсолютной хронологии. Вестник древней истории 1971, № 3, 39—44; the same author: Культура сасанидского Ирана, Москва. 124—151.

is the least, however, in relation to the dating of the Varahran I reign. According to Lukonin this Kushanshah ruled from 384 to 388, and A. D. H. Bivar places his reign 25—30 years earlier. If we believe Lukonin, Kushanshah Hormizd I was the predecessor of Varahran I and ruled from 381 to 384. Bivar, however, refers the rule of Hormizd I to 277—286. It may be noticed, however, that the coin of Hormizd I was found at Kara tepe (in the layer of burials in the central part of the P-I temple) together (in one complex) with the coins of Varahran I and Varahran II, which speaks against the dating of this Kushanshah's rule to such an early period. Varahran II ruled, according to Bivar, around the year 360, and according to Lukonin from 389 even up to 440. B. I. Vainberg, however, who agrees in principle with the chronology given by Lukonin convincingly proved that Lukonin's dating of the Varahran II coins is disputable. In her opinion, the coins were minted either by Varahran I or his predecessors. «At any rate,» she concluded, «we have no sufficient ground to believe that the Kushano-Sasanian coins were minted after 389.»⁷⁴ This conclusion seems reasonable enough. In any case the coins of Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II form a chronologically compact group and may be referred to the 50s—60s or 80s of the 4th century. The burials in the P-I temple of the A complex are dated accordingly.

The post-Kushan coins with the half figure of a ruler on the averse and his tamga on the reverse found in the burials (or in connection with them) in the B complex (P-II temple) and the D complex hiding-place, were, evidently, minted after the break-up of the Sasanian domination in Bactria by a local (Chionite?) ruler.

Chronological and geographical ties of these coins with the coinage of the Goboziko group, which, according to Vainberg, were in circulation in Northern Tokharistan in the period between 389 and 440,⁷⁵ is as yet not ascertained.

As the data given above shows, it is still impossible to reconstruct with adequate coherency and in detail the history of the Buddhist religious centre of Kara tepe. The general outlines of its history, however, may be presented in the form of the following table (see p. 129).

KARA TEPE AND THE PROBLEM OF BUDDHISM IN KUSHAN TERMEZ

In the 7th century, Termez and its environs, according to Hsüan Tsang, boasted ten Buddhist monasteries and other monuments and up to a thousand monks.⁷⁶ One should not, probably, give full credit to the words of the great

⁷⁴ Б. И. Вайнберг: Некоторые вопросы истории Тохаристана в IV—V вв. Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. 134—135.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130—134, 137, 150—151 (Pl. 1).

⁷⁶ S. BEAL: *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*. L. 1906. Vol. I. 39.

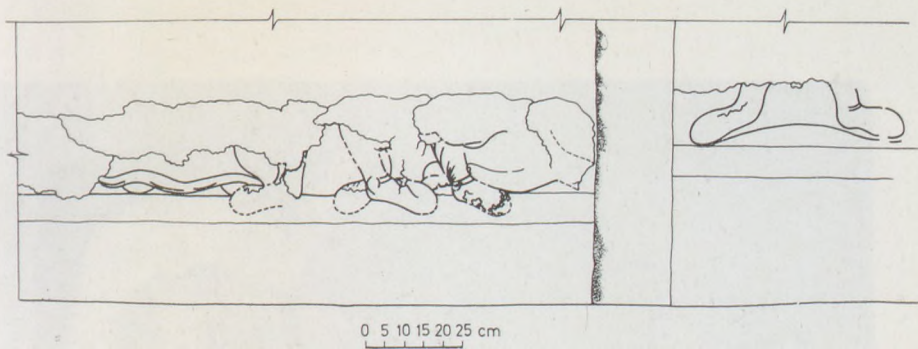


Fig. 10. The fragment of the wall painting composition of the donators



Fig. 11. The donator. Detail of the wall-painting



Fig. 12a. The fragment of the wall-painting with the Buddha and monks

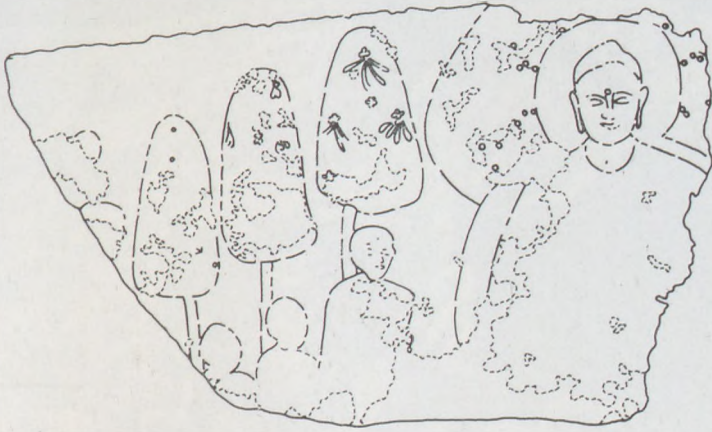


Fig. 12b. The fragment of the wall-painting with the Buddha and monks





Fig. 13a. The first stone capital from Kara tepe



Fig. 13b. The first stone capital from Kara tepe



Fig. 14. The second stone capital from Kara tepe

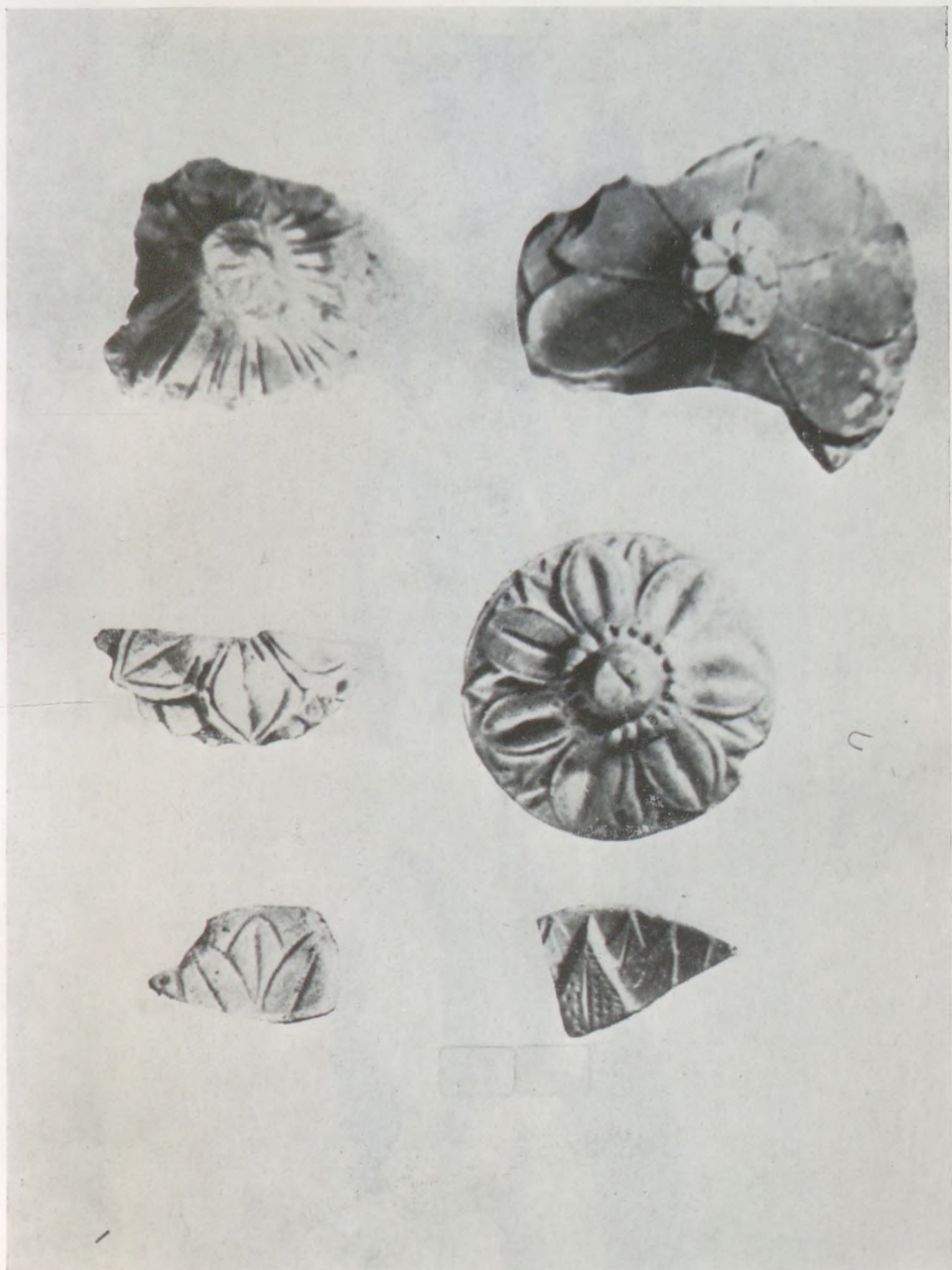


Fig. 15. Stone and baked clay discs

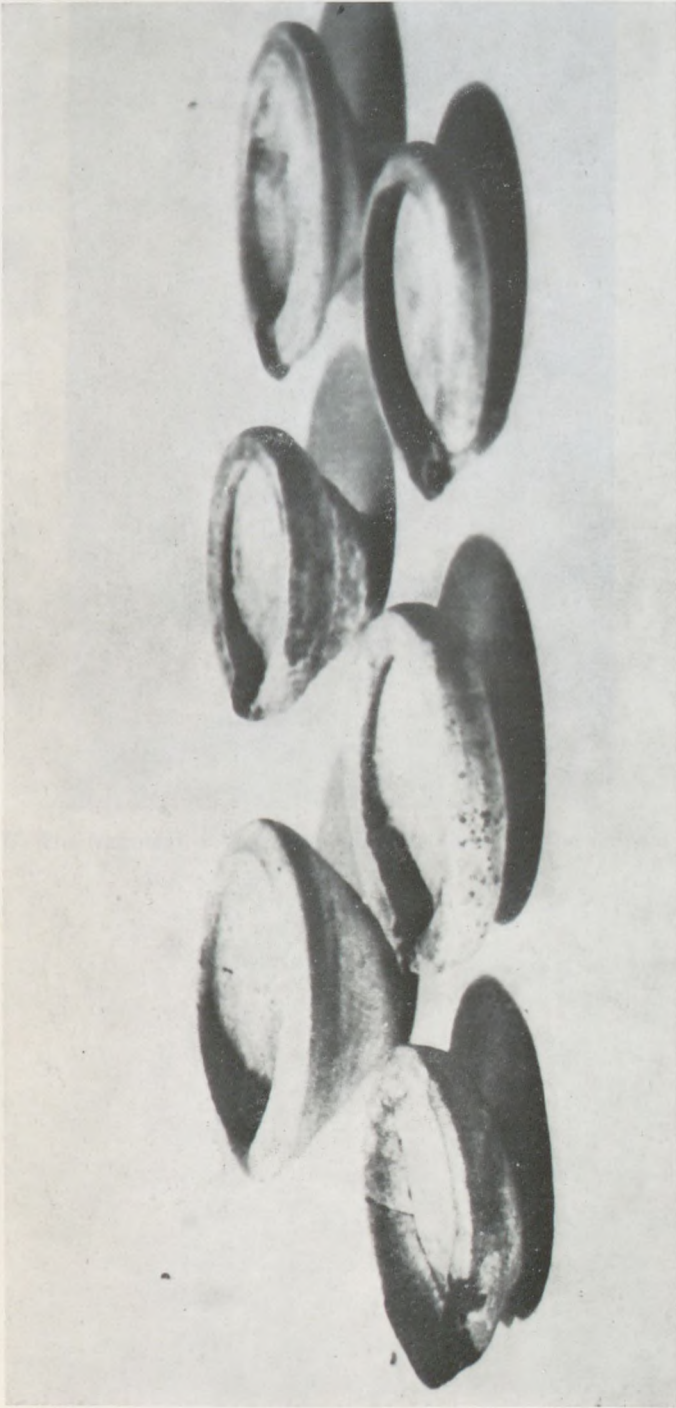


Fig. 16. The lamps



Fig. 17. The fragment of the vessel with the handle in the shape a monkey

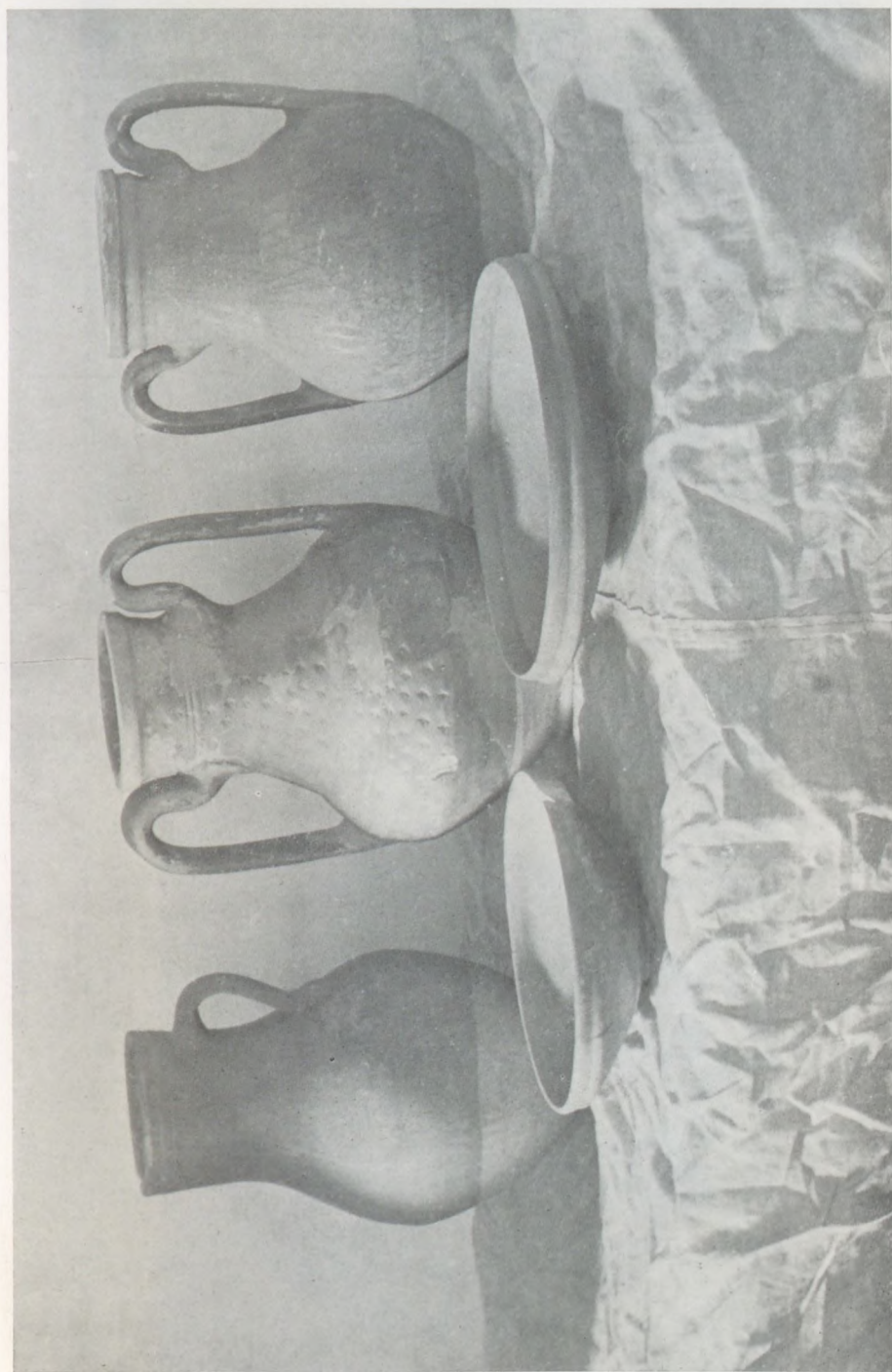


Fig. 18. The vessels from the burials



Fig. 19a. Post-Kushan coin, averse



Fig. 19b. Post-Kushan coin, averse



Fig. 19c. Post-Kushan coins, reverse



Fig. 20a. An Early Hephthalite coin, averse



Fig. 20b. An Early Hephthalite coin, reverse



a



b

Fig. 21. Graffiti: a — in Kushan script; b — bilingual (in Kushan and Middle Persian scripts)

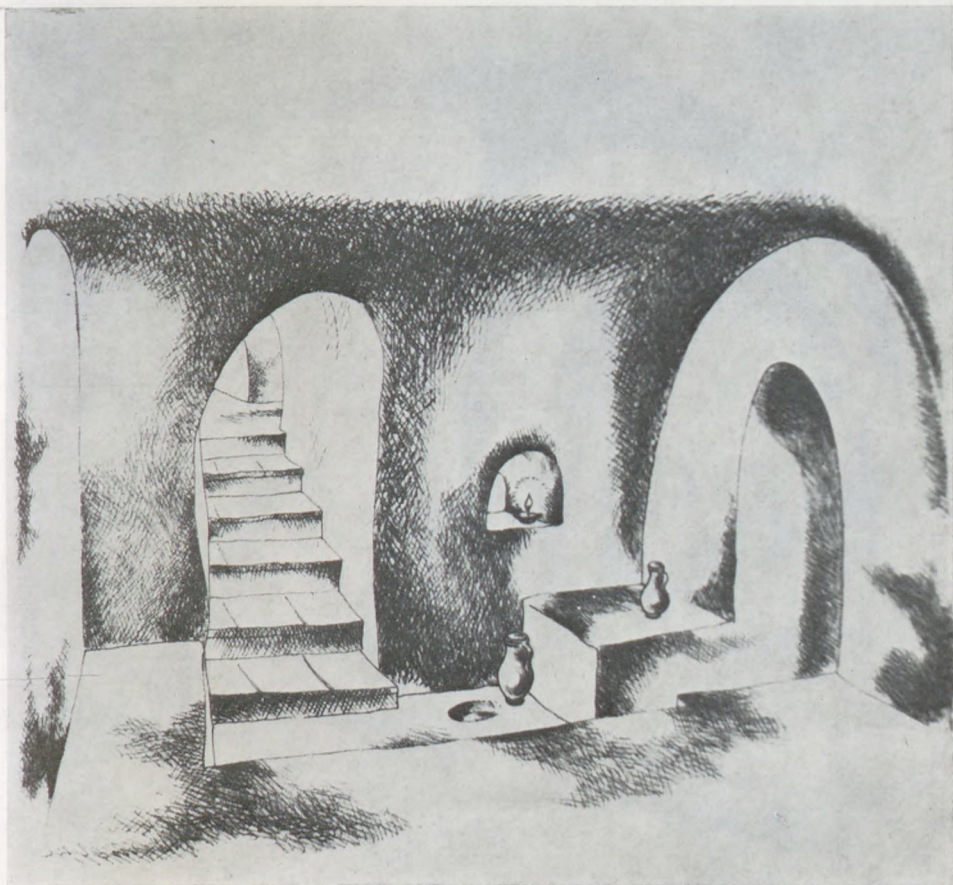


Fig. 22. The upper cell in the B complex. Reconstruction by W. Donchik



Fig. 23. The northern corridor of the P-II cave-temple, *a* — view from entrance.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

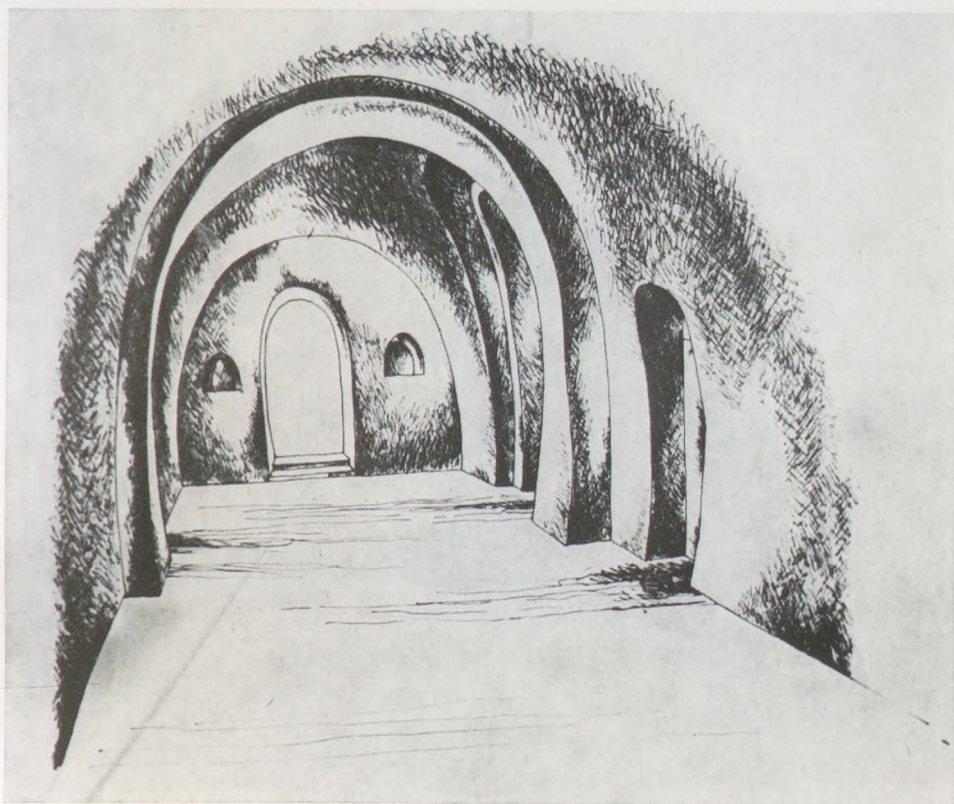


Fig. 23. The northern corridor of the P-II cave-temple. *b* — view within.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

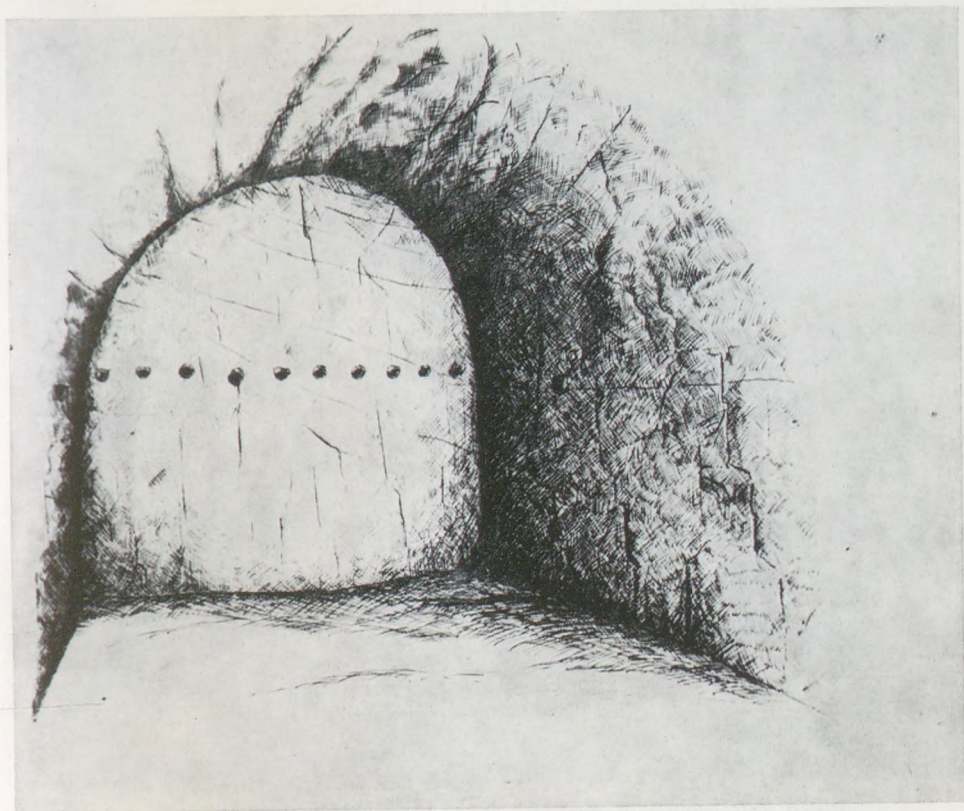


Fig. 24. The cell of the P-II cave-temple, *a* — view from the entrance.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik



Fig. 24. The cell of the P-II cave-temple, *b* — view from within.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

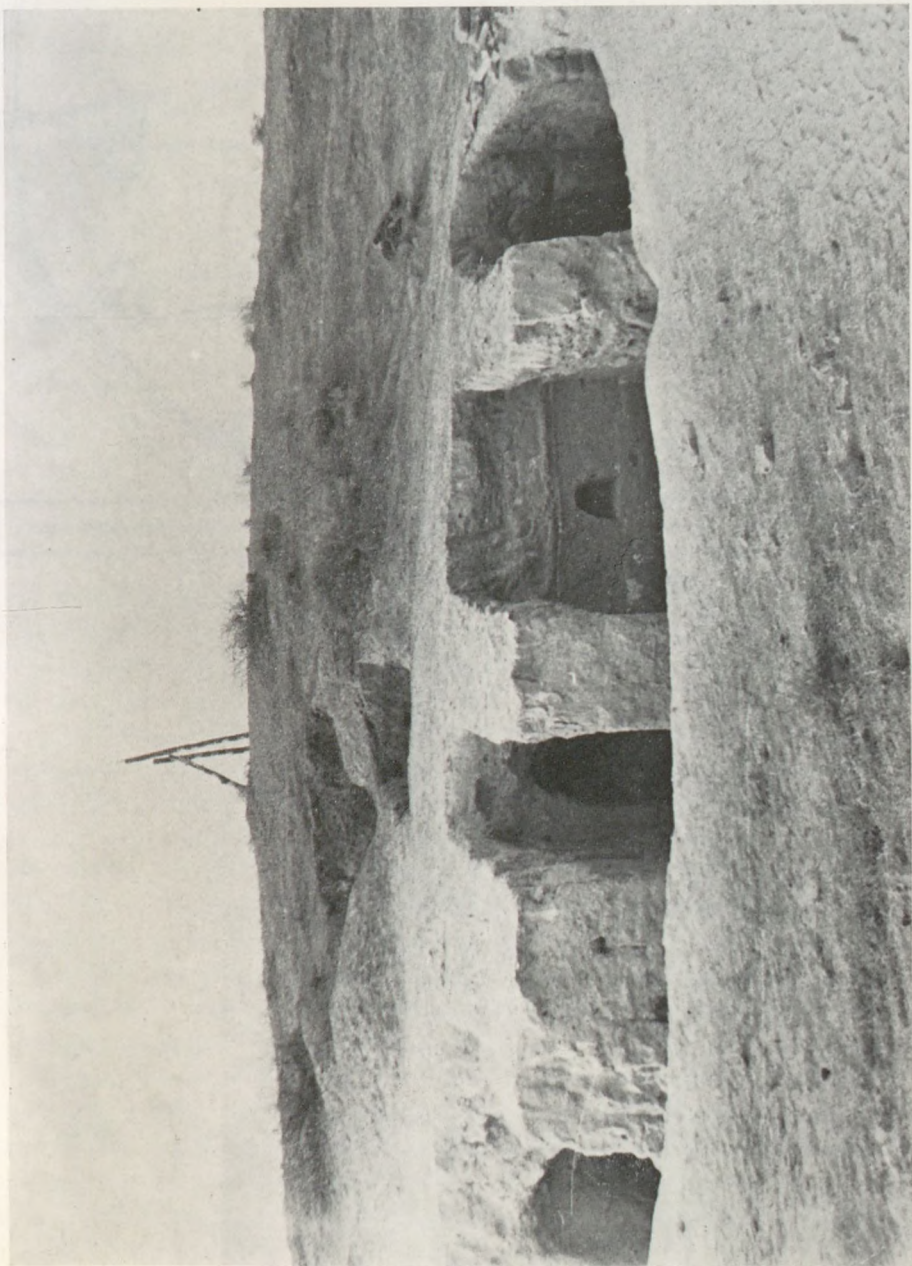


Fig. 25. Three western vaulted aiwans on the southern fringe of the C complex courtyard

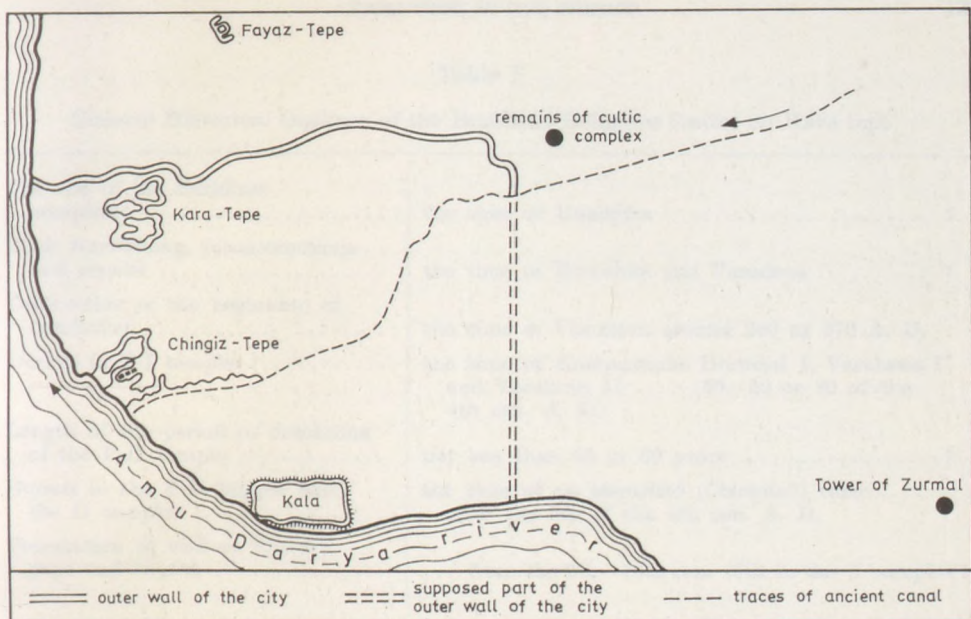


Fig. 26. Schematic plan of Kushan Termez

Table I

General Historical Outlines of the Buddhist Religious Centre on Kara tepe

The rise of the Buddhist complexes	the time of Kanishka	?
Their functioning, reconstructions and repairs	the time of Huvishka and Vasudeva	?
Destruction or the beginning of desolation	the time of Vasudeva around 260 or 370 A. D.	
Burials in P-I temple	the time of Kushanshahs Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II	50—60 or 80 of the 4th cen. A. D.
Length of the period of desolation of the P-II temple	not less than 38 or 62 years	?
Burials in the P-II temple and the D complex	the time of an identified (Chionite?) ruler	after the 80s of the 4th cen. A. D.
Penetration of visitors through gaps and breaks from the 9th—10th cen. (6th in the C complex?)	

Buddhist pilgrim, for he personally never visited Termez. There is no doubt, however, that there were large Buddhist communities and numerous Buddhist monuments in Termez in the early (pre-Moslem) Middle Ages as in Balh, Qunduz and other big cities of Tokharistan.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, we have no written evidence as to the number of Buddhist monuments or the size of monastic communities in Bactria-Tokharistan of an earlier, Kushan, period. The name of Termez in particular crops up only once in connection with the history of Buddhism — in a colophone of a Buddhist treatise of the Kushan period translated into Tibetan, which gives the name of the author as Dharmamitra, «native of Tarmita [= Termez] on the bank of the Vakshu [= Oxus = Amu Darya].»⁷⁸

Archaeological data acquired by Soviet researchers so far reveals that Buddhism in Kushan Termez enjoyed the same status as in the period described by Hsüan Tsang.

It is to be recalled that apart from Kara tepe on the outskirts of the Old Termez site (Fig. 26), three more Buddhist monuments had been discovered beyond the outer city wall north and east of it. Not much remained of two of the monuments. On the site of one of them, on the south-east of the city, ruins of a grand stupa have been discovered, which is now known as the Zurmala

⁷⁷ I share the opinion of many other scholars that Tokharistan is what ancient Bactria came to be called since the 4th century A. D. Thus, these are two names of one and the same region.

⁷⁸ Ю. Н. Рёрих: Тохарская проблема. Народы Азии и Африки 1963. № 6. 122; the same author: Память о тохарах в Тибете. Краткие сообщения Института Народов Азии. Москва 1964. №. 65, 141; H. W. BAILEY: Indo-Iranica. III. 5. Tarmita, BSOAS 13 (1950) 400—403.

Tower.⁷⁹ On the other site, close to the north-eastern corner of the city, underground premises with steps leading up have been unearthed.⁸⁰

The stupa was a giant structure of up to 16 metres in height. Its cylinder-shaped body, 15 metres in diameter, was crowned with a cupola and set on a rectangular dais of 22 × 16 metres. While differing from the two Kara tepe stupas in appearance, the Zurmala Tower was similar to them in construction technique: it was built of mud brick and pakhsa and faced with lime and baked brick (the latter, probably, used for the sake of economy considering the size of the structure). The studies made by G. A. Pugachenkova and Z. H. Hakimov leave no doubt as to its being built in the Kushan period.

The dating was confirmed by the finds of pottery and Buddhist inscriptions of the Kushan period discovered in the underground premises. The finds also bear witness to the Buddhist nature of the ground structures connected with these premises, of which, unfortunately, nothing came to us.

We can only make conjectures as to the composition of the Buddhist complex of which the Zurmala Tower and the underground premises were a part. But it is highly probable that next to the Zurmala Tower there was a suburban monastery similar to the third Buddhist monument on the outskirts of Kushan Termez.

This third monument, known as Faiaz tepe site, was situated north of Termez at a distance of about one kilometre from Kara tepe.⁸¹ It is in a better state of preservation than the other two, and even than Kara tepe. This complex (a typical suburban monastery) consisted of a rectangular building, 110 metres in length and 35 metres in width spreading from northwest to southeast and a stupa to the northeast of it that might initially, be surrounded by walls. The monastery building was divided into three functional parts approximately equal in size, each with an inner courtyard.

The northwestern part, evidently, consisted mainly of dwelling quarters giving access to the inner courtyard which had an aiwan along one of its walls. This should have been the monastery proper, which above the monks' hostel included other premises.

⁷⁹ Г. А. Пугаченкова: Две ступа на юге Узбекистана. Советская Археология 1967. № 3, 257—261 and bibliography.

⁸⁰ Data on the 1973 excavations has not yet been published. I have had occasion to visit them due to the kindness of L. I. ALBAUM who is carrying out the digs. For brief information on the «basement» and the inscriptions found there see М. И. Воробьева-Десятовская: Новые надписи письмом кхарошти из Термеза. Вестник Древней Истории, 1974 № 1. 117.

⁸¹ The excavations of Faiaz-tepe were carried out from 1968 to 1976 by L. I. ALBAUM. Data has not yet been published. For brief information see: Л. И. Альбаум: Раскопки буддийского комплекса Фаяз-тепе (по материалам 1968—1972 гг.). Древняя Бактрия. Л. 1974. 53—58; the same author: Живопись Афрасиаба. Ташкент 1975. 90—93. I take this opportunity to thank L. I. ALBAUM and deputy director of the Termez Museum V. A. KOZLOVSKIY for allowing me to visit the Faiaz tepe site and familiarize myself with the data.

The south-eastern part adjoining a large courtyard housed store rooms, kitchens with ovens to cook food (*e.g.* flat cakes) and, probably, refectories.

The central part was, evidently, a place of worship. Its courtyard, was similar to the temple courtyards of Kara tepe: aiwans along its perimeter with wooden columns resting on limestone bases and a lowered unroofed pitch in the middle. What brings it still closer to the Kara tepe A and B complexes temple courtyards was the entrance to a sanctuary in the southern aiwan, and also the wall paintings uncovered on the walls of the aiwan and inside the sanctuary. They remind those of Kara tepe but are in a better state of preservation. Here, too, the paintings present the Buddha and a group of donators: their faces are depicted in profile and their bodies and feet in a frontal position,⁸² which confirms the assumption we have made in connection with the Kara tepe murals. Clay, alabaster and lime-stone sculptures found here are also better preserved. What was preserved that were the alabaster head of the Buddha or Boddhisatva and a remarkable lime relief showing the Buddha under a tree and two monks on his right and left.⁸³ Both pieces of sculpture are executed in the best traditions of the Gandharan art.

The Faiaz tepe site have also yielded fragments of pottery with Indian inscriptions in Kharoshthi and Brāhmī, as well as inscriptions made in Kushan script (most of them are not yet published).

The comparison of the Faiaz tepe and Kara tepe sites reveals, along with the similarity of their temple courtyards, certain distinctions in the structure of these basically synchronous monuments. The former was erected according to a single and distinct plan on an open flat terrain, while the latter was probably built in stages, as separate complexes, on a high hill seen from afar. Faiaz tepe was, therefore, a one-storey compact structure, while the Buddhist complexes of Kara tepe, its ground and cave premises, were scattered over the slopes of the hill, on different levels, sometimes one directly above the other. However the basic difference between them lay elsewhere, *i.e.*, in their purpose, which, in the final analysis, determined also the choice of place.

The builders of the Faiaz tepe Buddhist monastery followed a traditional architectural pattern and created a complex that answered perfectly the needs of a monastic community completed with dwelling and household premises, mess rooms and a place of worship. The planning is precise and easily divined.

The Kara tepe complexes do not offer us either the precision of the planning nor complete architectural pattern. The only typological distinction we can point to so far is a temple courtyard with its aiwans and the lowered central part. As to temple premises, their planning was each time to be determined anew (see cave 2, temples P-I and P-II). Much in the structure and purpose of

⁸² Л. И. Альбаум: Живопись Афрасиаба. 90 and Pl. LI.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 90 and Pls. 31, 32.

the Kara tepe religious centre is still to seek by further excavations. Thus, we do not yet know whether the complexes had monk hostels, refectories and other premises common in monastic Buddhist communities, and if so, whether each complex had his own premises of this kind, or they were shared by the whole community.

Of one thing, however, we may speak with certainty — a large number of Buddhist temples and sanctuaries was concentrated on Kara tepe to be used not by a single monastic group but, most probably, by a numerous Buddhist community of the town of Termez. Frequent visits to its ruins and inscriptions left by the visitors might testify to its popularity as a religious centre. It should be said that this popularity, and also its proximity to the town now give much trouble to its students: the art monuments of the neighbouring Faiaz tepe preserved better by far than those of Kara tepe.

Nevertheless, ruined as it is by time, and even more by people, the Kara tepe site together with other Buddhist monuments of Kushan Termez bears vividly witness to the spread of Buddhism and also to the wealth of the Buddhist community that was, evidently, numerous and enjoyed much authority in these parts in the Kushan period.

The nature of this community may be established on the basis of the inscriptions on pottery of Kara tepe. Already at the initial stages of study, J. Harmatta assumed that the inscriptions made in Kharoshthī script were to be connected with the school of Mahasaṅghika, and those in Brāhmī — with the Sarvastivada school.⁸⁴ The assumption was disputed on the grounds that the script alone could not be a conclusive evidence in referring an inscription to a definite school of Buddhism. It was noted, in particular, that an inscription in Kharoshthī belonging to a Sarvastivada school had been found in Hadda (Southern Afghanistan).⁸⁵ However, Harmatta's assumption was confirmed by further studies. Among the newly-found inscriptions on pottery there was one which contained the word «mahasaṅghika» (Harmatta had only part of the word: «... saṅghika»)⁸⁶ Besides, a complete inscription in Brāhmī on a vessel discovered in the ground structure above the P-II temple and a number of fragmentized inscriptions of this order, according to V. V. Vertogradova, bear evidence of a dispute between the followers of the early Hinayanic Arhat ideal and adepts of the Mahayanic Bodhisattva ideal which was at that time infiltrating the Hinayanic school.⁸⁷ Presumably different trends existed and Mahayanic ideas were current in the Kushan period on Kara tepe and in the Termez Buddhist community, as in other Buddhist centres for that matter.

⁸⁴ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации индийских надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе, II. Москва 1969. 32—39.

⁸⁵ G. FUSSMAN: Une inscription Kharosthi à Hadda. BEFEO 56 (1969) 5—9.

⁸⁶ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации индийских надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. 35.

⁸⁷ В. В. Вертоградова: Об одной индийской надписи на сосуде из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 70—81.

The Kara tepe inscriptions in which mention is made of dharmakathika Buddhaśira, give grounds to assume that this worthy donator-monk might have been like Dharmamitra of the Tibetan colophon, a learned interpreter of Buddhist texts. Data on Buddhist monks from Bactria indulging in translation in China in the 2nd—4th centuries⁸⁸ makes it all the more probable that in Buddhist communities of Kushan Bactria, in Termez community in particular, texts were translated from Sanskrit into the local, Bactrian language. It is not unlikely that Buddhaśira, whose bilingual inscriptions bespeak the knowledge of Indian, as well as Bactrian languages, might have been one of such translators.

The Kara tepe site, its decoration and the finds made during the excavations reveal the syncretistic nature of the art of the Kushan Empire, and also of Buddhism of the Kushan Termez (and of the entire Bactria).

Stupas and cave premises (A and B complexes) were derived from India, along with Buddhism, whereas the planning of the cave temples is alien to the ancient Indian tradition and is rather to be traced to the religious architecture of the Middle East, where similar fire temples could be found consisting of a cell and the corridors encircling it.⁸⁹ As to the temple courtyards of Kara tepe, they go back to the Rhodos-type East Hellenistic courtyards that became common in Bactria and the neighbouring Parthia already in the 3rd—2nd centuries B.C. Vivid illustrations are the large courtyard of the Ai Khanoum palace complex⁹⁰ and the original courtyard of the Square House in the Parthian Nica.⁹¹

The Kara tepe wall paintings are equally syncretistic (as distinct from the Buddhist sculpture of Kushan Termez, which, as is evidenced by the finds, followed the Indian, or, to be more exact, Gandharan, tradition). The images of the Buddha and the monks are executed in Indian manner, while the donators are presented in the style of the Kushan dynastic art, which spread not from the Indian subcontinent, like Buddhism, but from Bactrian territory and may be exemplified by the clay sculptures of Khalchayan⁹² and separate earlier finds.⁹³

⁸⁸ The latest brief data based mainly on the works by P. CH. BAGCHI, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955 and E. ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, Leiden, 1956, may be found in the book by Б. А. Литвинский and Т. И. Зеймаль: *Аджина-Тепе*, Москва 1971. 114.

⁸⁹ Numerous examples are contained in the fundamental work: K. SCHIPPMANN: *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*. В. — N. Y. 1971.

⁹⁰ P. BERNARD: *Ai Khanoum on the Oxus: a Hellenistic City in Central Asia*. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967) 78—80. See also: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*. I. *Rapport préliminaire publié sous la direction de P. Bernard*, P., 1973.

⁹¹ See Г. А. Пугаченкова: *Искусство Туркменистана*, Москва 1967. Pl. on p. 35; Б. Я. Ставский: *Искусство Средней Азии. Древний период*. Москва 1974, Fig. 37.

⁹² See Г. А. Пугаченкова: *Скульптура Халчаяна*. Москва 1971; cf. *Халчаян*. Ташкент 1966 by the same author.

⁹³ See Б. Я. Ставский: *Кушанская Бактрия: проблемы истории и культуры*. Москва 1977, 162, 224; М. М. Дьяконов: *Археологические работы в нижнем течении реки Кафирнигана (Кобадан) 1950—1951 гг.* МИА СССР № 37. М.—Л. 1953. 286; О. В. Обельченко: *Кую-Мазарский могильник*, — *Труды института истории и археологии АН Узбекской ССР*, вып. 8., Ташкент, 1956, 223—224.

Moreover, such details in the representation of the Buddha as the nimbus and the halo around the entire figure can hardly be traced to Indian tradition. A. Grünwedel and A. Foucher noted in their time that such attributes were extremely rare in the art of Gandhara. A. Grünwedel assumed that the nimbus and especially the halo in Indian sculpture were, evidently, derived from painting.⁹⁴ The Kara tepe wall paintings that may be dated to the time of Kanishka, on whose coins the image of the Buddha with the nimbus and the halo first occurs, confirm the assumption of the famous German scholar. It is appropriate to ask here was it not in Bactria that this iconographic type first appeared?

It might be interesting to note that Buddhist temples similar to those of Kara tepe in their planning, as well as representation of the Buddha with the nimbus and the halo around the whole body become common in Eastern Turkestan and then in the Far East in the post-Kushan period, which is probably the result of the impact of the syncretistic Buddhism of Kushan Bactria.

The syncretism of culture and art — creative assimilation of different cultural and artistic traditions, which, embodied in the work of art, present an organic combination of various artistic elements — may be witnessed in the Kara tepe architectural decoration as well. A vivid example is the two-belt capitals of the decorative pilasters.⁹⁵ The reliefs placed one above the other bring them closer to the Roman and early Byzantine capitals, and distinguish them from Gandharan capitals. The half-figure against the acanthus background may be traced to the classic tradition, the trefoil on the first capital and the garland on the second have analogies in the art of Gandhara, while the slanted eyes of the girl holding the garland may be a local touch, a reflection of aesthetic notions of the nomad conquerors of Bactria. The composition of the upper belt (the central animal in front view and the two others flanking it with heads turned outwards) was known in ancient Indian art. However, capitals with sculptured animal figures, protomes, may be traced to ancient Persian architecture. At the same time, the motif of a beast of prey assailing a bull was widespread not only in the Ancient East but also in the world of the steppes. From there also comes the image of a horned and winged griffon, depicted in the centre of the upper belt of one of the capitals.

Of lesser artistic value, but no less peculiar is a fragment of a ceramic vessel with a handle in the shape of the figure of a monkey.⁹⁶ Zoomorphic handles, judging by the area of the finds of this kind were traditional with the peoples

⁹⁴ See A. GRÜNWEDEL: *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*. B.—Lpz., 1920. S. 83; A. FOUCHER: *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*. T. II, 1. P., 1917. 370.

⁹⁵ For details see: B. J. STAVISKY: *The Capitals of Ancient Bactria. East and West*, vol. 23, No. 3—4, Roma 1973. 265—277; See also Б. Я. Ставиский: *Кушанская Бактрия*. 234—236. Neither of the works include the data on the second Kara-tepe capital.

⁹⁶ See Кара-тепе. III. 59 and Pl. XVII; Б. Я. Ставиский: *Кушанская Бактрия*. 236—237.

of the East European steppes, Kazakhstan and Northern Central Asia.⁹⁷ In the Volga region zoomorphic handles are to be found as far back as the 2nd—1st centuries B.C.⁹⁸ Zoomorphic handles in Kushan Bactria are definitely a sign of the influence of the notions of the steppe tribes. However, the Kara tepe handle differs from zoomorphic handles of the steppe world. The latter usually depicted rams or other local animals with heads turned up to the mouth of the vessel, which, it was believed, had to guard the contents of the vessel from evil spirits. Represented on the Kara tepe vessel is the monkey, a traditional image of Indian Buddhist art. The head of the animal is turned away from the vessel, which makes the figure rather a decorative element. This piece of handicrafts of Kushan Termez is thus a vivid illustration of intermingling of different artistic traditions — the Indian and that of the steppes — meant probably to please the tastes of the local Buddhist community.

It should be stressed that handles analogous to that of the Kara tepe vessel⁹⁹ are not to be found either in the Eurasian steppes or in the Indian sub-continent.

The present article does not lay claim to being an exhaustive analysis of the finds made on Kara tepe in the course of the 1937, and 1961—77 excavation seasons, or a complete summary of the conclusions to be drawn on its studies. My purpose has been to familiarize the reader with the major results of several years of work on this large Buddhist religious centre of the Kushan period on the bank of the Oxus.

Moscow.

⁹⁷ For the recent data on ceramic vessels with zoomorphic handles see: Б. А. Литвинский: Канийкого-сарматский фарн. Душанбе 1968 (particularly 3—13). See also an enlarged and amended edition of the work in German in *Central Asiatic Journal* 16 (1972) 244—288; 20 (1976) 47—73.

⁹⁸ See М. П. Абрамова: О керамике с зооморфными ручками. *Советская археология* 1969, № 2, 69.

⁹⁹ An analogous find has been made in the vicinity of Termez at the Shor-tepe site. See Г. А. Пугаченкова: Новые данные о художественной культуре Бактрии: Из истории античной культуры Узбекистана. Ташкент 1973 121, 123, Fig. 40a.

J. WOLSKI

LES SOURCES DE L'ÉPOQUE HELLÉNISTIQUE ET PARTHE DE L'HISTOIRE D'IRAN

DIFFICULTÉS DE LEUR INTERPRÉTATION ET PROBLÈMES DE LEUR
ÉVALUATION

Pour aborder les problèmes montrés dans le titre, il me semble indiqué de m'en remettre à deux propos d'importance et qui sont liés intimement avec le sujet en question. Et tous les deux, ce qu'il me paraît propre de souligner, ont été exposés ici, à Budapest, pendant les conférences consacrées à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. C'est M. le Professeur Gignoux qui a évoqué le rôle et l'importance des sources orientales, uniquement destinées à reconstruire le cours de l'histoire orientale.¹ Etant en principe d'accord avec son exposé, je me suis réservé, et j'y tiens encore aujourd'hui, une exception dont la validité ne me semble pas possible d'être mise en doute aussi à l'avenir. Il s'agit, bien entendu, de l'époque parthe et de celle, courte qu'elle soit, qui la précède et qu'on se plaît d'appeler hellénistique.² La tâche qui m'a été confié, et c'est ici que je dois présenter mes remerciements à M. le Professeur János Harmatta, rédacteur en chef de la Collection des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique, me pose de nouveau et cette fois pas du côté théorique, général, mais pratique, en vue de la nécessité d'élaborer le volume deux de cette Collection, devant le problème dont il a été question plus haut.

Les sources dont nous disposons pour l'époque hellénistique et parthe sont, pour la plus grande partie, ou bien grecques ou bien latines. En comparaison avec le laps de temps qu'englobe l'histoire de l'Iran depuis la mort d'Alexandre le Grand jusqu'à la chute de la monarchie des Arsacides, donc de 323 av. n. e. à 226 de n. e., donc cinq siècles et demi, les sources archéologiques, à défaut de fouilles ayant pour but de dégager les monuments de cette époque, ne peuvent entrer que de façon restreinte en ligne de compte pour reconstruire cette phase de l'histoire de l'Iran.³ Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ne disposons que de sources écrites grecques et latines. Certes, il y en a un assez grand nombre,

¹ Pendant la conférence tenue à Budapest en 1976.

² Cf. J. WOLSKI: Points de vue sur les sources gréco-latines de l'époque parthe dans: *Prolegomena to the sources on the History of Preislamic Central Asia*. Budapest 1976 (publié 1979). 17—25.

³ Cf. R. GHIRSHMAN: *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam*. Paris 1951. A. G. KOSCHELENKO: *Kultura Parfii*. Moscou 1966, qui donnent l'état de la question.

pour n'énumérer que les auteurs arméniens d'une valeur douteuse,⁴ les chroniqueurs chinois, mais dont les données difficiles parfois à interpréter portent seulement sur un secteur de l'histoire de la Bactriane. Pour en finir, il faut se rapporter aux sources juives, à la tradition indienne dont l'importance est aussi à prouver. Pour fermer la liste globale, nous devons tenir compte d'inscriptions, semées à long intervalle, sur toute l'histoire de l'Iran, de papyrus, de parchemins, de textes cunéiformes provenant de la Babylonie.⁵ Mais, à vrai dire, cette variété des sources ne doit pas nous tromper sur leur importance et leur rôle dans la reconstruction de l'histoire de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique et parthe ; sans les auteurs grecs et latins avec leur continuité du récit qui fait défaut ailleurs, le processus historique dans cette région apparaîtrait comme vide, comme dénué de faits, de liaisons intrinsèques.

Et c'est pourquoi il nous faut nous poser de nouveau la question capitale : quelle est la valeur des sources gréco-latines, qu'est-ce qu nous pouvons en tirer pour être en état de répondre à la tâche posée devant nous. Il va de soi, et il ne nous semble pas nécessaire de le souligner, qu'elles représentent, et elles le doivent, bien sûr, le point de vue macédonien ou romain.⁶ Issues du milieu grec et romain, ces sources, leurs auteurs, se sont laissés conduire par leur raison d'Etat, habitués, et qui s'en étonne, de traiter les peuples de l'Orient comme inférieurs en comparaison avec les leurs, comme barbares. Cette attitude, façonnée et maintenue le long des siècles, a influencé les tendances exposées dans la science, a donné à l'histoire parthe un aspect partial, conçu du point de vue des Séleucides d'abord, des Romains ensuite : les éléments parthes en furent presque exclus. Un facteur additionnel dont l'importance est pour nous clair c'est le manque, du côté des auteurs grecs et latins, d'orientation dans les institutions iraniennes, la mauvaise traduction et explications des termes juridiques propres à la société iranienne,⁷ phénomène dont l'apparition remonte, du reste, à l'époque des Achéménides.

⁴ C'est seulement, autant que je sache, B. P. LOZINSKI : *The Original Homeland of the Parthians*. 'S-Gravenhage 1959, qui s'est prononcé en faveur, quant à sa valeur, de cette couche des sources.

⁵ Pour cette catégorie de sources, consulter N. C. DEBEVOISE : *A Political History of Parthia*. 2 ed. Chicago 1968. Les recherches à venir apporteront, certainement, la solution du problème.

⁶ De la nombreuse littérature relative à cette attitude, on ne peut citer que les positions les plus typiques comme J. DOBLAŠ : *Les premiers rapports des Romains avec les Parthes et l'occupation de la Syrie*. *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1931) 212—256, H. H. von OSTEN : *Die Welt der Perser*. 3 ed. Stuttgart 1956. 118 et passim, J. B. BURY : *The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilisation* dans : *The Hellenistic Age*. 2 ed. Cambridge 1968. 1—31, qui, expressis verbis, traitent les Parthes de barbares.

⁷ C'est J. WOLSKI : *L'Etat parthe des Arsacides, Essai de reconstitution de leur évolution intérieure*. *Palaeologia* 7 (1958/9) 91—98, qui a souligné cet aspect des sources gréco-latines. Id., avec une ample documentation, *Le classi inferiori della popolazione nel regno dei Parti* dans : *Storia sociale ed economica dell'età classica negli studi polacchi contemporanei*. Milano 1976. 55—61.

Il est bien significatif que ce n'est que ces derniers temps que la conception très bornée de l'histoire de l'Iran sous les Arsacides, du complexe iranien dans le cadre de l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand et de ses successeurs, des Séleucides, commence à prendre une autre allure.⁸ Probablement, il faut en chercher la cause dans le changement de l'appréciation du rôle des peuples orientaux, des cultures extra-européennes, opéré aujourd'hui non seulement dans le domaine purement scientifique, mais aussi dans la vie politique et économique. Pourtant, ce revirement globalisant ne tient pas compte d'une situation particulière demandant un traitement détaillé comme c'est le cas avec l'histoire de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique et parthe surtout. Pour faire ici un pas en avant, pour débarasser le tissu de l'histoire iranienne des déformations accumulées le long des siècles, il faut trouver une approche approfondie, toujours conscient d'un défaut inné à toutes les recherches relatives à l'histoire de cette époque, à savoir des sources indigènes. C'est ici qu'on se heurte à un obstacle capital qu'on doit surmonter dans les cadres des possibilités, bien entendu. Pour créer une atmosphère plus favorable à la tâche que nous nous sommes posés et qui demande encore des travaux assidus, il nous faut reconsidérer avant tout une nouvelle mise au point qui s'était formée dans l'aperçu du processus historique. Au lieu d'une discontinuité, parfois conçue sous l'impression des faits politiques, le plus facilement saisissables et, en conséquence, s'imposant avec le plus de force, on cherche sous cet aspect extérieur des facteurs moins sujets à la transformation, plus stables et c'est pourquoi plus importants, plus prêts à nous faire une idée de la continuité des principaux courants du processus historique.⁹

Et c'est ici que nous pouvons nous rapporter aux résultats des recherches qui contribuent, sous maints aspects, à établir une autre approche à l'histoire de l'époque qui a suivi la conquête de l'Iran par Alexandre le Grand. C'est l'opinion bien séduisante et marquée d'un nombre de références de Pierre Briant de l'échec du conquérant macédonien en vue de s'attirer la bienveillance des Perses, des Iraniens en entier.¹⁰ La preuve de son mécontentement fut l'incendie de l'ensemble des palais à Persépolis. Grâce à cette opinion très attrayante nous sommes en état de constater d'un refus de la part des Iraniens

⁸ Pour une conception globale du problème voir FR. ALTHEIM et R. STIEHL : *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum*. Berlin 1970.

⁹ C'est J. WOLSKI : *L'Iran dans la politique des Séleucides*, *Festschrift J. Harmatta* ; A. A. A. S. H. 25 (1977, publié 1980) 17—25, qui a exposé ce point de vue pour l'adapter à l'histoire de l'Iran.

¹⁰ P. BRIANT : *Conquête territoriale et stratégie idéologique : Alexandre le Grand et l'idéologie monarchique achéménide*. Dans : *Actes du colloque international sur l'idéologie monarchique dans l'antiquité*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 63 (Cahiers scientifiques de l'Université Jagellone, *Travaux Historiques* 63). Cracovie 1980. 37—83. P. BRIANT, appuyé sur une analyse des sources très pénétrante, a montré les méthodes capables de nous révéler l'existence de la tradition iranienne cachée dans les sources gréco-latines.

de se subordonner de bon gré, de la volonté de résister, d'entretenir l'esprit d'indépendance vis-à-vis du conquérant. Héritiers d'un glorieux passé, les Perses et les autres Iraniens, comme le montre la résistance témoignée par les Bactriens et les Sogdiens, sans parler des peuples habitant l'arrière-pays de l'Iran, ont fait cause commune contre l'envahisseur macédonien. Ce ne sont pas les nouvelles sources capables de nous donner des détails pour combler le tissu historique mais ce sont les données qui nous font apparaître l'attitude des Iraniens, certainement de l'aristocratie foncière, de son activité qui contraste avec les opinions tant de fois suggérées par les savants modernes de leur passivité. Ces considérations sont à même de nous livrer la clef pour résoudre maints problèmes dans l'avenir.

Si les propos de Briant mettent en lumière le côté idéologique, très négligé dans les recherches, de la société iranienne dans son comportement envers les dynasties macédoniennes ce qui permet de voir d'un autre œil le contenu des sources gréco-latines, ceux qui ont été présentées, aussi ces derniers temps, par Heinz Kreissig¹¹ donnent accès au milieu économique de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique, milieu continué aussi, sans doute, à celles des Parthes. De ses recherches on peut tirer la conviction que les nouveaux maîtres n'ont introduit que peu de changement touchant la structure économique des pays conquis en Orient, donc aussi en Iran. En particulier, ils ont retenu les modes de production hérités du passé. La force des institutions façonnées depuis des siècles sinon des millénaires, a conservé sa vigueur malgré les vicissitudes des temps et a créé la base de la nouvelle structure politique en Iran issue de la conquête de ce territoire par les Arsacides. Cependant, il faut s'en rendre compte, les propositions de Briant et de Kreissig ne nous fournissent pas de détails, mais elles forment une nouvelle approche à l'histoire de l'Iran dans la phase qui nous occupé. Si l'on veut élaborer un commentaire répondant aux exigences des temps actuels, il ne suffit pas, comme il me semble, d'expliquer sèchement les faits politiques, il faut les interpréter et les appuyer, en analysant les sources gréco-latines, au moyen d'information tirées d'autres couches du processus historique. Bien sûr, cela ne peut pas être de règle, pourtant sans en tenir compte, sans en faire mention dans l'occurrence, ce commentaire ne présenterait aucun progrès, si important dans la science.

Je tiens à exposer ce caractère d'études visant à approfondir notre connaissance de l'époque en question parce que c'est grâce à cela que nous trouvons une approche convenable à nos propres tâches. Le manque de sources iraniennes, la division inégale des relations gréco-latines, où seul Justin donne un récit continu des événements, depuis les origines des Parthes jusqu'au règne d'Au-

¹¹ Quand il s'agit du problème controversé de l'influence exercée par le milieu hellénique en Asie Antérieure dans le domaine socio-économique, voir H. KREISSIG: *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im Seleukidenreich*. Berlin 1978, qui se prononce décidément contre l'opinion exagérée de cette influence en exposant le rôle des facteurs traditionnels.

guste, tout cela nous incite à nous pencher sur le terrain jusqu'ici inexploité mais propre à nous donner des renseignements précieux. Dégager le sens vérifiable des sources gréco-latines et, ce qui est d'importance, d'en tirer les informations provenant du milieu parthe, cela, à mon avis, se pose devant nous comme étant d'un intérêt majeur, si nous voulons construire une base solide capable de soutenir la reconstruction de l'histoire de l'Iran dont nous nous occupons.¹² Une fois déjà, et c'est ici, à Budapest, que j'ai essayé de mettre en relief la valeur de la tradition gréco-latines pour l'histoire des Parthes.¹³ Mon propos s'est ramené, cette fois, à vérifier, en vertu de l'analyse de quelques exemples choisis, la valeur de Strabon et de Justin pour la haute époque de l'histoire de l'Iran. La critique dans bien des cas a pu révéler à un haut degré de véracité les informations fournies par ces auteurs. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'on n'y trouve pas de défauts, signalés déjà plus haut, c'est-à-dire du manque de précision quant il s'agit de termes juridiques, d'institutions politiques et sociales propres à l'Iran.

En trouvant cela conforme à nos tâches, il me semble juste d'élargir notre analyse en la soumettant à des démarches répondant aux nouveaux buts que nous sommes proposés. Bien entendu, ce qu'on a dit plus haut sur une nouvelle conception de l'histoire de l'Iran sert à nous introduire dans un climat différent, mal conçu jusqu'ici et adopté dans les recherches. Cependant, pour approfondir notre connaissance de l'époque, pour gagner un élément additionnel, apte à dissiper les malentendus survenus à propos de la barbarie des Parthes, leur infériorité culturelle en comparaison avec la supériorité supposée des Gréco-Macédoniens et des Romains,¹⁴ il nous faut faire une chose de plus. La critique textuelle des sources ne suffit pas à nous satisfaire dans ce domaine. Je ne voudrais pas m'en remettre à mes recherches précédentes relatives à l'époque du Haut-Empire parthe, donc de cette phase de son histoire qui finit, du point de vue de Rome, avec l'activité d'Auguste dont la politique consistait à établir un *modus vivendi* avec les Parthes.¹⁵ Et il me semble, d'accord avec le déroulement du processus historique chez les Parthes, de mettre, et de leur part, la césure entre le Haut- et le Bas-Empire en 20 av. n. é. environ. C'est peu à peu que commence en ce temps-là de se dessiner le changement dans la structure de la royauté parthe, arsacide exposée de plus en plus aux attaques de l'aristocratie

¹² Il est bien clair que c'est de ce manque de sources iraniennes que provient, dans les recherches, cet aspect proromain dans l'histoire des relations romano-parthes. Voir, p. ex., dernièrement, M. G. ANGELI BERTINELLI : *Roma e l'Oriente*. Roma 1979.

¹³ Cf. mon article cité plus haut, *Points de vue sur les sources gréco-latines de l'époque parthe*.

¹⁴ C'est à ce problème que j'ai consacré ma communication au VI^e Congrès International d'Etudes Classiques, Madrid 1974, sous le titre : *Les Parthes et leur attitude envers le monde gréco-romain*. București—Paris 1976. 455—462.

¹⁵ Je tiens ici à renvoyer à mon étude *Iran und Rom, Versuch einer historischen Wertung der gegenseitigen Beziehungen*. ANRW II 9. 1. Berlin—New York 1976. 195—214, où j'ai présenté l'état de la question.

foncière, des puissantes familles parthes, inspirées par l'inimitié de la monarchie absolue considérée comme oppressive, comme tyrannique. D'autre part, en vertu du processus intrinsèque, on voit s'accomplir au sein de la société iranienne un retour à la tradition vieille-perse, aux traditions des Achéménides, ensevelies pour quelque temps sous la couche superficielle d'apports helléniques.¹⁶

En comparaison avec l'époque du Haut-Empire, cette phase de l'histoire parthe, assombrie par les défaites subies de la part des Romains, par la triple prise par eux de Ctésiphon, capitale parthe, est assez mal connue, si nous l'envisageons, bien entendu, du côté des Parthes. Contrairement à l'époque du Haut-Empire, nous ne disposons pas, pour l'époque du Bas-Empire, d'un récit continu, comparable à celui de Justin. Il nous faut donc nous contenter d'informations exposant, du point de vue de Rome, les exploits des armes romaines, des empereurs romains et où on ne tient compte que de façon très faible des conditions socio-économiques en vigueur dans l'Etat des Arsacides. Et c'est pourquoi, comme il me semble, on doit d'autant plus mettre l'accent sur la tradition gréco-latine, en extraire des données accusant la provenance parthe. C'est à mon avis l'unique voie qui puisse nous conduire vers une plus grande confiance à l'égard de la tradition romaine, nous inspirer plus de foi dans sa vérité, sapée, et qui s'en étonne, pour le III^e siècle de n. è., par la découverte des *Res gestae divi Saporis*.¹⁷ Et c'est par cela qu'on peut aller à l'encontre de la suggestion avancée par le professeur Gignoux de donner la priorité pour reconstruire l'histoire de l'Orient aux sources orientales, cette fois parthes. Ce serait, du reste, demander trop à cette étape des recherches, de parvenir déjà à des résultats plus importants, d'épuiser le problème qui ne vient que d'être posé. Quand même, il y a quelques points de repère assez significatifs dont l'impression nous prédispose à suivre la voie une fois choisie.

Dans mes études à mettre de la lumière sur le problème de l'idéologie des Arsacides, sur leur capacité, tant de fois mise en doute, de se laisser conduire dans leur politique par des plans d'envergure, je me suis penché sur une phrase de Tacite, *Ann. VI 31*, qui mentionne un événement ayant trait à l'histoire des relations romano-parthes. Il s'agit d'une lettre adressée par le roi parthe Artaban II à l'empereur Tibère.¹⁸ La voici: *missis qui reposerunt; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat*. Sans attarder aux expressions issues sans doute du milieu romain et témoignant de la manière

¹⁶ Cf. J. WOLSKI: Les Achéménides et les Arsacides, Contribution à l'histoire de la formation des traditions iraniennes. *Syria* 43 (1966) 65—89.

¹⁷ Pour une dernière mise au point, voir M. G. ANGELI BERTINELLI: *Roma e l'Oriente*. 103 ss., où on trouve citée la littérature la plus récente relative à cette question.

¹⁸ Cf. J. WOLSKI: Les Achéménides et les Arsacides. *Syria* 43 (1966) 65—89, où cette question a été analysée en détail.

habituelle du dédain avec lequel les cercles impériaux traitaient les Parthes, et d'autant plus, sur le témoignage très convaincant de la pensée politique des Arsacides, se posant en successeurs des Achéménides, il faut tirer de cette phrase une conclusion valable pour nos recherches. C'est que, dans les archives romaines, probablement de l'époque impériale, on a conservé un nombre de textes officiels parthes, utilisés ensuite par les écrivains romains dans les parties pertinentes de leurs récits relatifs aux Parthes. Cet exemple confirme l'existence de tels documents ce qui ne semble être une preuve de premier ordre, compte tenu de ce peu dont nous disposons ; cependant, à fortiori, les gains qu'ils nous apportent, sont encore plus multiples. D'abord ils nous inspirent de la confiance dans la véracité des sources romaines, grecques et latines, appuyées, dans une mesure qui nous échappe, bien entendu, sur une quantité de documents, lettres, traités, rapports etc., étant la preuve de l'activité diplomatique du milieu arsacide.¹⁹ S'il en est ainsi, et il n'y pas de raison d'en douter d'après l'exemple cité plus haut, tous ces documents ont été transmis à la postérité par l'intermédiaire de l'historiographie romaine.

Si nous ne pouvions citer que la phrase de Tacite mentionnée ici pour faire valoir l'idée exprimée ci-dessus, on n'en a pu tirer qu'une conclusion limitée, sans pouvoir l'utiliser dans le but de créer une conception plus large, plus générale. Cependant, nous ne nous trouvons pas dans une situation exceptionnelle, au contraire, il y a d'autres cas portant dans le même sens. C'est à l'occasion de traiter le problème du Caucase et de la Mer Noire dans la politique de Rome et des Parthes, que j'ai pu me référer à une lettre d'un souverain parthe dont la teneur nous a aussi été transmise par Tacite.²⁰ Cette fois, le personnage principal est le roi parthe Vologèse I qui, à l'occasion de l'intronisation de Tiridate, son frère, et du règlement de l'affaire arménienne a précisé dans une lettre adressée à l'empereur Néron les fondements, les directives de la politique de l'Etat parthe face à l'Arménie. La teneur de Tacite, Ann. XV 24, est la suivante : *se (Vologesis) priora et totiens iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere*. Ce n'est pas ici la place d'analyse en détail le programme arménien des Arsacides. Ce qui importe, c'est de mettre en relief, cette fois encore, le rôle de la tradition parthe, des documents parthes insérés dans la trame de la narration de l'auteur latin. L'analyse du texte de Tacite suggère et nous fait

¹⁹ Que l'activité de la cour de Ctésiphon, en vue de présenter les plans politiques des Arsacides sur les problèmes relatifs aux relations romano-parthes, ne se limitait pas aux genres cités dans le texte, qu'elle utilisait d'autres moyens pour atteindre les buts proposés, nous en avons des preuves indirectes dans une phrase célèbre de T. Live. IX 18,6 : *Levissimi ex Graecis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent*. C'est un grand dommage pour la science de voir toute cette littérature perdue qui, conservée, serait à même, certainement, de jeter un peu de la lumière sur les méthodes de la propagande parthe.

²⁰ Cf. J. WOLSKI : Caucase et Mer Noire entre Rome et les Parthes. Actes du XVI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Bucarest 1980.

croire à l'existence, du reste pas exclusivement chez Tacite, d'une ample documentation provenant de cercles officiels parthes et conservée dans les archives romaines, exploitée par les historiens romains dans les parties pertinentes de leurs œuvres.

Et en vertu de ces exemples dont le nombre peut certainement être augmenté, se fortifie la conviction — pour le contraire on devrait citer des arguments d'un poids suffisant — de la haute valeur des sources romaines touchant les relations romano-parthes. Cela dit, on est loin d'englober dans cette opinion toute l'histoire de l'Iran de l'époque parthe qui de telle manière menacerait de n'être perçue que sous l'angle romain. Qu'il y a encore beaucoup de domaines lacuneux, presque vides de faits historiques, cela s'ensuit de l'examen des sources à l'histoire de l'Iran propre qui restent muettes et ne nous donnent pas réponse à beaucoup de questions. Et elles auraient trait à l'histoire intérieure de l'Iran des Parthes, aux querelles dynastiques, aux séditions des satrapes, aux contacts tantôt pacifiques, tantôt belliqueux avec les voisins parfois turbulents.²¹

Ce qui nous échappe, ce sont les causes, les voies, les milieux où s'est opéré le grand processus intérieur et qui, pas à pas, a permis aux Iraniens de refaire leurs liens traditionnels avec l'héritage des Achéménides en frayant de telle façon la renaissance grandiose de l'époque des Sasanides²². En vue de l'opiniâtreté avec laquelle les Sasanides ont persécuté les souvenirs de l'époque des Arsacides, pour en effacer la mémoire même au moyen d'une telle manipulation que de limiter la durée de leur règne à 200 ans,²³ il me semble indiqué de soulever cette question pour nous rendre présents les problèmes qui restent encore à résoudre pour la pensée historique moderne. Les défauts des sources y sont clairs.

J'ai cru nécessaire de faire l'examen de toutes ces questions abordées seulement très rarement dans les recherches afin d'exposer mon parti pris, de l'autre, pour montrer quelles lacunes doivent être prises en considération et doivent être marquées avant que nous puissions trouver notre tâche, de donner un commentaire complet des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale portant sur l'époque arsacide, comme épuisée.

Pour finir, on ne peut pas omettre de souligner le rôle des considérations comme celles-ci sur notre aperçu des possibilités des Parthes. La structure inté-

²¹ L'exemple le plus marquant en est l'histoire des Juifs de Babylonie dont l'attitude a parfois causé à l'Etat parthe de graves inconvénients. Cf. J. NEUSNER: *A History of the Jews in Babylonia. I. The Parthian Period.* Leiden 1965. 50 ss.

²² L'opinion du rôle actif de l'époque arsacide dans la transmission de l'héritage des Achéménides aux Sasanides commence aujourd'hui de plus en plus à prendre de la valeur dans la science. Cf., p. ex., G. WIDENGREN, *Die Begriffe «populorum ordo» und «ram» als Ausdrücke der Standesgliederung im Partherreich.* Festschrift Walter Baetke. Weimar 1960. 384. note 25.

²³ Cf. J. WOLSKI: *Arsakiden und Sasaniden. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben.* Berlin 1969. 315—322.

rieure de leur Etat s'avère plus développée qu'on ne le soupçonnait jusqu'ici. L'activité diplomatique de la chancellerie royale menée probablement en langue grecque, les directives de leur politique révélées dans les lettres des rois, la stabilité dans l'exécution des plans une fois conçus et mis en action, tout cela nous oblige d'enclure dans les réflexions, dont l'effet sera le commentaire, un tel aspect de l'époque parthe qui répond aux réalités de l'histoire parthe.

Kraków.

THE FIRST HOARD OF TETRADRACHMAS OF THE KUṢĀṆA «HERAIOS»

The first hoard of silver tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has been found in the southern part of Tajikistan in the territory of the district centre of Vakhsh (district Vakhsh) at the construction of a house.¹ The type of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has been described although very briefly, in literature. Here it is important to stress those details and characteristics, which can be essential for further study.

Obverse. The bust of the ruler: face with moustache (and with a short beard?) in right profile, the shoulders being almost in front-view. The diadem surrounds the forehead at the root of the hair, the frontal short locks are brushed back, while the right long locks are freely hanging down, covering the ear. The face is sometimes more round, almost puffy, and sometimes more thin and even «vehement».² Stylistic differences can be observed in certain details. The eye is represented sometimes in front-view and sometimes in profile. The moustache is sometimes quite straight and sometimes slightly pointed with somewhat drooping or turning up ends. The locks are cut straight at their ends forming sometimes slight and sometimes sharp waves. The right lock of the hair turned back from the forehead frequently falls freely on the diadem, but sometimes it fuses with the long locks into one line. The ends of the diadem are quite short and curved, they slightly vary in the length and steepness of the arch, but

¹ The original dimensions of the hoard are not known. The late N. N. ERSHOV, a well-known Tajik specialist in ethnography has informed of the circumstances and place of its find. He has already succeeded to collect six coins (N-377), which he handed over to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR (further on ИИТ). One coin (N-341) was handed over to the ИИТ by the journalist V. E. СИТНИКОВ. And an additional coin was given to the Republican Museum of History and Culture of the Tajik People (further on РМТ, Inv. No. I-2973) by the collective farmer H. IDRISOV. To the eight coins of the hoard mentioned later in the article the following serial numbers have been given: Nos. 1 to 6, ИИТ, N-377/1-6; No. 7, ИИТ, N-341; No. 8, РМТ, I-2973.

² It is possible that this is not simply a stylistic difference but a difference of age, if the representation is a portrait. In this connection, however, it is important to stress the great similarity of the coins of «Heraios» to the sculptural representations of two monuments of different times and distant from each other: by Khalchayan in Southern Uzbekistan (G. A. РУГАСЧЕНКОВА: К иконографии Герая, VDI 1965 No. 1. 132-134; *eadem*: Халчаян. Tashkent 1966. 188-189; *eadem*: Скульптура Халчаяна. Moscow 1971. 45-46) and by Hadda (J. HASKIN, L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922-1932). I. Archéologie bouddhique. Tokyo 1933. 11. Fig. 12; B. ROWLAND: Zentralasien. Baden-Baden 1970. 27-28, 48).

they always stand out backwards, not hanging down. The head is sometimes slightly lifted up and thrown back, and sometimes it shows a more straight position. The bust of the ruler is surrounded by a frame consisting of longish «beads» alternating with two vertical strokes each (resembling occasionally dots). In those cases, when this frame has been preserved below, it can be seen that on different coins the bust was cut in different heights. The clothing is always the same, *viz.* underneath a shirt made of soft textile with broad round neckline, keeping open the neck with a wrinkle under the chin; above there is a caftan with a «roll»-collar (or with border?). The representation and the frame are arranged exactly in the centre of the flan only on coin No. 1, and in this case it can be seen very clearly that the size of the stamping-die was slightly smaller than the size of the flan. On the other coins of the hoard, the representation is shifted sometimes slightly and sometimes considerably in some direction, so that part of the frame (below occasionally also an insignificant part of the bust) is completely outside the flan, and if the representation and the frame were displaced still entirely, then on the margin of the opposite side, there remains a large free field on the flan.

Reverse. Mounted figure with quiver on horseback shown from the right side; the quiver reaches down to the level of the foot. From behind the goddess Nike flies towards the mounted figure; her relative size, pose and position compared with the horse and the mounted figure, as well as the stylization of the costume are somewhat different. The horse is pacing, its left foreleg is lifted up. Its tail is tied round so that sometimes five and sometimes six knots (represented with dots) are formed. The end of the tail is pointed. The horseman is sitting freely, the reins in his left hand are slackened, his right hand — bent in the elbow — reaches backwards, the torso is turned almost into front view, and the head is in profile. The mounted figure is obviously the same ruler as the one represented on the obverse. In spite of the small size of the representation, the characteristics of the coiffure and the face are definitely stressed, and the details of the attire are given even more accurately. The border (roll-collar or lappet?) of the caftan reaches down to the waist. The type of the representation is the same. The representation differs on all the eight coins of the hoard in the details, in the manner and skill. The legend is arranged partly above the mounted figure in an arched line and partly under and between the legs of the horse in two straight lines. On the different coins the arched line of the legend differs in the bending of the arch, in its «base» (the beginning and the end are approximately in the same level, but more above or more below in comparison to the horseman), and in the size of the characters. The word between the legs of the horse consists sometimes of five (coins Nos. 1 to 4 and 6 to 7) and sometimes of seven characters (coins Nos. 5 and 8), the arrangement of which can be different (see Table 1).

Table 1

No.	Hind legs of the horse		Front legs of the horse		
1		Σ	ΔN		Δβ
2		Σ	ΔN		Δβ
3		Σ	ΔH		Δβ
4		Σ	ΔH		[Δβ]
5	Σ	Δ	ZΔ	8	□V
6		[Σ]	ΔN		Δβ
7		Σ	ΔH		Δβ
8		Σ ↑	N	↑	□βV

Reverse: characters arranged between the legs of the horse

The relationship of the axes of the obverse and reverse sides is different. Both the obverse and reverse sides of all the eight coins of the hoard — judged from the details and manner of the representation, as well as from the peculiarities of the inscriptions — were minted with different dies.³

³ A. N. ZOGRAF, author of the most thorough and many-sided research in the coins of «Heraios», on the basis of the obverse and the inscription between the legs of the horse on the reverse side, divides the tetradrachmas into two groups (A. N. ZOGRAF: *Монеты «Герая»*. Tashkent 1937. 15): 1) low cut of the bust, straight carriage of the head and accurate beard (on the reverse side the word between the legs of the horse

The legend on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has raised a great polemic and it cannot be regarded as definitively deciphered and understood even today. In the course of the accumulation of material it has become clear that the legend is the same on all tetradrachmas, but on some coins it differs in certain characters. Consequently, on certain coins there were errors and distortions in it that permitted of different restorations of its original, basic text. This uncertainty rendered its deciphering and understanding even more difficult, and has brought about further hypotheses.

The legend consists of four words. At present the original spelling (although there are errors in the execution), the reading (with the consideration of two paleographic details)⁴ and the translation of the first word — *TYPANNOYNTOS* «of the ruling» — do not raise any doubts. Among the tetradrachmas of the hoard this word appears on coin No. 8 in correct form, and on coins Nos. 1 to 7 with different errors. There exists, however, no convincing historical interpretation so far. According to the interesting comment by Kennedy, this title reflects the vassal condition of its bearer.⁵

The restoration of the original form of the second word *HIAOY* on the tetradrachmas does not raise any earnestly founded refutation, although its second character is frequently fully missing or appears in the form of a short stroke upwards; there are also errors. On coins Nos. 2 and 8 of the hoard the spelling is exactly the same, viz. *HIAOY*, while on coin No. 6 there is a short stroke in place of the second character, on coin No. 4 it appears without the second character, and on the other coins it contains errors. It is important to note that the first character on seven coins is an *eta*, on one it is an *omicron* in quadratic form (the origin of this and the other errors will be explained below), and the *mu* does not occur as an initial character at all (here we do not discuss the spelling of this word on the obols).

The most accepted reading («Heraios») and interpretation (Greek proper name) are, however, still disputed and doubted.⁶

consists of seven characters); 2) high cut of the bust (almost at the border of the shirt), the neck bent ahead, the head of rather big size and slightly lifted up, the beard is not so accurate (on the reverse side the same word consists of five characters). The coins of the hoard partly support this classification (see Pls. I—III): Nos. 5 and 8 low cut of the bust and this word on the reverse side consists of seven characters; Nos. 1—3 high cut of the bust and this word on the reverse side consists of five characters. The carriage and the size of the head, apparently, are no accurate criteria for classification.

⁴ The third character *ro* usually has the form of an inclined stroke, and the *omicron* is of quadratic form, in the setting, however, it is always substituted for a round form.

⁵ ZOGRAF: МОНЕТЫ «Герая». 11—12.

⁶ УЧ. Г. VINOGRADOV kindly stated to me that the name *Ἡραῖος* (or *Ἡραῖος*) is a theophoric name to be derived from the name Hera or from the month *Ἡραῖος* of certain Doric and other calendars (Crete, Delphi, Byzantium, Bithynia, Chios, Zeleia, see A. SAMUEL: Greek and Roman Chronology. München 1972. 74, 88, 117, 131, 175), documented: 1) on the coin from Kyme and in several inscriptions, see W. PAPE—G. BENSELER: Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen. Braunschweig³ 1884. 462; 2) in Chersonesus — IOSPE I², 359; E. I. SOLOMONIK: Новые эпиграфические памятники

The third word, arranged under the feet of the horse, was read as «Kuṣāṇa». The reading does not raise any doubt. On the tetradrachmas, e.g., the basic representation is KOIIANOY, but the third and fourth characters stand some times separated and sometimes together, and have sometimes a slightly arched form that should not be regarded as errors, but as other variants of different meaning, showing the attempts to render the sound ṣ. The interpretation of the word *Kuṣāṇa* as the name of one of the five tribes of the Yueh-chih,⁷ however, is not indisputable. After Kujula Kadphises, the *Kuṣāṇa yabghu*, has subdued the other four *yabghu*, his empire was called *Kuṣāṇa*. All other peoples used this name, and only the Chinese Han dynasty called them invariably Great Yueh-chih. The question on the origin of the word *Kuṣāṇa* and on its meaning before it became the name of the dynasty and the empire in their own language, and as such it was accepted by the other peoples, however, must not be examined isolated, outside the general context of informations on the Yueh-chih.

In fact, in the sources there is no direct reference to the five tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih. In the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu five hsi-hou (*yabghu*) are mentioned. The informations of these two sources on the five hsi-hou are not entirely identical. They seem to be different in respect of their contents, but they stress in the same degree the necessity of the independent examination of two questions in this connection, viz. 1. on the belonging of the five territories

Херсонеса, [II]. Kiev 1973. 146. No. 147; 3) in the Bosphorus — KBN, 166, 692, 1137, B, 2.22; V. F. GAJDUKEVIČ: Вотив Героя из Мирмекия, Культура античного Мира. Moscow 1966. 70; I. I. ТОЛСТОЙ: Греческие граффити древних городов Северного Причерноморья. Moscow—Leningrad 1953. 93, No. 149; 4) in Athens, see J. KIRCHNER: Prosopographia Attica B. 1901. Nos. 6435, 6436; 5) in the island of Eresos, tyrant at the time of Alexander — OGIS, 8.37. By these, in his words, all mentionings of this name, well spread up to the Roman period, are not being exhausted.

It must be noted that the interpretation of this word as a name, but in the spelling *MIAOY* and *MIAIOY*, proposed in the initial phase of the study of these coins, was convincingly refuted by the numismatists on the basis of a more objective analysis of the old and the newly accumulated material. In spite of this, in certain recent monographs devoted to the history and numismatics of the *Kuṣāṇas* this spelling with the first character *mu* and with the reading «Miaou» has emerged again. Thus, BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY (The Age of the *Kuṣāṇas* — A Numismatic Study. Calcutta 1967. 11—16, 20), without any motivation and evidence, only in the beginning gives the name of this ruler as «Miaus (or Heraus)», and later in the whole excursus there appears definitely the writing *MIAOY* and the reading «Miaus». In this the author relies upon the tetradrachma of the British Museum, published by P. GARDNER (but on that, judged from the photograph, there appears not an *M* but exactly an *H*; P. GARDNER himself also read *H*, see P. GARDNER: Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum. Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India. Chicago 1966. XLVII, 116, Pl. XXIV, 7), and also upon the obol of the Museum of India in Calcutta (on which the first character does not at all resemble to an *M*). It is possible, that the acceptance of such a writing and reading is explained by the circumstance that the author is not acquainted with the whole literature of the question. B. N. MUKHERJEE (Studies in *Kuṣāṇa* genealogy and chronology. Vol. I. The *Kuṣāṇa* genealogy. Calcutta 1967. 92, note 6) asserts that he has studied the coins of the British Museum and he has convinced himself that on them at least one must read «Miaos (*MIAOY*)». In his text we find everywhere consistently «Miaos».

⁷ ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 31—32.

or possessions with cities-capitals and on their place in the empire of the Great Yueh-chih; 2. on the origin of the names of the hsi-hou and the transformation of their meaning.⁸

Chang Ch'ien, who visited the Great Yueh-chih between 130 and 125 B.C. (some scholars mention more accurate, but different dates), describes the following situation: the Great Yueh-chih conquered the territory of Ta-hsia (south of the Amu Darya), but they settled down north of the river and led there a nomadic way of life. It is important that in the description of the boundaries of the empire of the Great Yueh-chih Ta-hsia is mentioned as the southern boundary.

Five districts or possessions are not mentioned either in the territory of nomadic life north of the river or in Ta-hsia. The lack of reference is, of course, no evidence. Chang Ch'ien, however, did visit Ta-hsia, and his detailed description («They have no great kings or heads, but everywhere in their walled cities and settlements they installed small heads»)⁹ does not render likely the existence of five or less districts or possessions. The situation described by Chang Ch'ien is called by us conditionally the first stage in the history of the Yueh-chih after they conquered the territory on both sides of the Amu Darya.

In the Han-shu (completed about 80 A.D., the events are described up to 25 A.D.) a completely different situation is depicted, *viz.* the residence of the king of the Great Yueh-chih is in a city north of the river; the southern boundary is no more Ta-hsia, but the district Ki-pin; they themselves originally developed as a nomad state; there are five hsi-hou, which are subjected to the Great Yueh-chih.¹⁰ Thus many things have already changed towards the joining of the nomad conquerors in the local culture and economy (and, partly, very likely in the settled life) and towards a more definite formation of the state of the Great Yueh-chih itself. This is shown by the residence in a city, by the establishment of the boundaries of the state (the annexation of Ta-hsia originally conquered only formally), as well as by some determination of the system of state schematically fixed by the existence of the king of the Great Yueh-chih and the five districts or possessions governed by subordinated hsi-hou (*yabghu*). The development and duration of the existence of this situation is unknown,

⁸ We used the English translations of the most significant contemporary sinologists PULLEYBLANK and ZÜRCHER that are in certain essential details different from the Russian translation by BICHURIN, E. G. PULLEYBLANK: Chinese Evidence for the Date of Kaniska, in Papers on the Date of Kaniska, submitted to the conference on the date of Kaniska, L., 20—22 April 1960, ed. by A. L. BASHAM. Leiden 1968; E. ZÜRCHER: The Yueh-chih and Kaniska in the Chinese Sources (*ibidem*); N. Ja. BICHURIN (IAKINF): Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древнейшие времена, II. Moscow—Leningrad 1950.

⁹ ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.* 360.

¹⁰ ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 364; A. F. P. HULSEWÉ: China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B. C.—A. D. 23. Leiden 1979. (*Sinica Leidensia*, Vol. XIV.) 121—123.

it is only clear that it existed earlier than 25 A.D.¹¹ and it represents a new stage in the history of the Yueh-chih that is called by us the second stage.

Who were the *yabghu*, the rulers of these five districts or possessions, each of whom, similarly to the head of the Great Yueh-chih, had his residence in his own district? The existing different viewpoints have to be divided into two groups, *viz.* 1. *yabghu* — no Yueh-chih;¹² 2. *yabghu* — Yueh-chih.

The text of the Han-shu, taken isolated, permits both assumptions. The logical conclusion from the first one (*i.e.* if the *yabghu* — is no Yueh-chih) will be as follows: Kadphises I, *yabghu* of one of the five districts, was also no Yueh-chih, but a local or pre-Yueh-chih dynast. Thus the Kuṣāṇa state established by him was not Yueh-chih either. Such a conclusion, however, contradicts to the sources of the later period and to the fact that in them the Kuṣāṇa empire appears as Yueh-chih. The logical conclusion from the second assumption (*yabghu* — is Yueh-chih) will mean that there existed a hierarchy among the Great Yueh-chih, and the *yabghu* — the heads of the five tribes (clans) — were in a certain dependence from the head of the Great Yueh-chih, *i.e.* from the whole of their tribal union. In this case the text of the Han-shu would mean that the five Yueh-chih *yabghu* received five districts or possessions in the territory of the state of the Great Yueh-chih, but practically or formally they were not independent. Very likely it can be presumed that originally this was a nomadic division the territories of which, in accordance with the adoption of sedentary life and culture, gradually were transformed into more definite possessions.¹³ Since the envoy Chang Ch'ien does not speak about the five nomadic camps and possessions, and in Ta-hsia he even describes a different situation, it can be presumed that the quite accurate division of the nomadic camps and even more of the possessions took place later, when it formed a significant component of the second stage. With other words, even in the short and general testimonies of the two sources from different times — in the report of Chang Ch'ien and in the Han-shu — undoubtedly important changes are reflected, giving so to say the minimum about the two stages. There is no doubt that changes must have taken place also later and, therefore, their reflection can also be expected in later sources.

If we look at the next, third source — the Hou Han-shu (in this source the information about the Western Regions dates back to 125 A.D.) from such,

¹¹ E. PULLEYBLANK (*op. cit.* 250—254) has convincingly shown that the passage on the five hsi-hou appears to be a later insertion from the years 74—75 A. D. and reflects the situation of these years. The latter does not appear to be compulsory; the insertion may be an additional information on the past history.

¹² On the different assumptions about their origin in this case see ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 365, note 1; G. HALOUN: Zur Üetsi-Frage. ZDMG, Bd. 91, 1937, 257, note 7.

¹³ Undoubtedly, these nomad camps or possessions corresponded both to the physico-geographical and (judged from the existence of capitals) to the historical and cultural regions, what is important for the localization.

not «static» viewpoint, then it appears that it does not contradict the Han-shu and is no distortion (as it was thought by certain researchers), but it simply reflects another new stage in the history of the Yueh-chih that we call the third stage.

The compiler of the Hou Han-shu himself stated that he was interested only in the situation from the time of the foundation of the Later Han dynasty, which is entirely different from the previous one. It is not by accident that the whole early history of the Great Yueh-chih is limited with him to two informations, *viz.* they clashed with the Hsiung-nu and moved to Ta-hsia. The following events stood in the sphere of direct interest of the compiler of the Hou Han-shu: the *yabghu* Kuṣāṇa subdued the other four *yabghu*, declared himself king and called his state Kuṣāṇa. Till the time of the unification, therefore, the five possessions headed by Yueh-chih *yabghu* were independent, there was no hierarchy and subordination to the head of the Great Yueh-chih. Very likely it is not by accident that the unifier was not the head of the Yueh-chih either (in this case he is not mentioned at all), but one of the five *yabghu*, and the form of the unification was not the strengthening of the «central» power of the Great Yueh-chih, but the victory of one *yabghu* over the other four. This is the new situation described in the Hou Han-shu. Its compiler, however, knows that these five possessions had existed since long, he even knows about how long these five possessions existed before the unification, *viz.* over one hundred years. However, it does not interest him at all how these possessions were originally (at the time of their formation), because these nuances of the past are outside his chronological interest. Thus, stating the fact of the *antiquity* of these possessions, he writes about them as they looked like before the unification. This is why the following phrase is very important: the Yueh-chih divided their country among five (or into five) hsi-hou (*yabghu*).¹⁴

Thus, in the Han-shu the districts governed by the *yabghu* (the origin of the *yabghu* is not defined at all by this source) were subdued by the Great Yueh-chih. In the Hou Han-shu the country of the Great Yueh-chih is divided into districts unconditionally governed by Yueh-chih *yabghu*, which became independent at that time, when one of the *yabghu* conquered the other four. The early informant speaks about the «whole» (state of the Great Yueh-chih) and about the «parts» (possessions of the *yabghu*) subordinated to it. For that chronological section of time that interests the late informant, the «parts» became so independent and the details of the past of their former subordination became so distant that he «turns over» the situation near to his time (independ-

¹⁴ The translations of this important phrase on the division of the country by PULLEYBLANK (*op. cit.*, 247: «They divided the country among five hsi-hou (Yabgu) . . .») and by ZÜRCHER (*op. cit.* 367: «. . . and divided their country into the five hsi-hou (yabgu) . . .») differ in the arrangement of the accents. PULLEYBLANK's translation gives more expedient to regard the five hsi-hou as tribal name (see below).

dence of the possessions) into this past and speaks about the «division» of the state among the five *yabghu*. Behind this differing information of the two sources one can clearly see the tendency of development of the still whole, nomadic state of the Great Yueh-chih, already adopting sedentary life and culture, with subordinated Yueh-chih *yabghu* (second stage), towards the dissolution of the unified empire into independent possessions of the *yabghu* (third stage).¹⁵

There is no need to give preference to one of the two sources (as is usually done). They are not contradictory, but define the general tendency, the different stages and boundaries of the history of the Yueh-chih, and the territories conquered by them on both sides of the Amu Darya. In this long period the development advanced in the direction of the separation and strengthening of the independence of the five districts or possessions of the Yueh-chih *yabghu*, reflected in the formulation of the Hou Han-shu and brought about that the centre of the new unification became one of the possessions.

In our opinion the most complicated question is not the seeming mutual exclusion of the testimonies of the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu regarding the five hsi-hou, but the origin of their *designations*. Are they the designations of districts, of some pre-Yueh-chih dynasties or of tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih themselves? In fact these three viewpoints are raised in literature. The decision of this question is outside our competence, but it has no conceptual significance for the present paper either. Here it is more important to reconstruct the further transformation of these designations taking into consideration any variant of their original meaning. The key for the understanding of the «semantic transformation» is the designation «Kuṣāṇa». Since Kadphises I was a Kuṣāṇa *yabghu* and after the conquest of the other four *yabghu* his state was called Kuṣāṇa, consequently the meaning of the dynastic designation was borne by this word in the stage of the five independent possessions and also after their unification. Thus, if the five designations according to their origin are pre-Yueh-chih,¹⁶ then after the dissolution of the nomadic camps and the formation of possessions they became the dynastic designations of the five Yueh-chih *yabghu*. This would be one of the examples for the territorial designation of the dynasties. If, however, this was the designation of the five tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih, then a reversed process can be presumed, *viz.* the extension of the tribal designations to the districts or possessions received. But apart from the dependence from the original meaning, the result will be the same also in accordance with the order

¹⁵ The fact that the Hou Han-shu mentions the capital of the Great Yueh-chih south of the river, does not at all contradict to the conclusion about the dissolution of the country into independent possessions. The existence of a capital is no evidence at all of the strength and significance of the «central» power. Cf. Chang Ch'ien: in Ta-hsia there is no supreme head at all, but the capital is designated.

¹⁶ Directly designations of districts, or (what is less likely) designations of pre-Yueh-chih dynasties extended to the districts.

of the process, *viz.* the melting of the designation of the districts and the dynastic designation *yabghu* in one of the stages. Therefore, the conclusion apparently will not raise any objection that the designations of the five hsi-hou in the second stage (transformation of the nomadic camps first into «vassal» possessions) and in the third stage (development of their independence) till the unification by Kadphises I can be regarded as *dynastic-territorial* designations independently of the ancient origin of the words themselves.

The proposed interpretation of the reports of the three sources as reflections of three stages in the history of the Yueh-chih enables us to see the first word — *TVIANNOVNTOS* «of the ruling» — of the inscription on the coins of «Heraios» in a new light and to define the place of these tetradrachmas from the viewpoint of periodization and relative chronology. The «vassal» character of this title noted by Kennedy (see below) fits well into the framework of the second stage (*i.e.* the situation according to the Han-shu) and seems to be a very good Greek translation or equivalent of the title hsi-hou (*yabghu*) for that long period, when in the second stage the *yabghu* were in a different and changing phase of subordination to the head of the Great Yueh-chih. Such a relative chronology in combination with all the other data can also be useful for the absolute chronology.

The fourth word between the legs of the horse raised a serious polemic in all aspects and this polemic has not come to an end. Of the proposed variants of reconstruction of this word we mention the three most important ones, *viz.* 1) *ΣΑΚΑ* (without taking into consideration the fifth character *beta* or without a convincing interpretation of it); 2) *ΣΑΝΑΒ* — *ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ*; 3) *ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ*. The first variant can be regarded as discarded. The study of a more significant material has shown that this word consists sometimes of seven characters (in genitive case, as the whole inscription), and sometimes of five characters *ΣΑΝΑΒ*, *i.e.* a form consisting of four characters (*i.e.* *ΣΑΚΑ*) is excluded.

Cunningham proposed the reconstruction of the spelling as *ΣΑΝΑΒ* — *ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ* on the basis of six coins of his collection (they are kept at present in the British Museum). Bataille accepted an analogous spelling on the basis of eight tetradrachmas (seven in the British Museum and one in the Paris Cabinet of Medals), and A. N. Zograf supported such a reading with the publication of further coins.¹⁷

The third variant of spelling and reading was proposed by R. M. Ghirshman¹⁸ on the basis of a further coin, which he himself called unique. In this line of the legend there are seven characters. It differs from the original spelling of

¹⁷ A. CUNNINGHAM: Coins of the Indo-Scythian king Miaüs or Heraus. NC, 1888, Ser. 3. Vol. VIII, Sec. offpt. p. 10; G. BATAILLE: Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans. *Archéologie* 1928. 19 ff.; ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 15—16.

¹⁸ R. GHIRSHMAN: Begram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Koushans. Le Caire 1946. 109—112.

the second variant essentially only in the fifth character, where in place of the *beta* there is some other character, which was proposed by R. M. Ghirshman to be read as *ro*. It really has in the upper part an inflexion permitting the reading *ro*, but below there is a horizontal twirl («the origin of which — in the words of R. M. Ghirshman himself — is not to be clarified»), which is not at all necessary for the character *ro*. Among the published and not published tetradrachmas of «Heraios» known to us there is no other one with an analogous peculiarity of the fifth character in this word consisting of seven letters. It appears to us that this is rather the result of the technical deficiency of the die, and due to abrasion and cracking in the lower part of the fifth character. At the same time R. M. Ghirshman proposed exactly the character *ro* to be regarded as original, the character *beta* on all the other coins as a later error of the engravers of the dies, and the strange form (the unnecessary horizontal twirl below) of the original character *ro* as a cause of their error. To support this conclusion he mentions still two arguments, *viz.*: 1) the fifth character on the tetradrachma of the Paris Cabinet of Medals is written so that Bataille hesitated between the reading *ro* and *beta* 2) the cursive nature of the character *beta* itself renders such a reading doubtful, because one ought to expect a lapidary, capital form.

The doubts of Bataille have been resolved already by Zograf. Regarding the cursive form of the letter *beta*, however, we should note the followings. It is very important that this character has not at all the same shape on the different coins. It is sufficient to examine the coins of the published hoard (Pls. I to III) to be convinced about this fact. On coins Nos. 1, 2 and 8 the «cursiveness» is clearly expressed, the shape of the characters is round, this character is somewhat higher (especially on coin No. 8) than the other ones in this word. The form of the letter *beta* on coins Nos. 3 and 6, on the other hand, can hardly be considered cursive, it can be regarded nearly (No. 6) or fully (No. 3) as lapidary. The shape of the *beta* on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» Nos. 3 and 6 does not differ from the form of this character on many Graeco-Bactrian and Kuşāna coins, *e.g.* in the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Moreover, examining this subject of the coin hoard, we have discovered on a series of coins of the «Nameless king»¹⁹ that the character *beta* in the first word of the inscription has exactly such a cursive form as on the tetradrachmas Nos. 1 and 2 of «Heraios». In the same word we see the clearly cursive form of the letter *beta* on the Bactrian bronze coins minted after the model of the tetradrachmas of Heliocles. Thus, the cursive form of the fifth character in the word discussed on certain tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in itself does not furnish any basis to doubt that this is exactly the letter *beta*, and no error or deformation of the character *ro*.

As regards the third letter of this word, which was read by the authors of the first variant (ΣΑΚΑ) and the third variant (ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ) of its reconstruc-

¹⁹ IIT, N-294. Found in the district of Hissar, Tajik SSR.

tion not *N* (*nu*), but *K* (*kappa*), this reading, besides conceptual and intellectual considerations (which we do not discuss now), was based on the following palaeographic data. The third character on the tetradrachmas has two forms, viz. *N* and *H*. Already Gardner read the *H* (as the Russian «И») as the basic, original form, and such a form was frequently assumed by the *kappa* on the latest Bactrian and Parthian coins.²⁰ Now, when a sufficiently large material has been accumulated, this conclusion, from the palaeographic point of view, seems to be entirely fictitious. Even if we confine ourselves only to certain tetradrachmas of the hoard discussed, it becomes clear that there is no reason to regard the *H* in the word discussed as original and to read it as *κ* (*kappa*).

For the sake of a comfortable comparison, we included the inscriptions on the coins of the hoard in Table 2, and gave a general numeration to all characters.²¹

Let us start with the statement that the character *H* and the alternation *N* — *H* are typical not only of the word discussed (in which according to the general numbering on Table 2 this is character 28: *N* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 8; *H* on coins Nos. 3, 4 and 7). The same two forms appear in the first word (characters 5 and 6: *NN* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8; *N* on coin No. 3; *HH* only on coin No. 4), the reading of which does not raise any doubt, because the original form is here exactly *N* (*nu*), and the *H* is the reflected image of the *nu*. Both forms appear also in the third word (character 23: *N* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8; *H* on coin No. 3, and also on coin No. 5 in character 20), in which the original form is undoubtedly also the character *nu*, i.e. *N*. All these examples already themselves render the palaeographic foundation of the reading of character 28 as *K* (*kappa*) doubtful. But it is even more important that in the inscription of the tetradrachmas there appears the character *K* (character 18) as the first character of the third word. And in each case, when it has been preserved well on the coins of the hoard (coins Nos. 1, 3, 6, see Pls. I—II), it is a quite clearly and correctly written character *K* (*kappa*). And if on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» the character *K* (*kappa*) has still preserved its correct writing, then there is no reason to doubt that character 28 in its source is actually *N* (*nu*) sometimes reflection-like deformed into *H*. With other words, for the readings *ΣΑΚΑ* and *ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ* neither the character *K* (*kappa*) nor the character *P* (*ro*) furnishes any palaeographic basis. Consequently, the variant *ΣΑΝΑΒ* — *ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ* remains most authentic.

²⁰ GARDNER: Catalogue . . . , XLVII.

²¹ The blank square on Table 2 indicates that the corresponding character is missing in the inscription. The fully erased characters are marked with three parallel strokes. In those cases, when the inscriptions have been preserved very badly and it cannot be absolutely established, whether certain characters were erased or they did not exist, then an interrogation mark is put into the square on the figure. On Table 2 we gave the main characteristics of the writing and position of the characters, but it is not absolutely authentic for the study of those changes that took place on the exterior of the characters on account of the wear and tear of the dies or of other special reasons.

Table 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32			
1	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
2	Ι	Υ	Υ	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β							
3	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
4	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
5	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
6	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
7	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								
8	ΤΥ	Ι	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ι	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β								

Errors in the inscriptions on the tetradrachmas of the hoard

The question of the meaning of this word has not been decided and in its essence this circumstance has not been examined by specialists. The idea of Zograf seems to be very useful (casually mentioned and rejected at once by him) that this is a proper name of Iranian origin.²² This idea was energetically supported by S. P. Tolstov,²³ convincingly rejecting all other explanations. The absence of this word on the oboli of «Heraios» confusing Zograf is not a serious obstacle, because the inscriptions of coins even of the same denominations and even more of different denominations were frequently different and did not always contain proper names (cf. the coins of the «Nameless king»). At the same time, it has to be noted in advance that the word «Sanab» as a proper name by itself does not decide at all the problem of the second word, *HIAOY*, of the inscription. The existence of two names on the tetradrachmas (the Greek «Heraios» and the Iranian «Sanab») should not be excluded mechanically, although the study of *HIAOY* as a constituent part of the titulature²⁴ is also very useful.

In the restored inscription of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» we accept not the traditional order of the words, inasmuch we do not regard the word below, under the feet of the horse as the last one, but the word «Sanab» between the legs of the horse.

1. *TYIANNOYNTOS HIAOY KOIIANOY SANABOY*
 «Of the ruling (= *yabghu*) *HIAOY* Kuṣāṇa Sanab».

2. *TYIANNOYNTOS HIAOY KOIIANOY SANAB*,
 «Of the ruling (= *yabghu*) *HIAOY* Kuṣāṇa, Sanab».

As has been already noted, there are many errors in the inscription of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», and the first task of research was, of course, to «break through» these errors, to establish the original writing and the original text. At that the errors themselves were not the matter of special examination. The peculiarities of these errors and their possible regularity were not analysed. They were mechanically «placed» to the account of the gradual deformation of the inscription. Sometimes they were implicitly and sometimes explicitly regarded as the sign of the illiteracy of the engravers of the dies, and sometimes also as unskilful forgeries.

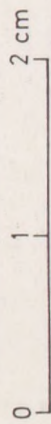
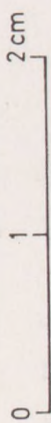
A more careful examination of these errors permits their classification, and the classification suggests an entirely different assumption regarding the reasons and origin of these errors. Here we consider only the inscriptions of coins of the hoard (see Table 2 and Pls. I to III).

On the basis of the material of the hoard, these errors can be divided into five types, which are numbered with Roman numerals.

²² ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 30—31.

²³ S. P. TOLSTOV: К вопросу о монетах «Герая». VDI 1939. No. 2. 117.

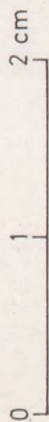
²⁴ *Ibidem*.



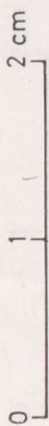
Pl. I. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kushana «Heraios» — coin No. 1



2



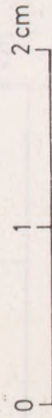
2



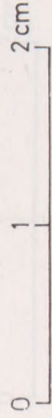
Pl. II. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 2



3



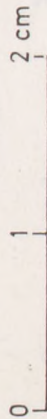
3



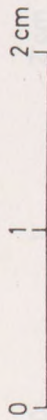
Pl. III. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 3



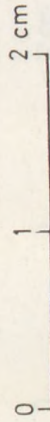
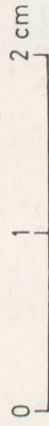
4



4



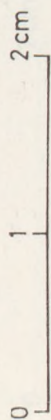
Pl. IV. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 4



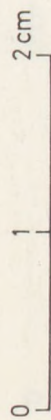
Pl. V. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 5



6



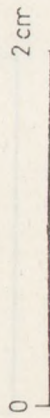
6



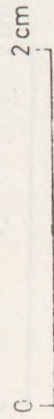
Pl. VI. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 6



7



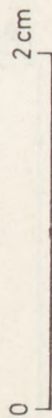
7



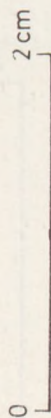
Pl. VII. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 7



8



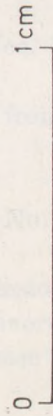
8



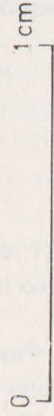
Pl. VIII. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuşāna «Heraios» — coin No. 8



9



9



Pl. IX. Obol of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» coin No. 9

I. Reflection-like reversed writing of the characters

- a) *N* — *H* (see above)
- b) Δ — Δ in each word (characters 4, 15, 22, 29).

II. Substitution of the necessary characters and groups of characters with other characters and groups of characters

- a) *O* in place of *N* (character 9 on coins Nos. 1 to 7)
- b) *H* in place of *N* (character 11 on coin No. 5)
- c) *Y* in place of *T* (character 10 on coin No. 5)
- d) *O* in place of *H* (character 13 on coin No. 5)
- e) *Y* in place of Δ (character 15 on coin 7)
- f) *O* in place of *II* (characters 20 and 21 on coin No. 7)
- g) in place of group *KOII* (characters 18 to 21) on coin No. 8 *NNY*

III. Shifting of characters and groups of characters²⁵

- a) on coin No. 3 *AI* in place of *IA* (characters 14 and 15)
- b) on coin No. 5 *IIAI* in place of *IIAI* (characters 20 to 23)
- c) on coin No. 8 *OB* in place of *BO* (characters 30 and 31)
- d) on coin No. 5 characters 11 to 13 (parts of two words) are also the result of shifting: ... *HΣ//O* ... in place of ... *OΣ//H* ...

IV. Omission of characters

- a) *O* (character 11 on coin No. 1)
- b) *N* (character 6 on coin No. 3)
- c) *I* full and abbreviated (character 14 on coins Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 7)

V. «Inversions» by 90°, 180° and other divergences from the correct position

- a) *Z* in place of *N* (character 29 on coin No. 5)
- b) Δ in place of the character *A* (character 4 on coin No. 3, character 15 on coin No. 1), possibly it is the «inversion» of *Y* by 180°
- c) character 4 on coin No. 6 — *alpha*, but the impression remains that its upper part forms here the left end of the base, *i.e.* it is inverted by about 120° to 130°. An approximate position is possible also in the case of character 27 on coin No. 4.

²⁵ The published coins give a very interesting variant of translocation of an already erroneous combination of characters, not represented in the hoard. Characters 8—10 in the first word should be *YNT*, a very frequent error (with the replacement of character 9: □ in place of *N*, see coins Nos. 1—7 of the hoard) is *YOT*. On the published coins in this place (characters 8—10) we find *TOY* instead of *YOT*. (See CUNNINGHAM: Coins . . . , 10, No. 4, Pl. III, 4; R. B. WHITEHEAD: Notes on the Indo-Greeks, NC 1940. Ser. 5, No. 78, 120, No. 17); ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая», 34 (in the rendering of character 8 with ZOGRAF we find *Y*, and it should be *T*, see the photograph).

d) example of divergence from the correct position is character 27 (*alpha*) on coins Nos. 2 and 3.

The first word is written correctly only on coin No. 8; the second word on coins Nos. 2 and 8 (if we regard the writing *HIAOY* as correct); the third and fourth words on coins Nos. 1, 2 and 6. But there is not even one among the eight coins of the hoard, on which the inscription would not contain some types of errors.

It has already been mentioned that the reverse sides of all the eight coins were minted with different dies, *viz.* the details of representation of the horseman and the goddess Nike are different; the bending of the arched part of the inscription and its arrangement in comparison to the representation are different; there is a difference in the length and arrangement of the lower word under the feet of the horse; and the arrangement and size of the characters of the fourth word between the legs of the horse are also different. Now we have to add to this also another very important characteristic, *viz.* the *stock of errors and the types of errors* are individual on each coin! We enumerate these individual «stocks» of errors (omitting the errors of type I).

Coin No. 1: type II (character 9) + type IV (characters 11 and 14) + type V (character 15).

Coin No. 2: type II (character 9).

Coin No. 3: type II (character 9) + type III (characters 14 and 15) + type IV (character 6) + type V (character 4).

Coin No. 4: type II (character 9) + type IV (character 14).

Coin No. 5: type II (characters 9 and 10) + type III (characters 20 to 2. and characters 11 to 13) + type IV (character 14) + type V (character 28).²⁶

Coin No. 6: type II (character 9).

Coin No. 7: type II (characters 9, 15, 20 and 21) + type IV (character 14).

Coin No. 8: type II (characters 18 to 21) + type III (characters 30 to 31).

It is important to stress that not only the inscriptions showed stocks of errors of different types, but even the single characters or groups of characters contained errors of several types. For example, an incorrect character was taken (type II), and in addition it was also inversed (type V); or an incorrect group of characters came into being as a result of the substitution of one character (type II), and then they were also shifted here and there.

But what is the origin of these errors?

²⁶ On the coin published by CUNNINGHAM, who reads the inscriptions not entirely correctly, judged from the photograph, there is an entirely analogous, composite set of errors (character 31 *O* resembles to *I*, because it is damaged by the representation of the foot of the horse). CUNNINGHAM's coin has been preserved badly, but still it seems to be more likely that it and coin No. 5 of the hoard were minted with different dies. Only the type of the set of errors is identical (see CUNNINGHAM: *Coins* . . . , 10, No. 5 Pl. III, 5).

Of course, every new die for the minting of coins was prepared after a model and, consequently, the engraver of the die could repeat the certain accidental errors of the model, but he could also make some separate errors. Thus, the errors of the first type can easily be explained with negligence on the part of the engraver of the die. Certain especially frequently repeating substitutions of certain characters could be regarded as «inherited», *i.e.* part of the errors of type II (*e.g.* *O* in place of *N*, character 9), etc. But, obviously, the errors of types II to V as a whole and the individuality of the stocks of errors in each inscription will be understood, if we presume that on the dies the inscriptions were not engraved individually, but they were minted with punches of the certain characters.

The punching technique²⁷ simplified and accelerated the preparation of the inscriptions but, at the same time, it also furnished a considerable possibility of errors exactly of types II to V. Simplicity and advantage of the punching technique are obvious. The character must have had the same form on the punch as later on the coin, *i.e.* the character on the punch did not have a mirrored but a normal representation that psychologically facilitated the work of the engraver. But, of course, this is not the main thing. The main thing was that one and the same punch could be used many times. The character engraved on it once, later on was repeated on many dies, thus accelerating and facilitating their preparation.

The engraver of the dies had a set of punches. And just like in the modern hand-operated typographic set, he made the same errors. The model was lying before the engraver just like before the setter. He took the correct character, but inverted the punch, and thus an error of type V was made. He correctly took 2—3 characters, which followed one after the other, but he arranged the punches incorrectly, and thus an error of type III arose. He did not take the same character, and thus an error of type II came into being, etc. And there were no «proof-readings». Thus an individual set of errors of different types came into being. Only the errors of type I were errors in the strict sense of the word. These are errors made at the time of preparation of the punch. The rest of the errors, with standard forms of the characters themselves, were errors of the «setter».

This explanation is also supported by two observations. Firstly, on certain coins the inscriptions are arranged so that certain characters practically «run» into the representation and, to some extent, even damage it. This can clearly be seen at the contact of the characters with the representation of Nike, of the head of the horseman, as well as with the representation of the head and feet of the horse. We mention a few concrete examples (see Pls. I—III). Coin

²⁷ About the application of the punching technique in ancient times see «Wörterbuch der Münzkunde», ed. by F. SCHRÖTTER. B. 1970. 538.

No. 2 : characters 7 and 13 ; coin No. 3 : characters 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 29 ; coin No. 4 : characters 6 to 8 ; coin No. 5 : characters 26, 30 and 31 (character 30 below does not come out from behind the representation of the hoof) ; coin No. 6 : character 15 ; etc. On coin No. 2 characters 29 and 30 «ran» into each other. At the engraving directly on the die the engraver could easily have avoided these deficiencies with a slight shifting and reducing.

Secondly, at the individual engraving on the die, in the case of a «set» of punches, the engraver ought to have made a marking of the arch on the die for the first two words and a marking of a straight line for the third word under the feet of the horse. If he had engraved the inscription direct on the die, then this marking would have been an accurate basis for him and then he would not have damaged it. In the punching technique it is more complicated to observe such a marking. This consideration also speaks in favour of the punching technique, because on certain coins this marking is considerably damaged. In this conception coins Nos. 6 and 8 are especially characteristic, *viz.* the third word under the feet of the horse on coin No. 6 is arranged in an «undulant» form, while on coin No. 8 it is arranged arched. There are smaller deficiencies of the marking also on other coins.²⁸

The writing of certain characters in the arched part of the inscription attracts attention. For example, the characters *H* and *N* — *H* are sometimes broadening upwards that corresponds to the arch and therefore, in the early phase, explicably, these characters were either engraved direct on the die or on the punch (marked out for the arched inscription). But when the character *H* (coin No. 3, character 23) is broadening upwards in the linear third word under the feet of the horse, then this speaks in favour of the punching technique (a punch marked out for the arched inscription was taken). Character *N* in the arched inscription of the tetradrachma belonging to the Cabinet of Medals in Paris²⁹ is even more convincing. This is character 5, it is broadening not upwards but downwards ! It is clear that the punch was turned round with the legs upwards, at 180°, just like other characters (errors of type V) were turned round.

Thus, all facts and observations mentioned, and especially the presence of errors of types II to V on the coins and the individuality of the set of errors of these types on the different coins of the hoard, render the conclusion very probable that the inscriptions on the dies for the minting of the reverse of the tetra-

²⁸ The dimensions of the characters and their height are interesting. Usually, the height of the characters in the same inscription is almost identical. But on certain coins it is very different even in the single words (see coins Nos. 4, 6 and others). Although this can be explained also with the inexperience of the engraver of the die, still it must be noted that it is more complicated to keep the accurate height of the characters at the preparation of separate punches, than in the direct engraving on the die if there is punctuation. This alone does not speak in favour of the punching technique, but together with the previous more weighty facts and conceptions it still receives some significance.

²⁹ GHIRSHMAN : *Begram* . . . , Pl. XXIII, 5.

drachmas of «Heraios» were not engraved individually on each die, but stamped on the dies with sets of punches.³⁰

From the palaeographic point of view, in the inscriptions of the coins of the hoard the character *beta* is most interesting, because it furnishes variants from the cursive up to the almost perfectly lapidary forms (see above). The other characters of the coins show a rather standardized writing for this group of coins known already from publications (Table 3).³¹ The tetradrachmas of the

Table 3

Greek letters	alpha	beta	epsilon	eta	kappa	ny	omikron	rho	sigma	tau	letter 14 on Table 2	letters 20-21 on Table 2
on the coins of the hoard	Α	β	ϵ	Η	Κ	Ν	Ο	Ι	Σ	Τ	!	!!
	Α	β			Κ	И		↑			'	((
	↑	β									↑?	

Basic forms of the characters on the tetradrachmas of the hoard

hoard do not show any further or different transformations of the characters, except, perhaps, the peculiar writing (with «hook») of character 14 on coin No. 2, which at the first glance could support its reading as *ro* that, on the other hand, would support the reading of the whole word as «Heraios». But one must carefully examine this «hook» (Pl. I, 2). Between character 13 and character 15

³⁰ Among other things, we have examined in this context the obols of «Eucratides» minted in Bactria and to be found in Southern Tajikistan. Two unpublished obols from the burial-ground of Tup-khana near Hissar (excavations of 1961, burial 96 and excavations of 1971, burial 3) convince us that the inscriptions on the dies for the reverse side were also prepared exactly with punches.

³¹ The small variation (not considered on Table 3) is sometimes the result of inclination to the left or to the right (especially in the arched inscriptions) and of some individuality of the «writing», and sometimes the result of the wear and tear of the dies or punches. The Greek names of the last two characters and composite characters are not given on Table 3: the final reading of character 14 on the tetradrachmas has not been established, and characters 20—21 served for the rendering of the sound *g*.

there is a too small space for character 14, it is so to say «sticked» to the *alpha* (to character 15) and repeats its writing. It seems that this is the case when the punch with the character 15 (*alpha*) was either simply dislodged or stamped twice (after the first failure, when it did not appear fully), as a result of which the left «side» of character 15, *i.e.* *alpha* in the die and thereafter also on the coin appeared as practically duplicated forming the above mentioned «hook». If this is so, then on coin No. 2 character 14 is simply left out, what is very typical of this word on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios».³²

It is interesting to note the rendering of the two variants of the sound ξ (characters 20 and 21), *viz.* with two straight or with two slightly bent, parallel strokes. They are placed so close that visually they are perceived as one character. In the literature on the obols of «Heraios» these forms are laid down, and also two combinations uniting both writings *ll* and *P*, where the first character of this two-charactered sound in outlines is sometimes a clear *ro*. The assertion of A. M. Mandelshtam, according to which on the obols of «Heraios» for the rendering of the sound ξ the *kappa* was also used,³³ is a mere misunderstanding. The whole inscription consisting of two lines is read by A. M. Mandelshtam as follows:³⁴ [?] *A* [? ?] *OY* [*K*] *OKANOY*. The coin was found in the south of Tajikistan and is kept in the IIT. We have carefully examined it, and the inscription has the following form (Pl. III, 9): *HA/OY* [*K*] *OHA/OY*. Here in both words there appear errors of type III, *viz.* shifting of characters. In the first word in place of *HA/OY* we must put *H/AOY* (to which in this case the parallel bendings of the second and third characters correspond very well); in the second word in place of [*K*] *OHA/OY* we have to put [*K*] *OHA/OY*. Consequently, the sound ξ is rendered also here with one of the variants of the usual combination of characters. And the nature of the errors itself in the inscription of the obol permits the assumption that the punching technique of preparation of the inscriptions in the dies was used for the obols of «Heraios» just like for his tetradrachmas.

To show that the coins have become important sources for political and economic history, we must elucidate their own «biography». As regards the inscriptions of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», there is still no convincing and unambiguous reading and translation accepted by everybody. The hoard of tetradrachmas from Tajikistan does not furnish special additional materials for it. But the coins have supported the original variant of this inscription on the

³² Cf. coins Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7.

³³ A. M. MANDELSHTAM: Об одном оболе «Герая». *EV*, 14 (1961) 54.

³⁴ On the basis of this reading of the first word and also of the writing of the same word on the oboli published by *ZOGRAF* (Монеты «Герая», 6), G. A. PUGACHENKOVA presumed that the obols and the tetradrachmas belong to the minting of two different rulers, *viz.* the obols to the successor or predecessor of «Heraios» (К иконографии Герая 13.). The essence of the errors (translocation of the characters) both on the tetradrachmas and (see below) on the obols, to be traced back to the punching technique of preparation of the inscriptions in the die, remove the assumption of PUGACHENKOVA.

tetradrachmas, they have rendered possible the classification of the errors and different readings, and on the basis of this classification also the explanation of the specific feature, reasons and origin of the errors to be traced back to the punching technique of the preparation of the inscriptions of dies.

In the «biography» of the coins of «Heraios» there is still a series of «white spots», like the chronology, genealogy, and the place of minting.

At present the place of the mint where the coins of «Heraios» were struck, *viz.* Bactria,³⁵ raises the slightest disputes. The conclusion is based on the comparison of three circumstances, *viz.* the absence of Kharoṣṭhī in the inscriptions, the essentially Attic standard of weight, provenance of the coin finds. The attempts «to take» the mint of «Heraios» out of the boundaries of Bactria is not supported by any facts.³⁶

It must be taken with reservation that the coins made of precious metals could be taken far out of the boundaries of those places, where they were minted. The isolated and sporadic finds of silver coins of high standard do not at all outline the boundaries of the districts issuing them and they require great carefulness. Finds of coins of «Heraios», *e.g.* are now recorded from Taxila to Tashkent.³⁷ Therefore, only a mass registration of compactly situated provenances of silver coins of «Heraios» could be regarded as a reliable source. Till recent times, however, the researchers have had information only on isolated and territorially scattered finds. Their number can now be considerably increased, *viz.* there are already three finds in the territory of Southern Tajikistan. We have already mentioned the obol of «Heraios» from the site of Kei-Kobadshah.³⁸ Four obols of «Heraios» have been found in 1972 by the archaeologist B. A. Litvinskiy at the excavations of the necropolis (two specimens in the funeral structure II) and in the gorodishche (two specimens, slope) of Shahtepa near the banks of river Pyanj (district Shaartuz).³⁹ And, finally, the published hoard of tetradrachmas. Thus, exactly Northern Bactria (city of Termez⁴⁰ and

³⁵ There are two viewpoints about the question, what territory was called in ancient times Bactria, *viz.* only that situated south of the Amu Darya or also north of this river, *i.e.* comprising Southern Uzbekistan and Southern Tajikistan? Here and later we accept the second variant.

³⁶ The territory south of the Hindu Kush has already been convincingly excluded. There are, however, attempts to take the coins of «Heraios» beyond the boundaries of Bactria north and north-east of it. S. P. TOLSTOV proposed, even as a hypothesis, *e.g.* first Chorasnia or Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan (VDI, 1939. No. 2. 119), then Sogdiana or Bactria (Древний Хорезм. Moscow 1948. 181) and again Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan (По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации. Moscow—Leningrad 1948. 149). These hypotheses are not based on facts, the constituent part of the conception is that «Heraios» is a vassal of the king of K'ang-chü. It was convincingly pointed out by PUGACHENKOVA that the location of the mint of the coins of «Heraios» to Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan is unfounded (К иконографии Герая. 131, 134—135).

³⁷ It is true, the find in Tashkent was received with dubitation (PUGACHENKOVA: К иконографии Герая. 131).

³⁸ MANDELSHTAM: Об одном оболе «Герая». 53—54.

³⁹ These obols are the subject of special publication.

⁴⁰ ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 34—35.

three sites in Southern Tajikistan) has already given four compactly situated occurrences of coins of «Heraios». ⁴¹ The total number of coins from these four places is now fourteen (five obols and nine tetradrachmas), but there were more of them, because the hoard of tetradrachmas from Tajikistan has not yet been collected fully.

This, of course, does not give a firm basis to assert that the mint issuing the coins of «Heraios» was exactly in Northern Bactria. But it shakes the rather wide-spread and earnestly not founded point of view (to which, by the way, also Zograf adhered) that the coins of «Heraios» were minted in Southern Bactria (in Northern Afghanistan). If we do not want to overestimate the facts in favour of the conception, then it can quite objectively be stated only that the new occurrences of coins prove beyond any doubt that the coins of «Heraios» were really minted in Bactria. By themselves they do not answer two important questions, *viz.* whether there was one mint or several mints; accordingly, were the coins of «Heraios» minted in Northern Bactria, or both in Northern and in Southern Bactria? To answer these questions the registration of the finds of coins alone is, apparently, insufficient, exactly because the coins are made of *silver*. ⁴²

The indisputability of the conclusion about the Bactrian (and preferably Northern Bactrian) origin of the coins of «Heraios» induces us to turn to the question of the five hsi-hou, *i.e.* the five districts or possessions of the Yueh-chih *yabghu*. The localization of these possessions has attracted the attention of the most important scholars several times and it has raised a series of hypotheses. The Kuṣāṇa hsi-hou, *e.g.*, was located in different places from the valley of the Kashka Darya to Badakhshan and Kafiristan, ⁴³ but outside the boundaries of that state of the Great Yueh-chih, which was established in the second stage (according to our chronology) and occupied the territory of Bactria (north and south of the Amu Darya). The data on the place of minting of the coins of «Heraios» do not leave any doubt that the Kuṣāṇa hsi-hou was situated exactly in the territory of Bactria. The earlier attempts to locate his settlement could

⁴¹ One of the obols of «Heraios» from the collection of the late historian and region researcher A. E. MAJI is kept now in the RMT (I-1884/2). It has not been published, and the site of this find is not known.

⁴² The data of the archaeological excavations have led PUGACHENKOVA to the conclusion that the main possession of the Kuṣāṇa before the foundation of the empire was exactly Northern Bactria: «Under the rule of «Heraios» Khalchayan obviously played the role, if not of the capital, then of the main residence of the king, as soon as a sculptural composition of the building of the palace was devoted to the glorification of the «clan of Heraios» (К иконографии Герая. 132—134).

⁴³ A summary of data see A. M. MANDELSHTAM: Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей с древнейших времен до X в. н. э., Труды АН Тадж ССР, 53 (1957) 62—64. The basis for the location and the method is the phonetic similarity and the data of a later source (Pei-shih). In connection with this MANDELSHTAM (not taking into consideration even the work of ZOGRAF and the numismatic data) manifested a quite sober doubt regarding the full identity of the data of Pei-shih and the earlier sources, and especially concerning the location of the Kuṣāṇas.

not yet rely on the data of the coins, and the general historical situation as well as the chronology of the Yueh-chih before the establishment of the Kuṣāṇa empire (as these are described on the basis of three sources, *viz.* Chang Ch'ien, the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu, see above pp. 153 to 155) were not considered by them. It has to be added that the four other hsi-hou should also be looked for and located in those boundaries of the state of the Great Yueh-chih as they were in the second stage (when the hsi-hou were still vassal) and continued to exist in the third stage, because the expansion started already under Kadphises I, *i.e.* after the unification of the five possessions.⁴⁴

One of the most complicated and definitively not yet solved questions is the *time* of minting of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». After the most fundamental research of Zograf (in 1937) which, on the basis of a comparative analysis of a large number of relevant data, dated the coins of «Heraios» to the middle or even to the second quarter of the 1. century B.C., and mentioned also a series of arguments against the earlier and later date proposed before him (within the limits from 128 B.C. to 100 A.D.), and found followers in this question, in the works of several authors there appeared again the tendency to date these coins to a later period. This is, however, exactly a tendency, because the method and conclusions of Zograf are not refuted, new methods and facts are not proposed, but the new dates appear, as a rule, in the form of «appendices» to the conceptions.⁴⁵

The first hoard of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» itself does not solve the question of their dating either. But certain observations made in the course of the study of the hoard can be very useful in this respect.

The *form* and *execution* of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» deserves attention. Zograf took this circumstance into consideration in the dating of the coins of «Heraios», *viz.* «In the field of the execution the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» with their solid circle with almost flat surface on both sides and even, plain edge are far from the Bactrian tetradrachmas, just like all hellenistic coins of the 3. and 2. centuries B.C. clearly showing bulge on the observe side and depression on the reverse side with a sharp edge».⁴⁶ Below, Zograf stresses once more that

⁴⁴ Cf. the correction in the Hou Han-shu in connection with the fifth hsi-hou, mentioned in the Han-shu (ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 367—368), and also the other data on the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa conquests (*ibidem*, 367).

⁴⁵ We mention a few excellent examples. R. M. GHIRSEMAN (1946): last quarter of the 1st century B. C. (Begram . . . , 112; it is true that GHIRSEMAN did not have a possibility to use the work of ZOGRAF); I. M. DIAKONOV (1950): 1st century A. D., from the turn of this century (M. M. DIAKONOV: Работы Кафирниганского отряда, МИА 15. 1950. 174—175); BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY in 1967 (The Age of the Kushānas . . . , 15): last quarter of the 1st century B. C.; D. W. MACDOWALL—N. G. WILSON in 1970 (The References to the Kuṣānas in the Periplus and Further Numismatic Evidence for Its Date. NC 1970. Ser. 7. Vol. X. 227 foll.): «Heraios» is identical with the «Nameless King», his coins were minted in the period between the Kuṣāṇa kings Kadphises I and Kadphises II.

⁴⁶ ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 22, 24.

the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» and those of the later Bactrian rulers «sharply» differ in their execution.⁴⁷

It is, however, far from being so. R. B. Whitehead, on the contrary, has noted that the coin published by him is distinguished not by flat but by concave reverse.⁴⁸ The same can be said also about six (of the eight) coins of the hoard discussed here. The degree of bulging of the obverse side and the concavity of their reverse side are different, but they exist, and the edges of all the six coins are not even but exactly sharp.⁴⁹ Thus, this essential characteristic — the execution of the tetradrachmas — does not at all separate («sharply» at that) the hellenistic coins from the 3. and 2. centuries B.C. (including the Graeco-Bactrian ones) and the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». On the contrary, the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in their execution closely join the Graeco-Bactrian coins, but these typical features of the latter ones so to say gradually fades away in them. This circumstance is essential for the absolute and relative dating of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», especially in connection with the tendency to date them to a later period already mentioned.

The *standard* and *weight* of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» are very important. Seven coins of the hoard have been tested, the standard of six coins was 800 (the testing was made in Moscow, in the GIM), and the standard of one coin was 873 (the testing was made by the coin tester of the Office of Standardizing Control in Tashkent). For the time being we do not discuss a certain difference, we note only the main thing, *viz.* the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» have been minted of silver of high quality, the silver in them is about or above 80%. This is a very important essential fact against the background of the characteristics of the development of minting in Bactria and in certain neighbouring territories after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom and before the reform of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Kadphises II.

The weight of all the 8 coins of the hoard is high (Table 4), it gives a compact group within the limits of 15.2 to 16 grams.

It is not possible to determine the average weight of all these coins with the graphic method (histogram). The average arithmetic weight of the eight coins of the hoard is 15.56 g. This number, in the given case, is convincing, because the coins of the hoard do not show unexpected differences of weight, and as has already mentioned, they are quite compact in regard to weight.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem.* 25.

⁴⁸ WHITEHEAD: Notes . . . , 122.

⁴⁹ Since among the tetradrachmas both variants appear, *viz.* flat ones with plain edges, and convex-concave ones with sharpened edges, from this point of view it is absolutely unnecessary to examine the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» kept in other museums, especially in the rich collection of the British Museum. Certain coins of those published by CUNNINGHAM (Coins . . . , Pl. III. Nos. 3—4) arouse our interest: judged from the photographs, the sharpening of the edges and the convex-concave execution is exactly the same on them that, of course, have to be controlled in the originals.

Table 4
WEIGHT AND STANDARD OF THE TETRADRACHMAS OF THE HOARD

N°	Inv. N°	Weight in grm.	Standard	N°	Inv. N°	Weight in grm.	Standard
1	N-377/1	15.20	800	5	N-377/5	16.00	800
2	N-377/2	15.55	800	6	N-377/6	15.79	800
3	N-377/3	15.42	800	7	N-341	15.84	—
4	N-377/4	15.40	800	8	RMT-2973	15.30	873

The weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», as a source for their dating, was thoroughly studied by Zograf. Working with the weights of ten coins, he received the following data: the extreme values are 11.95 g. and 15.67 g., and the average weight is 13.93 g. Starting out from the assumption that the changes of weight (the average weight, the amplitude of fluctuations in the weights, the quantity of specimens with small weights below 14 g.), in several eastern states took place synchronously, A. N. Zograf arrived at the conclusion that the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» most closely join with the tetradrachmas of Orodes I (57—37. B.C.) and with the Roman minting in Antioch (47—20. B.C.).⁵⁰

Does the hoard change the conception about the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios»? Definitely, although the question is not at all simple and at present it cannot be examined in its whole range. First of all we must elucidate the facts themselves of the high weight of all coins contained in the hoard, of their «compactness» of weight, and accordingly their high average weight «within the hoard». This characteristic of the hoard can reflect the fortuity of the set or the regularity of the mint of the coins and the circulation of money. Since the general range of the fluctuation of weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» is very broad (now it is even broader, up to 4.14 g.: from 11.86 g. to 16.00 g.), it can be presumed that the owner of the hoard specially selected specimens of high weight. The possibility, however, cannot be excluded that «Heraios» himself changed the standard of weight and also the average weight limits in the minting of the tetradrachmas. This would mean that in one stage the tetradrachmas were of high weight and the average weight limits were comparatively small (the fluctuations of weight were within the limits of 1 g. or slightly higher), and in another stage they were of smaller weight and with a very high range of the fluctuation of weight (over 2 g.). If this is so, then the method proposed by Zograf for the study of the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» for their dating is unacceptable, because it will be necessary to study and to compare not

⁵⁰ ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая», 21—23. At present one thinks that it was Orodes II who reigned in these years.

the general average weight of all tetradrachmas and not the general range of the fluctuations of their weights, but two average weights and two ranges of the fluctuations of weight.

Now we know the weight of 23 tetradrachmas of «Heraios».⁵¹ The histogram (Table 5) seems to speak in favour of exactly two stages in the minting of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». In this case the hoard would reflect one of the two stages of coin minting and the circulation of money. For the time being this is a working hypothesis. A possible method of control is the collation of the weight of the coins with all of their other characteristics, *viz.* the testing of standard of fineness, execution, and with the characteristic of variants, and also with the stylistic characteristics of the representation, the errors as well as with the «sets» of types of errors in the inscriptions, etc. It is also essential to compare the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» with the weight of his obols, and also with the weight of other coins minted and circulated in the territory of Bactria after its conquest by the Yueh-chih. This already exceeds the frame of the tasks of the present publication, but it is important to stress that the assumption about two «stages of weight» in the minting and circulation of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» and the necessity to find a method for the control of this hypothesis are prompted exactly by the hoard discussed. And depending on whether there appears a compactness of high weights (15.2 g. to 16.0 g.) of the eight coins of the hoard and whether their high average weight (15.56 g.) is the result of accident (selection by the owner) or the result of regularity (minting of coins and minting policy), these data of weights are different, but in both cases they represent an additional source for the absolute and relative dating of the coins of «Heraios».

Another fact is also interesting, *viz.* all the eight tetradrachmas of the hoard were minted with different dies. The majority of the coins published earlier — as far as it can be judged from the photographs — were minted also with different dies. The assumption can be expressed only about certain specimens that they were minted with the same dies.⁵² The small number of tetradrachmas of «Heraios» known at present should not lead to a mistake, *viz.* their minting was very numerous, what is shown exactly by the significant number of dies, used for the minting of such a small number of coins known so far. This fact,

⁵¹ The weight of nine tetradrachmas of the British Museum (1 specimen published by P. GARDNER; 1 specimen of H. N. WRIGHT and 7 specimens of CUNNINGHAM) was told me by D. W. MACDOWALL, for what I am very grateful to him. In the publications only the weight of part of the coins of the British Museum was mentioned. Certain data of weight have been taken from the publications of WHITEHEAD and ZOGRAF, the weight of the specimen of the MIUZ (N-16/4) and that of the eight specimens of the hoard have been added.

⁵² We are giving some examples. The reverse side of coin No. 5 of the hoard and of coin No. 5 of CUNNINGHAM was minted with one die; the reverse side of the coin found in Termez (ZOGRAF: *МОНЕТЫ* . . . , 34) and that of coin No. 4 of CUNNINGHAM, etc. were also minted with the same die.

Table 5
 WEIGHT OF 23 TETRADRACHMAS OF «HERAIOS»
 (the black circles represent the coins of the hoard)

Weight in grm.	Coins	Weight in grm.	Coins
16.0	● ○	13.9	
15.9		13.8	
15.8	● ●	13.7	
15.7	○	13.6	○
15.6	● ○	13.5	
15.5		13.4	
15.4	● ●	13.3	
15.3	● ○	13.2	
15.2	●	13.1	
15.1	○ ○	13.0	
15.0		12.9	
14.9		12.8	○
14.8	○	12.7	○
14.7		12.6	
14.6		12.5	
14.5		12.4	
14.4		12.3	
14.3		12.2	○ ○
14.2		12.1	
14.1		12.0	○
14.0	○	11.9	○

examined not isolated, but together with the weight and fineness of the silver tetradrachmas of «Heraios», and also with their already doubtless Bactrian origin, clearly show that in the territory of Bactria, at the time when they were minted, there was a sufficient quantity of silver (in metal or in old coins). The favourable condition of the silver reserves in Bactria under «Heraios» and the intensive minting of his coins are also facts that are very important for their dating taking into consideration the financial reform of Kadphises II.

It is true that Macdowall and Wilson maintain that the «selection» of silver by «Heraios» for the minting of coins does not have a significance for the dating. In their opinion the selection of coinage metal (copper, fine silver, billon) by the rulers (examples are given) entirely depended on the accessibility of the rich silver mines of Panjshir.⁵³ Then it should be explained, why did Kadphises

⁵³ MACDOWALL—WILSON: The Reference, 225 foll.

II (whom they regard as the direct heir of «Heraios», whom they identified with the «Nameless King»), to whom the mines of Panjshir (if they were functioning) were definitely accessible, reject the minting of silver entirely and the subsequent Kuṣāṇa kings did also not return to the silver. The question of the «selection» of the coinage metal should not be decided so unilaterally and simplified. This «selection» depends on the interrelation of several economic, political, psychological, and sometimes also on individual reasons and factors, which in addition are concrete for each region. In Parthia, *e.g.* the minting of silver was not discontinued. Bactria, on the other hand, definitely experienced a local «crisis of silver coins», which ended with the reform of Kadphises II (see below), it is only important to determine when it started and when it developed. The *silver* of the Bactrian coins of «Heraios» is, therefore, a very important fact for the dating of these coins and also for the development of the «crisis of the silver coins» in Bactria.⁵⁴

The reform of Kadphises II was observed by the numismatists long ago. E. V. Zeymal, who studied the Kuṣāṇa coins intensively and usefully, summed up and evaluated his observations and those of his predecessors regarding the contents and reasons of its realization as follows: «Essentially Vima Kadphises laid down the beginnings of the minting of gold in Bactria and in Northern India. The changing over to the gold coin by Kadphises II was usually explained first of all with the exhaustion of the silver reserves in the country, what manifested itself in the Indo-Greek period in the deterioration of the quality of the minting metal. The second reason is seen in the establishment of close connections by the Kuṣāṇas with the Roman Empire. There were also economic relations that resulted in the influx of western gold to the country. Our attention should also be turned to the circumstance that as from the 2. century B.C. the territories incorporated in the Kuṣāṇa Empire thereafter, were distributed among small governors. The uniting of these isolated possessions into a vast and powerful state must have influenced its economic possibilities favourably and, apparently, it also became one of the most important conditions of the appearance of the minting of gold under Vima Kadphises».⁵⁵

One of the sides of this reform — the minting of gold — is studied now thoroughly. We must specially mention the meticulous observations of Macdowall in two excellent articles of his (in 1960 and 1968). Pointing out that the idea itself of the minting of gold by Vima Kadphises was «possibly» (1960) or

⁵⁴ Apparently it is not important for MACDOWALL and WILSON, because they accepted the conception that «Heraios» is the «Nameless King» and he ruled between Kadphises I and Kadphises II. This conception, however, is not based on facts, and it exactly contradicts them. It is sufficient to compare the palaeography, the titulature, and especially the iconography of the silver coins of «Heraios» with the bronze coins of the «Nameless King» to be convinced that such an identity is entirely impossible, they are entirely different individuals in the direct and in the figurative sense.

⁵⁵ E. V. ZEYMAL: Монеты Великих Кушан в Государственном Эрмитаже, сб. Нумизматика, 3. Труды ГЭ. 9 (1967) 61.

even «undoubtedly» (1968) inspired by the Roman aureus. He, at the same time, also showed the independence of the metrological side of the reform, and the further course of the financial affairs.⁵⁶ Zeymal correctly stressed that the unification of the isolated possessions into the vast state of the Great Kuṣāṇas created favourable conditions for the realization of this side of the reform.

The systematical minting of gold coins, however, in itself does not demand the discontinuance of the minting of silver. The idea about the exhaustion of the silver reserves in the country is useful, but it does not elucidate everything. The exhaustion of the silver reserves would have led to a serious change of the ratio of gold to the silver, which must have led in some stage (especially under the conditions of development of international trade) to a mass influx of the silver metal and silver coins from those regions, where they were minted. This could have eased the shortage of silver and could have «smoothed out» the ratio, *i.e.* it could have prepared the objective conditions for the returning to the minting of silver coins. But the realization of such a possibility depended on other reasons.

The history of financial affairs showed such examples, when the state on account of various reasons could not mobilize silver metal for the minting of silver coins, both in the conditions of bad and — what is especially important — in the conditions of a favourable state of the silver reserves. Among the reasons disturbing the mobilization of metal for the minting of coins the psychological reason should not be disregarded either, *viz.* if the minting of silver coins was seriously discredited in the eyes of the population, then the returning to it became more difficult than the organization of minting from another currency metal.

The question about the reasons of the entire rejection of silver coinage in the state of the Great Kuṣāṇas requires special study in which one should not disregard either of the two assumptions, *viz.* the exhaustion of the silver reserves and the impossibility of its mobilization for the minting of coins. The interrelation of both factors appears to be most likely, but their significance is different in the different chronological periods of time under the conditions

⁵⁶ D. W. MACDOWALL: The Weight Standards of the Gold and Copper Coinage of the Kushana Dynasty from Wima Kadphises to Vasudeva. JNSI 22 (1960) 63 foll.; *idem*: Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kanīṣka. Papers on the date of Kanīṣka [Australian National university centre of oriental studies. Oriental monograph Series. Vol. IV]. Leiden 1968. 135, 143 foll. On the basis of the study of the mean weight of the Kuṣāṇa denarii, MACDOWALL inferred their weight standard, *viz.*: about 8g. (1960. 64) or accurately 8 g. (1968. 144). [The histograms and the allowance for the «mean erosion», as far as the coins were put into circulation, suggest the assumption that the weight standard of the denarii of Kadphises II was even higher than 8 g. — E. D.]. The Roman aurei had such a weight only in the years 19 to 12 B. C., what is too early for Wima Kadphises. The pre-reform (years 56 to 64 A. D.) aurei of Nero weigh by 0.4 g. less than the denarii of Kadphises II. Besides this, the Kuṣāṇa kings preserved the weight standard, but they gradually reduced the standard of fineness, while the Roman emperors, on the contrary, preserved it but reduced the weight of the gold coins.

of the changing political (phases of the attack of the Yueh-chih ; stage of the five vassal possessions ; stage of the five independent possessions ; the state of the Great Kuṣāṇas, the expansion of the boundaries) and economic situation (definite development of the commercial production demanding the increase of the quantity of coins).

The reform of Kadphises II is a qualitative turn prepared by the characteristics of the development and change of the political and economic situation in general and of the coinage and circulation of money in particular, in the course of a long time after the fall of Graeco-Bactria.

The dating of the coins of «Heraios» for the time being was examined essentially without this broad context and without the analysis of all reasons and conditions of the implementation of the reform of Kadphises II. The chronological «place» of the silver coins of «Heraios» between Graeco-Bactria (the coinage system of which was based on silver) and the reform of Kadphises II (who organized the coinage system based on gold) cannot be determined in the framework of the publication of the hoard of tetradrachmas and only on the basis of the coins of the hoard, we propose to devote a special work to this question. And the publication of the first hoard of tetradrachmas of «Heraios» is similar to the edition of a new source containing useful material, partly repeating something already known, partly telling something new, and partly playing the role of an impulse in the perception or re-interpretation of certain facts laid down earlier. All these data can be summed up as follows.

1. From the palaeographic point of view the hoard has not furnished anything principally new, supporting the stability and «single-stage character» of the transformation of the Greek characters on the tetradrachmas and the difference, observed already long ago, between the obols and the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in this respect. At the same time, the coins of the hoard furnished different variants of the character *beta*, the comparison of which with other occurrences (from the Graeco-Bactrian coins to those of the Great Kuṣāṇas) has definitively proved that on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» this letter can be considered *beta*.

2. The comparative analysis of the errors in the inscriptions has stated that they are not the result of deformation on account of mechanic imitation, and the increasing number and different character of the errors do not arise from the misunderstanding of the content of the inscriptions, but the result of some kind of negligence of the «setter», in the punching technique of the preparation, although the set itself of the punches with characters has remained standardized for the tetradrachmas. These observations, of course, could also be made by other authors earlier, but it appears that they were suggested by the hoard.

3. The hoard convincingly supports that the execution of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» occupies an intermediate place, many specimens still have this

bulging-concave form and sharp edge important for the dating. At the same time the conception about the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» as flat coins with an even cut of the edge, *i.e.* with their execution diverging from the Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachmas, can be regarded as removed.

4. Eight coins of the hoard have been minted with different dies. This has suggested the conclusion (supported also by the coins published earlier) that the issue of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» was no accidental and short episode, but it was a rather long and abundant emission.

5. The hoard has entirely changed the conception about the weight of the tetradrachmas and has suggested the very probable assumption about two «stages of weight». It has also become clear that in the study of the weight of tetradrachmas it is methodically incorrect to work with the arithmetic average of all tetradrachmas as their average weight, *viz.* if the assumption about two «stages of weight» proves to be true, then the tetradrachmas of each stage will have their own average weight.

6. It is also doubtless that the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» covering a quite large sphere of trade, had no piece by piece circulation, since the fluctuation in weight were very high, and between the pieces of the smallest weight and those of the highest weight the fluctuations were over 4 g. Such tetradrachmas differed from each other by a whole drachma.

7. The test of fineness of the coins of the hoard has shown that they were minted from a quite high quality silver.

8. The hoard has fixed a new occurrence of the coins of «Heraios» in Northern Bactria. Together with the data known earlier and also with the new data published here for the first time, we have now information about four compactly situated provenances of the coins of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» in the territory of Northern Bactria. This permits to speak about Northern Bactria not only as a place of circulation of the coins of «Heraios», but as a possible (even if not necessarily single) place of their production.

9. The analysis of the Chinese sources and the three-staged periodization of the history of the Yueh-chih (from the conquest of the territory of Bactria to the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa state) in comparison with the first word — the vassal title *TYIANNOYNTOS* — in the inscription of the tetradrachmas (an equivalent of the vassal *yabghu*) permits the assumption that this issue belongs to the second stage.

Moscow.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE COLOPHON OF THE
NOKONZOK INSCRIPTION*

No. 1. M: §9. στο ειμο μο σαδο οδο μαρτο χιργομανο κηδο αμο βορζομυρο αμο
κοζγαρκι πουρο αμο αστιλογανσειγι αμο νοκονζικι καραλαργγε μα-
ρηγο πιδο ι χοαδηο φρομανο

§10. στο ειμομανο νοβιχτο αμο μυραμανο αμο βορζομυροπουρο mg₁
αμυραμανο mg₂

No. 2. M: §9. And this well and dromos by Khirgman was built, together
with Kozgašk's son Burzmihir the Hastilugānian, honouring-
the-memory-of the Lord of the Marches Nokonzok by com-
mand of the Emperor.

§10. And by ειμομανο (it) was written, together with Burzmihir's
son Mihrāman mg₁ together with Mihrāman mg₂

No. 3. B: §9. στο μο σαδο βορζομοιορο κηρι ι κοζγαρκι πουρο βαστιλογανζειγο
νοκονζικι καραλαργγι μαρηγι πιδο χοαδηο φρομανο A NAME mg₃
ANOTHER NAME mg₄

No. 3. B: §9. And the well by Burzmihir was built, the son of Kozgašk, the
Hastilugānian, honouring-the-memory-of the Lord of the
Marches Nokonzok by command of the Emperor A NAME mg₃
ANOTHER NAME mg₄

No. 4. A: mg₁ αμιοραμανο mg₂

No. 5. Dilberjin: ειμο μανο κοβειγηο λιαγο

Above under No. 1 you see the colophon of the Nokonzok inscription as
it stands on the monolith, the final of the three versions of the inscription, called
M for «monolith».

* (Paper delivered at the International Seminar on pre-Islamic Sources for the
History of Central Asia on Tuesday, 30 September 1980, at 9.00 a. m., in Budapest.)

Below it, as No. 2, you see my English translation of the *two* paragraphs, §9 and §10, of which the colophon consists in the **M** version. The translation is largely based on the improvements in the understanding of the syntax of this passage which Nicholas Sims-Williams published in *IF*, 1973, 96. But I differ from him in that I have reverted to Henning's interpretation of *αστιλογανσειμι* as a nisbe, and in the interpretation of the last seven words of §9. My translation of these represents, as it were, a contamination of Henning with Sims-Williams, prompted by considerations which I explained in a paper given at the International Seminar of Kushan Studies held in Kabul in November 1978, and in a more detailed version of that paper due shortly to appear in print in Volume 2, 1979, pp. 55–73 of *Afghan Studies*, the journal of the British Academy's Society for Afghan Studies.

Below that translation you see, as No. 3, the colophon as it stood at the end of version **B**, whose blocks, you will remember, were found, like the blocks of version **A**, immured at random as part of the lining of the walls of the well's dromos. Version **B** ends with §9. The two names which respectively precede immediately monogram³ and monogram⁴ here abbreviated mg_3 and mg_4 , are too poorly preserved for identification, but they were certainly different from any name appearing in the **M** version.

If the colophon of **B** is shorter than that of **M**, the one of **A**, the earliest and original version of the inscription, is even shorter. It consists solely of what above is given as No. 4, namely of the same *αμν/οραμανο* sandwiched between the same mg_1 and mg_2 as terminate the colophon of the monolith **M**, No. 1 above.

This is all I have to say by way of introduction, except that in the sequence *ευομανο*, the second word of §10 in **M**, I have always seen a proper name, Iyuman, a view which Sims-Williams has accepted.

Of course Iyuman, or Iyumān, is not exactly a common name in Iranian onomastics, in fact until recently one knew of it only here. Indeed, since in §9 of **M** *ευο* occurs by itself as second word, in the clear meaning of «this», from OIran. *iyam*, it would be perfectly legitimate to treat *ευομανο* in §10 as consisting of two words, *ευο* «this» plus *μανο*. The only reason for not doing so, is that syntactically we need, before the past participle *νοβιχτο* «was written», a word expressing the agent of writing whom naturally one expects to be denoted by a proper name.

That we need such an animate agent placed immediately before *νοβιχτο*, is rendered abundantly clear by the fourth and fifth words of §9 of **B** (see No. 3 above), which together mean «by Burzmihir was built».

Therefore the only acceptable alternative to translating *ευομανο νοβιχτο* in §10 of **M** as «by Iyuman was written», would be «and this (*ευο*) was written by Mān, or by Man». It is not a very attractive alternative.

There would be no more to be said on the subject, had not the fragment of a Bactrian inscription from Dilberjin published in 1979 by Livshits and Kruglik-

ova on pp. 108—112 of the second volume of Древняя Бактрия (Ed. I. T. Kruglikova, Moscow), brought to our notice a second occurrence of *ειομανο*, this time spelled with one iota only (see above, No. 5). The sequence, which Livshits divides into two words, is followed there by another sequence which he again divides into two words. The latter he interprets as a hyphenated proper name «*Κυβειζεε-Λιυαε*», duly querying it with two question marks. I appreciate the query, but see no reason for quarrelling with this interpretation, especially as the context is in any case quite obscure.

However, «*Κυβειζεε-Λιυαε*» is in itself so strange a name, that Livshits understandably refuses to regard the preceding *ειομανο* as yet another strange name asyndetically prefixed to it. He accordingly suggests that in the Dilberjin inscription *ειο μανο*, as two words, means «this building», and he therefore naturally wants *ειο μανο* in §10 of **M** to have the same meaning, in which case *νοβιχτο* would in that paragraph mean not «was written» but «was inscribed».

So far, so good. What is less good are the consequential adjustments to which Livshits finds himself inexorably driven within the ambit of **M**'s colophon. He of course still needs an agent for *νοβιχτο*, but having deprived himself of *ειομανο* as the first-named of two agents, he takes recourse to finding that the verb has as one and sole-named agent the following *Mihrāman*. To the preposition *αμο* preceding the latter he thereafter has no option but to attribute a meaning equivalent to English «by» in agential sense.

This is the first step on slippery ground, of the chain-reaction which Livshits's dismissal of *ειομανο* as agent releases. The second is that, since to him in §10 of **M** *νοβιχτο αμο μιραμανο* now has to mean «was inscribed by *Mihrāman*», Livshits is bound to want *κιδδο αμο βορζομιροο* in §9 of **M** to mean «was built by *Burzmih*», despite the fact that in §9 of **B** this very meaning is expressed, as one would expect, by *βορζομιροο κιδδι*.

The next and final step in this consequential chain-reaction is for Livshits inevitably the inference that the sequence *χιρογομανο*, which precedes *κιδδο* in §9 of **M**, is not a proper name denoting the agent of *κιδδο*, but a term for yet another structure, asyndetically aligned with the preceding *ειο μο σαδο οδο μαρτο*, so that his translation becomes «and this well and dromos, terrace (*χιρογομανο*), was built by *Burzmih*».

This is where I balk, notwithstanding my boundless admiration for Livshits, a truly great Iranianist, and friend of mine in addition. And if *χιρογομανο* refuses to be anything but the logical subject of *κιδδο* just as in §9 of **B** *βορζομιροο* is even for Livshits the logical subject of *κιδδι*, what else can we do but retrace all the steps of his slippery chain-reaction until we are back at *ειομανο* in §10 of **M** having to remain, after all, the animate logical subject of *νοβιχτο*.

We are back at *ειομανο* as animate agent, but even I can no longer say that this makes me happy. For naturally I do accept Livshits's premise, the unlikelihood that so strange and rare a name as *Iyuman*, or rather the bearer

of it, should occur in *both* inscriptions, at Dilberjin even followed asyndetically by an even stranger name.

Caught in this onomastic fix, my mind happened to stray to the difference between Dr Livshits's and my own first names. It then struck me that mine disposes of an advantage which his could not possibly have offered him on this occasion. For reasons no doubt egocentric, the name I bear has always induced me to take an interest in words beginning with IL. And so, before long, it dawned on me that semantically, and partly even etymologically, English *ilk* fits the *ειομανο* situation like a glove the hand. At Dilberjin *ειομανο* immediately precedes a proper name, in other words, qualifies a person. In the Nokonzok colophon's M version the same *ειομανο* ought to be a person, the logical subject of *νοβιχτο*, yet should not be, as Livshits rightly says, a personal name.

Well, English *ilk* means «the same», and consists, as Germanicists have long shown, of the pronominal element *i*, present also in Bactrian *ειο* from *iyam*, plus a reduced form of what in English is *like*, in Gothic *leik*. Livshits wanted to find in the *μανο* of *ειο μανο* a building structure, etymologically therefore a cognate of *dmāna*- «house». But Bactrian *μανο* may just as well belong to the Iranian base *mān*- «to resemble», so that, just as English *ilk*, *ειομανο* would derive its meaning «the same» from «this-like».

It would follow that at Dilberjin we must translate «the same *Κυβέϊζεβ-Λυΐαζ*», who presumably was mentioned earlier on in the text of which only a fragment has survived. And in the M colophon of the Nokonzok inscription we must translate «and by the same was written».

This would not be without interest to the understanding of the Nokonzok inscription as a whole, whether or not you accept my new interpretation of what happened to the well of Baghlan, in the article about to appear in *Afghan Studies*. For, the person referred to as «the same» in §10, can only be the man called Khirgman in §9. And if Sims-Williams is right, as I think he is, in defining the monogram mg_2 as that of Mihrāman, the monogram mg_1 as that of the man he believed bore the name Iyuman, then we learn at last what hitherto we had no reason for even suspecting, namely that Khirgman figures already, represented so to speak ideographically, by no more than mg_1 , in the *brevissimus colophon* of the A version (No. 4 above).

The gain accruing to us from this recognition, is a little more than I had time or space to explain in translation-note *i* on p.66 of my article about to appear. Let me devote to it the rest of this paper.

§§1—8, *i.e.* the original Nokonzok text constant in all three versions, to which a different colophon was added in each of the three, name only two persons, Kaniška, too famous for his patronymic to be stated, and Nokonzok, famous yes, but not famous enough for his patronymic to be omitted.

§9 of M, *i.e.* the first paragraph of that version's *longissimus colophon* (see No. 1), introduces a third person, Burzmihir, stating his patronymic. He had

already appeared, complete with patronymic, in §9 of **B** (see No. 3), which paragraph by itself constitutes the whole of the *longior colophon*, intermediate between the *brevissimus* and the *longissimus* not only in length, but also in time.

§10 of **M**, *i.e.* the second paragraph of the *longissimus*, which includes as coda the *brevissimus*, supplies, just in front of the latter, the patronymic absent from the *brevissimus* itself, of Mihrāman. This patronymic we should never have known had version **A** alone reached our ken. But we may be quite certain that local readers contemporary with the setting up of **A**, even if familiar with dozens of Mihrāmāns, would have known exactly which Mihrāman the *brevissimus* designates, because mg_2 supplied as it were his patronymic ideographically.

The rule which emerges applied to Nokonzok, Burzmihir, and Mihrāman, is that for identification name *and* patronymic must be given. But the custom of *not* stating the patronymic of a person whose name was to be immediately followed by his monogram not only transpires from the *brevissimus*'s « $\mu\omicron\omicron\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\omicron$ mg_2 » (see No. 4), but is assured by the *longior*'s coda (see No. 3). The two names preceding respectively that coda's mg_3 and mg_4 cannot be read with any confidence (see *Asia Major*, XII, 1966, 94f.), but both certainly differ from all the names mentioned in **A** and **M** and the rest of **B**, while yet neither bears its bearer's patronymic. It is clear, therefore, that local readers extracted the two patronymics which to us are beyond reach, from the monograms mg_3 and mg_4 .

Accordingly in the *brevissimus* of **A**, where not only the patronymic of Khirgman, but even his name, fails to appear, both had to be extracted by local readers contemporary with the setting up of that version, from no more than Khirgman's monogram mg_1 . We may infer that either Khirgman was so well-known that the mere sight of his monogram sufficed for identification not only of his patronymic but also of his name, or that, although it did not really suffice, Khirgman thought that it would. For quite likely the author of the *brevissimus* was Khirgman himself, the boss of **A**'s other engraver Mihrāman.

Now all we need to note in addition is that in the *longior* and in the *longissimus* Nokonzok's patronymic *no longer* appears, *i.e.* its absence from both colophons is due merely to awareness of its having been stated at the first mention of Nokonzok's name, in §5 of the inscription. With this in mind we shall understand why of all the dramatis personae (apart from Kaniška) of **M** only Khirgman is named without patronymic: the author of the *longissimus* (who again was quite likely Khirgman himself, the author of the *longior* presumably being Burzmihir) was aware that the *longissimus* would have as coda the *brevissimus* he had «composed» years earlier, whose initial mg_1 sufficed, at least in his opinion, to inform readers of his patronymic. He therefore refrained, in §9 (see No. 1), from adding it to his name. But in §10 we may expect that he *would* have added it, seeing that in that paragraph immediately before the *brevissimus* he did add Mihrāman's patronymic to his underling's name. He *would* have added it also to his own name. But on reaching §10 it occurred to him for stylistic

variation to write, instead of his name, «Ilk». And to Ilks even Bactrians were evidently not in the habit of attaching patronymics.

These are not aimless considerations. For whenever one differs from illustrious predecessors in the solution of problems, one must try to understand, and refute, not only the reasons they *adduced* for their solution, but also reasons that may have influenced them without their deeming it necessary to adduce them, if they are such that they appear tacitly to support the solution with which one disagrees. We may well ask why Livshits, despite the *βορζομογο κιοδι* of No. 3 above almost forcing one to take *χιγογομνο* in No. 1 for a personal name, preferred to consider *χιγογομνο* a building structure as Henning had done, who however of our No. 3 knew as yet nothing. It seems to me obvious, although Livshits does not say so, that he did this out of reluctance to regard as a name a word which, unlike all the other names appearing in M (the sole Kaniska's excepted), is unaccompanied by a patronymic defining it as a personal name.

The word also has as yet no etymology supporting onomastic interpretation. Let me end by hazarding a shot into this dark: **rix taka-manah-* (> **xir-dag* > **xir(d)g*) «the relaxed-minded, the even-tempered», with reference to the meaning of German *gelassen*.

Cambridge.

KIDARA AND THE KIDARITE HUNS IN KAŚMĪR

It was recognized by earlier research long ago that precise historical dates can only be found in Kalhaṇa's Rājataranṅiṇī from 813 A.D. onwards. This date (*viz.* the Laukika year 3889 which began on the 7th March, 813 A.D.) is given by Kalhaṇa for Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's death. Before this event he can only offer figures indicating the length of the reigns of individual rulers.¹ It was also seen already long ago that the chronology of the whole period preceding the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa was based on calculated dates, computed by Kalhaṇa on the basis of some chronological and historical theories.²

In spite of the constructed character of the chronology for the earlier periods of Kaśmīrian history, one must not regard the narrative of Kalhaṇa as a mere invention, being without any historical authenticity. This statement may be valid first of all for the earlier Kārkoṭa kings who ruled prior to the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa. Here we find only a small error of 25 years.³ Even the date for the rise of the dynasty, deducted from the length of the reigns of the earlier Kārkoṭa kings, can be supported by historical reasons.⁴ It follows that in general the historicity of Kalhaṇa's narrative from the beginnings of the VIIth century A.D. onwards cannot be called in doubt.

But it was also pointed out by M. A. Stein that Kalhaṇa mentions some well-known historical personalities even before the Kārkoṭa dynasty.⁵ Thus, he borrowed from the work of Chavillākara the names of five kings of which at least four, *viz.* Aśoka, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kanīṣka, are also known from other sources. The description of these kings given by Kalhaṇa well corresponds to the evidence of other sources and as regards the three Kuṣāṇa kings he offers even some details, unknown elsewhere, which point to a well-informed historical work. Such details are the following :

¹ Cf. M. A. STEIN : Kalhaṇa's Rājataranṅiṇī. ² Delhi—Patna—Varanasi 1961. Vol. I. 58 foll. with earlier literature.

² Cf. Rāj. I. 48—56. M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* Vol. I. 59 foll. (Introduction), notes to I. 48—50, 53, 54 Vol. I. 10—12 (Translation).

³ Cf. A. CUNNINGHAM : The Ancient Geography of India. I. London 1871. 91 ; G. BÜHLER : Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. Made in Kaśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India. Bombay 1877. 43, 55 ; M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* 67 foll.

⁴ J. HARMATTA : Late Bactrian Inscriptions. Acta Ant. Hung. 17 (1969) 404.

⁵ M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* 64 foll., 74 foll.

1. The form of the names *Huṣka* and *Juṣka*.
2. The chronological interval between the three *Kuṣāṇa* kings and the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha which is presumed to be 150 years.
3. The simultaneous reign of the three *Kuṣāṇa* kings which seems to be supposed by *Kalhaṇa*.

Each of these details may arouse a keen interest.

1. The forms *Huṣka* and *Juṣka* used instead of *Huviṣka*, *Huveṣka*, *Ooēṣko* and *Vāsiṣka*, *Vajheṣka*, *Bazēṣko* were striking from the beginnings and *Juṣka* became identified with *Vāsiṣka* only later.⁶ In fact, the possibility of these forms can be proved from the view-point of historical phonology. The form *Kaniṣka* obviously prevents us from ascribing the development of *Huviṣka*, *Vāsiṣka* into *Huṣka*, *Juṣka* to *Gāndhārī Prākṛit* in which the outcome of *Kaniṣka* was **Ka-nik(k)a*. Accordingly, the rise of these striking forms can more probably be presumed in some Eastern Iranian dialect, possibly in the language of the *Kuṣāṇas* themselves. In Late Bactrian or in some other Eastern Iranian Language like *Yidgha-Munji*, the form *Huviṣka* could develop into **Hūṣka* and then into *Huṣka*. Thus, this form can easily be explained from the view-point of historical phonology. As concerns *Vajheṣka* (to be read obviously **Vazeṣka*), on the basis of *Munji wuzōw-* > *wzōw-* 'to extinguish', *Yidgha vzān-*, *Munji vzōn-* < OIr. **ava-zān-*, cf. *Saka vaysān-* 'to recognize',⁷ we can presume a development *Vazeṣka* > **Vzeṣka* > **Vzuṣka*, and even > **Zuṣka*. The forms **Vzuṣka* or **Zuṣka* could only be adopted by Sanskrit in the spelling *Juṣka*. Contrary to the forms *Ooēṣko* and *Bazēṣko* used in Bactrian, perhaps we have to do with some local, Eastern Iranian variants or even with the genuine *Kuṣāṇa* development of these names here.

2. The striking statement about the short chronological interval (150 years) between the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha and the three *Kuṣāṇa* kings has an exact parallel in the *Khotanese* text P 2787-1-195 according to which *Candra Kaṇaika* was born when one hundred years elapsed since the *deva Buddha* passed in *parinirvāṇa*.⁸ Both the *Saka* text and *Kalhaṇa*'s source might have preserved a genuine *Kuṣāṇa* tradition which wanted to shorten the long (more than six hundred years) interval between the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha and the three *Kuṣāṇa* kings considerably.

3. Since the discovery of the inscription from *Ārā*, it became clear that *Kaniṣka II* and *Huviṣka (I ?)* must have reigned partly simultaneously. In the light of this fact it seems not to be excluded either that *Kaniṣka* or/and *Huviṣka* were already co-rulers of *Vāsiṣka*. In this case the *Kaśmīrian* tradition might

⁶ Cf. recently M. BUSSAGLI: *The Problem of Kaniṣka as Seen by the Art Historian. Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*. Leiden 1968. 42 and L. PETECH: *Kashmiri and Tibetan Materials on the Date of Kaniṣka*. Ibidem 244.

⁷ Cf. G. MORGENSTIERNE: *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*. II. Oslo 1938. 260, 264.

⁸ H. W. BAILEY: *Viśa Samgrāma*. AM NS 11 (1965) 107.

have correctly preserved the memory of the three Kuṣāṇa kings as ruling simultaneously.

Thus, the historical value of the Buddhistic tradition, preserved in Chavil-lākara's work and used by Kalhaṇa, seems to be beyond any doubt. Moreover, earlier research also recognized long ago that the Rājatarāṅgiṇī preserved a valuable tradition of the Hephthalite kings Mihirakula, Toramāṇa, Khiṅgila, and Laḥkhaṇa, too.⁹ On the basis of linguistic and historical arguments it seems also to be very likely that at least one part of the list of kings from Mihirakula until the Western Turk conquest of Gandhāra in the twenties of the VIIth century A.D. can be regarded as authentic from historical view-point.¹⁰

Now, we arrive at an obvious contradiction here. It is well-known from various sources that the rule of the Kuṣāṇas (and Late Kuṣāṇas) was followed by that of the Kidarite Huns who were again succeeded by the Hephthalites. This historical succession is valid also for the territory of Kaśmīr as it is clearly proved by the coinage of the Hephthalite dynasty of Kaśmīr. The type of the coins, minted by Toramāṇa, Pravarasena, Narendrāditya and Gokarṇa, exactly reproduces the gold coins of Kidara, which again follow the type of the coins struck by the Late Kuṣāṇa kings of North-Western India.¹¹

The Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr had maintained even the legend *Kidara* on the reverse of their coins. This fact can only be explained by the assumption that the Hephthalite dynasty of Kaśmīr was the immediate successor of the Kidarite Hun kings who ruled there. As it is proved by the legend of their coins, the Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr wanted to be regarded as the legitimate descendants and heirs of Kidara and this claim is only comprehensible if Kidara also ruled over Kaśmīr.

It follows from all these considerations that Kidara, the Hun king ought to have occurred in the enumerations of the Kaśmīrian kings. It was impossible, however, to discover Kidara or Kidarite Hun kings in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī so far. In the meantime the contradiction between historical probability and Kalhaṇa's narrative became even sharper. One succeeded to identify some coins of Hiraṇyakula who reigned in Kaśmīr according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī before Vasukula, the immediate predecessor of Mihirakula.¹² The coins of Hiraṇyakula imitated even more exactly the coins struck by Kidara. Thus, they represented a missing link between the coinage of Toramāṇa and that of Kidara and proved - at least to some extent - the historicity of the list of kings who ruled before

⁹ A. CUNNINGHAM: *Coins of Mediaeval India*. London 1894. 25 foll.; M. A. STEIN: *op. cit.* 64 foll., 78 foll.

¹⁰ J. HARMATTA: *op. cit.* 100 foll.

¹¹ A. CUNNINGHAM: *Coins of Mediaeval India*. London 1894. 42 foll., Pl. III. For the coins of Kidara mentioned here cf.; A. CUNNINGHAM: *Later Indo-Scythians. Scytho-Sassanians and Little Kushans*. London 1893. Pl. VI, 3, 10, 14.

¹² A. CUNNINGHAM: *Later Indo-Scythians. Ephthalites, or White Huns*. London 1894. 98, 114, Pl. VIII. 9-10.

Mihirakula according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It became clear that these kings must have been Kidarite Hun rulers because they reigned before the first Hephthalite king, Mihirakula, in Kaśmīr. But the name Kidara seemed to be missing there. Accordingly, the whole problem came to a deadlock.

At this state of affairs unexpected help arrived on behalf of linguistics. Studying the Kidarite Hun and Hephthalite names, I discovered that the name Kidara did not stand isolated among the names of the epoch. It occurs four times in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan, each time as a honorific title or surname. The evidence is the following :

- 1 Doc. 118, C, 2 *kiṃdari suḡitaṣa muli l*
- 2 Doc. 103 Rev. B 6 *kiṃtra suḡitaṣa l*
- 3 Doc. 146, B, 4a *daśavita kiṃtra mutreya*
- 4 Doc. 242. Obv. B, 1 *kiṃtra suḡitaṣa paḷe l*

The honorific character of the title becomes clear from its use by the officer *daśavita mutreya*. Its meaning may be 'honoured, hero, valiant' or the like.

Then I found abundant evidence for the word in Khotanese Saka texts. The evidence for it was collected and discussed by H. W. Bailey in a detailed manner.¹³ The variants of the word are the following : *kaidari*, *kidari*, *kaidara*, *kidarrā* (locative pl.), *kinarāṇa* (genitive pl.), *kiṃnara*, *kedhara*, *kedara*, *kiṃdari* and even *kaidharā re* 'Kidara king'. The variants *kinara*- and *kiṃnara* and even more the occurrence of the word as the equivalent of Sanskrit *Kiṃnara*-, *Kinnara*- in the Khotanese Saka Sudhana-Avadāna prove beyond any doubt that Saka *kaidari*, *kidara*, *kiṃdari* etc. represent an adoption in Khotanese Saka of Indian *Kiṃnara*-, *Kinnara*-. Taking into consideration that the change *-ṃn-/-nn- > -ṃd-/-d-* cannot be pointed out in Gāndhārī Prākṛit, but it is well-known in Sanskrit loan-words of Khotanese Saka (Saka *sandāvāta* < Sanskrit *sannipāta*-, Saka *vavanna*-/*vavaṃda* < Sanskrit *upapanna*-)¹⁴, we must regard *kiṃdari*, *kiṃtra* in the Niya documents as borrowed from Khotanese Saka.

At this point we can return to Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. If we recognized that the name *Kidara* was an Iranian adoption and development of Indian *Kiṃnara*-, *Kinnara*- probably meaning 'hero, valiant' then it becomes clear at once that the king Nara who is mentioned in Book I 197 of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī in the following way :

kiṃnarāparanāmātha kiṃnarairgītavikramah /
vibhiṣanasya putrobhūnnaranāmā narādhipah //

¹³ H. W. BAILEY : Rāma II. BSOAS 10 (1941) 583, note 2. and Irano-Indica IV. BSOAS 13 (1951) 921 foll.

¹⁴ H. W. BAILEY : Rāma II. BSOAS 10 (1941) 583, note 2.

«Then Vibhīṣana's son Nara who also bore the name of
Kiṃnara, and whose prowess was sung by the Kiṃnaras, became king.»

represents the Kidarite Hun king Kidara whose reign in Kaśmīr must have been supposed already on the basis of historical considerations and numismatic evidence but who could not be identified in the text of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī hitherto.

The identification of of king Kiṃnara/Nara mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī with the Hun king Kidara can also be corroborated by chronological arguments. According to the narrative of Kalhaṇa, after Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaṇiṣka six kings reigned in Kaśmīr. The length of the reigns of the last five kings amounts to 190 years and 6 months but the duration of the reign of Abhimanyu I is not indicated. Adopting 134 A.D. for the beginning of the Kaṇiṣka Era and 195 A.D. for the end of the reign of Huviṣka and adding to this figure the 190 1/2 years, we arrive at the date 385 A.D. to which we have still to add the regnal years of Abhimanyu I, reckoning with an average reign of 15—25 years. Thus we obtain approximately 400—410 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Kidara in Kaśmīr which exactly coincides with the lower time limit proposed by K. Enoki for the Indian conquests of Kidara recently.¹⁵

Taking into consideration that by the coinage of Hiraṇyakula an immediate historical link between Kidara and the Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr is established, we can identify the Kidarite kings of Kaśmīr with Kiṃnara and his successors. Thus, it becomes clear that the continuous historicity of the narrative of Kalhaṇa in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is not restricted to the period beginning with 813 A.D. — as it was presumed earlier — but it can be extended up to the beginning of Kuśāṇa rule in Kaśmīr about the middle of the IIInd century A.D.

Budapest.

¹⁵ K. ENOKI: On the Date of the Kidarites. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 28 (1970) 20.

TITRES ET FONCTIONS RELIGIEUSES SASANIDES D'APRÈS LES SOURCES SYRIQUES HAGIOGRAPHIQUES

Si l'on compare les sources arabes aux sources syriaques, notamment hagiographiques — dans le but de les utiliser pour l'histoire de l'administration sasanide¹ — on ne peut que constater combien ces dernières sont supérieures aux premières, par la qualité de l'information plus précise et généralement plus crédible. Cette supériorité pourrait être dûe au fait — que l'on n'a pas assez noté — que beaucoup de personnages mis en scène dans les *Actes des martyrs perses*² ne sont pas seulement des chrétiens ayant vécu en Iran mais des convertis du mazdéisme, venus des hautes couches sociales et ayant exercé des fonctions importantes au service du Roi des Rois. Pour prendre quelques exemples, datables du 6^{ème} siècle, le Catholicos Mar Abā était né dans la religion mazdéenne, il était même *arzbed*,³ mot qu'il faut corriger en *argbed*, à mon avis, puisqu'il devint attaché au secrétariat de l'*āmārgar*, qui le dénoncera comme chrétien.⁴ De même, Mar Yazīdpanāh, est présenté comme plus savant que tous les mages nombreux et instruits qui vivaient à Šuš, près de Karkā d'Édessa, et il était «chef et juge» de son village.⁵ Et encore, Mar Giwargis avant de se convertir au Christianisme, s'appelait Mihr-Māh-Gušnasp (plutôt que

¹ J'ai étudié notamment la fonction de *marzbān*, surtout à partir des sources arabes, dans un article à paraître dans les *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*. J'ai aussi présenté au Colloque de Jérusalem (juin 1980) une communication «Pour une esquisse des fonctions religieuses sous les Sasanides», qui fait le point des sources iraniennes.

² Cf. P. BEDJAN : *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vol., Paris 1890—1897. Ce sont les vol. II et IV qui contiennent les actes des martyrs perses. Je cite cette édition-là, et non celle d'ASSEMANN : *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*, I, 1748, difficilement accessible.

³ BEDJAN : *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de de deux laïques, nestoriens*, Paris 1895, p. 210 : syr. 'rzbd.

⁴ BEDJAN : o. c. p. 215—216. Le titre est écrit : *hmrgrd* mais la fin du mot *-grd* n'est sans doute dû qu'à une confusion banale avec les mots iraniens se terminant par *-gird* (cf. Yazdgird : *yzdgrd*). Le h initial pourrait indiquer que l'aspirée était encore prononcée ; les deux graphies avec ' et h coexistent en tout cas, sur les sceaux et les bulles, comme on peut le voir dans mon *Catalogue des sceaux, camées et bulles sasanides, II. Les sceaux et bulles inscrits*, Paris 1978, pp. 141 et 144.

⁵ BEDJAN : *Histoire*... p. 396 : les deux titres sont donnés en syriaque : *rš' wdyn'*. Il semble d'ailleurs que pour désigner le «juge», ce soit le plus souvent le terme syr. qui est utilisé.

Mihrām-Gušnasp, comme on l'appelle en général),⁶ il portait donc un nom mazdéen comme tant d'autres martyrs, et le père de son père était de lignée royale et gouverneur d'une petite ville, tandis que le père de sa mère était *mōbad*.⁷ Plus anciennement, dans les textes se rapportant au 4^{ème} siècle, on trouverait aussi des exemples : le père du martyr Pusay avait épousé une femme perse de la ville de Bišāpūr (Veh-Šābuhr) lorsqu'il fut déporté dans cette ville après avoir été fait prisonnier.⁸

On peut penser dès lors que les rédacteurs des récits de ces martyres devaient être assez bien informés du contexte historique, administratif et religieux, dans lequel vécurent ces chrétiens, et leurs données, sous cet aspect-là, n'ont pas été, il me semble, suffisamment étudiées, en dépit des travaux récents que l'on doit au Père J.-M. Fiey ou à G. Wiessner. Ce dernier, dans son livre *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II*⁹, a centré sa recherche sur les textes se rapportant au 4^{ème} s. (mais rédigés au 5^{ème} s.), et relevant les termes utilisés en syriaque pour la hiérarchie religieuse mazdéenne, il déplore leur confusion et considère que les mots différents employés pour désigner une seule et même personne seraient dûs au fait que les rédacteurs ne faisaient pas une distinction nette entre les deux grandes classes de prêtres mazdéens, les *mōyān* et les *mōbadān*.¹⁰ Et il ajoute que cette confusion est comparable à celle de la littérature grecque (où il n'est question que de *magos*) et arabe (où l'on ne parle que de *mūbad*).¹¹ Cette interprétation me semble trop pessimiste, et pour juger de la valeur des termes administratifs transmis en syriaque, je pense qu'il est préférable de commencer par étudier les données plus tardives, celles du 6^{ème}-7^{ème} siècles, qui doivent normalement se révéler plus précises et plus sûres, tout comme les sources arabes sont beau-

⁶ Le nom est en effet écrit sous plusieurs graphies : cf. BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 436 : *myhrmgwšnsp* mais p. 564, l. 6 et 12, le h est bien noté : *myhrmhgwšnsp*. *Mihrām n'est pas usité dans l'onomastique sasanide, telle que je l'ai décrite dans *Pad nām i yazdān*, Paris 1979, pp. 35-100.

⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 435. Son père même était *ōstāndār* (sy. 'wstndr' à Nisibe. J.-M. FIEY n'a malheureusement pas compris ce passage, dans son livre *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, Louvain 1977, p. 274, addenda n° 1, et p. 11 de l'introduction [*CSCO* vol. 388, Subsidia t. 54]. Ma liste n'est évidemment pas exhaustive, car on pourrait citer encore le nom de Kardag, qui, avant de se convertir, était un zoroastrien aux fonctions importantes, qui cumulait les titres de marzbān de l'Adiabène et *ptkš'* d'Āsūr (Āsūrestān). Ce deuxième titre pourrait bien représenter le pehl. *bthšy* des inscriptions, car le p initial peut s'expliquer, soit comme une conséquence de la règle d'archaïsation de l'écriture (qui veut qu'en pehl., un son b est souvent écrit p), soit comme le signe d'une étymologie pressentie du mot commençant par *pati*-. Il faut noter qu'il existe deux graphies du mot en syr. : *ptkš'* BEDJAN : *AMS* IV, 221, et *ptḥš'*, cf. BEDJAN : *AMS* II, 445, 463, 464, 487.

⁸ BEDJAN : *AMS* II, 208.

⁹ Göttingen, 1967 [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, n° 67]. Ce livre est malheureusement difficile à utiliser, car il n'est pourvu ni d'Index ni de bibliographie.

¹⁰ WIESSNER : o.c. p. 171.

¹¹ WIESSNER : o.c. p. 171 note 3.

coup plus crédibles pour la période des Xusrô que pour les débuts de l'époque sasanide, et seulement ensuite examiner les sources plus précoces du 4^{ème} siècle, que l'on pourra alors juger d'un regard moins sévère et en tout cas, dans une perspective diachronique.

J'ai affirmé, au début de mon introduction, la précision des sources syriaques. Je voudrais en donner quelques exemples. Dans un passage de la vie de Mar Giwargis, martyr du 6^{ème} s., est cité un mot moyen-perse en syriaque qui n'a pas été reconnu jusqu'ici, à ma connaissance, et qui est abondamment attesté dans les inscriptions du 3^{ème} siècle, de Kirdîr à Narseh. Le passage

w'tyhb lh 'yqr' bdrq' hd' dmtqry' pdkšr

qui se traduit : «Et il lui fut donné une dignité dans ce rang qui est appelé *padixšar*»,¹² à Giwargis qui était serviteur à la table du Roi.

Même dans une phrase aussi courte, le mot *padixšar* semble avoir un sens assez précis, et en tout cas différent de celui que possède 'yqr'. Il faut donc voir, à partir des occurrences en pehlevi, que je voudrais citer ici *in extenso*, quel peut être le sens exact du mot, qui apparaît dans huit contextes différents :

- a) KKZ 4/KSM 5/KNRm 10 :¹³

'Pm g'sy W pthšly 'pltly 'BYDWN...
«Et il éleva mon rang et mon *padixšar*»

- b) KKZ 6/KSM 8/KNRm 16 :

'Pm whl'nc MLK'n MLK' PWN 'gl'dyhy W pthšly YHŠNN...
«Alors Vahrām roi des rois me maintint dans ma noblesse et mon *padixšar*»

- c) KKZ 8/KSM 11/KNRm 22—23 :

*ZKm BYN štry 'pltly g'sy W pthšly 'BYDWN 'Pm g'sy W pthšly
ZY wcl'k'n YHBWNt...*
«Celui-ci (= Vahrām II) éleva mon rang et mon *padixšar*, et il me donna le rang et le *padixšar* des Grands»

- d) KKZ 9/KSM 13/KNRm 28 ? :

¹² BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 437, l. 5—6.

¹³ J'utilise les sigles, utilisés dans mon *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972, et adoptés par la plupart des iranistes : KKZ = inser. de Kirdîr à la Ka'aba de Zoroastre ; KSM, = inser. du même à Sar Mašhad ; KNRm = inser. du même à Naqš-i Rostam ; NPi = inser. de Paikuli.

W mgwGBR' BYN štry LB' pthšly YHWWnt...

«Et les *mogmard*¹⁴ furent dans le pays d'un grand *padixšar*»

e) KSM 25/KMRm 50(lacunaire) :

HT LB' 'gl'dyhy W pth[š]ly QDM...

«Si une grande noblesse et un grand *padixšar* sur...»

f) NPi 9 :¹⁵

*W GDH W štry W NPŠH 'LŠ['] W pthšly ZY nyd'k'n MN yzd'n
MKBL[WN...]*

«Et (qu'il)¹⁶ accepte des dieux le *xvarrah*, l'empire, son propre trône et le *padixšar* des ancêtres...»

g) NPi 26 :

[W pt]hšly BR' LMYTnt...

«Et il fut déchu (?) de son *padixšar*...»

h) NPi 33 :

*HT 'yw b'ly šhp[whry] ... [p]sd'lyk k[r]ty 'Pšn psd'lykn pthšly
YHBWN ...*

«Si une fois Šābuhr (roi des rois?) (le) fit *pāsdārīg*, alors il (lui) donna le *padixšar* des *pāsdārīg* ...»

Ainsi, d'après ces différents passages, les rois ont leur *padixšar*, les Grands (*vuzurgān*) aussi, le grand mage Kirdir également ; et même le saint

¹⁴ Le mot *mogmard* pourrait bien être un titre dans la hiérarchie cléricale, bien que l'usage qui en est fait dans les inscriptions de Kirdir ne soit pas très clair. Le syr. me semble traduire ce mot dans l'expression *gbr' mgiōš'* que j'ai relevée dans BEDJAN : AMS II, 51. Mais surtout, nous avons sans doute d'autres titres, formés de la même manière, et décelables dans des noms propres comme *Azād-mard*, qui se lit sur un sceau du Musée de Copenhague (cf. M.-L. BÜHL : *A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East, in the National Museum of Denmark*, 1974, p. 63, n° 51. Je lis : 'c'tmlt' Y mgw Y hwt'dbut'n), ou comme *Xvadāy-mard*, que j'ai relevé sur deux empreintes de Qasr-i Abu Nasr : n° 135 (36.30.249, ou D. 176, selon la publication de R. N. FRYE : *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr*, Cambridge 1973, p. 62b), où est inscrit : hwt'dmlt' Y mgw Y pws'n; et n° 192 (36.30.118, ou D. 248, FRYE p. 63b) où je lis : hwt'dmlt' Y mgw Y [...n]. Or je considère ces noms comme de possibles anciens titres, parce que l'inversion des membres du composé ne se fait pas dans de tels noms propres, comme on le constate par exemple dans *Mard-būd* (cf. mon *Catalogue* de la B. N. p. 146a, cité en note 4) et *Būd-mard* (*Catalogue* p. 143b).

¹⁵ Selon la nouvelle édition de H. HUMBACH et PRODS O. SKJAERVØ : *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*, Part 2, Synoptic Tables, Wiesbaden 1980. Je pense toutefois qu'en NPi 9, on peut et doit restaurer un W entre les mots 'LŠ' et *pthšly*.

¹⁶ Il s'agit, d'après le contexte, du roi Narseh.

Giwargis qui servait à la table du roi. L'étymologie proposée depuis longtemps ne nous apprend pas grand'chose, et tout le monde traduit par «honneur, dignité».¹⁷ Mais d'après nos textes, y compris le passage en syriaque, il s'agit manifestement d'une certaine qualité ou qualification qui ne va pas de soi, qui est accordée, peut-être en vertu des mérites, et qui est proprement mazdéenne. Si le mot est vraiment hérité du parthe,¹⁸ on pourrait penser qu'il désigne non un titre mais une qualité spéciale, que les contextes ne nous permettent pas de préciser davantage, et qui existait déjà sous les Arsacides.

Il est intéressant de noter que le mot est aussi attesté en moyen-perse manichéen. Dans un texte publié par W. Sundermann,¹⁹ on lit en effet ceci :

«w(š) 'st'yšn 'wd pdxšr dyynd (')wš d'nynd kw ky 'st
'wš (pd) wzrgyy(h) 'wd 'gr'yih gwg'y (hyn)d ...»

Quel que soit le sens ici, on sera frappé tout de même de constater l'alliance de l'expression *padixšar dādan* avec le mot *agrāyih*, comme dans plusieurs passages des inscriptions.

Dans les actes des martyrs perses, de nombreuses allusions sont faites à la religion mazdéenne, au rituel et aux coutumes que les rédacteurs connaissent bien. Il n'est pas question ici de relever l'ensemble de ces données, mais pour en montrer la précision, je voudrais prendre seulement un exemple. Dans la vie de Mar Giwargis,²⁰ il est question d'un mage qui venant vers le saint, sans savoir sans doute qu'il s'était converti, selon l'habitude mazdéenne «lui donne le vāz au moment du pain (i.e. du repas)», comme il est écrit :

wyhb lh wsq' b'dn' dlhm' ...

Le syr. *wsq'* représente le pehl. *vāzag* de toute évidence. Or, l'expression *vāz dādan*, bien rendue ici en syr., exprime précisément l'échange de la prière avant le repas entre deux personnes. Certes, le terme courant pour désigner l'ensemble de cet acte rituel est *vāz griftan*,²¹ mais il ne convenait pas dans ce contexte.

Ces quelques exemples nous ont montré la validité des sources syriaques. On pourra donc faire confiance, avec la prudence requise, à ce qu'elles nous

¹⁷ Cf. M. BACK : *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, 1978, p. 248 [= *Acta Iranica* 18] : < **pati-šfara*- «Ehre, Ehrung».

¹⁸ BACK : *o.c.* p. 249, qui cite cela comme une suggestion d'O. SZEMERÉNYI.

¹⁹ *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin 1973, p. 102, ligne 1986/88. Je n'étudie pas ici les autres occurrences du mot, qu'on peut relever dans les *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, hrsgg. ANDREAS-HENNING, et qu'on a traduit par «honorer».

²⁰ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 440.

²¹ Cf. M. BOYCE et F. KOTWAL : *Zoroastrian bāj and drōn*, dans *BSOAS* 24 (1971) pp. 56—73 et 298—313, notamment p. 58 et 60.

rappellent au sujet de l'administration religieuse à l'époque sasanide. Toutefois, Wiessner n'est pas de cet avis, et reste pessimiste quant à cette validité. Il considère que l'emploi de plusieurs mots pour désigner une seule et même fonction manifeste, de la part des rédacteurs, une différence non claire entre les deux grandes classes de prêtres mazdéens.²²

Je pense qu'il faut distinguer entre les textes du 4^e-5^e s. — auxquels s'est limitée l'étude de Wiessner —, et ceux du 6^e siècle, car ils nous fournissent une documentation assez différente, et on pourra ainsi voir se dessiner une certaine évolution, à condition, encore une fois, de faire confiance aux textes.

Première constatation : il n'est nulle part question d'un *mōbadān mōbad* au 4^e-5^e s., alors que ce titre est continuellement attesté au 6^e s., et ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard. On ne peut évidemment croire, avec Christensen, sur la foi de Ṭabari,²³ que ce titre existait déjà sous Ardachir I^{er}. J'ai montré ailleurs,²⁴ que cette fonction n'a pu commencer au 3^e s., car le mage Kirdir l'aurait assurément exercée, et nous n'en avons aucune trace dans toute l'épigraphie iranienne. Si l'on en croit les sources syriaques, ce serait donc une fonction relativement tardive. D'ailleurs, peu de temps après la parution de l'ouvrage de Christensen, S. Wikander estimait que la dignité de Grand Mage, ou de *mōbadān mōbad*, n'avait commencé qu'au 5^e siècle.²⁵

Un texte intéressant de la vie de Mar Aba, qui fut patriarche de 540 à 552, nous présente un ensemble de dignitaires, lors de la reconnaissance officielle de sa mort :

«Et ensuite le Roi des rois et le Mōbadān mōbad envoyèrent le Mōbad et le Juge (dayyana) et les autres mages (magušē) avec eux pour voir si c'était bien le saint ou non...»²⁶

Le Mōbadān mōbad est souvent accompagné des magušē, ce terme désignant à la fois les prêtres de rang inférieur et plus généralement les prêtres quels qu'ils soient, puisque l'expression *rabb magušē* sert à désigner simplement le mōbadān mōbad, comme l'indiquent deux passages de la vie de Mar Aba.²⁷ Cette équivalence est même exprimée, de la bouche de Mar Aba, qui déclare :

²² O.c. p. 171.

²³ *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 119.

²⁴ Dans mon article sur le *marzbān*, cité déjà note 1.

²⁵ *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, p. 182. G. WIDENGREN : *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, p. 292, ne se prononce pas sur une datation, et J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN : *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, p. 294, estime que ce fut «peut-être sous Vahrām V...».

²⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 271. La fonction de juge, que je n'étudierai pas ici, devrait correspondre au *dāvar* pehlevi. Le *dayyana* est distinct du Mōbad, mais dans d'autres passages (*Histoire*, p. 229), il est identifié au *rabb magušē*. Le juge, comme le *rad* (cf. plus loin), sont des titres qui peuvent être donnés à un mōbad.

²⁷ Cf. BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 232 et 233 : *hydyn mwbān mwbān wkllhwn mgūš'* et l'expression équivalente, p. 230 et 233 : *qm rd mgūš' wḥbrwhy*.

w'mr lmwbdn mwbd w'p 'nt d'ytyk rb mgwš'

«Et il dit au mōbadān mōbad : «Toi aussi, qui es chef des mages...»²⁸

Comme l'a noté Wiessner,²⁹ le même personnage est souvent désigné par des titres différents. Par exemple, le *rēš mauhpātē* (chef de mōbads) est appelé aussi simplement *mauhpata* (mōbad) ou même *maguša rabba* (grand mage) ou seulement *maguša*. Mais toutes ces appellations peuvent convenir à un mage suprême, et ne prouvent pas nécessairement que le rédacteur est mal informé. Encore aujourd'hui, lorsque l'on parle du Pape, on peut l'appeler aussi pontife suprême, ou évêque (de Rome), ou pasteur, ou même prêtre, puisque c'est sa première dignité.

Le Mōbadān mōbad est appelé aussi *rēša d' magušē* (chef de mages). Dans la vie de Mar Yazīd-panāh, les deux titres sont explicitement présentés comme identiques :³⁰

mwbdn mwbd d'ytwhy rš' dmgwš'

Précisément, dans ce même passage, nous trouvons une liste hiérarchique fort intéressante, où sont énumérés :

- 1 — le Mōbadān mōbad, qui est *rēša d' magušē* ;
- 2 — un grand Mōbad (*mauhpata rabba*) ;
- 3 — le Mōbad du Beth Aramayē (= Séleucie-Ctésiphon) ;

le texte est le suivant :

wmtyw lh lmdynt' pyrwzšbwr mwbdn mwbyd d'ytwhy rš' dmgwš'
wmwhpt' hd rb' wmwhpt' dbyt 'rmy'

«Et ils arrivèrent à la ville de Pērōz-Šābuhr, le mōbadān mōbad qui est le chef des mages, un Grand mōbad et le mōbad du Beth Aramayē».³¹

Les données géographiques me paraissent confirmer la valeur du texte : Pērōz-Šābuhr (ou Anbār)³² est située sur l'Euphrate, et c'était le dernier évêché du Beth Aramayē en remontant l'Euphrate. Elle devait donc faire partie aussi de la province civile d'Āsūrestān, où pouvait fort bien se rendre le Mōbad responsable de cette province, puisque les divisions ecclésiastiques nestoriennes calquées au début sur les divisions administratives sasanides ont dû sans doute le rester par la suite.

²⁸ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 232. Cf. de même, p. 226.

²⁹ *O.c.* p. 170.

³⁰ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 401.

³¹ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 401.

³² Comme l'a montré A. MARIQ : *Classica et Orientalia*, Paris 1965, pp. 94—97.

Ainsi, au-dessous du Mōbadān mōbad, il y a un «grand mōbad», et c'est un titre que l'on rencontre souvent et qui est nettement distinct du Mōbad qui a la charge de telle ou telle province, comme cela est mentionné dans les textes. En voici quelques exemples :

hydyn qm mwhpt' dbyt 'rmy'

«Alors il se leva le mōbad du Beth Aramayē...»³³

w'yty l'dwrbygn wblk qdm mwhpt' d'tr' hw

«...Et il emporta [ces écrits] en Ādurbādagān et les plaça devant le mōbad de cet endroit».³⁴

'šlm 'nwn lmwhpt' dbhw zwn' šlyt hw' bḥdyb dnwbl 'nwn lwt mlk'

«Il les livra au mōbad qui, en ce temps-là, avait le pouvoir en Adiabène, pour qu'il les conduise auprès du Roi...»³⁵

Comme le mōbadān mōbad, le grand mōbad se tient manifestement à la cour, devant le roi, lorsqu'il s'agit par exemple d'interroger un chrétien :

hydyn qm mwhpt' rb' qdm mlk'...

«Alors il se leva, le grand mōbad devant le roi...»³⁶

Mais il se déplace aussi, en dehors de la cour, comme en témoigne ce passage du martyre de Yazīd-panāh :

'zlw w'mrw lh lmwhpt' rb' d'yt hw' b'tr' hw mḥlth wmn dšm' mwhpt' hw šdr wqryhy lqdmwhy

«Ils allèrent parler contre lui au grand mōbad qui se trouvait en ce lieu et dès que ce mōbad (les) eût entendus, il l'envoya (chercher) et le convoqua devant lui».³⁷

Il n'y a pas à s'y méprendre ici : il s'agit bien du grand mōbad et non pas du mōbad de la province. Que ce grand mōbad avait un pouvoir sur tout le pays, le partageant sans doute avec le mōbadān mōbad, me semble indiqué par un passage de la vie de Yazīd-panāh, où le roi promet au saint, s'il abandonne le Christianisme, de le faire «grand mōbad sur tout le pays» :³⁸

n'bdk mwhpt' rb' bklh 'r'...

³³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 233, idem p. 300.

³⁴ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 250.

³⁵ BEDJAN : *AMS IV*, p. 136.

³⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 368.

³⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 397.

³⁸ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 402.

Il me semble donc que les grands mōbads pouvaient former une sorte de collège autour du Mōbadān mōbad, à l'image de ce qui existait alors dans l'Église nestorienne. Nous savons en effet qu'il y avait trois degrés dans sa hiérarchie : le Patriarche, les métropolitains ayant juridiction sur une région très étendue, et les évêques³⁹ dont l'autorité ne s'exerce que sur une seule ville.⁴⁰ Selon Labourt, le métropolitain est «en quelque sorte, le délégué régional du Catholicos qui le nomme... Il peut intervenir dans les contestations qui surviennent entre les évêques... Mais pour les causes plus graves, il doit en référer au patriarche. Car il ne possède pas, comme lui, la juridiction ordinaire dans toute l'étendue de sa province... Sa primauté est surtout une primauté d'honneur.»⁴¹

Ainsi, de même que le métropolitain a un pouvoir intermédiaire entre le patriarche et l'évêque, et moins «territorial», car «l'évêque est maître absolu dans les limites de son diocèse»,⁴² de même il semble que le grand Mōbad soit aussi une sorte d'intermédiaire entre le Mōbadān mōbad et le mōbad «provincial». Cette hiérarchie mazdéenne est encore reflétée dans un passage de la vie de Yazīd-panāh, où le grand mōbad propose au saint de le nommer mōbad (il était seulement, avant sa conversion, *rēša* et *dayyana*, comme on l'a vu), s'il revient au mazdéisme :

*hš' 'n dly tt̄pys wtšm' lhw m̄dm d'mr 'n' lk thw' mw̄hpt' btr dlyly
b'tr' hn'*

«Maintenant, si tu te laisses convaincre et écoutes ce que je te dis, tu seras mōbad après moi en cette région...»⁴³

Bien entendu, les titres ont changé, au cours des siècles : le Patriarche s'est d'abord appelé archevêque, puis grand métropolitain, et à partir de Dādišō' (421—456), l'évêque de Séleucie se nomme presque exclusivement Catholicos, puis patriarche.

Si l'on en croit le témoignage d'un sceau très intéressant de la Bibl. Nationale de Paris,⁴⁴ l'évêque ayant autorité sur le Hulvān et le Balāsagān portait le titre de *vuzurg Catholicos*.⁴⁵ Ce devait être l'équivalent d'un métropolitain. On peut donc supposer que le grand mōbad portait le titre en pehl. de **vuzurg mōgbed*, malheureusement non attesté jusqu'ici. Par contre, les bulles sasanides

³⁹ Cf. J. LABOURT : *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris 1904, p. 326 sv.

⁴⁰ LABOURT : *o.c.* p. 332 : «Il ne doit y avoir qu'un seul évêque dans chaque ville».

⁴¹ LABOURT : *o.c.* pp. 331—332.

⁴² LABOURT : *o.c.* p. 333.

⁴³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 398.

⁴⁴ Cf. mon *Catalogue*, p. 64, n° 7.5. Le professeur J. HARMATTA avait le premier déchiffré l'essentiel de l'inscription, et je le remercie encore pour cette importante découverte.

⁴⁵ Pehl. : *wcwlk <k>'ilykws*.

nous ont livré en de nombreux exemplaires, des empreintes de sceaux de mōbads des villes,⁴⁶ que je place au troisième degré de la hiérarchie, qui avaient donc à sceller des documents, ce que ne faisaient peut-être pas les grands mōbads.

La situation de la hiérarchie mazdéenne que j'ai tenté de décrire ici, est celle que nous connaissons à partir des textes syriaques à l'époque des Xosrô. J'ai indiqué plus haut que le mōbadān mōbad n'était pas attesté au 4^e—5^eme s. En effet, à cette époque, on parle seulement du *rēša d' mauhpatē*, «le chef des mōbads», qui, au-dessus de tous les mōbads, a dû logiquement précéder le titre de «mōbad des mōbads». ⁴⁷ Mais la situation au 6^eme s., mieux documentée, et plus proche de nous, semble plus claire. C'est pourquoi nous nous limitons ici à cette période-là, comptant présenter ailleurs un tableau de la situation plus ancienne.

Le rad

Il est une fonction encore mal connue, celle qui est exercée par le *Rad* et sur laquelle je voudrais apporter le témoignage des textes syriaques.

Ce titre apparaît pourtant à maintes reprises dans les actes des martyrs, comme dans la littérature pehlevie tardive, mais Hoffmann dans ses *Auszüge* semble l'avoir presque ignoré, en l'interprétant comme un nom propre *Rād*, nom qui n'est pas attesté dans l'onomastique sasanide.⁴⁸

Il est évident que la graphie en syriaque est ambiguë, puisqu'on peut supputer comme voyelle médiane un *a* long ou bref, mais c'est le titre de *rad* (< av. *ratu-*) qui est généralement attesté.

En effet, dans le martyre de Saint Pethion, Hoffmann cite un personnage qui s'appellerait tantôt *Naihormazd* tantôt *Naihormazdrād*.⁴⁹ Bien plus, il semble qu'Hoffmann identifie dans ce récit trois personnes différentes, car à côté de ces deux noms, il fait du dernier nom composé, deux personnages s'appelant *Naihormazd* et *Rād*^h!⁵⁰ Or il est clair qu'il faut comprendre dans ce mot composé «Naihormazd le rad»!

De même, dans l'histoire de Mar Giwargis, Hoffmann interprète le syr. *rd* comme le nom d'un mage, alors qu'il s'agit manifestement d'une controverse sur le feu entre le saint et un *Rad*.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Par ex., dans le seul Catalogue de la B. N., on trouve les mōbads de Husrō-šād-Ohrmazd (= Ctésiphon), s. 1.9; d'Abaršahr (Nišāpūr), b. 1.1a, 1.3a, 1.4a, 1.5a; d'Ērān-Xvarrah-Šābuhr (Suse), b. 1.4a, 4.8a; de Médie, b. 7.8a.

⁴⁷ Cf. BEDJAN: *AMS* II, 158.

⁴⁸ G. HOFFMANN: *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 64—65. JUSTI: *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 256b, ne cite ce nom que sur la foi d'Hoffmann.

⁴⁹ *O.c.* pp. 64—65.

⁵⁰ *O.c.* p. 68.

⁵¹ *O.c.* p. 109.

D'après les sources syriaques, la fonction de rad n'est pas une fonction indépendante, mais elle était exercée par le mōbad d'une province :

hydyn qm rd wmwḥpt' dbyt 'rmy' . . .

«Alors il se leva, le rad et mōbad du Beth Aramayē» . . .⁵²

Le rad est attaché à une province :

w'šlmwḥy lrd d'dwrbygn dšmh hw' d'dyn

«Et ils le livrèrent au rad d'Ādurbādagān dont le nom était Dādēn».⁵³

Dans la discussion de Mar Giwargis avec un rad,⁵⁴ celui-ci est appelé rad (ligne 8), mais plus loin (ligne 14) *maguša*, tandis que c'est de nouveau le rad qui est désigné ligne 16, de même qu'à la page suivante, ligne 1. Mais cela ne doit pas nous étonner, car comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, à propos du mōbadān mōbad, il est normal qu'un membre élevé de la hiérarchie ait été d'abord «mage», tout comme un évêque ou un métropolitain avait d'abord été consacré prêtre.

La fonction de rad était distincte de celle d'*ainbed* (ou *āyēnbed*) que j'ai étudiée ailleurs,⁵⁵ car on lit dans l'histoire de Mar Aba :⁵⁶

wmn btr d'šlmh rd l'ynd . . .

Un peu plus loin,⁵⁷ le rédacteur utilise le pluriel (*n'ḥdwn-yhy*) pour indiquer qu'il s'agit de deux fonctionnaires différents :

wšdrwḥy lrd wl'ynd dn'ḥdwnyhy ksy'yt

«Et ils l'envoyèrent au Rad et à l'Ainbed pour qu'ils s'emparent de lui en secret».

Que le rad ait été, en tout cas, un fonctionnaire important dans la hiérarchie, cela est attesté aussi dans les textes pehlevs. Ainsi, dans la procédure d'ordalie, décrite dans plusieurs chapitres du *Mādayān ī hazār dādestān*, c'est

⁵² BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 235.

⁵³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 239. C'est un excellent nom, bien attesté (cf. *Pad nām ī yazdān*, 1979, p. 67), que n'a pas reconnu BEDJAN, qui a voulu l'interpréter comme *dād-dīn* ! De même, O. BRAUN, *Ausgewählte Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, 1915, p. 204, a cru bon de transcrire le nom Dād[d]ên. Certes, le nom de *Dēn-dād* existe : BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 234.

⁵⁴ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 528.

⁵⁵ Dans mon art. «Pour une esquisse des fonctions religieuses sous les Sasanides», cité en note 1 : j'y étudie les sources iraniennes ainsi que les passages des actes des martyrs.

⁵⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 242.

⁵⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 255.

sous l'autorité d'un rad et non d'un seul mōbad que le jugement pouvait être arrêté. La condamnation ne pouvait être prononcée par les seuls dādvarān ou mōbadān.⁵⁸

Cette étude, consacrée à quelques dignitaires mazdéens, voudrait en même temps manifester quelques aspects de l'intégration de la chrétienté nestorienne à l'intérieur de l'empire sasanide. Le jugement de J.-M. Fiey, affirmant la non-assimilation des chrétiens en Iran, doit être rectifié : dans l'introduction à son livre sur Nisibe,⁵⁹ il déclare de manière péremptoire :

«L'église de Perse put bien s'étendre, ... mais elle n'en devint jamais pour autant «iranienne», ni par la langue de sa liturgie, ou de ses écrits spirituels, ni par sa hiérarchie, le plus souvent «importée», ni par ses racines hagiographiques, ni surtout par sa mentalité». Ce jugement peu nuancé sert apparemment d'argument pour expliquer l'effondrement rapide de la chrétienté devant l'Islam. Or, même si les premiers chrétiens d'Iran ont été des prisonniers «d'importation grecque», ils ne le sont pas restés pendant quatre siècles ! Par ailleurs, il ne faut pas seulement distinguer, comme le fait Wiessner, entre des chrétiens de langue grecque, de langue araméo-syriaque ou de langue moyen-perse, mais il faut aussi poser le problème du bilinguisme.⁶⁰

Dans son excellente monographie sur l'église nestorienne, toujours utile, le Cal Tisserant notait déjà que le Catholicos *Ma'nā*, vers 420, avait traduit en persan des ouvrages syriaques.⁶¹ D'autres métropolitains du Fārs, à Rēv-Ardašīr, composèrent des hymnes et cantiques en persan. Le code juridique d'Īšō' bōxt fut rédigé en persan et traduit plus tard en syriaque. Certes, le syriaque est resté la langue liturgique, mais les nestoriens ont été certainement bilingues, utilisant le syriaque et le moyen-perse, tout comme aujourd'hui ceux qui vivent au Kurdistan, parlent à la fois le syriaque moderne et le kurde.⁶² Un passage de la vie de Mar Aba témoigne clairement de ce bilinguisme :

⁵⁸ Cf. A. PERIKHANIAN : Ordaliya i kljatva v sudoproizvodstve doislamskogo irana, dans *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik* III, Istorija i filologija stran drevnego vostoka, Moskva 1979, pp. 182—192.

⁵⁹ *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, 1977, p. 9.

⁶⁰ G. WIESSNER, Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Zoroastrismus in Iran, dans *ZDMG Supplementa* I, XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 411. Je n'ai pas compris l'intérêt de cet article, qui compare un récit tardif, et déclaré inauthentique, à savoir le «roman de Qardag» au *Kārnamag ī Ardašīr*, pour démontrer le changement des deux pôles du dualisme zoroastrien (bien et mal) opéré dans le christianisme iranien, défini comme une sorte de dualisme «inversé». Je ne vois pas comment l'on peut vraiment différencier deux grandes religions à partir d'éléments mythico-légendaires communs (qui signifient seulement que les rédacteurs syriaques ont été influencés, ce qui est normal, par la littérature épique iranienne), ni je ne puis croire que le christianisme nestorien ait jamais été une forme de dualisme, ce que l'auteur semble admettre.

⁶¹ *DTC* (dictionnaire de théologie catholique), fasc. XCI—XCII, 1930, p. 264.

⁶² Comme je l'ai longuement constaté durant un séjour en Irak.

wmn btr d'mr hlyn klhyn blšn' swryy' hpk brdrš w'mr 'nyn blšn' prsy' 'yk dnšm'wn 'p prsy' wnd'wn mdm d'mr...

«Et après qu'il eût dit toutes ces choses en langue syriaque, il les répéta en langue perse afin que les Perses aussi l'entendent et connaissent ce qu'il avait dit». ⁶³

Je vois aussi une autre preuve de ce bilinguisme dans les sceaux chrétiens. En effet, dans un article à paraître, ⁶⁴ j'ai réuni une trentaine de sceaux que j'identifie comme chrétiens essentiellement à partir du contenu de leurs inscriptions. Or celles-ci sont soit en syriaque soit en pehlevi, soit même pour l'une d'entre d'elles dans les deux langues! ⁶⁵ C'est assez dire combien les nestoriens n'avaient pas de peine à utiliser l'une ou l'autre langue, même dans des documents officiels comme les sceaux — celui du grand Catholicos cité ci-dessus est gravé en écriture et langue pehlevie! — ce qu'ils n'auraient certainement pas fait s'ils étaient restés à l'écart de toute influence mazdéenne et iranienne ⁶⁶ et fermés sur leur propre communauté. L'expansion nestorienne vers l'est à partir du 6^{ème} et 7^{ème} siècle témoigne au contraire de l'ouverture des chrétiens au monde dans lequel ils vivaient, tout comme les actes des martyrs. C'est pourquoi ceux-ci, comme j'ai tenté de le montrer, nous informent à la fois sur la structure de l'église mazdéenne et sur la bonne insertion des nestoriens dans l'Iran sasanide.

Paris.

⁶³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 540.

⁶⁴ «Sceaux chrétiens d'époque sasanide», dans *Iranica Antiqua 1980* (en hommage à la mémoire de R. GHIRSHMAN).

⁶⁵ C'est un sceau du Brit. Museum n° 120 260 (= BIVAR NA 1), où l'on peut lire deux mots : pehl. *p'ky* et syr. *'lh'*, «Dieu saint!».

⁶⁶ Cette influence mazdéenne se manifeste aussi dans les inscriptions de sceaux, puisque les chrétiens ont utilisé des formules zoroastriennes, mais en les adaptant et les rendant conformes à leur propre foi.

QUESTIONS OF INTERPRETATION IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SASANIAN SEALS

The engraved gems of the Sasanian period in Iran, with their short Pahlavi inscriptions, have attracted interest in recent years for the special light they can throw on the history, culture, and religion of that civilization. In my present paper, for the opportunity to present which I express thanks to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,¹ I shall be dealing with some fairly limited problems of interpretation which concern these inscriptions.

One of the most familiar terms in the Pahlavi seal-inscriptions is the word *rāst*, either found alone, or in phrases. This has dictionary meanings «true», «straight», «direct»,² but for the present discussion the opposed shades of meaning are, on the one hand, «correct», and, on the other, «righteous». We shall come in a moment to the associated abstract noun *rāstīh* (*l'styhy*) «righteousness». One line of interpretation, therefore, for the effective meaning of the former term on a Sasanian seal is to regard it as a mere mark of authentication, signifying that a document is correct. Equivalent in the Arabic chancery usage is the use of a phrase such as *saḥḥa dhālika* «that is correct» as a mark of authentication for official documents in the states of the Maghrib.³ I had been inclined to this view until I saw Professor Gignoux's eloquent article in the *Yādegār Nāme-ye Purdāvud*, which makes strong case for the interpretation of phrases containing this term as the expression of moral sentiments:⁴

«Il résulte, de ce qui précède, que partout où *rāstī/rāstīh* n'est pas employé seul, à une exception près (et encore douteuse: le dernier exemple), il possède une connotation morale. Dès lors, quand il est seul, pourquoi

¹ This paper was read at the conference on the theme «Problèmes d'interprétation des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique» held at Budapest on September 30th to 2nd October 1980 under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (with the assistance of the Union Académique Internationale and the CIPSH). I am grateful also to the Council of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, who assisted my attendance.

² D. N. MACKENZIE: *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*. London 1971. 71.

³ S. M. STERN: *Fatimid decrees*. London 1964. 139–40.

⁴ PH. GIGNOUX: Les «formules» des sceaux sassanides et la signification de *rāst* et *rāstīh*. *Farhang-e Irān Zamīn*, XXI, 1354/1976 (= *Yādegār Nāme-ye Purdāvud*), 49.

perdraît-il cette connotation ? Il reste en tout cas à le prouver, si l'en veut établir qu'il servait à authentifier un document».

Of course, in one very obvious sense, every seal is designed for the authentication of documents ; and in a state where the administration was largely in the hands of the priesthood, the distinction between a religious and an executive act may not always have been clear-cut. A seal recently published by Judith Lerner,⁵ illustrating the Christian, or Jewish, theme of the sacrifice of Isaac, bears the Pahlavi inscription *ZNH mwdly r'st* «This seal is correct». Such a text is difficult to understand in other than a practical sense — that an earlier seal of the same owner had been lost, and only its replacement was now considered valid. It is true that the iconography makes clear that this was not a seal used by the Zoroastrian hierarchy.

Yet its engraving is sufficiently typical of Sasanian glyptic, and it is difficult to doubt that the word *rāst* would have been understood as on other seals. This example, therefore, tends to some degree to swing back the balance, and to leave the precise meaning of *rāst* once more open to debate. Where we have knowledge only of the seals, and not of the documents they authenticated, it is difficult to grasp their message clearly ; yet perhaps the fault is ours for seeking to understand them too literally ; between an ethical exhortation and a stamp of authenticity there may have been less difference than we are inclined to suppose.

Where the formula involves the abstract noun, *rāstih* (righteousness), the ethical force is of course more obvious. At the same time, the term had a long life in the Iranian chanceries, and the words *rāstī*, *rāstī* appear in the sign manual of Timur.⁶ A different nuance, however, is conveyed by the statement of al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, II, 204), that the revenue seal of Khosrau I Anoshirvan was engraved with the word *al-'adl* «justice» — an Arabic translation of *rāstih*. It has to be considered, therefore, whether the Sasanian seals engraved with this word are likely to have been employed exclusively in the revenue department. Curiously enough, one of the more explicit phrases quoted by Professor Gignoux,⁷ *l'styh̄y TBZYŠBW PWN bh̄ty* — which he variously translates «La bon droiture des choses (se fait) par le sort» or «Bonne exactitude des biens (marchandises) en partage», could, though the implications in either case are far from clear to me, be interpreted as an admonition to share the burdens of taxation equitably. However, though its editor appears to entertain the possibility of

⁵ JUDITH A. LERNER: *Christian seals of the Sasanian period*. Leiden and Istanbul 1977. 42, no. 17. [Subsequently, P. GIGNOUX: *Sceaux sasanides de diverses collections privées*, Leuven 1982, 19 has justifiably shown that the complete reading is *ZNH mwdly r'styn* „This seal belongs to Rastēn” which eliminates this example from the discussion.]

⁶ JAHĀNGĪR QA'IM-MAQĀMĪ: Muhrhā, tughrahā u tawqīhā-yi pādīshāhān-i Irān az Ilkhāniyān tā payān-i Qājāriya. *Barrasīhā-yi tārikhī*, IV, 3–4, 1348/1969–70. 128

⁷ GIGNOUX: 49.

a fiscal purpose for this seal, I still feel, as I did some years ago, that an ethical connotation for *rāstih* provides the best solution at present.

A formula of the Sasanian seals of which the implications can be puzzling is that which appears in its basic form as *lwb'n HZYTN* (*ruvān vēn*) «see the spirit». The ideogram *HZYTN*, representing the past participle, or the imperative, of the verb «to see», might of course appear on seals in several connections, literal as well as spiritual. At the present day, all those of us who travel are familiar with *visa* stamps. The word *-ruvān*, as the name of the ruler Anoshirvān plainly testifies, might form an element of personal names or honorifics. On the other hand it is difficult to understand in what sense anything so invisible as the spirit can be spoken of as to be seen. I find it difficult, nevertheless, to follow Brunner (*Sasanian stamp seals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 141) that *lwb'n HZYTN* represents a legal formula signifying «witnessed». At the same time, he suitably calls attention to almost the first instance of such a formula to receive scholarly discussion, the epigraphic seal at Berlin which had also been noted by Shaked, reading:⁸

tny ZY KBYR k'mk lwb'n HZYTN

which with the other commentators I take to mean «Body of many desires, consider the spirit». I assume this is an ethical admonition, expressing the well-known Zoroastrian value-judgment which, dualistically, contrasts the physical unfavourably with the spiritual being. The admonition (not improbably a quotation from a religious text), is I suppose addressed not to the reader of the document, but directly to the owner of the seal, to remind him of the sovereign virtues of austerity. Consequently, when we come to interpret such shorter formulae as *thmdyny lwb'n HZYTN*, I understand the implications a little differently, not only from Brunner, but also indeed from Gignoux,⁹ whose translation «Regarde l'âme de Tahm-den» suggests that he considers the admonition addressed to the reader, and the «spirit» in question to be specifically that of the owner of the seal himself, so that the whole legend has (as he suggests) a flavour of «commemoration». In my view, this would constitute, for the Zoroastrian, an attitude of self-glorification quite at variance with the sentiments appropriate to that faith. Rather, I should prefer, the admonition was a permanent reminder to the titular of the seal to give precedence to spiritual over physical values, and by no means a message addressed by him to the reader of the inscription.

⁸ SHAOUL SHAKED: Jewish and Christian seals of the Sasanian period, in MYRIAM ROSEN-AYALON (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 29; citing P. HORN and G. STEINDORF, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, Berlin 1891. 39, no. 2179.

⁹ P. 50.

These are useful preliminaries before turning to one of the most troublesome and puzzling seals which use a formula of this type, the British Museum's seal BB1, which has inspired an unusual number of conflicting interpretations. Though there is no disagreement among scholars as to the reading of the letters, and indeed of the words, the point of commencement, the word division, and the punctuation invite varying solutions. My first attempt¹⁰ *ḤZYTN LY pr'wḥlmzdy ZY ḥwḥym lwb'n* «Seen by me, Farr-Ohrmizd, son of Huhēmruvān», made the purport of the inscription that of a simple visa-stamp, and of course sidesteps the general question of *lwb'n*. Shaked soon afterwards sent me his very ingenious rendering¹¹ *mzd ZY xwxymlwb'n XZYTN LY pr'waxl* «My *frawahr* (= eternal spiritual being) has seen the reward of a man possessed of a soul of good character». Professor Gignoux returned to the fray¹² with *pl'wḥlmzdy ZY ḥwḥym lwb'n ḤZYTN LY* «Farr-Ohrmazd, à l'âme bienveillante, regarde moi !» He was right to correct my orthographic imprecision in failing to record that the second character was written with the usual *-l-* for *-r-*; yet on the general issue, if my view is correct, it was not the purpose of these inscriptions to call attention to the owners of the stones; rather they were an ethical admonition addressed to that person. Consequently, *lwb'n ḤZYTN* will be, as in other examples, a closely linked phrase, and the general interpretation has again to be revised. My first reading, in which I understood the pronoun *LY* (*man*) as the second word of the sentence, was partly influenced by Professor Boyce's teaching, that the pronoun normally comes second in the Middle Persian sentence. On the other hand, there is a gap in the legend before *LY*, of which the opening character is larger than others in the inscription, suggesting that reading should commence at this point.

Recently I have seen how this paradox can be resolved. If we assume that the word *mwdly* (*muhr*) «seal» is understood, but not expressed, as the first word of the sentence, then we can interpret the whole as (*mwdly*) *LY, pl'wḥlmzdy ZY ḥwḥym: lwb'n ḤZYTN*, a text of perfectly conventional pattern. However, problems may not yet be at an end. Are we to understand *ḥwḥym* «benevolent» as a proper name, or just as an epithet of religious tone, similar in fact to *ḥwmtry*, of which Gignoux has shown that it has, at least in some connections, merely an adjectival force? Similar hesitation arises over another piece, Frye, *Foroughi Collection*, LI, 178, which reads, *yzdt-wḥl'n ḥwkly*, which might be either an invocation of the deity (Yazad Vahram hukar), or a personal name with patronymic. Of this group of epithets, *ḥwḥndy* from the British Museum stone CD1 seems definitely a proper name.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp seals. II: The Sassanian dynasty.* London 1969. 55.

¹¹ SHAKED: 30.

¹² P. H. GIGNOUX: Cachets sasanides du British Museum, in *Acta Iranica, Textes et Mémoires*, V, *Varia*: :há. 133.



Plate I

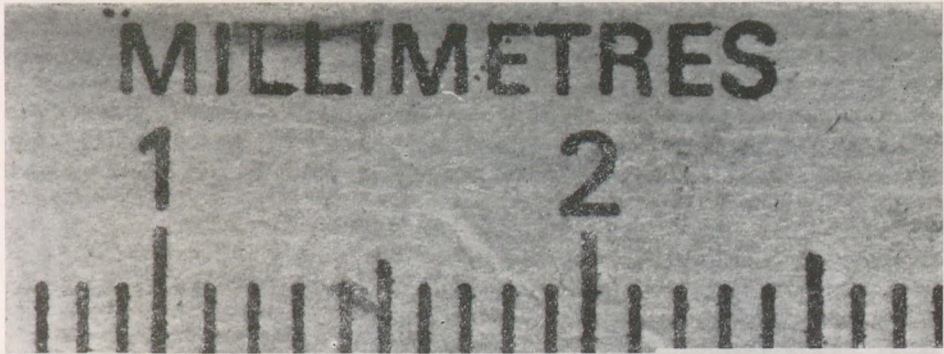


Plate II



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Plate III

I turn now to what seemed to me in my innocence of 15 years ago a very simple text, the British Museum stone AA2,¹³ which reads *mnctry ZY ʾrthštr-šnwmy*, and which I took to mean «Manuchihr who (is) Ardashir's Joy» — the latter not unusual type of Sasanian honorific attested also in the *Shāpūr KZ* inscription. Discussion with colleagues soon evoked the view that this was far from certain, and in his survey of my readings, to which we owe so many valuable ameliorations,¹⁴ Gignoux denied that *mnctry* could spell the name in epigraphic Pahlavi of which the Avestan form is Manuščīθra. For this seal he accordingly proposed an avowedly vague interpretation «De la descendance de Ardaxšīr-šnōm». I had been recalling, however, the well-known coins of the pre-Sasanian princes of Fars,¹⁵ a familiar variety of which, attested in London by a fortunately well-preserved specimen, (Pl. I) reads clearly *mnctry MLKʾ BRH mnctry MLKʾ* King Manuchihr who (is) son of King Manuchihr». There can be no doubt at all that the repeated word must represent the proper name of father and son. The etymological problems arising from these data I have no choice but to leave to expert etymologists.

The points I have made so far constitute merely a sifting of previously-published discussions, but it is only right I should wind up my article with some new material. This includes two readings which throw a chink of light on the history of the Sasanian fire-temples. Actual seals employed by the fire-temples are rare, and I can quote offhand only those excavated at Ādūr-Gushnasp, and perhaps the Paris stone 3.4, on which I commented in a review.¹⁶ Yet despite dissenting views, there is a considerable case that the names of fires, and various compounds of these, occur frequently as the names of individuals. If that view were well founded we could hope to learn from these attestations of fire-temples whose existence was otherwise unrecorded. Recently I was sent by an owner living in a small English village a good enlarged photograph of a 5th century A.D. Sasanian portrait seal with a semi-cursive inscription interesting in this regard (Pl. II). I am grateful to Mrs. L. Beck for permission to publish this specimen.

ʾtwrʾrthštr Y ʾtwrplhʾndt

Ādūr-Ardashīr ī Ādūrfarroxān-dād

It is tempting to see in the names appearing on the specimen allusions to the names of Sasanian fire-temples. Gignoux has recently re-opened the discus-

¹³ *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp seals. II. The Sassanian dynasty.* 44.

¹⁴ GIGNOUX: *Cachets sassanides.* 135.

¹⁵ *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum; Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia,* etc., by G. F. HILL. London 1922.

¹⁶ *JRAS*, 1980. 94, anent PH. GIGNOUX: *Catalogue des sceaux, camees et bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre: II. Les sceaux et les bulles inscrits.* Paris 1978. 25.

sion of Sasanian personal names of this type, adopting a rather formalized criterion to determine which examples indeed allude to the names of temples, and which are merely theophoric compounds incorporating the element *Ādūr-*; though in fact cult-institution and personal deity may not have been rigorously differentiated by the Zoroastrian mind. On the one hand he concedes:¹⁷

«Certes, dans des noms comme *Ādūr-Farrbay* et *Ādūr-Gušnasp* si communément attestés, on ne peut rien voir d'autre que les noms des deux grands feux devenues noms de personnes . . . »

Elsewhere, he shows a tendency to prefer wherever possible the interpretation of such compounds as «des noms . . . constitués par deux noms de dieux». However, one of the examples he quotes in this connection, *Ādūr-Anahid*, being obviously the name of the celebrated fire-temple of Istakhr, might here inspire in us a note of caution. Surely the name of the provincial fire-temple of Fars would be more in the mind of the Zoroastrian naming his offspring than would a routine juxtaposition of the names of the two deities. When the names of so many other unattested fire-temples of Iran are unknown to us, it is important to beware of undue dogmatism. There could be more allusions to particular fire-temples than is at first obvious, and a critical judgment, taking note of the rapidly expanding evidence, is required in every case.

In the case of our example above, *Ādūr-Ardashir* can hardly be regarded as other than the name of the dynastic founder's fire. This probability must naturally affect our understanding of the second onomastic element on the seal. The son having been named from a sacred fire, so too could have been the father, an element of parallelism within the family being naturally to be expected, if not invariable. Evidently *Ādūr-farroxān-dād* could be analysed in several ways. MacKenzie¹⁸ cites *Farrobag* (*plwbg*) — besides, presumably, *plnbg* — as a name of the priestly fire of Fars. Gignoux reads¹⁹ *plhwbg'tw(r)* on a bulla from *Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr*, which seems to be a variant rendering of the same name. However, he does not list this reading in his «Étude typologique»,²⁰ perhaps because it seemed antagonistic to his general theory. These forms are somewhat parallel to *Ādūrfarroxān*, a compound not attested hitherto. One could conceive of a fire temple designated *Ādūr-Farroxān-dād* «Fire founded (or created) by a person named *Farroxān*, name of a post-Sasanian King of *Ṭabaristān* at a date of course considerably later than that of our example. On the other hand, it is

¹⁷ PH. GIGNOUX: Les noms propres en moyen-perse épigraphique: étude typologique, in *Pad nam i Yazdan* (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes, 9). 76.

¹⁸ *Concise Pahlavi dictionary*. 32.

¹⁹ PH. GIGNOUX: Les bulles sasanides de *Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr* in PH. GIGNOUX and A. TAFAZZOLI (ed.), *Memorial Jean de Menasce*. Louvain 1974. 179, No. 214.

²⁰ GIGNOUX: Les noms propres . . .

fairly obvious that the element *-dād* in Sasanian proper names, as in many other religiously inspired names of the ancient world, refers the child's conception to the answering of prayer directed to a particular deity, or performed in a particular temple. On this fairly evident hypothesis, *Ādūrfarroxān-dād* might well be the name of child whose conception was attributed to prayers performed at a temple named *Ādūr-Farroxān*. And so I take it to be in this particular case. *Farrox*, or *Farrox-bag* could be understood as the designation of a deity, perhaps identical with *Farrbay*. With regard to the name of the *Ṭabaristān* ruler *Farroxān*, it could well be that he was named from a celebrated fire-temple, the *Ādūr-Farroxān* of our inscription, a name presumably well known locally, and thus shortened merely to *Farroxān*. If so, and the temple the same as on our seal, it may well have been situated in *Ṭabaristān*, a theory which the style of the engraving may do something to support.

My second example which again seems to make allusion to a fire-temple is from Frye's *Foroughi* album,²¹ being the striking impression on Pl.L, 171. (=Pl. III here). The inscription, not to my knowledge read previously, appears to run :

'thš' pzrdrp Y l's<t>' whlmzdy: 'p[s'tn 'L - - y]

It seems quite logical to resolve the first of these names as *Ataxš-ābzar-darb* ; taking *ābzar* (a term still current in modern Persian, as Mr N. Chegini reminded me) as the designation of the famous mercury gilding typical of the Sasanian silverware. *Darb*, a by-form of *dar* «door» also current in modern Persian (the relation of which to its Arabic homonym, perhaps a loan from MP, must remain unresolved) is readily understood as «door», giving the overall meaning «Fire-temple of the gilded door». This concept is perfectly probable. At the present day I know one religious building of Iran with gilded doors, the *Madrassa* at *Isfahan*. In the Sasanian heyday of silver-gilt, such decoration would have been typical. In this case at least, there seems no difficulty in conceiving the owner of the seal as having been named from a fire-temple, and no possibility here of a theophoric re-interpretation of the name. The second name presents a difficulty. Of course, *l's* is a Pahlavi spelling of Persian *rāh* «road», yet though possible, «road of *Ohrmizd*» is not a very convincing personal name. On the whole it seems best to assume the omission of a character in the engraving, and emend to *Rāst-Ohrmizd* «The righteous (deed) of *Ohrmizd*» — whether deity or ruler of that name be here in question. And *rāst*, of course, was the term with which I began this paper.

London.

²¹ R. N. FRYE: *Sasanian seals in the collection of Mohsen Foroughi*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Pt. III, Vol. vi, Portfolio II). (A reading based on a different emendation is now proposed by GIGNOUX and GYSELEN: *Sceaux sasanides de diverses collections privées*, 142, but shows no obvious superiority.)

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER HEPHTHALITEN

Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Hephthaliten hat während der zwei letzten Jahrzehnte zu wichtigen Teilergebnissen geführt, die heutzutage die Revision einiger Grundfragen der hephthalitischen Geschichte ermöglichen. Ich möchte diesmal von den letzteren, zwei miteinander zusammenhängende Probleme ins Auge fassen: einerseits die Frage der Namen und der Stammeskomponente der Hephthaliten, andererseits die Geographie der hephthalitischen Einwanderung nach Ost-Tocharistan. Obwohl ich beide Problemenkomplexe bereits vor 25 Jahren in einem ungarisch herausgegebenen Aufsatz¹ behandelt habe, ist es nicht meine Absicht meine frühere Arbeit hier zusammenzufassen. Vielmehr möchte ich Rechenschaft geben von meinen neueren Untersuchungen, die ich auf Grund von neuen Quellenstudien, einschließlich der chinesischen Berichte angestellt habe.

Die Beurteilung der ältesten Periode der hephthalitischen Geschichte ist eng mit der Frage ihrer verschiedenen Benennungen verbunden. Der Name *heftal* scheint weder altaischen, noch iranischen Ursprungs zu sein: diese etymologische Frage ist aber vom Gesichtspunkte unserer Problemstellung weniger aufschlußreich. Aus den Quellen geht nämlich eindeutig hervor, daß *heftal* ursprünglich nur Name einer zeitgebundenen Dynastie um ungefähr 460—560 unserer Zeitrechnung war und erst nach 460 auf das Volk der Hephthaliten übertragen wurde. Der Auftritt der hephthalitischen Dynastie ist also ein terminus post quem für die Authentizität der Erwähnungen der Hephthaliten. Mit anderen Worten: diejenigen Quellen, die die Hephthaliten vor 460 erwähnen, antizipieren diesen Namen, was unter Umständen auch für die Beurteilung ihrer Quellenwertes von Belang sein kann. Noch wichtiger ist aber, daß wir für die Zeitalter der Erscheinung der Hephthaliten und für ihre frühere Geschichte, anstatt des Namens *heftal* andere Benennungen zu erwarten haben. Und das ist in der Tat der Fall: die Hephthaliten erscheinen in den chinesischen Quellen vor 460 u. Z. unter dem Namen *Hua*. In den Quellen des Mittel- und Nahen Ostens werden sie als *hyaona*, *xyōn*, oder *xon*, beziehungsweise *hon-k'* und *huna*

¹ Heftaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok. Magyar Nyelv [Ungarische Sprache] 50 (1954) 142—151.

erwähnt, während sie bei den Byzantinern *Hunnen*, oder *Weißer Hunnen* genannt werden.

Was nun das chinesische *hua* 滑 betrifft, sind die besten Kenner der chinesischen Lautgeschichte, unter ihnen P. Pelliot,² B. Karlgren,³ L. Ligeti⁴ und neuerdings auch E. G. Pulleyblank⁵ der Meinung, daß das chinesische Graphem *Hua* im Mittelchinesischen als *ɣwät ausgesprochen wurde. Seine Lautform entwickelt sich aber in derjenigen chinesischen Mundart, in der die meisten Sprachreste der nördlichen Barbaren Innerasiens im VII–IX. Jh. übermittelt worden sind, ins *huad*, oder *huad*, eventuell auch *'uad*, oder *'uad*. Das *ɣ*- verstummt also in in dieser Mundart stufenweise. In der Form mit modifiziertem *h* gibt letzteres ein stimmhaftes *h* zurück. Dieser alte Laut wurde zuerst von P. Pelliot angenommen. Pulleyblank kam neuerdings zum gleichen Resultat. Das stimmlose *h* hat Ligeti auf Grund von sino-tibetischen Entsprechungen vorgeschlagen.

In meinem ungarischen Aufsatz ging ich von diesen wichtigen linguistischen Erkenntnissen aus, und nahm an, daß wir den alten Namen der Hephthaliten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in *uar zu sehen haben, umso mehr, da auch sonst mittelchinesisches *δ* fremdsprachiges *r* vertritt. Einer ganz anderen Meinung ist dagegen Kazuo Enoki,⁶ der in einem ausgezeichnet dokumentierten Aufsatz neue Lösungen der hier erörterten Fragen vorlegt. Er zweifelt darin auch meine in 1954 veröffentlichten Ausführungen an. Enoki, ein hervorragender Kenner der chinesischen Quellen betrachtet die letzteren nach den Prinzipien der modernen Quellenkritik und demonstriert auch in diesem Falle überzeugend, daß wir ohne einen kritischen Vergleich der chinesischen Kompilationen, welche denselben Bericht in verschiedener Fassung darbieten, kaum zu einem befriedigenden Resultat gelangen können. Seine Übersetzungen und Kommentare enthalten viel wertvolles Material zur Frage. Auch seine Ansichten auf dem Gebiete der chinesischen Lautgeschichte trachtet er sachgemäß zu fundieren. So verläßt er sich im Falle des Namens *Hua* auf die kompetente Rekonstruktion B. Karlgrens, indem er die zeitgenössische Lautform dieses Namens als *ɣwät* rekonstruiert, das er auf eine mit Asteriskus versehene Form **Ghwâr* zurückführt. **Ghwâr*, seiner Meinung nach, ist nichts anderes als der alte Name der nordwestafganistanischen Provinz, der später, in den islamischen Quellen oft als *Ĝûr* belegt ist. Mit diesen Erörterungen verknüpft schließlich

² T'oung Pao 16 (1915) 9, cf. Journal Asiatique 1921/I, 139 sqq.

³ B. KARLGREN: Grammata Serica Recensa. 133–134, No 486/e; 91–92, No 302/m.

⁴ In einem Vortrag, gehalten 13 Okt. 1945 an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

⁵ Asia Major 9 (1962) 258.

⁶ KAZUO ENOKI: On the Nationality of the Ephthalites. Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 18 (1959) 1–58.

Enoki seinen wichtigsten neuen Deutungsversuch, indem er die Hephthaliten für ein in Ostiran autochtones Volkselement erklärt.

Es fällt allerdings sofort auf, daß Enoki in diesem Falle gar nicht sagt, in welcher Sprache die Entwicklung **Ghwār* > *Ĝūr* stattgefunden hat. Diesbezügliche Angaben fehlen in unseren älteren Quellen und auch den Muslimen war die Sprache vom unzugänglichen *Ĝūr*, wie auch sein heidnisches Volk im allgemeinen, fast gänzlich unbekannt. Enoki nimmt eine mit Asteriskus versehene «ursprüngliche» Form von *Ĝūr* als **Ghwâr* offenbar deshalb an, weil sie dem mittelchinesischen Lautwert (**ɣwät*) von *Hua* am nächsten stehen würde.

Weitere Schwierigkeiten häufen sich, wenn wir die geographischen Erörterungen Prof. Enoki's näher ins Auge fassen. Die wichtigste Beschreibung des Landes *Hua* finden wir — wie schon längst bekannt — in dem 54. Kap. des Liang-šu aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Hier finden wir eine Reihe von wichtigen Angaben auch bezüglich der Nachbarländer von *Hua*. Der Wert der Berichterstattung des Liang-šu wird aber dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß die Verfasser dieses Jahrbuches, Hofbeamter der südlichen Liang-Dynastie, mit der Lage der einzelnen Länder des fernen Nordwestens, im Verhältnis zu einander, nicht ganz im Klaren waren. So unterlief ihnen ein Fehler im Falle des Landes *Hua* und der Provinz Balch, indem sie behaupteten, daß sich das Land *Hua* auf sechs Tagesmärsche westlich von der Provinz befinde, während weniger später, im selben Kapitel behauptet wird, daß der westliche Nachbar der Provinz Balch *Po-si*, das heißt Persien, wäre. Es ist jedoch glücklicherweise gar nicht schwierig festzustellen, welche von den zwei einander ausschließenden Berichten zu akzeptieren sei. Alle historischen und geographischen Quellen nämlich, welche die Geschichte des persisch-hephthalitischen Krieges behandeln, lassen keinen Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß das eigentliche Zentrum des Hephthalitenlandes sich immer östlich und nicht westlich von der Provinz Balch befand. Deshalb erscheint es einigermaßen befremdend, daß Enoki die andere Angabe (*Hua* westlich von Balch) für richtig erklärt, indem er *Hua*, als soeben gesagt, mit der Provinz *Ĝūr* identifiziert, obwohl letztere sich süd-südwestlich und auf einer großen Entfernung von Balch befand.

Umsomehr entscheidend fällt in die Waagschale, daß sich weitere wichtige Angaben bezüglich des Landes *Hua*, d. h. **Uar* in den chinesischen Quellen einerseits und muslimischen historischen und geographischen Quellen andererseits befinden, welche die Anwesenheit des Volkes *Hua*-**Uar* östlich von der Provinz Balch, im eigentlichen Tocharistan bezeugen. Um hier nur die zwei wichtigsten zu nennen: Hiüan Tsang, der berühmte chinesische Pilger, durchkreuzte während seiner Reise nach Indien um 630 auch Tocharistan. Er verweilte damals auch in der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt. Letztere befand sich, gemäß seiner Aufzeichnungen, südlich vom Oxus, in der Gegend des jetzigen Kunduz. Der Name der Hauptstadt lautet bei Hiüan Tsang *Huo* 活, also wieder einmal ein chinesisches Wort, dessen mittelchinesische Form *ɣwät* lautet, also

identisch mit der des chinesischen Volksnamens *Hua* ist. Die natürliche Annahme, daß wir auch in diesem Fall mit dem Hephthalitennamen **Uar*, als Name der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt zu tun haben, wird erhärtet durch Bīrūnī's Angabe, wo gesagt ist, daß die Hauptstadt der Hephthaliten in alten Zeiten den Namen *War-walīz* trug. Mit Rücksicht auf Hiūan Tsang's *War* erscheint nun sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es sich hier um einen zusammengesetzten Namen handelt, dessen erste Hälfte den Hephthalitennamen **Uar* enthält, während die zweite — wie es lange her vermutet wurde — ein Wort mit der Bedeutung 'Burg, Stadt' sein kann.⁷ Wir sollen dabei die Tatsache nicht vergessen, daß **Uar* sich im eigentlichen, östlichen Tocharistan befand, also auf altem iranischen Boden, wo neben der Sprache der Eroberer auch noch das mittelbaktrische Idiom gesprochen wurde. Ich bin daher zur Überzeugung gekommen, daß wir genug Grund dazu besitzen, zwischen diesem *walīz* und dem mittelbaktrischen *malīzo* einen Zusammenhang zu suchen, und diese Annahme scheint auch vom linguistischen Standpunkt aus plausibel zu sein.⁸

Was nun die oben genannten anderen Bezeichnungen der Hephthaliten betrifft, die mit dem Namen der Hunnen zusammenhängen (*xyōn*, *xun*, *hun*), ich habe mich in meiner früheren Arbeit mit den sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Namensformen eingehend beschäftigt. Jetzt bemerke ich nur, daß wir bezüglich des Endnasals in der chinesischen Form *hiung-* (im Namen *hiung-nu*, archaisch-chinesisch *xiwong-nuo*) besser unterrichtet sind als früher. J. Hamilton und E. G. Pulleyblank haben nämlich schwerwiegende Argumente vorgetragen für die Beobachtung, daß der chinesische Nasal in manchen Transkriptionen fremdsprachiger Streudenkmäler den Lautwert *-n*, anstatt des gewöhnlichen *ŋ* besitzt. Das bedeutet, daß wir die archaische Form von *hiung-nu* problemlos als *xiun-nuo* rekonstruieren können, welche letzteres mit dem mittelpersischen *xyōn* bis auf den im mittelpersischen schon nicht mehr bezeugten,

⁷ Prof. HARMATTA, dem ich diesen etymologischen Gedanken vortrug, hatte die Güte dazu zu bemerken, daß so eine Erklärung ohne weiteres akzeptabel ist, aber unter der Bedingung, daß wir vom Element *līzo* des baktrischen Wortes ausgehen.

⁸ Das Zusammenleben der Hephthaliten und der Qarluqen in Ost-Tocharistan geht besonders deutlich aus einer von ENOKI nicht angeführten Stelle des T'ang-hui-yao (ed. Shanghai 1935. 1315), aus dem Jahre 649. 10. Monat 3. Tag) hervor, wo von der administrativen Organisation der Westländer die Rede ist, welche die Chinesen nach ihren überwältigenden Siegen über die Türken planten. Hier wird auch eine Präfektur (*čou*), namens *Ko-lo* (abgekürzt von *Ko-lo-lu* ~ *Qarluq*) aufgezählt «für zwei Horden, die Qarluq und die Hephthaliten eingerichtet». Wichtig in diesem Berichte ist, daß hier eine Verwechslung, wie im Falle des arabischen Graphems *h.l.h* (mögliche Lesungen: *halluh* = *qarluq* oder *halaj* = *qalač*) ausgeschlossen ist.

Die *Yabgus* (bzw. *Sads*) von Tocharistan und von den ihm angrenzenden Gebieten gehörten zum westtürkischen Zweig der herrschenden A-schi-na Dynastie. Einige von ihnen trugen den Namen *P'u-lo* oder *Ko-lo P'u-lo*. Im Bárczi Géza Emlékkönyv [Festschrift für Géza Bárczi. Budapest 1963. 60] habe ich versucht zu beweisen, daß die mittelchinesische Form dieser Namen: *b'uok-lá*, *ká-lá b'uok-lá* eine genaue Wiedergabe des türkischen *Buyra*, *Qara Buyra* darstellt. Gleichzeitig habe ich die Bedeutung dieser Angaben für die Frage des Ursprungs der Bugra oder Qara-Chanidischen Dynastie gewertet.

also wohl auch schon im Original entfallenen Endung *-uo* identisch ist. Die Hephthaliten besaßen also, wie auch die Awaren, neben den Uar-Stämmen, auch starke hunnische Stammeskomponente. Der gemeinsame Ursprung der verschiedenen Namensformen der Hunnen (*hiung-nu*, *xyōn*, *χun*, *hun*) tritt im Falle der hephthalitischen Hunnen am deutlichsten hervor.

Budapest.

M. GRIGNASCHI

LA CHUTE DE L'EMPIRE HEPHTHALITE DANS LES SOURCES BYZANTINES ET PERSES ET LE PROBLÈME DES AVAR

Les sources perses sur la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite ont été étudiées en détail par M. Widengren¹ et nous reprenons aujourd'hui cet argument parce que nous croyons que, si l'on tient compte des rapports entre les textes auxquels le savant suédois a emprunté les différentes «*riwâyah*» se rapportant à cet événement, il est possible de se former une idée plus claire du récit originnaire du «*Ḥodâynamah*» sassanide. Tout comme M. Widengren, nous ne nous arrêterons pas dans cette communication sur le problème de savoir s'il a existé un seul «*Ḥodâynamah*» sassanide ou si, déjà l'époque perse, il y avait plusieurs versions de ce livre.² Nous dirons seulement que si l'on préfère croire qu'il a existé un seul «*Ḥodâynamah*», ainsi que nous sommes enclin à le penser, il faut alors admettre que déjà ce livre perse contenait parfois des versions différentes du même événement à l'instar de ce que nous rencontrons si souvent dans les ouvrages arabes.³ Il était d'ailleurs nécessaire de reprendre le problème des sources perses sur la chute des Hephthalites parce que trente ans déjà se sont écoulés depuis la parution de l'article de M. Widengren et que les progrès dans la connaissance de la numismatique des Etats fondés par les nomades dans l'Iran Oriental et l'Afghanistan, ceux que M. Göbl a appelé les «*Huns iraniens*»⁴ et notre découverte des fragments d'un «*Kârnamağ-i-Anûširwân*» remontant à l'époque sassanide dans l'histoire d'Ibn Miskawayh⁵ permettent aujourd'hui de soumettre la version pehlie à une critique plus serrée. Quant aux sources grecques, analysées tant de fois par les savants, dernièrement en particulier par M. Haussig et M. Czeglédy,⁶ elles méritent elles-aussi

¹ *Orientalia Suecana* I. p. 69—95.

² WIDENGREN : l. c. p. 85.

³ Ainsi par ex. Eutychius raconte tout d'abord que Bahrâm s'était fait confier par la noblesse perse le mandat de désigner le successeur de Yazdağird I et que, fort de ce mandat, il se proclama lui-même Šâhenšâh. Ensuite, à la fin du chapitre, Eutychius résume en quelques mots la «*riwâyah*» bien connue qui racontait que Bahrâm Gor avait vécu à la cour d'al-Nu'mân b. Muḡdir et que ce fut avec l'appui des forces arabes de la principauté de Ḥira qu'il obtint le trône.

⁴ R. GÖBL : *Die iranischen Hunnen*. Wiesbaden 1965.

⁵ J. A. 1966 p. 16—45.

⁶ H. W. HAUSSIG : *Theophylakt's Exkurs über die skythischen Völker*. *Byzantion* 23 (1953), *Die Quellen über die zentralasiatische Herkunft der europäischen Awaren*. *CAJ* 2 (1956) et *Zur Lösung der Awarenfrage*. *Byzantinoslavica* t. XXXIV 1973 fasc. 2.

d'être reprises en examen car, une fois établie avec certitude la date de l'effondrement de l'Empire Hephthalite, elles apparaissent sous une lumière nouvelle.

Ce fut Stein qui, le premier, montra comment les sources grecques nous livrent un «terminus ante quem» pour la fin de l'Empire Hephthalite : 561. Cependant Stein envisageait la possibilité qu'Anûšîrwân se fût tourné contre son voisin de l'Est immédiatement après la trêve stipulée avec l'Empire d'Orient en 557. De son côté déjà Specht avait rappelé l'attention sur une indication de «L'histoire des Tcheou» qui, à son avis, nous donnait le «terminus post quem» de l'effondrement de l'Etat Hephthalite : en 558 une dernière ambassade des Jé-tha s'était rendue à la cour des Tcheou.⁸ En dépit de cette indication, on a parfois préféré admettre qu'en fait, au moment où ces ambassadeurs arrivèrent à la cour des Tcheou, l'Etat hephthalite n'existait plus et qu'il s'était écroulé sous les coups des armées turques et perses déjà à la fin de 558.⁹ Aujourd'hui le «Kârnamağ-i- Anûšîrwân» nous apprend qu'au cours de l'année 28 de son règne, qui commença le 5-VII-559, Anûšîrwân renonça à conduire personnellement une grande enquête sur les conditions des paysans à cause de la guerre qui était en cours contre les ennemis de l'Iran et de la nécessité de se rendre sur le théâtre des opérations.¹⁰ En tenant compte de la date—en 559 la trêve entre Ctésiphon et Constantinople continuait et, dans les premières années qui suivirent le partage de l'Empire Hephthalite, les relations entre Anûšîrwân et Istemi étaient encore amicales—il ne peut être question que des hostilités sur les frontières nord-est de l'Iran. Donc la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite date soit de la fin de 559, soit de 560. Ajoutons que les fragments de Ménandre permettent de préciser deux autres points importants : l'attaque principale contre les Hephthalites fut dirigé par le Qağan turc Σιλζιβουλος¹¹, le Silğibû ou Singibû des sources perses et islamiques,¹² sans doute un titre décerné par la Cour Chinoise à Istemi Qağan, le Στεμβιωχαγάν de Théophylacte, le Στεμεις χαγάν de Nicéphore Xanthopulos¹³. Le Roi hephthalite était resté

K. CZEGLÉDY : Heftaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok, MNY 50 (1954) = IV—IX századi népmozgalmak a steppén (par la suite abrégé en Népmozgalmak); Nomád népek vándorlása Napkeletől Napnyugatig, Budapest 1969 (par la suite abrégé en «Nomád népek»). Ne connaissant pas le hongrois, nous nous basons sur l'analyse de ces deux travaux du savant magyar que M. A. MOHAY (Priskos' Fragment über die Wanderung der Steppen-völker) a donnée dans les «Studies in the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia» (Budapest 1979) et nous en reproduisons les indications.

⁷ Ménandre Protector De leg. Romanorum frag. 11. STEIN: Histoire du Bas Empire p. 518 n. 1. Cependant STEIN pensait que la campagne d'Anûšîrwân contre les Hephthalites avait eu lieu immédiatement après la trêve signée avec Byzance en 557.

⁸ J. A. Octobre 1883 p. 345.

⁹ Népmozgalmak p. 11 (MOHAY : l. c. p. 133).

¹⁰ Episode VII l. c. p. 20.

¹¹ «Excerpta de Sententiis» éd. Mai p. 354.

¹² MARKWART : Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften, WZKM XII p. 184—185. Voir aussi HAUSSIG : Byz p. 332 et suiv. Cependant dans son article «Die Herkunft der Awarischen Hunnen», où il propose pour Σιλζιβουλος la reconstruction «Silig-ğebu», Haussig semble établir une distinction entre ce «yabgu» et Istemi.

¹³ «Historia Eccles.» XVIII 30. MORAVCSIK : Byz.-Turc. II p. 291.

sur la défensive en suivant le conseil frauduleux d'un grand personnage de sa cour *Κατοῦλφος*,¹⁴ qu'il avait offensé et qui ensuite passa à l'Iran. De plus, Ménandre nous apprend que *Σιλζιβουλος* reçut la nouvelle de la fuite des *Ἀβαροι*, c. à-d. les *Οὐάρ* et *Χοννί*, les pseudo-Avares de Théophylacte, les *Οὐαρχωνῖται* de *Τουρξανθός* alors que la guerre contre les Hephthalites était encore en cours.¹⁵ Or, la date de l'arrivée des ambassadeurs des pseudo-Avar à Constantinople est bien connue. Leurs ambassadeurs arrivèrent en 558 et le gros de la horde se trouvait cette année-là dans le pays des Alains et, à en croire Ménandre, elle ne se déplaçait pas dans une grande hâte.¹⁶ Il faudra en conclure que la première expédition des T'ou-kiue contre les Hephthalites fut dirigée en 555 par Sse-kin, le fils de T'ou-men connu sous le nom de Mou-han Khan, ainsi que l'affirment les sources chinoises,¹⁷ qu'une seconde campagne fut conduite par *Σιλζιβουλος* (Istemi) déjà avant 558, l'année de l'arrivée des pseudo-Avar dans l'Alanie, donc en 556 ou 557 au plus tard, que ce fut à ce moment-là qu'Istemi apprit la nouvelle de leur fuite et que probablement déjà en 556 Istemi était maître de la Sogdiane car, d'après at-Ṭabarī le mariage entre Anûšîrwân et la fille d'Istemi avait précédé d'un an l'ouverture des opérations militaires contre le Royaume Hephthalite ; en tenant compte des renseignements des sources chinoises on comprendra que ce mariage, ou le contrat de ce mariage¹⁸ avait précédé d'un an la seconde campagne turque.¹⁹

La chronologie de ces événements revêt plus d'importance encore pour le problème si obscur des Avar et des pseudo-Avar que pour l'histoire des Hephthalites eux-mêmes. En effet elle suffit à exclure la possibilité que l'émigration des pseudo-Avar en Europe ait été la conséquence directe de la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite.²⁰ Aussi, quand Théophylacte affirme que les Avar arrivés en Europe en 558 étaient en réalité des tribus Uar et Xunni et que Ménandre cite le qağan Tourksanthos qui les appelle Uarxônitai, nous n'avons plus le droit d'interpréter ses paroles dans le sens qu'il s'agissait d'une confédération de tribus War (les Hoa de l'histoire des Liang) et de tribus Chionites (les Hyon des textes pahlvis provenant du Ṭohâristân,²¹ voire des steppes à

¹⁴ «De legat. Gentium» frag. 18 (Ed de Boor p. 450).

¹⁵ Excerpta de Sententiis éd. Mai p. 354.

¹⁶ Ménandre Exc. de leg. gentium frag. 4 Ed. DE BOOR p. 442. Voir aussi PRIG-LEVSKAJA : *Sirijskije Istočniki* p. 139 (Joh. Ephes.).

¹⁷ ST. JULIEN : *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Orientaux*. J. A. V. série vol 3 p. 335.

¹⁸ D'après Eutychius, le Qağan envoya sa fille à Anûšîrwân seulement après la victoire sur les Hephthalites.

¹⁹ at-Ṭabarī I, 2 p. 899.

²⁰ Par contre HAUSSIG (Byz. l. c. p. 370) parle d'un «kausaler Zusammenhang» entre l'effondrement des Hephthalites et la migration des Avar. De son côté MAROUART : *Komanen* p. 73 rattachait l'arrivée des Avar en Europe à la défaite des Jeou-jan. Nous préférons songer à la chevauchée de Mou-han à travers la Sibérie en 555.

²¹ K. CZEGLÉDY : *Népmozgalmak* p. 2-4 (МОХАУ : l. c. p. 132). Rappelons que, pour expliquer la différence entre la description des Hephthalites par Maniach, qui les définissaient des habitants des villes, et les renseignements des sources chinoises qui représentent les Yé-tha comme des nomades, HAUSSIG propose à son tour (Byz-Sl. p.

nord d'Abršahr,²² deux régions qui, selon toute vraisemblance, en 557 n'avaient été pas encore touchées par la guerre. Et d'ailleurs, même si plusieurs éminents sinologues ont considéré que l'ancienne prononciation de «Hoa» était «War» et que l'analogie entre Warčan de la «Géographie Arménienne» et Waraçan, la ville des Huns dans le Caucase ne saurait être ignorée, la forme «War» est loin d'être certaine. Enoki préférait lire «γwat» (Ghôr)²³ et M. Harmatta «Qal», «Xwal» et y retrouver le nom des «Qaláč» ou «Qilği».²⁴ En tout cas, même si nous ne croyons pas que Hoa puisse être la ville de Ghôr sur le Harîrûd, ainsi que le conjecturait Enoki, les sources chinoises permettent de localiser le pays de Hoa, plus probablement des Hoa²⁵ à sudouest de Balkh.²⁶ Ainsi l'hypothèse de M. Czeglédy qui propose d'expliquer la distinction faite par Silziboulos entre les Avar (c. à. d. les Uarxônitai) et les Hephthalites en admettant que les premiers étaient les tribus nomades du Toḥâristân Oriental et les seconds les habitants des villes de la Bactriane²⁷ n'aide pas à expliquer pourquoi les Uarxônitai auraient quitté leur pays déjà avant le dénouement de la guerre turco-hephthalite ni comment ils auraient traversé la Sogdiane déjà turque. Ou alors force serait-il d'admettre avec M. Haussig, qui localise les pseudo-Avar dans la région d'Abršahr, que ces tribus traversèrent tout l'Iran et passèrent le Caucase. Mais le passage d'Evagrius, que M. Haussig invoque à l'appui de sa thèse,²⁸ ne parle nullement d'un passage du Caucase. Il dit seulement que les Avar étaient l'un de ces peuples qui avaient les chariots pour demeure et habitaient les plaines au delà (ὕπερ) du Caucase.²⁹ Nous ajouterons qu'on ne possède en réalité aucune preuve certaine que des tribus ayant fait partie de la confédération hephthalite se soient établies ensuite dans le Caucase. La mention des Kamičik Hep't'alk dans l'«His-

175/6) une distinction assez semblable. De plus, Haussig voulait éclaircir par cette même distinction le rapport entre les nom de Yé-tha et d'Abdel. Les premiers (*Yabdel) auraient été les tribus nomades de ce peuple habitant à l'est du Pamir, les seconds (Abdel, Hephthalites) les habitants de la Bactriane. Et le premier attaque turc se serait dirigé contre les Yé-tha/Abdel (l. c. et Byz. p. 325.) Nous devons faire noter que l'auteur du «Pien-i-tien» dans sa «Remarque sur Mou-ho khan» affirme que ce dernier «avait avancé jusqu'à 10.000 li de la Mer Occidentale (la Mer Caspienne) et au sud jusqu'au nord du Grand Désert». On en conclura que Mou-ho avait vaincu les Yé-tha après une chevauchée à travers la Sibérie, car autrement l'historien chinois aurait parlé d'une campagne en direction du Tsong-ling. (St. JULIEN J. A. V série vol. III p. 323 et suiv.).

²² HAUSSIG : Byz. Slav. p. 178 et note 46.

²³ Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 1958 «On the Nationality of the Ephthalites, p. 5.

²⁴ A. МОНАХ : l. c. p. 142 note 70.

²⁵ La traduction du «Liang-chou» d'ΕΝΟΚΙ (l. c. p. 1) «The country (kouo) of Hua is another branch of the Ch'ê-shih (Tourfan)» nous cause de la perplexité et, tout en ignorant le chinois, nous croyons qu'il faudra préférer la traduction plus libre de SPECHT, «Le royaume des Hoa. Ce peuple est une branche particulière des Tche-sse». D'ailleurs ΕΝΟΚΙ a traduit lui-aussi quelques lignes plus loin «kouo» par «community».

²⁶ Liang-chou l. 54 traduit par ΕΝΟΚΙ l. c. p. 3.

²⁷ Népmozgalmak p. 10 (ΜΟΝΑΧ l. c. p. 133.)

²⁸ Byz-Sl p. 182.

²⁹ J. BIDEZ (Londres 1898) p. 196 : «Ἔθνος δὲ Σκυθικὸν οἱ Ἀβαροὶ τῶν ἀμαξοβίων, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Καύκασον τὰ ἐπέκεινα πεδία νεμομένων ὅλι τοὺς γειττιῶντας Τοῦρκους πασσαδί πεφευγότες, ἐπεὶ κακῶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπεπόνθησαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἀφίκοντο.

toire des Agouan» I ch. 27 de Moses Dasxuranci³⁰ indique seulement, si toutefois on peut ajouter foi à la légende de Mérope, que des «barbares Kamičik» se trouvaient dans le Causace au IV siècle et au V siècle. On en conclura que les Kamičik faisaient partie de la confédération des *Oῦνοι λευκοί* et que des tribus de cette horde s'étaient arrêtés dans les Caucase, où les Huns Blancs sont signalés en 395,³¹ tandis que d'autres Kamičik se fixèrent plus tard dans le Toḥâristân.³² On sait que les Huns Blancs, les «Sveta Huṇa» arrivèrent jusque dans l'Inde. Quant aux War, les Huns de Waračan, dont la présence au Caucase est attestée seulement au VII siècle, ils peuvent appartenir soit à la horde *Βαρσῆλι* qui lia son nom aux plaines au nord du Daghestân,³³ peut-être une confédération des War (*Βάρ*) et des *Ζάλοι* (les Čöl?),³⁴ soit plus probablement à la horde des Uar et Xunni (on ne saurait oublier que le «Šâhib-as-sarîr» portait le titre de «Awar»),³⁵ soit enfin avoir été, tout comme les Kamičik, une tribu des Huns Blancs qui s'était fixée dans le Caucase alors que leurs congénères transmigraient vers le sud. En tout cas, rien ne permet de penser qu'ils venaient du Toḥâristân, pas même la polyandrie, car ce que Movsis Dasxuranci raconte³⁶ n'implique pas que chez ces Huns la famille était fondée sur un système polyandrique réglé jusque dans les détails comme il en était le cas chez les Hephthalites, mais seulement que les mœurs de ces Huns étaient fort relâchés si bien que les frères avaient parfois une femme en commun quitte à posséder d'autres concubines.

En faveur d'une origine hephthalite des Avar d'Europe on a parfois avancé que les noms de Uarxônitai, de Uar et Xunni, d'Avares et de Hephthalites désignaient en réalité le même peuple³⁷ Altheim croyait même avoir découvert dans les sources syriaques la preuve définitive du fait que les Hephthalites incorporés dans l'Empire Sassanide après l'écroulement de leur Etat étaient connus sous le nom d'Avar.³⁸ Dans l'«Histoire Ecclésiastique» de Johannes d'Ephesos (III partie, livre VI ch. VII), il est question de deux mille vierges

³⁰ Passage mis en vedette par MAROUART: Wehrot und Arang p. 98 et Komanen p. 34.

³¹ Voir la Vie de Pierre d'Ibère Trad. RAUBE p. 6 et suiv., MARKWART Eranšahr p. 95 et les études de HONIGMANN sur Pierre d'Ibérie et sa Vie.

³² Hwarezmi, *Mafâtih-al-'ulûm* p. 119; Al-Muqaddasi 283(8).

³³ Voir G. MORAVSIK: *Byzantinoturcica*. II. 1958. p. 89.

³⁴ Ménandre *Excerpta de legatis* éd. BOOR p. 443/9; MARKWART *Известия Кусс. Арх. Имст. въ Константинополь* 15 (1911) p. 17, HAUSSIG (*Byz.* p. 368) préfère songer à une confédération de Var et de Sir (*Σῆρες*). Cependant la lettre grecque «9» rend assez souvent le son ture et persan «dj» (HAUSSIG: *CAJ* 2. p. 15).

³⁵ Voir MARQUART: *Komanen* p. 74. Rappelons que dans cette page MARQUART envisageait une hypothèse, sur laquelle il faudra probablement revenir. En tenant compte du fait que les Huns appelaient le Dniéper «Var», MARQUART envisageait la possibilité qu'à l'origine ce terme ait pu constituer un nom topographique et non pas un nom ethnique.

³⁶ Moses Dasxuranci (trad. PATKANIAN) p. 194: «Также преданы афродитным желаніям согласно языческим нравам своим они брали в супружество жену отца; у них два драта имели одну жену и брали также разных жен.»

³⁷ K. CZEGLÉDY: *Nomád népek* p. 95 (A. MOHAY: 135).

³⁸ *Geschichte der Hunnen*. II. p. 26—28.

chrétiennes faites prisonnières par Anûširwân à Dârâ en 575 que le Šâhenšâh décida de remettre «aux barbares vivant à l'intérieur de son Empire et qui sont appelés Abaris». ³⁹ Parvenues sur les rives d'un grand fleuve, à une distance de cinq étapes de ces barbares, les vierges choisirent de s'y noyer plutôt que d'être déshonorées par des payens. Mais les Avar de cet épisode n'étaient pas les Hephthalites de l'Iran Oriental, ainsi que le supposait Altheim. En effet Théophylacte nous apprend incidemment qu'une colonie d'Ἄβαροι se trouvait à cinq étapes de Κιρκήσιον (Qarqisiyyah) ⁴⁰ la ville située sur la confluence de l'Euphrate et du Kharbur. Et dès lors il faudra penser non pas à une colonie hephthalite mais à une tribu avar du Caucase qui, à l'instar des tribus sabir, avait obtenu la permission d'entrer dans l'Iran à condition de servir dans l'armée sassanide. ⁴¹

Il existe enfin un dernier argument mis en lumière par Shiratori qui permet d'écarter définitivement l'hypothèse d'après laquelle les Avar d'Europe venaient du Turkestan Occidental. Ils portaient la queue qui suscita tant de curiosité chez les Byzantins, une coiffure inusitée, ainsi que le notait le savant japonais chez les Huns arrivés en Europe avant les Avar, chez les Huns Iraniens et chez les Yue-pan. ⁴²

Mais c'est précisément quand on a écarté cette hypothèse — et c'est le seul résultat certain, nous ne nous le cachons pas, que les textes à notre disposition permettent d'atteindre — qu'on se heurte à la difficulté la plus grave : le problème des rapports entre les «vrais Avar», les «pseudo-Avar» et les Jeou-jan. Pour s'orienter au milieu des données contradictoires de nos sources et des solutions qu'on a proposées, il importe tout d'abord de distinguer soigneusement les différents aspects de notre problème.

I) Les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte et les Apar de l'inscription de Kültegin ⁴³ peuvent-ils être identifiés avec les Jeou-jan ?

II) A-t-on droit d'admettre que cette horde connue des Chinois seulement sous le nom de Jeou-jan dans les Annales du Nord, de Joui-joui dans les Annales du Sud voire par un jeu de mots péjoratif de Joan-Joan portait aussi le nom d'Abar/Apar ? Ou alors Théophylacte a-t-il donné aux Jeou-jan le nom d'Avar par une méprise ?

III) Les Avar de Priscus qui expulsèrent les Sabir de leurs sièges étaient-ils les Jeou-jan ou les Apar (si on préfère distinguer ces deux peuples) ou enfin les «pseudo-Avar» de Théophylacte ?

³⁹ Ms. Vatican.

⁴⁰ Théophylacte L. III ch. 10.

⁴¹ Dans l'épisode IX du Kârnamağ-i-Anuširwân (l. c. p. 40) il est question de «aba'atu-ašnâfin mina-l-'atrâk», donc de quatre peuples hunniques différents, de la région des «Hazar» qui avaient demandé asyle à la Perse.

⁴² The Queu among the peoples of North Asia. I. The Queu of the Hsiung-Nu (Toyo Bunko I. p. 63—64).

⁴³ Inscription de Kültegin côté est ligne 4 (ORKUN : Eski Türk Yazıtları. Vol. I. 31).

IV) Quelle confiance peut-on faire à la distinction établie par ce seul historien byzantin entre les «vrais Avar» et les «pseudo-Avar»?

Sur aucun de ces points l'unanimité ne s'est faite parmi les savants qui assez souvent ont modifié leurs opinions au fur et à mesure qu'ils approfondissaient l'étude des textes⁴⁴, ce qui prouve assez combien les documents à notre disposition sont insuffisants et incertains. Ainsi, après plusieurs hésitations, Chavannes a fini pour considérer que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte étaient les Jeou-jan et non pas les Apar, mais il n'a su proposer aucune explication pour la différence des noms sous lesquels cette horde a été connue des Chinois et des Byzantins.⁴⁵ M. Haussig et M. Czeglédy acceptent eux-aussi que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte étaient les Jeoujan, mais ils divergent sur le second point. M. Haussig qui, au cours de toutes ses études a maintenu que les «Avar» et les «Aba» des sources chinoises étaient en réalité un peuple du Turkestan Occidental,⁴⁶ a proposé dernièrement une explication de l'emploi fait par Théophylacte du nom d'Avar pour les Jeou-jan. L'écrivain byzantin aurait suivi une mode des Sogdiens qui auraient donné aux Jeou-jan le nom du peuple que les Chinois appelaient Wou-houan, des idéogrammes sous lesquels se cacherait la prononciation «Avar». Et ils leur auraient donné ce nom, car ils habitaient les anciens territoires des Wou-houan, un peuple que, d'après M. Haussig, les Sogdiens connaissaient bien puisqu'il était arrivé dans le Turkestan Occidental avec les Chion que le savant allemand considère comme les Huns de Lieou-Ts'ong.⁴⁷ Il s'agit d'une hypothèse ingénieuse mais qui à notre avis attribue aux Sogdiens des connaissances géographiques et historiques que difficilement ils possédaient. Et d'ailleurs les anciennes sièges des Wou-houan étaient englobées dans l'Empire Jeou-jan mais elles ne constituaient pas son centre.

De son côté, M. Czeglédy qui, dans son premier travail, considérait l'identification des Avar (Ouar) avec les Jeou-jan comme invraisemblable,⁴⁸ a cru ensuite pouvoir inférer des Annales chinoises que ses auteurs employaient exclusivement le nom de Jeou-jan pour la partie de cette horde qui était restée dans la Mongolie et les noms de Jeou-jan, de Hiong-nou et de Hoa pour les

⁴⁴ Ce qui, avouons-le, nous est arrivé à notre tour.

⁴⁵ Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux p. 309.

⁴⁶ D'après HAUSSIG le nom d'Abršahr dériverait des Avar qui auraient habité cette région pendant deux siècles. (Byz-Slav. p. 193). Et ces Avar seraient les Wou-houan des Chinois. Nous avouons ne voir dans le nom d'Abršahr que le terme pahlvi d'«apar» (supérieur, septentrional), une interprétation que HAUSSIG a lui-aussi envisagée mais qu'il a écartée à cause de la thèse de MARQUART qui voulait voir dans ce nom l'ethnique d'un peuple. Toutefois MARQUART songeait-il aux «Aparnoi», une explication en tout cas plus vraisemblable que celle de HAUSSIG. Quant aux indications de Théophylacte qui situait la ville de «Taugast» sur les confins de l'Inde et du côté de la Bactriane, des indications que HAUSSIG a mises en vedette, un détail suffit à lui seul à leur enlever toute valeur: le souverain de «Taugast» portait le titre de «Taisan» et Théophylacte traduit «le fils de Dieu», le fils du Ciel.

⁴⁷ Byz-Slav. p. 189 et 191.

⁴⁸ Népmozgalmak p. 10 n. 5 (МОНАУ: p. 133).

tribus qui avaient transmigré dans le Turkestan Occidental.⁴⁹ Et, dès lors, M. Czeglédý conjecture que la horde Jeou-jan se composait de tribus Jeou-jan, Hiong-nou et Hoa (War). Nous ne reviendrons pas sur nos doutes qu'on puisse reconnaître dans Hoa une ancienne prononciation War. Nous ferons plutôt remarquer que, d'après les Annales chinoises, la horde Jeou-jan acquit de l'importance à peine en 394, quand elle émigra des montagnes qui séparent le Chen-si de la Mongolie Intérieure, au nord du Grand Désert.⁵⁰ Par conséquent, on ne saurait considérer ni les Chions d'Ammien Marcellin ni même les Hoa qui, d'après le T'oung-tien livre 193, avaient fondé leur Etat 80—90 ans avant 456⁵¹ comme des branches de Jeou-jan. Et d'ailleurs les renseignements des sources chinoises pour l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale au cours du IV siècle et du V siècle sont arbitraires et sujettes à caution, ainsi que l'a établi Enoki.⁵² Et nous ajouterons que l'indication de T'ou-yeou qui permet de penser que les Hoa étaient arrivés dans le Tohâristân déjà dans la II moitié du IV siècle, rend encore plus obscur le problème des Sabir. En effet, si on prête foi à cet auteur, les Avar qui, d'après Priscus, peu avant 463⁵³ ont délogé les Sabir de leurs sièges sur le bas Syr-Daria, ou plus probablement des plaines qui se prolongent au nord du Balkash de l'Irtych Noir au bas Syr-Daria,⁵⁴ n'auraient pu être en aucun cas les tribus Hoa/War en marche vers le Turkestan Occidental. Et il est aussi difficile d'identifier les Avar de Priscus avec les Jeou-jan, car les Annales Chinoises ne connaissent pas une expansion de cette horde vers l'Occident et mentionnent uniquement une campagne de Dadar (Ta-t'an) contre les Yue-pan de la région de l'Ili avant 429 et une campagne contre les Tseu-K'iu du

⁴⁹ Nomád népek p. 59—62 (MOHAY : p. 134—135).

⁵⁰ PARKER : A thousand years of the Tatars. Book III. London 1924.

⁵¹ Voir ENOKI : On the Nationality of the Ephthalites p. 2 et note 3. Le prof. SABBATINI-ROSSI nous a confirmé que le texte chinois affirme bien que l'émigration des Yé-tha avait eu lieu 80—90 ans avant le règne de Wen-teh'ing-ti (452—465). Il est vrai que, ainsi que le remarquait ENOKI, nous ne savons pas à quelle source T'ou-yeou a emprunté ce renseignement. Mais il est probable qu'il l'avait trouvé dans la rédaction originale du Wei-chou.

⁵² Voir ENOKI : l. c.

⁵³ Nous ne nous cachons pas que le texte de Priscus ne contient aucune indication permettant d'établir avec certitude l'époque de la transmigration des Sabir. Dans son article «Die Herkunft der europäischen Awaren» p. 21 HAUSSIG a même considéré le passage de Priscus comme le premier témoignage de la présence des Avar dans le Caucase. Cependant de la lecture des passages des «Excerpta de legationibus» et de Suda on gagne l'impression très forte que vers 463 les Saragour et leurs alliés venaient seulement d'arriver dans la Ciscaucasie et qu'ils ne devaient pas avoir abandonné leur ancienne patrie depuis longtemps.

⁵⁴ Tout comme CZEGLÉDÝ (Nomád népek p. 92, MOHAY : p. 136) nous songeons à la zone du bas Syr-Daria à cause du nom de l'ancienne ville des Onogour conservé par Théophylacte : Bakath, un nom qui fait songer inévitablement au sogdien. Mais, dans ce cas, il est certain que Théophylacte a obtenu ce renseignement d'informateurs sogdiens qui peuvent avoir modifié la forme originale turque. Voir les remarques de MOHAY : p. 138. Cependant c'est seulement dans une région exposée aux influences sogdiennes qu'on peut concevoir que les nomades tures aient commencé à habiter des villes.

Tourfan en 460.⁵⁵ Il est vrai que ces sources attribuent aussi à Chö-louen d'avoir soumis la horde des Kao-kiu et à Cheloun d'avoir annexés des tribus hiong-nou se trouvant à nord-ouest de son Empire, qui devait ainsi atteindre le haut Irtych. Et de plus en 429, en 443, en 449 et en 459 les Empereurs des Yuen-Wei T'o-pa Fu-li et T'o-pa Siun conduisirent des expéditions victorieuses contre les Jeou-jan. En 429 Fu-li dépassa même les territoires des Jeou-jan et attaqua les Kao-kiu de l'Altaï. Aussi ne serait-il pas impossible qu'à la suite de ces campagnes des Yuen-Wei, la horde jeou-jan se soit déplacée vers le nord-ouest et se soit jetée sur les Sabir quitte à rentrer ensuite dans ses sièges au nord du Grand Désert.⁵⁶ Mais nous n'en possédons qu'un seul indice⁵⁷ et qui est par surcroît incertain : la mention de l'Etat de «A-fu-t'ai-han» dans le Peï-chih ch. 98 et dans le «Wei-chou» ch. 102, Etat qui se trouvait entre Bokhara et Khwâzizm. Marquart pensait y retrouver la mention d'un «Grand Khan des A-fou» (ancienne prononciation About), des Avar.⁵⁸ Mais M. Paul Daffinà nous a communiqué que, de règle, les historiens chinois ne traduisaient pas une partie d'un titre étranger. Aussi pourrait-on songer tout au plus — et M. Daffinà est sceptique même sur ce point — à un tarhan des A-fou.⁵⁹ Et dès lors on pourrait imaginer qu'après la victoire sur les Sabir vers 460 quelques tribus avar avaient avancé jusqu'aux confins du Khwâzizm.⁶⁰ Mais, dans ce cas, il faudrait se demander pourquoi les Chinois auraient parlé d'un «tarhan des About»? Etait-il parce qu'ils n'avaient pas reconnu dans ce petit royaume du

⁵⁵ Voir PARKER : A thousand years of the Tatars l. c. et GROUSSET : L'Empire des Steppes p. 104.

⁵⁶ Nous devons signaler une difficulté supplémentaire. Priscus raconte que trois peuples s'étaient enfuits devant les Sabir : les Saragouroi, les Ourôgoi et les Onogouroi. Or, avec la seule exception de HAUSSIG (Voir MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc. II p. 227) tous les savants ont corrigé la forme Ourôgoi de nos mss. en «Ogouroi», une correction justifiée par la leçon du ps. Zacharias Rhétor «w.g.r». D'autre part, il est évident que les Sabir attaqués par les Avar devaient se trouver à nord, nord-est des Yue-pan qui occupaient la vallée de l'Ili. Mais la toponymie de la Sibérie Occidentale (nous renvoyons aux travaux de Patkanian) prouve assez que des tribus sabir ont continué à habiter cette région pendant de longs siècles encore. Et, de même, Théophylacte signale au VI siècle une grande confédération «ogôr» vivant sur le Til Noir, à notre avis le Kara Irtych. Il faudra probablement en conclure que seules les tribus méridionales des Sabir et des Ogôr participèrent aux transmigrations signalées par Priscus.

⁵⁷ En effet on ne saurait tirer aucune conclusion de la présence des Avar dans la liste des peuples au nord du Caucase dans l'appendice du ps. Zacharias Rhétor, car l'auteur de cette liste s'est inspiré de Priscus. (Voir K. CZEGLÉDY : Studia Turcica. Budapest 1971. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the nomads p. 141.)

⁵⁸ Das Reich Zabul p. 264, A Catalogus of the Provincial Capitals of Eranšahr p. 43.

⁵⁹ Ainsi, dans la liste des gouvernements du protectorat de Ngan-si (CHAVANNES Doc. p. 69) on rencontre une expression analogue : «le gouvernement du Ta'i-Han établi dans la ville de Houo-lou des Hephthalites» et ce «ta'i-han» n'était certainement pas un Grand Khan mais un simple Tarhan.

⁶⁰ Cette ville de «A-fou-t'ai-han» ne figurait pas, selon toute vraisemblance, dans le rapport sur les «Pays d'Occident» de Toung-Youan, ainsi que le croyait MARQUART. Toung-Youan, qui visita l'Occident vers 437, avait des idées fort confuses sur la région «entre les deux mers et au sud des eaux croupis» et ce fut le compilateur du Wei-chou qui ajouta la description de plusieurs pays de l'Occident qui ne figurait pas dans le rapport de Toung-Youan. (Voir ENOKI : Sogdiane and the Hsiung-nu. Central Asiatic Jour. 1955 p. 55 et suiv.)

Khwârizm qui n'entretenait pas des rapports avec la Chine, de consanguins des tribus auxquelles ils donnaient le nom de Jeou-jan ?

Ainsi on revient une fois de plus au point le plus difficile de notre problème, celui de savoir si on a le droit d'admettre que les Jeou-jan portaient aussi le nom d'Apar/Abar. M. Haussig⁶¹ cite une inscription du Chen-si appartenant aux Jeou-jan, dans laquelle ils s'intitulaient le Règne des «Ta (Grands) Jou-jou» (ou Nou-nou). De son côté Pelliot croyait possible de reconnaître dans le nom de Jeou-jan/Joui-joui le terme de «jojin», un terme qui dans les langues altaïques signifie l'étranger. Dans le turc «hâqâniyyah» «yat» désigne l'étranger entré au service d'une tribu ou d'un chef militaire. Dès lors on se demandera s'il n'existe quelque lien entre ce sens du terme de «jojin» et ce que nous racontent les annalistes chinois de l'adoption par cette horde du patronyme «Ukuru Toba» pour affermir leurs liaisons avec les Yuen-Wei.⁶² Seul Blochet, rappelons-le, a cru pouvoir découvrir dans la forme «Joui-joui» des annalistes chinois du Sud une ancienne prononciation «ou-in» qui pourrait rendre le nom «awir».⁶³ C'est une explication qui, pour autant que nous le sachions, n'a pas été retenue par les sinologues et qui par surcroît pourrait difficilement expliquer la forme «apar» du turc et la forme «obri» du slave. Vraisemblablement ce fut seulement en grec et en syriaque⁶⁴ que la lettre «b» ou «p» du nom «Abar» se transforma en «v» (Avar).

Dans ces conditions, il est compréhensible que d'autres savants aient rejeté l'identification des Avar avec Jeou-jan. En particulier Parker proposait de voir dans les «pseudo-Avares» de Théophylacte les Yue-pan, les tribus turques ennemies des Jeou-jan qui vivaient dans la région de l'Ili. Il pensait que l'idéogramme «yue» ait pu rendre une «a» initiale et que l'idéogramme «pan» soit une forme abrégée de «pan-lo», la transcription chinoise du terme sanscrit de «vara». Dans son article «Ueber de Wu-sun Stamm in Centralasien»,⁶⁵ Shiratori n'écartait pas la possibilité que les idéogrammes désignant les Yue-pan aient pu être prononcées à l'époque ancienne «yeut-bat» et correspondre à Abar et cela quoiqu'il n'acceptât pas l'argument principal apporté par Parker à l'appui de sa thèse : à savoir que les Yue-pan ne sont plus mentionnés par les historiens chinois après l'émigration des Avar en Europe.⁶⁶ Et Shiratori n'acceptait pas cet argument car il croyait retrouver les Yue-pan dans les Yen-mien, d'après les Annales des Soei une branche des Tie-le sur le Balkash.⁶⁷ Cependant

⁶¹ Byz. p. 354 et suiv et note 293.

⁶² The Toba of the northern wilderness (PARKER l. c.).

⁶³ E. BLOCHET : Le pays de Tehata et les Hephthalites RSO 1925.

⁶⁴ K. CZEGLÉDY : Ps. Zacharias Rhetor p. 137.

⁶⁵ Keleti Szemle III p. 133.

⁶⁶ Asiatic Quarterly Review Vol. XIII p. 355.

⁶⁷ CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 311) nourrissait des doutes à propos de cette identification.

D'ailleurs dans la liste des gouvernements du Protectorat de Ngan-si (CHAV. Doc. p. 71) on rencontre le «gouvernement de l'arrondissement des Yue-pan». Il faudra en conclure que des tribus yue-pan s'étaient transférées dans la Tohâristân Oriental dans la région de Kiu-lan (Kourân).

plus tard ce fut le même Shiratori qui apporta la preuve définitive que les Yue-pan n'avaient rien en commun avec les Avar d'Europe qui portaient la queue : ces tribus turques de l'Ili coupaient et lavaient les cheveux.⁶⁸

De son côté, M. Gumiljév se refusait catégoriquement d'admettre que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte aient été les Jeou-jan et il les identifiait avec les A-pa, qu'il considérait comme une tribu proto-sibérienne et que les annales chinoises signalent à la fin du VI siècle dans la Dzoungarie.⁶⁹ En 585 elles enregistrent une attaque des A-pa contre le camp royal d'A-po-khan, l'un des Khans des T'oukiue Orientaux qui disputait le pouvoir à Cha-po-liou et une intervention des troupes chinoises.⁷⁰ A ce moment-là leurs sièges ne pouvaient être qu'au nord du Grand Désert. Elles les mentionnent une dernière fois à l'occasion de l'insurrection des tribus T-ie-le, Se-kie, Fou-likiu, Sie-sa et Poukou contre Ta-T'ou⁷¹ et, ainsi que le faisait valoir Chavannes, d'après le T'ang-chou ch. 62, T'ie-le, Se-kie, Hoen et Poukou appartenaient aux «Tölös» une horde de la Sibérie. Si les A-pa se trouvaient déjà au V siècle dans la région où les historiens chinois les signalent à la fin du VI siècle, ils pourraient correspondre aux Avar de Priscus, ainsi que le conjecturait M. Gumiljév. Mais on se demandera si cette tribu, selon les sources chinoises d'une importance secondaire, aurait été capable de vaincre la puissante confédération sabir⁷². Et nous croyons tout aussi difficile d'accepter les arguments apportés par M. Gumiljév pour considérer les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte et les Jeou-jan comme deux peuples différents et pour référer aux A-pa ce que l'historien byzantin raconte des «vrais Avar», à savoir qu'ils avaient été vaincus par les Turcs et qu'ils s'étaient réfugiés en partie à Taugast, c. à. d. auprès des Si-Wei, et en partie chez les Moukri, d'après M. Gumiljév un peuple sien-pi vivant sur les rives de

⁶⁸ The Queu among the Peoples of North Asia, I. The Queu of the Hsiung-nu (Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko I, 1923, p. 63).

⁶⁹ Malheureusement nous ne connaissons les thèses de GUMILJÉV qu'à travers son article Эфталити и их соседи в IV. веке. *VDI* 1959 p. 129 et ses notes ajoutées à la *История Хазар* d'ARTAMANOV (Moskva 1962), en particulier la note de p. 106—107.

⁷⁰ J. A. V série Vol. III p. 494.

⁷¹ Soei-chou «ch. LI (CHAV. Doc. p. 50). Et le texte continue : «Ces tribus demandèrent de venir se soumettre à la Chine. Tout le peuple de Ta-t'ou s'étant dispersé, (Ta-t'ou) s'enfuit dans l'ouest chez les T'ou-kou-hoen». Il en résulte de ce récit qu'à ce moment Tardou se trouvait dans les régions orientales de l'Empire Tou-kiue et qu'on ne saurait considérer ce passage, ainsi que le faisait HAUSSIG (Byz. p. 330), comme une preuve que les A-pa habitaient dans le Turkestan Occidental.

⁷² En reprenant une thèse de DARKÓ, GUMILJÉV croyait que les paroles de Priscus qu'un peuple habitant près de l'Océan avait mis en mouvement les Avar, se rapportaient aux Hephthalites qui vivaient près de la Mer Caspienne, une mer que les Anciens, même après Ptolémée, continuaient très souvent à considérer comme un golfe de l'Océan. Cette hypothèse fut envisagée à un certain moment aussi par HAUSSIG (CAJ 2 p. 34). Cependant, à l'époque de l'expulsion des Sabir de leurs sièges, expulsion antérieure en tout cas à 463, la Sogdiane étaient encore aux mains des Huns Kidarites, les Cöl habitaient les bords orientaux de la mer Caspienne (Tabari I 884) et les Hoa venaient à peine de constituer un Etat. Ce fut seulement dans la dernière décade du V siècle qu'ils attaquèrent les Turcs Kao-kiu près d'Ouroumchi (ENOKI : On the nationality of the Ephthalites I. c. p. 25).

л'Ии⁷³. Par contre les Jeou-jan, fait noter le savant russe, avaient cherché asyle chez les Pei-Ts'i. Or, cet argument n'arrive pas à nous convaincre car il est exact que A-na-lo-chen, le successeur de A-nakouei le dernier qağan Jeou-jan, s'était retiré dans le territoire des Pei-Ts'i et non pas chez les Si-Wei. Mais ensuite les débris des Jeou-jan cherchèrent un refuge auprès de l'Empereur Wei Thai-tsou.⁷⁴ Et de plus, il est certain que dans les langues de l'Asie Centrale le nom de Tabğaç désignait toutes les anciennes régions des T'o-pa et partant même le royaume des Pei-Ts'i. Mais un dernier argument de M. Gumiljėv mérite d'être examiné de plus près car il pourrait être décisif. A son avis, les Apar qui, d'après l'inscription érigée par Bilge Qağan, envoyèrent en 552 des ambassadeurs aux funérailles de Boumin (T'ou-men) Qağan ne pouvaient être en aucun cas les Jeou-jan qui à cette date continuaient encore leur résistance contre les Tou-kiue⁷⁵ et qui ne constituaient plus une horde indépendante. Toutefois, avant d'accepter cet argument, il faut tout d'abord se demander quelle confiance on peut faire aux renseignements de Bilge Qağan pour les événements des années 552—555. Or, il est certain que Bilge Qağan qui, en 732, fit élever la stèle en honneur de Kültegin, n'avait que des idées fort vagues à propos de l'histoire du premier Empire Tou-kiue. Il savait tout juste que Boumin (recte T'ou-men) Qağan et Istemi Qağan avaient fondé un Empire allant de la forêt de Qadirqan au «Temir Qapiğ» (les Portes de Fer dans la Sogdiane) et il imaginait que tous les peuples puissants s'étaient fait représenter aux funérailles de deux fondateurs de l'Empire turc, ainsi qu'il en avait été le cas à l'occasion des cérémonies funèbres en honneur de Kültegin. Mais il est bien certain que les Romains d'Orient (Purum) n'envoyèrent pas de délégués aux funérailles de T'ou-men dont ils ignoraient jusqu'à l'existence. Et il est tout aussi certain qu'en 552 et en 576 les «Tüpit» (T'ou-fan) du Tibet Central n'avaient pas encore constitué un Empire et qu'ils n'entretenaient pas de rapports avec les Tou-kiue. Et de plus Bilge Qağan parle uniquement des Tabğaç, les Chinois, sans faire distinction entre les Si-Wei, les Pei-Ts'i et les Pei-Teheou. Probablement il imaginait qu'à l'époque des fondateurs de l'Empire Turc, la Chine était unie sous une seule dynastie ainsi qu'il en était le cas sous les Tang. Dans ces conditions, on a le droit de conclure que les Apar de l'inscription de Kültegin, les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte qui étaient renom-

⁷³ Nous ignorons malheureusement les arguments que GUMILJĚV possédait pour avancer cette identification et qu'il allait exposer dans un article qui nous a été inaccessible «Tri isčeznuvšix naroda Sibirii». En général on s'accorde à les voir dans «Moukri» un peuple de la Corée (MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc. II p. 193) et on explique ce nom par le terme sanscrit de Mukuri, en tibétain Muglig, la Corée. Mais on se demandera comment les Turcs auraient adopté un terme du sanscrit pour désigner la Corée à une époque à laquelle ils n'avaient qu'une connaissance superficielle du bouddhisme. On préférera l'opinion de HENNING (Sogdica 7) qui proposait de corriger Moukri en Bükli, dans les inscriptions de l'Orchon les peuples des forêts de l'est.

⁷⁴ S. JULIEN : J. A. V série vol. 3 p. 325, Extrait du «Pien-i-tien».

⁷⁵ Sous le commandement de Teng-cho-tseu l'oncle de A-nakouei (S. JULIEN : J. A. V série vol. 3 p. 330).

més chez tous les habitants de la Scythie pour leur valeur militaire, devaient être un peuple fort puissant, dont le souvenir se conservait encore chez les Turcs et que dès lors ce peuple ne pouvait être que les Jeou-jan.⁷⁶ Et ce qui est en tout cas certain, c'est que Théophylacte a donné aux Jeou-jan le nom d'Avar parce que les ambassadeurs turcs eux-mêmes leur avaient donné ce nom. Il ne leur a pas donné parce qu'il l'avait trouvé dans l'histoire de Priscus. En effet il nous raconte aussi qu'une partie des Avar s'était réfugiée chez les Moukri, un peuple qui lui était certainement tout à fait inconnu et qu'aucune autre source grecque ne mentionne.

Or, une fois établi ces deux points, à savoir que les «pseudo-Avar» de Théophylacte n'avaient rien en commun avec les Hephthalites et que ses «vrais Avar» étaient les Jeou-jan, on peut espérer de s'approcher de la solution du problème de l'origine des Ouar et Xounni. Il ne fait pas de doutes que l'exkursus de Théophylacte sur les peuples scythes fourmille d'erreurs en dépit des renseignements d'origine turque qu'il possédait. Ainsi Théophylacte semble ne s'être même pas aperçu que ses renseignements à propos des premières campagnes turques se rapportaient à l'époque de la fondation de l'Empire tou-kiue et non pas au règne du Qağan Tardou, qui avait envoyé à l'Empereur Maurice la lettre, dont il nous a donné le début. De même, il prétend que la première campagne des Turcs avait été dirigée contre les Abdel-Hephthalites, alors que les Tou-kiue devinrent indépendants seulement avec la victoire de T'ou-men sur les Jeou-jan.⁷⁷ Par surcroît, il prétend que l'expédition turque contre la confédération des «Ogôr», dont faisaient partie les tribus Ouar et Xounni avait eu lieu après les victoires sur les Abdel et les Avar, tandis que nous savons qu'une partie de ces deux tribus était arrivée dans l'Alanie déjà en 558 avant la défaite finale des Hephthalites. Et il fait peu de doutes que l'insurrection de Touroum appartient par contre à l'époque de Tardou car dans cet excursus elle représente le seul fait nouveau que le Qağan pouvait désirer de communiquer à Maurice. Et il est aussi certain que les *Κοτράηροι* qui

⁷⁶ Cependant voir ENOKI: On the date of the Kidarites 2. Mem. of the Toyo-Bunko XXVIII, 1970, p. 25—27. Mais nous ne saurions admettre qu'on puisse attribuer au terme de «Apar» dans une inscription turque du VIII^e siècle la valeur d'Aparkhshatr dans l'inscription de Chapour I. De son côté, HAUSSIG a rappelé l'attention sur le fait qu'on rencontre une mention des Apar dans un texte turc du Tourfan (Byz-Sl. p. 188 n. 120).

⁷⁷ CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 250) pensait qu'on puisse retrouver dans les Abdel les Tölös battus par les Tou-kiue alors qu'ils étaient encore les vassaux des Jeou-jan en 546. Cependant il existerait une explication plus simple pour l'ordre chronologique des campagnes turques chez Théophylacte. Mou-ho khan conquiert la Sibérie et avança jusque dans la Sogdiane avant d'exiger de l'Empereur Thai-tsou des Si-Wei la livraison des Jeou-jan réfugiés à Tch'ang-ngan (Pien-i-tien l. c.). Aussi les Tou-kiue auraient-ils pu considérer ce massacre comme le couronnement de leur guerre contre les Jeou-jan qui, dans ce cas, se serait close après leur première victoire sur les Hephthalites. Mais il sera plus prudent d'admettre que Théophylacte ne possédait que des relations imprécises sur les déclarations faites par les ambassadeurs turcs en 598, trente ans avant la composition de son livre.

d'après Théophylacte appartenaient eux-aussi aux Ouar et Xounni, étaient en réalité les *Κουτρίγουροι* de Procope, les *Κουτρίγουροι/Κουτράγηροι* de Ménandre arrivés en Europe avant les pseudo-Avar.⁷⁸ Mais en dépit de toutes ces erreurs on ne saurait — croyons-nous — ignorer l'assertion de Théophylacte que les Ogôr et les Ouar et Xounni habitaient sur le Til Noir, une fleuve qui ne peut être la Volga puisqu'en 555 les armées de Mouho-khan avaient atteint la Sogdiane mais non pas la Mer Caspienne et que par conséquent cette horde devait se trouver quelque part dans la Sibérie méridionale, probablement sur le Irtych Noir.⁷⁹ Ménandre affirme explicitement que les Avar étaient parvenus dans l'Alanie après de longues pérégrinations,⁸⁰ Evagrius qu'ils avaient eu à souffrir de leurs «voisins, les Turcs».⁸¹ Et on ne saurait non plus négliger l'affirmation catégorique de Théophylacte que les Avar d'Europe étaient des pseudo-Avar puisque nous apprenons de Ménandre que les Turcs les considéraient comme des «Ouarxônitai»,⁸² alors que, nous l'avons constaté, les «vrais Avar», les Jeou-ian s'appelaient en turc Apar. Certes, il est permis de penser que Théophylacte a donné une forme plus dramatique à ses renseignements de source turque. A n'en point douter, il a inventé les héros éponymes Uar et Xounni. Mais une invention de ce genre s'expliquerait mal si les pseudo-Avar ne se composaient pas réellement de deux tribus : les Ouar et les Xounni. Et à ce propos on ne saurait oublier qu'après l'invasion avar il existait dans le Caucase la ville de Waraçan et que nos mss. grecs contiennent la variante Xeounni qui, ainsi que le faisait noter Chavannes, rappelle la tribu des Hoen, faisant partie au VII^e siècle de la confédération ouïgoure.⁸³ On a aussi le droit de douter que ce fut seulement à la suite d'une méprise des Sabir, des Onogour et des Barsilt que les Ouar et Xounni assumèrent le nom d'Avar et cela lors même qu'il ne serait pas inconcevable que des populations de la Ciscaucasie aient pu se tromper sur l'identité d'un peuple de la Sibérie Occidentale. Mais en fait il n'est pas rare, ainsi que l'a signalé Shiratori, que des tribus de la Mongolie et de la Mandchourie aient adopté au cours de leur histoire le nom d'une tribu plus puissante. Par ex. au moment du triomphe des Sien-pi, des tribus hiong-nou en assumèrent le nom.⁸⁴ Dès lors il ne serait non plus impossible que les tribus Ouarxônitai voire les tribus «Ouar et Xounni» aient adopté déjà dans la première moitié du V^e siècle le nom de Abar, c. à. d. le nom turc ou mongol

⁷⁸ MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc II p. 171—172.

⁷⁹ Rappelons que CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 251) songeait plutôt au Tola car, à l'époque des Soei, la confédération ouïgoure se trouvait sur le rive de ce fleuve. Cependant la turcologie n'accepte plus l'identification des «Ogôr» avec les «Ouïgour».

⁸⁰ Ménandre («De leg. Gentium») Ed. DE BOOR p. 442 (frag. 4).

⁸¹ Voir note 29.

⁸² De leg. Rom. frag. 43 (DE BOOR p. 205).

⁸³ CHAVANNES : Doc. p. 88 n. Ed. de Bonn p. 284 : οἱ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἔθνους παλαιότεροι ἔξαρχοὶ Οὐάρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὀνομάζοντο.

⁸⁴ SHIRATORI : The Queu among the Peoples of North Asia. I p. 25—26.

des Jou-jan. Et, dans ce cas, les Avar de Priscus auraient pu être eux-aussi des Ouar et des Xounni. En faveur de notre hypothèse à savoir que le Ouar-Xounni avaient pris le nom de leurs suzerains les Apar, il n'existe qu'un indice qui est loin d'être décisif. Maniach, l'ambassadeur sogdien d'Istemi à Constantinople en 568, donne lui-aussi le nom d'Avar aux nomades qui s'étaient réfugiés en Europe et à leurs congénères qui étaient restés dans leurs anciens sièges sous l'autorité turque⁸⁵ et le même nom leur est donné par Silziboulos.⁸⁶ On pourrait en conclure que pour désigner ces populations les Turcs employaient tour à tour les nom de «Ouarxônitai» et de Apar/Avar» et que des liens quelconques devaient exister entre les Ouar-Xounni du Til Noir et les Jou-jan de la Mongolie puisque, tout comme ces derniers, les Avar d'Europe portaient la queue, une mode qu'ils n'avaient certainement pas empruntée aux Tou-kiue, sous lesquels ils avaient vécu un ou deux ans au plus.

Bien entendu nous ne nous cachons pas qu'on pourrait renverser notre argumentation et voir dans l'emploi du nom d'Avar par Maniach et par Silziboulos et même dans la queue des pseudo-Avar autant de raisons pour considérer les Ouar et Xounni comme des tribus jou-jan. Du moins notre hypothèse permettrait d'expliquer la présence de quelques petites tribus «A-pa» dans la Dzungarie vers la fin du VI siècle, dans lesquelles les annalistes des Soei ne reconnaissaient plus les Jou-jan et l'arrivée de tribus Avar en Europe sans être obligé de corriger nos sources qui se confirment les unes les autres : la relation d'origine turque sur la fuite des Apar/Avar en Chine et chez le Moukri, le récit de l'anéantissement de ce peuple dans les Annales chinoises et la déclaration emphatique de Théophylacte que les Avar d'Europe étaient des pseudo-Avar appartenant à la confédération Ogôr et qu'ils provenaient de la région du Til Noir, une fleuve qui, en aucun cas, ne saurait être identifié avec la Volga.⁸⁷

Mais venons à l'examen des sources perses étudiées par M. Widengren.⁸⁸ Nous constatons tout d'abord un fait. Les «riwâyah» les plus anciennes parmi celles que M. Widengren a recueillies, se partagent entre trois traditions différentes :

I) Une chronique de la moitié du IX siècle qui a utilisé en partie le «Hodâyânâmah» sassanide. Aṭ-Ṭabarî a transcrit presque entièrement cette histoire et nous en possédons une seconde version à peu près identique, celle de l'Anonyme Sprenger.⁸⁹ A la chute des Hephthalites cette chronique consacre

⁸⁵ Ménandre De leg. gentium fr. 18 (Ed. DE BOOR p. 452). Néanmoins ce passage ne peut pas être considéré comme décisif car, au cours de la conversation avec Maniach, c'est l'empereur Justin II qui, le premier, emploie le nom d'Avar pour les tribus qui s'étaient soustraites à l'autorité turque et qui s'étaient établies dans la Pannonie.

⁸⁶ Excerpta de Sententiis (Ed. MAI p. 354—55).

⁸⁷ Cependant voir CZEGLÉDY : Népmozgalmak p. 8—10 (МОХАУ : p. 133).

⁸⁸ Orientalia Suecana I p. 69—99.

⁸⁹ BEO 1974 Damas ch. III et Appendices et III A B.

une courte notice insérée correctement après le récit de la première guerre persobyzantine de l'époque de Justinien I, d'une campagne d'Anûšîrwân dans le Caucase contre les Ĥazar (en réalité contre les Sabir et les peuples du Caucase alliés de Byzance) et du blocus légendaire du détroit d'Aden. Selon cette tradition, après ces victoires, Anûšîrwân décida de venger son aïeul Péroz. Dans ce but, il épousa la fille du Ĥâqân des Turcs, le poussa à attaquer les Hephthalites et, en profitant de la victoire du Ĥâqân qui avait tué leur Roi, il occupa Balĥ, la Transoxiane et la Ferghana.⁹⁰

II) L'épitomé du «Ĥodâynâmah» conservé par Euty chius et Ibn Qutaybah. Il s'accorde le plus souvent avec la tradition précédente. Dans notre cas, il donne un texte presque identique à celui d'aṭ-Ṭabarî. Cependant Euty chius ajoute — et, probablement cet ajout n'est pas à rejeter, ainsi que le faisait M. Widengren⁹¹ — que le mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Ĥâqân fut célébré seulement après la victoire sur les Hephthalites.

III) La réélaboration d'une traduction du «Ĥodâynâmah» — vraisemblablement de celle d'Ibn-al-Muqaffa' — par un écrivain arabe des premières années du IX siècle que nous avons proposé d'appeler le pseudo-Ibn-al-Muqaffa'.⁹² Mais, à côté de la traduction du «Ĥodâynâmah» cet auteur utilisait d'autres sources appartenantes à la «Šu'ûbiyyah», un mouvement qui possédait assurément de bons renseignements sur l'histoire de l'ancien Iran mais qui n'hésitait pas à les manipuler pour mieux exalter la gloire des Sassanides.⁹³ Ce texte fut à son tour remanié à plusieurs reprises au cours du même siècle. Aṭ-Ṭabarî a puisé ses extraits à la version la plus ancienne de cet ouvrage, qui fut utilisée aussi par al-Ya'qûbî. Ad-Dainawarî en possédait une rédaction déjà modifiée, tandis que, dans sa forme actuelle, la «Nihâyat-al-'arab fi 'ahbâri mulûki-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab» représente la dernière forme de ce livre.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Notons que le texte de cette «riwâyah» dans aṭ-Ṭabarî manque de clarté, ce qui aide à comprendre qu'al-Mas'ûdî (Murûğ-ad-dahab II p. 203) et Bal'âmî (ZOTENBERG II, 161) aient attribué à Anûšîrwân d'avoir tué lui-même le Roi des Hephthalites. Mais nous convenons avec M. WIDENGRÉN qu'il faut traduire le passage d'aṭ-Ṭabarî et de l'Anonyme Sprenger : «Et il (le Ĥâqân) vint à eux et il tua leur Roi et il extermina (et non pas il emmena de force) les gens de sa maison. Il (Anûšîrwân) dépassa Balĥ et la Transoxiane et il établit ses armées dans la Ferghana.»

⁹¹ L. c. p. 75. Rappelons qu'Euty chius est indépendant d'aṭ-Ṭabarî. Si l'on accepte son indication, ce mariage aurait été célébré en 560. Cette notice est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'il aurait été dangereux pour la fiancée du Šâhenšâh de traverser le Royaume Hephthalite avec lequel les Turcs étaient en état de guerre depuis 555. Il est vrai que sa caravane aurait pu emprunter la route du Khwârizm qui, ainsi que nous allons le constater, était à l'époque un royaume indépendant.

⁹² Voir notre étude «La Nihâyatul-'arab fi 'ahbâri-l-Furs wal-'Arab» et les «Siyaru Mulûki-l-'Ağam» du ps. «Ibn-al-Muqaffa'». BEO t. XXVI Damas 1974 p. 115 ch. III «Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'».

⁹³ Voir notre étude sur la réforme fiscale d'Anûšîrwân dans les Quaderni della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei—Convegno sulla Persia (Rome 1970) et Les Règles d'Ardašîr b. Bâbak pour le gouvernement du Royaume que nous avons publiées dans l'Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi (Istanbul 1973).

⁹⁴ «La Nihâyat-al-'arab etc.» BEO Damas 1969 et 1974 ch. I.

Or, les «riwâyah» que M. Widengren a appelées les lignes I, II et IV, appartiennent toutes à la tradition du ps. Ibn-al Muqaffa' — seule la ligne IV de Firdausî, sur laquelle nous allons revenir, peut être en partie indépendante — et elles relatent différents épisodes du règne d'Anûšîrwân présentés dans une succession arbitraire à la différence de ce que faisaient les traditions I et II.

I) Episode : la reconquête par Anûšîrwân des provinces que ses ancêtres avaient perdues.

a) aṭ-Ṭabarî I,2 p. 894 l. 10—13. Dans ce passage le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' avait oublié de préciser que ces pays appartenaient aux Hephthalites, vraisemblablement parce qu'il l'avait déjà dit dans les paragraphes précédents. D'ailleurs il y fait explicitement allusion dans le troisième épisode.

b) al-Ya'qûbî (Vol I p. 186). Cependant ce dernier a modifié le passage et fait vaguement allusion à la conquête de pays qui, par le passé, n'avaient pas appartenu à l'Iran.

c) la «Nihâyah» qui spécifie que les pays perdus étaient sous la domination des Rois hephthalites.

d) ad-Dainawarî qui fait précéder la listes des provinces recouvrées par l'avertissement : «Il porta des armées dans le pays des Hephthalites» et qui la fait suivre par le récit d'une expédition de Singîbû Ḥâqân en direction du Ḥorasân. Mais, ainsi que l'a fait remarquer M. Widengren⁹⁵ c'est seulement dans la version de Mirḥond, qui par ailleurs copie ad-Dainawarî — que la conquête des pays des Hephthalites et la campagne de Singîbû sont considérées comme contemporaines.

II) Episode : les mesures prises par Anûšîrwân contre les peuples pillards des frontières (aṭ-Ṭabarî et «Nihâyah»).

III) Episode : Les fortifications qu'Anûšîrwân fit élever dans le Caucase que Singîbû fut impuissant à forcer. A ce propos, pour donner plus de relief au succès du Šâhenšâh, on raconte incidemment que Singîbû était le souverain qui avait vaincu et tué W. z. r. (Warâz?),⁹⁶ le puissant Roi des Hephthalites, détruit la plus grande partie de ses armées et conquis ses provinces à l'exception de celles qu'Anûšîrwân avait précédemment occupées.⁹⁷ On notera que l'apparition d'Istemi devant Derbent, sans aucun doute un fait historique, doit appartenir aux années 572 ou 573 après la rupture de la paix entre Justin II et Anûšîrwân. Mais dans cette tradition la campagne du Roi perse contre Justinien I est racontée après cet épisode.

On rencontre la même succession des événements dans les «Ġurur» de Ṭa'âlibî (Ṭa'âlibî I et III de M. Widengren. Ed. Zotenberg p. 610).

De son côté, Firdausî réunit ces trois épisodes, parle vaguement de la soumission de certains Rois étrangers à Kîsrâ, d'un voyage du Šâhenšâh le

⁹⁵ L. c. p. 77.

⁹⁶ Voir WIDENGREN : l. c. p. 73 note 4.

⁹⁷ «'illâ mâ kâna Kîsrâ ġalaba 'alayhi minhâ».

long des frontières de son règne, d'une muraille bâtie sur les eaux et des mesures prises contre les peuples pillards sur toutes les frontières du Royaume.

Mais, quand on compare les versions que les historiens qui dépendent du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' donnent de ces épisodes, il apparaît immédiatement que déjà l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» et, plus encore, les éditeurs successifs de ce livre ont modifié le texte original soit pour suivre la mode littéraire de l'époque soit pour enjoliver le texte. Nous nous bornerons à deux exemples. Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' commençait le chapitre du règne d'Anûšîrwân par le texte de la lettre où le Roi annonçait au «padgospân» de l'Azerbaïdjân Wârî-bn-Nahîr-ğân son élévation au trône, une lettre que Nöldeke considérait comme une pièce originale. Al-Ya'qûbî y fait allusion. Par contre, dans la «Nihâyah» cette lettre a été remplacée par un discours du trône farci de lieux parénétiqes, que nous retrouvons dans le «Šâhnâmah» de Firdausî. De même, at-Ṭabarî raconte qu'Anûšîrwân punit cruellement les Wârz et les Şûl (Çöl). De ces derniers il n'épargna que 80 hommes qu'il établit dans la ville de Šahrâm-Fîrûz. L'auteur de la «Nihâyah» a transformé ce massacre dans une victoire glorieuse du Šâhenšâh qui aurait fait construire à l'intention des prisonniers une ville égale à celles qu'ils habitaient auparavant, ainsi qu'il le fera plus tard pour les déportés d'Antioche.⁹⁸ La plus grande prudence s'impose, on le voit, quand on fait recours aux «riwâyah» des auteurs les plus récents. Toutefois ces derniers nous permettent de reconnaître que la version intégrale du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ou l'édition primitive de la «Nihâyah» contenaient au moins deux autres épisodes.

IV) Episode : Le mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Ḥâqân. D'après at-Ta'âlibî, l'Anonyme du «Muğmal-at-tawârîḥ» et de Firdausî le Ḥâqân avait pris l'initiative d'offrir sa fille à Anûšîrwân dans le but, ainsi qu'il en ressort explicitement du récit de Firdausî, d'éviter un choque avec l'armée perse massée sur les frontières du Ḥorassân. Et Anûšîrwân avait réuni cette armée dès qu'il avait reçu la nouvelle de l'écrasement des forces hephthalites et de l'intention du Ḥâqân, l'héritier d'Arğasp, d'envahir l'Iran. Ad-Dainawarî devait avoir trouvé lui-aussi dans la première édition de la «Nihâyah» l'indication que Singîbû se préparait à attaquer le Ḥorassân. Et Firdausî ajoute qu'Anûšîrwân, tout en acceptant la proposition du Ḥâqân, chargea son conseiller Mihrânsîtâd de choisir entre les filles du souverain turc celle qui avait pour mère la Ḥâtûn et non pas une simple concubine. Et après avoir raconté comment Mihrânsîtâd déjoua le stratagème de la Ḥâtûn qui voulait éviter de lui donner son enfant et comment le Ḥâqân accéda à sa demande lors-

⁹⁸ Cependant M. WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 77 note 2) considérait que la tradition d'at-Ṭabarî est fort légendaire et que la Nihâyah corrige «d'une façon heureuse» la notice d'at-Ṭabarî. Quant à nous, nous éprouvons moins de difficulté à croire à un massacre général qu'à l'assertion de la «Nihâyah» que ces nomades possédaient une ville. D'ailleurs nous avons déjà donné un exemple significatif des modifications que les éditeurs de la «Nihâyah» apportaient au texte du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' dans notre étude «Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'» (Damas 1974) p. 138-139.

qu'un devin lui apprit qu'il allait devenir le grand-père du futur Šâhenšâh, Firdausî prétend que, pour s'assurer la reconnaissance d'Anûšîrwân, le Hâqân évacua la Transoxiane et la Ferghana. Ainsi cette version du mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Hâqân s'oppose directement à celle que nous ont conservée les traditions I et II (Aṭ-Ṭabarî-Anonyme Sprenger ; Euty chius-Ibn Qutaybah) qui déclarent en toutes lettres que c'était Anûšîrwân qui avait demandé la main de la fille du Hâqân pour obtenir ensuite son aide dans la guerre contre les Hephthalites. Cependant un heureux hasard nous apprend que, même dans la tradition originaire du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', c'était le Šâhenšâh qui avait pris l'initiative de ce mariage. L'auteur de notre «Nihâyah» a réélabore le Roman de Bahrâm Čübîn pour lui donner un ton plus dramatique et il y a inséré de nouveaux épisodes, par ex. les péripéties qui marquèrent la fuite de Parwîz vers la Syrie après que son oncle Bindoë l'avait sauvé de la poursuite des cavaliers de Bahrâm Čübîn⁹⁹ et la prophétie d'un moine qui avait lu dans le «Livre de Daniel» l'annonce du prochain triomphe des Arabes. Et, de même, l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» a imaginé que dans le conseil de guerre convoqué par Hurmuz, que l'offensive du Roi des Turcs avait jeté dans l'affolement, l'ancien conseiller d'Anûšîrwân Mihransîtân (recte Mihrânsîtâd), désormais un veillard décrépît, avait fait le récit de son voyage à la cour du Hâqân défunt. Il s'y était rendu pour apporter une lettre d'Anûšîrwân qui demandait au Hâqân de lui accorder la main de sa fille. Mais il avait l'ordre de choisir entre ses filles celle qui avait pour mère la Hâtûn. Et, tout comme dans le récit de Firdausî, même dans cet épisode le Hâqân et la Hâtûn ont recouru à l'artifice de revêtir leur enfant d'une robe usée afin de détourner d'elle l'attention de l'envoyé perse. Plus tard ils donnent leur consentement à ce mariage quand un devin annonce que de cette union allait naître le futur roi de l'Iran. Seulement, dans cette version, le devin ajoute que ce Roi aura la chance d'être servi par un commandant glorieux, dont il donne la description, et que ce héros vaincra les envahisseurs turcs de l'Iran. Nous donnons dans l'appendice cette page de la «Nihâyah» car elle suffit à prouver que, tout comme l'auteur de notre «Nihâyah» arabe, l'éditeur de la version de ce livre qui forma la base pour l'histoire d'aṭ-Ta'âlîbî et pour le Šâhnâmah en prose persane mis en vers par Firdausî, devait avoir trouvé lui-aussi dans son modèle que c'était Anûšîrwân qui, le premier, avait proposé au Hâqân cette alliance. Mais cet éditeur renversa les rôles afin d'exalter davantage la figure du Šâhenšâh. Et le fait que cette modification a été reprise par Firdausî, aṭ-Ta'âlîbî et l'Anonyme du «Muğmal-at-tawâriḥ» laisse penser que cette édition avait vu le jour dans le monde iranien. Par surcroît nous possédons une preuve supplémentaire du fait que la version ancienne de ce mariage attribuait l'initiative à Anûšîrwân.

⁹⁹ Ces péripéties ont été inventées par l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» dans le but d'expliquer la politique que Parwîz suivra ensuite vis-à-vis de la dynastie d'al-Ĥîrah.

Nous trouvons cette histoire dans une «riwâyah» d'Ibn Balhî¹⁰⁰ qui est indépendante de celles que nous venons d'examiner et qui remonte à son tour à l'époque sassanide, ainsi que le prouve l'accord sur ce point entre Sébéos¹⁰¹ et al-Mas'ûdî.¹⁰² Al-Mas'ûdî comme le faisait noter Marquart, a donné à la princesse turque le nom de Fâq.m (variantes Faq.r, Fâl.ğ), mais il apparaît de Sébéos et d'Ibn Balhî que Fâq.m (Sébéos: Kayên, Ibn Balhî: Qâq.m) était en réalité le nom du père de cette princesse. Cependant cette «riwâyah» était incertaine à propos de la nationalité de ce «Fâq.m» qui, selon les uns était le «Hâqân des Turcs», selon les autres «l'un des Rois ħazar de la région attenante à Al-Bâb wa-l-Abwâb».¹⁰³ Probablement dans sa forme originale elle parlait d'un Roi des ħazar car, dans le récit de Sébéos, Kayên était le roi des T'eta-lač'ik, un terme, soulignait Marquart, que l'historien arménien a employé pour les Hephthalites et les ħazar, nous ajouterons aussi pour les barbares en général, mais jamais pour les Turcs.

V) Episode: Parvenu à la fin de sa vie, Anûšîrwân préféra Hurmuz à ses autres fils à cause de ses vertus et de la noblesse de sa mère. De nos trois traditions seulement celle du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' contient ce renseignement qui revient chez tous les historiens qui en dépendent, même dans l'histoire d'ad-Dainawarî, quoique ce dernier avait précédemment raconté que Hurmuz à la tête d'une armée perse avait forcé Singîbû à évacuer la Transoxiane et la Ferghana. Aṭ-Ṭabarî, il est, vrai, donne lui aussi cette notice au début du chapitre sur le règne de Hurmuz, mais il l'a interpolée dans la tradition I en l'empruntant au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', qu'il utilisait largement, car la phrase «Et sa mère était la fille du Grand Hâqân»¹⁰⁴ n'existe pas dans l'Anonyme Sprenger. On notera cependant que Sébéos et al-Mas'ûdî citent eux-aussi la «riwâyah» du mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille de Kayên/Fâq.m à propos de Hurmuz pour nous assurer qu'il était né de ce mariage.

Et enfin chez les auteurs qui dépendent du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' nous trouvons deux «riwâyah» isolées.¹⁰⁵ Celle d'ad-Dainawarî qui attribuait à Hurmuz

¹⁰⁰ Fârsnâmah, Ed. LE STRANGE & NICHOLSON p. 94 l. 8—95 l. 6. La lacune dans cette «riwâyah» signalée par M. WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 81) peut probablement être comblée par le récit d'al-Balâdurî (194/13) à propos des dissensions qui s'élevèrent entre Anûšîrwân et le Hâqân des régions à nord du «Bâb-al-'abwâb».

¹⁰¹ Voir MARKWART: Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften. WZKM XII. MARKWART a donné aussi la traduction de ce passage de Sébéos, p. 36 que nous reproduisons.

¹⁰² Murûğ-aḍ-ḍahab ch. XXII p. 211 «tamma malaka ba'dahu-bnuhu Hurmuz min-'Anûšîrwân b. Qubâḍ wa 'ummuhu Fâq.m ibnatu Hâqân maliki-t-turk wa qila bal malikuḡ min mulūki-l- ħazar mimma yalî al-Bâba wa-l-'Abwâb.»

¹⁰³ Voir note 102.

¹⁰⁴ «wa kânât 'ummatuhu-bnatu Hâqâni-l-'akbar».

¹⁰⁵ Pour notre but, nous pouvons faire ici abstraction des «riwâyah» se rapportant aux ħazar, qui remontent elles-aussi au «Ĥodâyânâmah», ainsi que le prouve leur présence dans toutes nos trois traditions, aux expéditions contre Sarandîb que Bal'amî et aṭ-Ta'âlîbî localisent dans l'Inde et contre la Chine (Ibn Balhî) et à la suzeraineté iranienne imposée à la Chine (aṭ-Ta'âlîbî) et au Tibet (al-Mas'ûdî). Il s'agit de légendes dépourvues de toute historicité et qu'on ne rencontre que chez les auteurs les plus récents.

d'avoir obligé Singîbû à se retirer de la Transoxiane et de la Ferghana et dont nous ignorons la source. Probablement elle appartenait à la première rédaction de la «Nihâyah» qui, parfois, devait donner deux versions différentes du même épisode, comme il en est le cas pour le théâtre de la bataille entre Bahrâm Gôr et le «Hâqân des Turcs». Et surtout la «riwâyah» de Firdausî que M. Widengren attribue à la ligne IV et dont nous venons de prouver qu'elle contient un épisode (le mariage d'Anûsirwân avec la fille du Hâqân) emprunté de nouveau au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'.

Or cette «riwâyah» pose un problème qui nous oblige à revenir sur notre article «Deux documents nouveaux à propos de la Légende de Buzurġmîhr» paru dans le tome XXVI des «Acta Antiqua». Nous maintenons notre point de vue, à savoir que le plus souvent le texte de Firdausî remonte à une version en prose persane très proche de la «Nihâyah» et qui doit donc dériver de l'arabe et non pas directement d'un «Ĥodâynâmah» en pahlvî. D'ailleurs nous avons constaté cette affinité même dans les épisodes du règne d'Anûsirwân. Mais nous avons tort quand, dans la seconde partie de cet article, pour laquelle nous nous étions imprudemment appuyé à l'étude de Christensen,¹⁰⁶ nous avons cru pouvoir avancer que même les «Conseils de Buzurġmîhr» dans le «Šâhnâmah» de Firdausî dérivent du texte arabe conservé par Ibn Miskawayh. Ne connaissant pas le pahlvî, nous présentions nos conclusions comme une simple hypothèse qu'il appartenait aux iranologues d'examiner. Ensuite le prof. Mahyar Nawabî nous a démontré notre erreur. Maintenant, dans l'épisode d'Anûsirwân et de la guerre contre les Hephthalites nous nous trouvons en présence d'un cas assez analogue. La description de la mission chargée de choisir pour Anûsirwân sa femme entre les filles du Hâqân a un pendant exact dans le chapitre de Bahrâm Ćûbîn dans la «Nihâyah».¹⁰⁷ Par contre, le récit de la guerre entre les Turcs et les Hephthalites ne correspond à aucune de nos traditions. Elle donne au Roi des Hephthalites le nom de «Ĝatfûr» qui rappelle inévitablement celui de *Κατοῦλφος* dans le fragment de Ménandre. Elle attribue la défaite des Hephthalites aux seuls Turcs, elle prétend que, par désespoir, la noblesse hephthalite décida de se soumettre au Šâhenšâh de l'Iran et que le Hâqân évacua à la fin la Transoxiane et la Ferghana pour s'assurer l'amitié d'Anûsirwân. Nous noterons que ce récit de Firdausî, qui l'attribue à un «dehqân» illustre, est celui qui rabaisse le plus le rôle de l'Iran dans l'élimination de l'Empire hephthalite. Il y a des changes qu'il nous ait conservé une ancienne «riwâyah»

¹⁰⁶ Dans son étude La légende du Sage Buzurġmîhr (A. O. 1929 p. 81—123) CHRISTENSEN se rapporte aux texte du Pandnâmak édité par Dastûr Peshotanġi en dépit du fait que WEST dans son article publié dans le Muséon, Notes sur quelques petits textes pehlevîs avait déjà prévenu que le texte original s'étend seulement treize lignes au delà du paragraphe 119 de l'édition du Dastûr Peshotanġi et que la continuation donnée par ce dastûr (§§ 121—159) appartient à un autre ouvrage.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. de Calcutta p. 1697—1700 (L'offre d'un mariage) et p. 1700—1703 (La mission de Mihrânsitâd).

sassanide indépendante de nos trois traditions et qui reflétait fidèlement la marche des événements. Toutefois n'en sommes-nous pas certain. En effet, dans les épisodes qui nous ont été conservés, la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ne parle pas explicitement de la guerre perso-hephthalite. Elle donne seulement une liste des provinces recouvrées par Anûšîrwân au début de son règne et dont elle savait qu'elles avaient été sous la domination des Hephthalites.¹⁰⁸ Mais ensuite elle fait aussi allusion au fait que la plus grande partie de l'armée hephthalite avait été écrasée par le Hâqân.¹⁰⁹ Et, par conséquent, rien ne s'oppose à ce que les épisodes racontés par le seul Firdausî (la guerre turco-hephthalite, l'élection de Fağâniš, l'arrivée d'Anûšîrwân dans le Hōrassân, l'évacuation du Soğd, de Samarkand et de Čâğ par le Hâqân et l'hommage de Fağâniš à Anûšîrwân) aient figuré déjà dans le récit du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Nous sommes d'autant plus enclin à le croire que Firdausî nous a conservé certains épisodes qui doivent appartenir au Roman de Bahrâm Čûbîn, que nous ne lisons plus dans notre «Nihâyah» mais qui devaient figurer déjà dans la première édition de ce livre.

Nous devons désormais nous demander quelle est la valeur historique de ces «riwâyah», dont nous avons nous sommes efforcé jusqu'ici d'établir l'origine et les rapports, et nous commencerons par l'épisode V de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (l'origine turque de Hurmuz) car, même s'il s'agit d'un problème marginal ne concernant pas la chute de l'Empire hephthalite, il permet de constater comment les historiens perses connaissaient mal les événements de la Cour sassanide et comment ils faisaient circuler des relations tendancieuses dans des buts propagandistes. On sait que toutes les versions conservées dans les sources arabo-persanes font de la mère d'Anûšîrwân la fille d'un dehqân, la classe de la petite noblesse favorisée par Quabâd I et par Hōsrō I alors, que d'après Procope, elle était la sœur de l'Aspahbed, c'est-à-dire d'un membre de la plus haute noblesse.¹¹⁰ Or, nous nous trouvons en présence d'un cas assez analogue. Nous ne connaissons pas la source de la «riwâyah» d'ad-Dainawarî qui, tout en achevant son chapitre sur Anûšîrwân par le récit du choix de Hurmuz comme futur Sâhenšâh à cause du rang de sa mère, la fille du Hâqân, avait auparavant attribué au même Hurmuz le mérite d'avoir guidé une armée perse contre le Hâqân des Turcs et de l'avoir forcé à évacuer la Sogdiane et la Ferghana. Cependant il ne serait pas impossible que cette «riwâyah» ait appartenu à une tradition aujourd'hui perdue se proposant d'exalter la figure de Hurmuz, d'après les autres traditions perses un tyran cruel, digne de son aïeul turc. Sébéos le dit en toutes lettres : «Il était encore plus grand que ses ascendants paternels et plus grand et plus sauvage que ses ascendants maternels».¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Voir l'épisode 3.

¹⁰⁹ Voir l'épisode 3.

¹¹⁰ «De bello persico» Livre I ch. 11.

¹¹¹ Traduction MARKWART: l. c. Rappelons que Firdausî revient dans plusieurs épisodes sur l'origine turque de Hurmuz pour en expliquer la cruauté.

Et, dans nos extraits du «*Ĥodâynâmah*», on relève encore deux tendances opposées que les historiens musulmans se sont efforcés de concilier : le désir de mettre en relief la protection que ce Roi accordait au menu peuple, un désir conforme à l'idéologie du *Ĥodâynâmah* qui s'efforçait toujours de voiler les défauts des Rois légitimes et de leur attribuer des mérites, et le jugement sévère qu'en donnait le Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn qui, tout en représentant ses héros comme les victimes de la fatalité, ne cachait pas leurs défauts.

Or, la possibilité que Hurmuz ait joué un rôle quelconque dans la guerre perso-hephthalite — pour qu'on lui confiât en 559/60 le commandement, ne fût-ce que nominal, de l'armée contre les ex-alliés turcs il aurait dû être né vers 545 au plus tard — ne saurait être retenue à la lumière du récit de Johannes d'Ephèse. Et sur ce point cet historien mérite notre confiance puisqu'il rapporte des événements, dont le dernier acte s'était déroulé à Constantinople à son époque. En parlant du choix de Hurmuz (Ormazd IV) comme successeur de Hōsrō, il emploie les termes de «*puer arrogans et immanis et rationis exiguus*». ¹¹² De son côté, Michel Syre, reprenant les renseignements de Johannes, note qu'il était «*un jeune homme bouillant, cruel et de peu de cervelle*». ¹¹³ On préférera les termes de la traduction de Chabot, à savoir qu'au moment de son arrivée au trône en 579 Hurmuz était encore un jeune homme puisque, quand en 590 son fils Hōsrō II se réfugia dans la Syrie byzantine, il était accompagné par les femmes de son harem avec leurs ourissons. ¹¹⁴ Donc en 579 Hurmuz ne pouvait pas être à proprement parler, un «*puer*».

Et d'autre part, les renseignements qu'on trouve dans l'histoire de Théophylacte et certain détails du Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn rendent difficile d'accepter l'historicité de la «*riwâyah*» qui fait de Hurmuz le fils d'Anûširwân et de la fille d'Istemi, même si cette possibilité ne saurait être tout à fait écartée. En 589 Hurmuz proposait à la noblesse perse de mettre à sa place son fils cadet, un *μειράκιον* dit Théophylacte, ¹¹⁵ donc un garçon de 15 ans au moins, l'âge auquel commençait la majorité d'après le «*Pandnâmak-i-Zaradušt*». ¹¹⁶ Dans cette année-là Hōsrō II, déjà père de plusieurs nourissons, devait avoir au moins 17 ou 18 ans. Et, dans le Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn on raconte l'étonnement du héros à la vue de l'allure royale et de la barbe qui ornait désormais le visage du nouveau roi Parwiz. Ce dernier devait donc être né au plus tard en 571 et il est difficile de croire que son père ait pu être le fils de la princesse turque qu'Anûširwân avait épousée en 556 si l'on prête foi à aṭ-Ṭabarî, en 560 si on accepte l'indication d'Euty chius. Et d'ailleurs Johannes d'Ephèse et Michel Syre ne savent rien de la mère de Hurmuz et nous racontent une his-

¹¹² «*Hist. Eccl.*» Pars III Livre VI ch. XXII (trad. BROOKS p. 243).

¹¹³ Livre X ch. 20. Trad. CHABOT tome II p. 353.

¹¹⁴ «*Historia*» L. IV ch. 10.

¹¹⁵ «*Historia*» Livre IV ch. 4.

¹¹⁶ Ed. et trad. FREIMANN § 27. Le texte n'est cependant pas explicite.

toire fort différente de celle de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. D'après ces auteurs c'était l'assemblée de la noblesse perse (σύνκλητος) qui avait imposé à Ḥosrô I la désignation d'Ormazd, le «fils cadet» et Ḥosrô I avait donné de l'argent à son fils aîné qu'il préférerait pour qu'il se sauvât et «qu'il ne fût pas mis à mort»¹¹⁷. Plus tard un «impostor quidam astutus ex ipsis Persis, puer adulencens»¹¹⁸ arriva à Constantinople et se fit reconnaître comme l'héritier légitime de Ḥosrô. A la fin il fut démasqué par le Spatharius du Roi de Perse qui avait trouvé à son tour refuge à la Cour byzantine.¹¹⁹

Ainsi les «riwâyah» recueillies par le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' sur la participation de Hurmuz à la guerre turco-hephthalite et sur son origine turque n'ont aucune chance d'avoir une base historique. Et on ne saurait pas non plus prêter foi à la tradition de Sébéos—al-Mas'ûdî car les sources byzantines et le «Kârnâ-mağ-i-Anûšîrwân» s'accordent à présenter les populations à nord du Caucase comme des peuples barbares sans organisation et ayant à leur tête des roitelets dénués de prestige, avec lesquels le Šâhenšâh ne se serait jamais emparenté. Quant à Istemi, il ne fit son apparition dans le Caucase qu'après 572 et, de toute évidence, Hurmuz ne pouvait être issu d'une union scellée à cette époque. Toutes ces «riwâyah» doivent appartenir à des romans populaires tels que celui de Bahrâm Čûbîn et on voit combien la prudence s'impose dans l'utilisation de nos sources, même quand elles remontent, comme il en est dans notre cas, à l'époque sassanide. Par contre on peut faire confiance à la «riwâyah» des traditions d'aṭ-Ṭabarî—Anonyme Sprenger, Euty chius—Ibn Qutaybah lorsqu'elles nous racontent qu'Anûšîrwân avait épousé la fille d'Istemi en vue d'obtenir son appui contre les Hephthalites. Ce récit cadre bien avec tout ce que nous savons de la marche des événements et, surtout, il est confirmé par un document conservé par Moses Dasxuranci, un historien qui possédait des sources arméniennes contemporaines pour l'histoire de Héraclius et de Ḥosrô II. Dans l'«histoire des Agouans» nous lisons le texte d'une lettre envoyée par Ḥosrô II au Ḥâqân des Turcs, où le Roi perse rappelle à ce dernier les mariages qu'unissaient la Maison des Ḥâqân à celle de l'Iran mais où il ne prétend pas toutefois d'avoir lui-même du sang turc.¹²⁰

Cependant ce ne sont pas seulement les «riwâyah» dérivant des romans populaires de l'époque sassanide qui sont suspectes. Nous constatons le même manque d'historicité dans la liste des provinces hephthalites annexées par Anûšîrwân et cela quoique sur ce point toutes nos traditions soient au fond concordées et qu'elles attribuent toutes à Anûšîrwân d'avoir annexé la Transoxiane et la Ferghana elles-mêmes. La liste la plus détaillée des conquêtes d'Anûšîrwân nous a été conservée par le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' et elle n'inspirait

¹¹⁷ Michel Syre Livre X ch. 20 Trad. CHABOT t. II p. 353.

¹¹⁸ Johannes d'Ephèse Hist. Eccl. pars III, Livre VI ch. 29.

¹¹⁹ Michel Syre L. X ch. 20.

¹²⁰ Trad. ПАТКАНОВ Livre II ch. 12.

pas de la confiance à Nöldeke.¹²¹ Et, en fait, cette tradition renferme une contradiction de fond. Elle prétend tout d'abord qu'Anûšîrwân avait conquis le Sind, le Bost, l'Arachosie, le Zabûlistân, le Toḥâristân, le Kâbulistân et le Dardistân.¹²² Ensuite elle raconte incidemment que le Ḥâqân des Turcs avait conquis tous les pays des Hephthalites à l'exception de ceux qu'Anûšîrwân avait déjà occupés.¹²³ Il est évident que si Anûšîrwân avait annexé toutes les régions énumérées dans cette «riwâyah», Istemi n'aurait fait qu'attaquer un Roi qui avait déjà perdu le centre de son Empire et qui ne se serait maintenu que dans la Transoxiane. Et néanmoins cette tradition n'arrive pas à cacher que l'attaque principale contre les Hephthalites avait été menée par les Turcs. Aussi serait-on tenté d'attribuer cette liste à quelque partisan de la Su'ûbiyyah, un mouvement auquel participait le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Et cela d'autant plus que, ainsi que le faisait remarquer Marquart,¹²⁴ le terme de Kâbulistân appartient au néo-persan et qu'à l'époque sassanide on parlait du «Royaume de Kâbul». Cependant cet indice n'est pas décisif, car nous ne possédons que des traductions du II siècle et du III siècle de l'hég., dont les auteurs pouvaient tout naturellement remplacer l'expression ancienne par sa forme moderne. Ainsi nous rencontrons le terme de «Kâbulistân» jusque dans la traduction du «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân», un ouvrage appartenant sans contredit possible à l'époque sassanide. Rien ne s'oppose donc à ce que cette liste remonte réellement à l'époque perse et à ce qu'Anûšîrwân, qui faisait imprimer sur ses monnaies la légende «gêhân apâbîm kartar»,¹²⁵ ait fait aussi circuler quelque «fathnâmah» énumérant ses prétendues conquêtes.¹²⁶

Quant au problème de savoir si la liste originale contenait réellement le Dardistân et le Kâbulistân — dans les mss. d'aṭ-Ṭabarî I 894 on lit D.rwstân et Kâr.stân — nous ferons noter que la leçon Kâbulistân est confirmée par les éditions les plus récentes du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', mais nous avons déjà constaté comment ces éditions remanient souvent le texte original qu'aṭ-Ṭabarî avait encore à sa disposition. Dans ces conditions, il sera peut-être plus prudent d'accepter la leçon de Bal'amî Garğistân, la province sur le haut Murgâb qu'Anûšîrwân a certainement annexée et la lecture proposée par Marquart Zabûlistân au lieu de Drwstân.¹²⁷ Il est par contre probable que la liste originale contenait aussi le Čağâniyyân, ainsi qu'il en ressort d'ad-Dainawarî. M. Widen-

¹²¹ NÖLDEKE: *Geschichte der Perser und der Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* p. 156 n. 1.

¹²² Episode I.

¹²³ Episode III.

¹²⁴ Eranšahr p. 32 n. 3.

¹²⁵ Celui qui délivre le monde de la peur. Voir WIDENGREN l. c. p. 94 n. 2.

¹²⁶ Rappelons que la «Nihâyah» nous a conservé, ne fût-ce que sous une forme modifiée, le «fathnâmah» que Bahrâm Ġôr adressa à ses peuples après la victoire sur le Ḥâqân turc. Même cette pièce semble être empruntée à un roman populaire.

¹²⁷ Voir MARKWART: Eranšahr p. 32 n. 3 et HARMATTA: *Late Bactrian Inscriptions*. *Acta Antiqua* 17 (1969) p. 401 et 402 et note 71.

gren considère comme «extrêmement probable» que les provinces indiquées dans la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ont été occupées réellement par Anûšîrwân mais qu'elles furent perdues ensuite, peut-être à l'époque de Hurmuzd IV.¹²⁸ Et le savant suédois justifiait sa conviction par la description des frontières de l'Iran dans la «Lettre de Tansar» qu'il considère avec Christensen comme appartenante à l'époque de Hôsrô I¹²⁹ mais que nous préférons attribuer aux toutes dernières années du Royaume Sassanide.¹³⁰ Cependant aujourd'hui, grâce au «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân» et aux sources byzantines, il est possible de prouver que la plus grande partie de ces provinces n'appartenaient pas à l'Iran en 568 et on ne saurait penser qu'elles aient été évacuées dans la période 560—568 car, ainsi que nous l'apprend Ménandre, pendant cette période les rapports perso-turcs s'étaient détériorés à cause des obstacles créés par la Perse au commerce turco-sogdien de la soie, mais on n'était pas arrivé à une guerre ouverte.¹³¹ L'épisode IX du «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân» nous apprend qu'à cette date (468) Anûšîrwân reçut les hommages du seigneur du Hwârizm et du Roi de l'Inde, de Dâwar et du Kâbulistân.¹³² Donc ces pays n'avaient été jamais annexés à l'Iran, ce qui est par surcroît confirmé par le fait que les émissions des Napki-Malka de Kâbul ne présentent aucune interruption à cette époque¹³³ et que nous possédons toute une série de monnaies des Rois du Hwârizm avec la légende M.RA M.LK HAR.ZM et les noms, malheureusement d'une lecture douteuse, des souverains qui les émettaient.¹³⁴ Et le même épisode IX du «Kârnâmağ» raconte que, dans cette année-là, Anûšîrwân autorisa des populations turques, sans doute principalement des Sabir mais peut-être aussi des tribus pseudo-Avar, à entrer dans l'Iran et qu'il cantonna les auxiliaires enrôlés parmi ces nomades dans les territoires des Alains, dans l'Azerbaïdjân et dans la région de Marw. Difficile de se soustraire à l'impression qu'il s'agissait de régions frontalières et que, même en 568, les confins de l'Iran ne dépassaient la région de Marw, Marw-i-rûd et Talaqân. De plus, en 570 Ménandre enrégimente une invasion turque de la Médie.¹³⁵ Comme en 569, au moment où Zemarchos rentra à Constantinople, les troupes perses contrôlaient encore le territoire

¹²⁸ L. c. p. 90—91.

¹²⁹ L. c. p. 84 et note 2.

¹³⁰ Voir remarques au Testament d'Ardašîr dans le JA 1966.

¹³¹ De legationibus gentium frag. 18.

¹³² Nous profitons de cette occasion pour corriger notre note 74 de la page 41 du JA 1966. Même si at-Ta'âlibî (éd. ZOTENBERG p. 615) et Bal'amî (Ed. ZOTENBERG II p. 221) situent Sarandîb dans la vallée inférieure de l'Indus, il est plus probable que l'auteur sassanide songeait aux souverains des grands centres commerciaux sur la route de la Chine : Ceylan et la ville de Kelât.

¹³³ Voir GÖBL l. c. Vol I p. 68 et suiv. Nous devons cependant rappeler que M. MITCHINER dans son article *Who were Napki Malik* (East and West XXV 1975) est enclin à admettre l'historicité de la conquête perse et considère que les émissions de Napki Malka s'achèvent vers 560.

¹³⁴ M. MITCHINER : «The early coinage of Central Asia» p. 48.

¹³⁵ Ménandre De Leg. Gentium fr. 23 (éd. DE BOOR p. 459).

des Alains¹³⁶ et que Derbent était puissamment fortifié, il est à peu près certain que l'armée turque fit irruption dans la Médie par la route allant de Qômîs à Ray. Et ce renseignement de l'historien byzantin est confirmé par le «Kârnamâğ». Dans l'épisode X, qu'une allusion aux ambassadeurs byzantins envoyés auprès d'Istemi permet de dater de 571 ou 572, Anûşîrwân rappelle un revers subi par les Perses au cours d'une attaque récente des Turcs et il parle des mesures prises pour mettre en état de défense les villes et les forteresses du Ḥorassân. Même si la «Géographie Arménienne» inclue Balğ et le Toğhâristân dans le Ḥorassân, il est difficile de croire qu'Anûşîrwân parlait ici de ces régions éloignées.

Et enfin à la même date (568) Maniach, l'ambassadeur sogdien d'Istemi à Constantinople, assurait Justin II que les villes des Hephthalites payaient le tribut aux Turcs.¹³⁷ Cette déclaration corroborée par le fait qu'Istemi se servait d'un ambassadeur d'origine sogdienne, prouve définitivement, comme l'enseignait Nöldeke, que la Transoxiane n'appartenait point à l'Iran.

Ainsi de toutes les provinces de notre liste Anûşîrwân n'avait recouvré en réalité que l'Arachosie et le Zabûlistân,¹³⁸ qui d'ailleurs étaient probablement sous l'autorité des dynasties hephthalites locales, ainsi que la «Nihâyah» le laisse entendre. De plus, il avait sans doute rétabli son autorité sur les régions de Hérat et de Bagdêš.¹³⁹ A notre avis, il y aurait une seule interprétation qui permettrait de considérer ces listes des «provinces recouvrées» comme quelque chose d'autre qu'un faux mis en circulation de propos délibéré. Une partie importante de la noblesse hephthalite, telle que le roi Fağâniš de la «riwâyah» de Firdausî et le prince *Κατοῦλφος* de l'histoire de Ménandre, avait sans doute préféré se soumettre à l'Iran, dont elle avait absorbé la culture,¹⁴⁰ plutôt qu'aux barbares tures. Et dès lors il serait concevable qu'Anûşîrwân se soit considéré comme le suzerain légitime des régions que les Rois hephthalites avaient inféodées à ces princes.

¹³⁶ Ménandre De leg. gentium frag. 21 éd. DE BOOR p. 453—4.

¹³⁷ Ménandre De leg. gentium frag. 18 Ed. DE BOOR. p. 451—452. On notera que Maniach affirme seulement que les Turcs avaient obligé les Hephthalites à leur payer des tributs. Il ne parle pas d'une occupation directe de leurs villes qui étaient évidemment restées sous l'autorité de la noblesse locale hephthalite. De son côté, la tradition nationale tou-kiue (inscription de Kültegin côte est ligne 9) considérait les «Portes de Fer» comme le point extrême de l'expansion turque à l'époque de la Grande Dynastie.

¹³⁸ Voir GÖBL : l. c. Vol I p. 68 et suiv. ; en particulier à propos de l'occupation de Kapîsa à la fin du VI siècle par les Napki qui possédaient déjà Gaznî. Il est intéressant de noter que même le Dâwar faisant partie du Zabûlistân n'appartenait pas à Anûşîrwân quoiqu'en 508 Qubâd I eût pris d'assaut le sanctuaire de cette région, le *Τζουρνάδεσς* (MARQUART : Das Reich Zabûl p. 279—287).

¹³⁹ Voir MARQUART : Eranšahr p. 61—62 à propos du problème de l'absence des évêques nestoriens de Hérat aux conciles nestoriens de la fin du V siècle et de la première moitié du VI siècle. Cette région, ajoutons-le, était occupée par le Qadiš (Eranšahr p. 77) qui, ainsi que CZEGLÉDY l'a prouvé (Acta Orient. Hungarica t. IV fasc. 1—3 p. 63), appartenait aux tribus chionites.

¹⁴⁰ La langue des «fragments hephthalites» déchiffrés par O. HANSEN est un dialecte iranien.

Le bilan de ce que les sources perses permettent d'établir, une fois écartées les «riwâyah» tendancieuses ou défigurées par les remanieurs et les faux de la propagande officielle, semble à première vue assez maigre. Mais elles nous ont conservé quand même quelques renseignements précieux qui permettent d'entrevoir le déroulement des événements. Elles nous livrent le «terminus post quem» pour la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite et elles complètent ainsi les sources byzantines. Elles nous ont appris que ce fut Anûširwân qui poussa Istemi contre les Hephthalites en demandant la main de sa fille, une demande qui devait flatter le Hâqân ture qui avait été jusqu'à 552 un obscur vassal des Jou-jan et qui obtenait ainsi un prestige comparable à celui que le mariage avec une princesse des Si-Wei avait assuré à son frère aîné Tou-men. Elles nous ont aussi révélé que ce furent les armées turques qui portèrent tout le poids de la guerre et qui occupèrent la plupart des territoires hephthalites. Mais le succès remporté par le Šâhenšâh n'était pas moins grand. Il avait anéanti l'ennemi traditionnel de l'Iran — on remarquera que les paroles du plénipotentiaire perse Yezdegusnar Zich au délégué byzantin Petrus magister officiorum, prises à la lettre n'impliquent pas de conquêtes territoriales¹⁴¹ —, il avait recouvré des territoires aussi importants que Hérat, Bağdêš, l'Arachosie et le Zabûlistân et il avait obtenu l'acte de soumission d'une partie considérable de la noblesse hephthalite. Et, parmi nos sources, la plus importante est sans contredit possible le «Kârnamağ-i-Anûširwân», dont l'auteur a été probablement le seul écrivain perse ayant accès aux archives royales, tandis que, entre les traditions dérivant du Hodâyânâmah, celle du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' est la plus riche, même si elle risque de fourvoyer les historiens par son caractère hétérogène, ses emprunts aux romans populaires et les remaniements, auxquels elle a été soumise.¹⁴²

Trieste.

¹⁴¹ Ménandre : De legat. Rom. fragm. II (éd. DE BOOR p. 177).

¹⁴² A cette tradition appartient aussi aṭ-Ta'âlibî qui, dans son chapitre sur Anûširwân, donne deux notices provenant de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (Ed. ZOTENBERG p. 615 Ta'âlibî I et III de WIDENGREN) et une notice appartenant à la tradition d'aṭ-Tabarî—Anonyme Sprenger (Ed. ZOTENBERG p. 615 Ta'âlibî II de WIDENGREN). On ne s'étonnera pas trop, car il est bien connu qu'aṭ-Ta'âlibî, tout en suivant une version parallèle à celle de Firdausî, a employé aussi la Chronique d'aṭ-Tabarî. Nous ne saurions partager entièrement l'opinion de WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 89), à savoir que l'analyse des «riwâyah» se rapportant à la chute des Hephthalites ne confirme pas la théorie de ZOTENBERG qui admettait que Firdausî et aṭ-Ta'âlibî ont suivi des narrations distinctes remontant à une source commune. En fait les deux auteurs ont donné seulement un relief différent aux épisodes I—V du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Ce qu'on ne trouve pas dans le récit d'aṭ-Ta'âlibî c'est la description de la guerre turco-hephthalite qui caractérise la version de Firdausî. On pourrait voir dans cette lacune dans la narration d'aṭ-Ta'âlibî une raison pour attribuer cette dernière «riwâyah» non pas au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' mais à une tradition indépendante.

APPENDICE

LA MISSION DE MIHRÂNSITÂD

(DANS LE MS مهرستان) D'APRÈS LA «NIHÂYAH»

ك ورقة ١٦٥ آ) فقال رجل من مرزبته يسمى انوشجان (١) أيها الملك هنيئ ملكك و وقيت شره إن والدي مهرستان كما قد علمت شيخا كبيرا لازما (٢) جوف بيته لضعفه و أنه أرسل إليّ البارحة فأتيته فذكر أن عنده في أمر ملك الترك علماً و أنك إن وجهت (٣) إليه أذاك فأخبرك به . فأرسل إليه الملك فأتى به محمولاً في محفة حتى وضع بين يديه فقال ما عندك أيها الشيخ من العلم في شأن ملك الأتراك؟ فقال الشيخ أخبرك أيها الملك بالأمر وأقص (٤) عليك القصة . إن أباك كسرى وجهني إلى خاقان ملك الترك و وجه معي كتاباً يستلّه أن يزوجه بعض بناته و أن يعرضن عليّ ويجعل الخيرة في ذلك إليّ و وجه معي خمسين رجلاً من الأساورة . فسرت حتى أتيت خاقان فأوصلت إليه كتاب والدك فسر به و أجاب إلى ما سأله . ثم أمر بإنزالي و أصحابي . فلما كان اليوم الثالث أرسل إليّ فدخلت إليه و عنده امرأته خاتون و أمر (٥) ببناته من الإمام فزين بأحسن زينة و ترك ابنته من خاتون من غير زينة . ثم أمرني فجلست و قال كسرى سألتني في كتابه أن أجعل الخيرة إليك في بناتي لتختار له أيتهن أحببت و هاهن جميعاً بين يديك فاختر أيتهن شئت . فنظرت إلى ابنة خاتون و عليها ثياب غير زينة و هي متمرهة فعرفت أنها ابنة خاتون بشبهتها بها و علمت أنها لبست تلك الثياب الرثة لتنبو أعيني عنها و اختار غيرها من بناتها من الإمام . فقلت أيها الملك قد اخترت هذه لسيدى كسرى هذه (ورقة ١٦٥ ب) الرثة الثياب . فقالت خاتون ما تصنع بهذه عليك بهؤلاء المزيينات فاختر لسيدك أيتهن شئت . فقلت أيها الملك إن أردت قضاء حاجة سيدى و إجابته إلى ما سألك من مصارته فزوجه هذه الجارية وإلا فسرحتني بجواب (٦) . فلما سمع الملك ذلك أرسل إلى عراف له تركي كنتدغ (٧) و قال له ما ترى في أمر هذه الجارية فقص عليه القصة . قال العراف أيها الملك إن تزوجها آياه و ترسل بها إليه في حشمها و ظوورتها (٨) فإنها ستقع منه موقماً حسناً و سيلد له غلام مربوع أعين مقرون الحاجبين عظيم الهامة يملك بعد أبيه و يعظم شأنه و هو أنت أيها الملك . ثم قال له الكاهن و سيسير إليه من ناحيتنا ملك في جموع عظيمة (٩) فيطأ تخوم بلاده فيرسل ابن هذه الجارية رجلاً من قواده عظيماً طوالاً (١٠) آدم مفرق الوجه أقتى الأنف جعد الشعر مقرون الحاجبين فيسير إلى الملك الذي يخرج من ناحيتنا فيقتله و يستبيح عسكريه فيسير إليه ابن الملك المقتول فيحاربه أيضا فيفرق جمعه و يأخذه أسيراً فيبعث به إلى ابن هذه الجارية .

فلما قال له العراف ذلك أجابني إلى ما سألت من اختارى أيها فجهزها و أرسلها معي في ظوورتها و حشمها و هي والدتك أيها الملك .

فلما فرغ الشيخ من هذه القصة شخص بصره و هو جالس في المحفة بين يدي الملك . فقال لمرزبته و من حضره إنني أحببت هذا الشيخ و إنه إنما أخره الدهر (١١) لهذه الغاية ليلبغنا ما حدث به ثم أمر فحمل إلى ناوسه

Cambridge ms. Qq 255 daté 1024 h (1615) = ك

British Library Arabes Add. 23 298 = ل

(١) أضافت ل فقال ا في السخيتين الوسجان

(٢) ل وأنه في جوف

(٣) ل وإن أنت وجهت

(٤) ل فقص

(٥) فأمر

(٦) ل بكتاب

(٧) ل يقال له كندغ

(٨) ل ظلورتها

(٩) ل كثيرة عظيمة

(١٠) ل طويلا

(١١) نقصت في ك

WESTERN TURKS IN NORTHERN CHINA IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTURY

1. EAST AND WEST IN ANCIENT CHINA

East and West are secondary in ancient Chinese orientation. Their proper indication depended on the main directions of South and North, *i.e.* the starting and ritual direction of South referring to early times if only for cultic reasons on the one hand, and the politically important North with a symbolic «imperial» rule of the Polar Star over the sky at night on the other hand. Naturally, the latter, *i.e.* the exact determination of the North upon the Pole-Star cannot be earlier than the appearance of the Polaris in the position of our North Pole-Star in the late 2nd millennium B.C. at least. The beginnings of the Chinese script about the 17th—16th century B.C. show a South-faced orientation, because the pictogram of the word from the Yin period (prior to the first millennium B.C.), 北 *pei* 'North' represents two human figures back to back, and it meant 'North' as well as 'back side', 'turn the back' etc.¹ In the time preceding the celestial «rule» of the Pole-Star, *i.e.* in the «South-facing» period, Southern constellations, namely Antares and its neighbourhood in the Scorpio could be the base of orientation, but this is another problem, being beyond the scope of this paper.²

The direction of North—South ought to be known in China for official purposes and in authentic form, also for building houses, founding a settle-

¹ Cf. B. KARLGREN: *Grammata Serica Recensa*. BMFEA 19 (1957) No. 909a—d; e): when being added the classifier key of 'body', the character 背 *pei* meant 'the back, posterior part' or 'turn the back on, cheat', from the *Book of Songs (Shih-king)* on; and, f) added another key, *i.e.* that of 'man', 背 *pei* meant 'turn the back on, abandon', 'not to face straightly', from the Han-period onwards (as it occurs in the book of ceremony *Lì-chì*).

² On an old cult of Antares ('Star of Fire') see H. MASPERO: *La Chine antique*. Paris 1965. 197(—198), 510(—511); B. KARLGREN: *Legends and cults in ancient China*. BMFEA 18 (1946) 243—244. On a Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese folkloric tradition concerned and the related Chinese records see my papers: *On a few traces of ancient Sino-Tibetan contacts in the early Chinese mythic tradition: Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium, held at Mátrafüred, Hungary, 24—30 September 1976*, Ed. by L. LIGETI. Budapest 1978. 89—99; *Far Eastern sources on the history of the steppe region: Memorial Volume devoted to Paul Demiéville*. BEFEO LXIX (1981) 268—269 (and Note 11).

ment, fixing ritual points or lines etc.,³ but the exactitude of Eastern or Western direction could seem less important, and, as seen above, its astronomic determination must have been secondary, and still later than that of the North—South Pivot of the Universe, both day and night. That is why the ancient practical method used in China, too, when determining the cardinal directions according to the sun, to its light and shadow on the earth as concerns South (and North),⁴ and the celestial route of the sun as concerns East and West, could remain widespread in case of the latter for a longer period, as it is reflected as late as *e.g.* in the historical records of the 1st millennium A. D. The starting and ending points of the apparent way of the sun could serve for a practical fixing of East and West respectively, the «place of sunrise» being in the East, while «the place of sunset» showing West.

We can see it *e.g.* in the letter of the Persian ruler sent to the Chinese emperor around 520 A. D.; having survived in Chinese records, its Chinese text («translation») calls China's ruler the Son of Heaven in the Orient, expressing East as «sunrise place», *i.e.* «the place where the sun rises» — I tried to show its background in a paper submitted to the former meeting of this same Conference, in 1976.⁵ A similar wording is characteristic of another famous letter of diplomacy in this period, namely the letter of the ruler of Japan sent to the Chinese Emperor in 608; it became of ill-fame in Chinese historiography for the impertinence calling the emperor Yang-ti of the Sui Dynasty the «Son of Heaven of the place (*i.e.* land) of sunset», while calling himself — to be exact: herself — the «Son (Child) of Heaven of the place (land) of the sunrise». The letter sent by Empress Suiko can well reflect a foreign, say, Japanese wording, if not «translating» a message from Japanese, as in case of the Persian ruler's letter when a similar supposition could be raised.⁶

³ On the ancient Chinese cities, capitals of principalities etc., divided by North-South directed lines and representing or symbolizing a universal order, see. P. WHEATLEY: *The Pivot of the Four Quarters [of the Universe], A Preliminary Inquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City.* Chicago 1971. 423—436, 460—468.

⁴ Even in the middle of the Chou period (11th—3rd centuries B. C.), in the historical time of astronomical observation and orientation, as shown by ritual books (compiled as late as the Han-time, 206 B. C. — 220 A. D.), the credit of their traditionally respected texts being supported by related astronomical records — found by recent archaeological excavations in China — concerning the Chou period, too.

⁵ Cf. Early Persian envoys in the Chinese courts (5th—6th centuries A. D.). *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Ed. by J. HARMATTA (Collection of the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. Series I. Vol. II. Ed. by J. HARMATTA.) Budapest 1979. 153—162 (East as «the place of sunrise»: 160—161, and Note 33).

⁶ Here I express my thanks to Professor ROY ANDREW MILLER (University of Washington, Seattle) for his private letter of August 15, 1980, drawing my attention to this interesting parallel of the Persian ruler's message, shown in my paper mentioned

We may well suppose a Japanese «world-view» behind the addresses of the two rulers — residing in the Far East from our angle —, because it is hidden even in the name of country of the envoys in question — 日本 *Nihon* (*Nippon*) «root or the sun», *i.e.* the place where the sun originates (the European name *Japan* reflecting a Chinese pronunciation *Jih-pen* of the same Chinese characters). The inhabitants of Japan might consider their country the easternmost land of the world known for them, every other country being but West of it. Japan, however, borrowed the Chinese script for its language, involving many cultural or just linguistic borrowings as well, the expression «the place of sunrise» for the eastern direction must have been at least familiar to the Chinese — using it in other records, too — and it could reflect a method of orientation of at least one millennium old in China, as late as at the beginning

above. The letter of the Japanese ruler, written in Chinese, was preserved in the chapter on ancient Japan 倭國傳 *Wo-kuo chuan* of the official Chinese Dynastic work *Sui-shu* (and in the less creditable texts of the *Wei-shu* and *Pei-shih* as well): 日出處天子至女書 日沒處天子無恙 *Jih-ch'u-ch'ut'ien-tzu, chih shu jih-mo-ch'ut'ien-tzu, wu yang*, translated by Goodrich and Tsunoda (as it is understood today in Japan, too), like this: «The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets. We hope You are in good health», cf. Ryūsaku Tsunoda, translator — L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH, editor: *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, Later Han Through Ming Dynasties* (South Pasadena 1951), p. 32. R. A. MILLER adds: «The *Sui-shu* says this was a 國書 [*kuo-shu* «letter of country (importance)»], Goodrich et Tsunoda have 'official message' for this, which is probably fine; but I have sometimes also wondered if it means that the text was in Chinese script but in a Japanese-style Chinese, *i.e.*, what struck the Chinese as being «Japanese national script [國書 *kuo-shu*]», and he finds the phrase 日出處 *jih-ch'u-ch'u* («The land where the sun rises») interesting. — This impertinent (無禮 *wu-li* «ceremony-less») letter from the country of the «Root of the Sun» (日本 *Nihon/Nippon*) arrived to the court of 隋煬帝 *Sui Yang-ti* in the 4th year of his 大業 *Ta-yeh* period, on the 壬戌 *jen--hsü* day of the 3rd month (April 9th, 608, cf. P. HOANG: *Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne. Variétés Sinologiques XXIX*, Shanghai 1910), according to the chronicle *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* by Ssu-ma Kuang (1019—1086). Vol. VI. Peking 1956. 5637—5638. The head of the delegation, a certain 多利思比孤 *To-li-ssu-pi-ku* is entitled 王 *wang* in the record — like the sender of the Persian letter —, thus he must have been considered a royal person, some kind of prince at least. In Japan, however, the records say that in the period 飛鳥 *Asuka*, during the reign of the Empress 推古 *Suiko* (554—628; she ruled from 592), the governing regent 聖德太子 *Shōtoku-taishi* (Prince *Shōtoku*), initiator and protector of Buddhism and Chinese culture in Japan, sent delegations to China, in 608 sending another high ranking person of the court 小里妹子 *Ono-no-Imoko* as a leader of the envoys. *Sui Yang-ti*, hurt by the written message, told the 鴻臚卿 *hung-lu-ch'ing*, *i.e.* the head of the court office dealing with foreigners that he should not receive at all these Barbarians (of South and East 蠻夷 *man-i*) on the following occasion; but the efforts of Japanese diplomacy continued, and not without success. See the visits of envoys from Japan in the *Sui* court in 600, 607, 608, 610, 614: 徐 彥 堯 *Hsü Hsien-yao*, 隋倭國交 平等性 *ni tsuite* (*Zui-Wa kokkō no taitōsei ni tsuite*): *Bunka* 29 (1965) 2, 247—278.

of the 7th century B.C.⁷ All this happened not long after the period when the neighbouring Turk Empire was divided into two parts (after 581 A.D.), and the Chinese records called their rulers Eastern and Western Turks respectively. (As far as I know, none of their own records shows this kind of distinction, adopted probably for facility reasons by European historians.)

The points of sunrise and sunset, however, are changing place, as well known, both according to the day of the year and the geographic position of the observer, and therefore they cannot provide a firm basis of determination of the directions, at least not without the due astronomical knowledge and instruments etc. By the way, it is a commonplace in China that her two main streams divide the land by their flows from West to East; but the lines of the Huangho and Yangtzu-kiang go from North-West to South-East instead, and — in my opinion — this could also contribute to a slight turn of the «pivot» of Chinese 'universe', i.e. geographic view of historical records, too. *E.g.* the above envoys of Japan were called by the Chinese emperor «Barbarian» with the ill-name 蠻夷 *man-i*, i.e. «(Southern) Barbarian» and «(Eastern) Barbarian» or «(South-East) Barbarian» also for simplicity sake, remembering the southern islands, too, where a part of Japan's population originated from, connected with China since a longer period of time. But it should be mentioned that this geographic view and traditional terminology did not change even when the Chinese officials regularly met the Japanese themselves, recording their organized, centralized, administered etc. country (i.e. a civilized world in Chinese view, too) — a part of today's Japan — as a land lying east of China.

Naturally, this is not the only sign of different types of troubles in the history of Chinese orientation.⁸ To mention only one more example of the above inclination of axis: the period when the Turks appeared in the history, in the

⁷ Cf. the chapter 堯典 *Yao-tien*, on the organization of seasonal works and observation of the culmination of the four seasons (each of them being connected with a star, direction and sun's position) in the classical book 書經 *Shu-king*: B. KARLGRÉN, *The Book of Documents*: BMFEA 22 (1950), p. 2(3). As concerns this type of title of China's emperor, expected to be used by his «foreign subjects», it was recorded as early as e.g. in the middle of the 1st century A. D., when in Yünnan the Chinese officials offered to the court three poems of the recently subdued native population, in their native language (with Chinese characters) and in Chinese translation, respectively. In a passage concerned the emperor is addressed 日出主 *jih-ch'u chu*, i.e. the «Lord of Sunrise» while the surrendering people seem to have called themselves 日入之部 *jih-ju chih pu* («A Tribe of Sunset»). See Hou Han-shu (So-yin po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih III, Peking 1958), chap. LXXXVI, *lieh-chuan* LXXVI, p. 1283a; cf. W. SOUTH COBLIN: A new study of the Pai-lang songs. Ch'ing-hua Hsüeh-pao (The Tsing-Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, T'aipei) XII N. S. 1979: 1—2. 179—216.

⁸ In case of East and West, e.g., the old Chinese anthropomorphous designations «left (side)» and «right (side)» respectively are responsible for certain difficulties of interpretation, their usage depending on the position of the observer. In ancient China of various kinds of ceremonies and prescriptions, these «sides» and the orientation concerned

time of the «Southern and Northern Dynasties» (南北朝 *Nan-pei-ch'ao*, 3rd—6th centuries A. D.). South and North — implied in the name of the period in this, historical order of sequence — are the main directions, while East and West — as regards positions or movements (changes of capitals) of the dynasties concerned — are inclined to them: the West toward North and the East toward South. The latter connection, also shown by the above quoted joint expression of the Barbarians of these directions (*man-i*), could be illustrated by the names of the state 晉 *Chin* (265—419), one of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The second part of its rule, when it had to leave its Northern homeland, and to move its court from Loyang (Honan province) to Chien'ang (today's Nanking «Southern Capital», in Kiangsu), was called by the posterity 東晉 *Tung Chin* «Eastern *Chin*» (from 317 on). Meanwhile the first part of its rule, in the North, *i.e.* *Chin*, not yet necessary to be distinguished, is called sometimes — to separate it from its «Eastern» continuation — Western *Chin* (西晉 *Hsi Chin*).

The related slight inclination in the records of the other end of the «pivot» of China's «four directions», can be explained also by geographical reasons, and not at all merely by the above-mentioned «false» East—West line of the two big rivers. The geographical factor of historical importance could be China's western gate, *i.e.* that opened from and towards Central Asia and the

were connected with a kind of social hierarchy and their order of sequence was attributed ritual importance, but several times in an ambiguous way, the significance of «right» being stressed now, and «left» being esteemed then, or *vice versa*; and the connection of «sides» with East and West was not constant and consequently applied. Instead of a kind of conscious practice of this terminology, tradition and social convention seem to be the main reasons for this trouble of «right» or «left», *i.e.* sides and directions — in China, right-handed from the pictograms and mythic tradition to the earliest artistic representations —, as pointed out by M. GRANET: *La droite et la gauche* [1933]: *Études sociologiques sur la Chine*. Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine. Paris 1953. 261—278, and *La pensée chinoise*. Paris 1934. 360—373. The task remains — when interpreting a historical record — to scrutinize the «right» or «left» if they mean East and West respectively or in the way round, according to the period, source etc. of a passage, cf. P. DEMÉVILLE: *Gauche et droit en Chine* [1968]. *Choix d'études sinologiques* (1921—1970). Leiden 1973. 518—532. In my opinion, the old change from South-faced to North-faced orientation, mentioned above, could well bring forth a confusion of sides, hands etc., and East and West — connected with them in traditional order —, East being on the left side, when the observer looks southward, while it is on the right one, when he faces North, cf. my book *A kínai állam kezdetei* [On the Beginnings of the Ancient Chinese State] Budapest 1984. Luckily, in the case of the Chinese records on the Turks or other foreigners, the above problem rarely means serious difficulties of interpretation; and if certain passages still reflect it (cf. left and right wings of armies, see later, part 3.), they should be analyzed within the textual and historical context concerned, by no means mechanically relying on a common knowledge, *i.e.* only one kind of tradition as regards pairing of East-West and right-left or left-right (sides).

steppe region. Namely, the large roads leading westward from China, went to the North, avoiding the western region of mountains, the old mythic lands of immortals, visited by Buddhist pilgrims and foreign merchants only from a comparatively late period. Anyhow, as an indirect consequence, it was also noticed by Chinese readers of China's historical records that — although separate terms had designated the four Barbarians of the «four directions» (四方 *ssu-fang*) of the world: 蠻 *man* of the South, 狄 *ti* of the North, 夷 *i* of the East and 戎 *jung* of the West —, as regards China's Barbarian neighbours, West may also mean North, or *Western* something like *Northern*,⁹ and this is to be considered in case of Chinese records *e.g.* concerning the Western Turks, too.

2. EASTERN AND WESTERN TURKS IN CHINESE HISTORICAL RECORDS

The 金山 *Chin-shan*, *i.e.* Altai region, where the mythic ancestors of the Turks entered into the horizon of Chinese historians, is lying west or north-west of the related courts and their imperial sphere of power. The 突厥 *T'u-chüeh*, *i.e.* Turks, however, are not registered in China among Western Barbarians (*jung* or 西戎 *hsi-jung*), but among the northern ones (北狄 *pei-ti*), connecting them with a famous predecessor of Northern Barbarians, the 匈奴 *Hsiung-nu-s*, and thus — indirectly — with all the alleged ancestors of theirs, told to have been «Northern».

Naturally both the mythic nucleus of the Turks and their first historical representatives, unified under the founder of the first empire 土門 *T'u-men* (*Bumïn*) in 551 A.D., were recorded simply as *Turks*, *i.e.* as an undivided people or political unit, if only because no further details of their organization had reached China so far. But in the Chinese sources concerning the following decades no more distinction can be found either, although their envoys of diplomacy and their raiding troops arrived regularly to the Western imperial house 周 *Chou* — called *Northern Chou* —, and then to the eastern one 齊 *Ch'i* — *Northern Ch'i* — in the northern part of the Chinese Empire unified in 581/589 A.D. by the Sui House. Apparently the allies and enemies of the parallel and successive Chinese dynasties came from one and the same, still undivided world of the Turks.¹⁰

⁹ Cf. *e.g.* 岑仲勉 *Ts'EN CHUNG-MIEN*'s study on those components of the Chinese (漢族 *han-tsu* 'Han-ethnic'), which can be considered of western origin: 漢族一部分西來之初步考証 *Han-tsu i pu-fen hsi-lai chih ch'u-pu k'ao-cheng* (in his volume 兩周文史論叢 *Liang Chou wen-shih lun-ts'ung*, Shanghai 1958), to the effect (p. 27) that in the related records *West(ern)* and *North(ern)* could be alternately used, and both of them indicated but a vaguely known tribe or people, originating from a distant land.

¹⁰ See the details of the early Turk history in my paper: Trade-and-war relations between the Turks and China in the second half of the 6th century. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 21 (1968) 131—180.

The germs of social division and political separation, however, must have developed meanwhile, since the turbulences that led to the split of the empire in 581 A.D. had been started by revolts of discontent leaders of strong tribes. This is the period when one can shed light on the social network, clan hierarchy and birth of tribe, *i.e.* various social elements being *in statu nascendi*.¹¹ As none of the heads of clans (tribes) could get the upper hand above these new or strengthened social forces, a part of the most ambitious tribes (clans) sought for a better chance westward — as far as in Western Asia or Eastern Europe —, giving by this an opportunity to the Chinese to designate them as Western Turks. No Chinese record concerning the former period would suggest more than one kind of Turks, and even the ancestor of Western Turks 室點蜜 *Shih-tien-mi* (*Ištāmi*) occurs only in passages containing references to antecedents of later Western Turk actions on historical events connected with them. Consequently, in case of the Turks, recorded by Chinese sources, the adjective *Western* seems to be first of all a chronological term of *ante quem non* type; it shows the Turks after 581 A.D., strong enough to wage conquering wars even westward of their cradle, *i.e.* the Altai region, but not necessarily separated from it completely in later periods either.

One of the most active tribes in the events of 581 A.D., that of 阿波可汗 *A-po k'o-han* (*Apa qayan*) may well illustrate both the lack of an original separative difference between a Western Turk group and an Eastern one at that time, and the direction of the possibilities of a social or ethnic change. Namely, 大邏便 *Ta-lo-pien*, or, by his given title: *Apa qayan*, a disregarded and discontent member of the ruling 阿史那 *A-shih-na* clan organized and re-organized his tribe several times, now losing his troops consisting of Eastern Turk subjects and then gaining armed forces from the Western Turk ruler against the common enemy, *i.e.* the ruling Khagan 沙鉢略 *Sha-po-luo* (*Išpara*), considered Eastern from the time of division of his empire. In every case «Apa's tribe», «Apa's people» is mentioned, apparently irrespective of their origin. On the other hand, Apa's mother (her clan) seems to be lower in clan hierarchy than those of his princely relatives, so probably his maternal relatives are of a relatively distant origin or distant land, relation etc. When in his home his mother (*i.e.* the women, children) are killed in a decisive battle (in 583 A.D.), it turns out from the record that his homeland is in the North, and it is a kind of «old land» to be re-conquered by *Išpara*. Thus Apa's northern relations can also be made responsible for a tension, contributing to the political separation of his people, *i.e.* his Western and, in some way *Northern* Turks from *Išpara's* Eastern Empire.

¹¹ See a related trial in my papers *Tribe and tribal society in the 6th century Turk Empire*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972) 245—262, and *Tribe and empire, tribe and society in the Turk age*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 31 (1977) 1—13.

This distant Northern land of old or new relations or joining people may be met also in the Chinese description of many Northern Barbarians, registered side by side with the Turks or after them, within their empire etc.¹² This is then another objective distinctive feature of Western Turks: those Turks who conquer or gain etc. new subjects or allies, are the Western Turks, while the Eastern ones, in China's protective and dangerous neighbourhood, get isolated, do not increase or just lose importance.¹³ Obviously it is the Eastern Turk that must be distinguished, first and then mostly in relation to the Western brother; and to be sincere, in several cases this distinction, if indicated at all, seems but merely mechanic. It is characteristic, after all, that when only «Turks» are mentioned in a separate event: raid, visit etc., we can hardly clear up, whether Western or Eastern Turks are concerned. No wonder that the reader is inclined to simplify the question to a geographical distinction, seeking *e.g.* Eastern Turks in the East — east of Altai — and to find or suppose only Eastern Turks within the field of Chinese authority.

Let me quote now a counter-example, that of the Karluks, representing the related problems in the records concerning the 7th century at least.

3. THE CASE OF A WESTERN TURK TRIBE, ALLY OR SUBJECT: THE KARLUKS

In a recent study of mine, on the basis of re-examined old and a few new arguments and Chinese records I could conclude that the tribal structure, *i.e.* the so-called three-tribe Karluk could be known for the Chinese not earlier than the beginning of the 8th century, the time of the wars of 默啜 *Mo-ch'o* (*Bäg čor*) (*Qapγan qapγan*) against them, and contrary to the common view based on Chinese records, even the names of provinces established for them by the Chinese occurred first at the same time. Thus their history, prior to that period, remained open to new research, the date 657—658 A.D. of their alleged whole defeat and settling by the Chinese included.¹⁴

¹² *E.g.* in the myth of origin of the ruling family of the 托拔 *T'o-pa* (*tabyač*) Northern 魏 *Wei* dynasty, controlling Northern China in the centuries prior to Turk history, cf. Wei Shou, *Wei-shu* (*So-yin po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih* VIII), chap. I, p. 18a.

¹³ After this paper had been delivered (in 1980, Budapest), the problem of East-West division of the Turks was treated upon Chinese sources, with a conclusion that only an Eastern Turk Empire is to be taken into consideration, while those various leaders and tribes which fought for power on its western peripheries and even westward of it, *i.e.* the so-called Western Turks — apart from Apa khaghan's short period of trials — failed to found an empire proper. See WANG HUAN: Apa Qaghan, founder of the Western Turkish Khanate, the splitting up of the Turkish Khanate and the formation of the Western Turkish Khanate. *Social Sciences in China* (Peking) 1982: 4. 124—154.

¹⁴ Cf. my paper A contribution to the history of Karluks in the T'ang period. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 34 (1980): 1—3. 23—37.

As regards the first mentioning of the Karluks, we read that they belonged to the tribes of the Western Turks and lived according to the same customs, slightly differing in their language, on the slopes of the Altai, later on moving slightly southward. This first record about them occurs in the chapter on the Uigurs (of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*), *i.e.* the inheritors of the Western Turks, so their appearance on the stage of history — at the beginning of the 7th century — is over the chronological limit, when a part of the Turks became *Western*, both in the sense that they sought for new territories westward, and that they increased by new («Western») tribes, allies or subjects. The cultural unity, *i.e.* the way of life seems the most important cohesive force, while the common or related language is but second, and no other tie with the ruling clan(s) being mentioned, the cohesion seems to be first of all political (judging from the Chinese terms in general: «Country of Western Turks» etc.), realized in joint military actions. Naturally the time of division of the Turk Empire does not mean the beginning of Karluk history on the slopes of the Altai, and the movement to South can concern their whole population and a part of them as well; as it turns out, the latter case can be supposed. Anyhow, they participated as a unit, a tribe among the other subjects of the Western Turks around 630 A.D. in the smaller or bigger battles, causing troubles to the recently established T'ang dynasty. But these same 歌邏祿 *Ko-lo-lu* (*qarluq*; in transcriptions of a probably later period: 葛邏祿 *Ko-lo-lu*, 葛祿 *Ko-lu* etc.), *i.e.* Karluks sent their leaders to take part in sacrifices at Chinese sacred mountains as far as in Shantung, East China.

As a rule there is no indication, whether Eastern or Western Turks are concerned in the sporadic records of daily events in the northern sphere of the T'ang Empire, from the Altai region practically to Easternmost China. In most cases, however, the participant leaders or the names of tribe — Karluk, 處月 *ch'u-yüe* (*čigil*) 處蜜 *ch'u-mi* (*čomul*) etc. — reveal that mostly or exclusively Western Turks are present in the warlike activities in this period, under the rule and leadership of the Khaghan 賀魯 *Ho-lu* or at least acknowledging his authority. It is only this period, when the Karluks can balance between the Eastern and Western Turks — as told in their summary description quoted above —, since later on almost no role is played by the offsprings of the Turks called Eastern, who lived under the «protection» of their great eastern neighbour. The turning-point in the events is indicated by the defeat, capture and execution of *Ho-lu* khaghan by the Chinese in 649—650 A.D., followed in 657—658 by the establishment of new provinces for the Karluks as well as for the other tribes who took part in *Ho-lu's* campaigns. As seen from a so far — so to say — hidden record of the geographical chapters of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, several tribes, groups etc. that appear later on in the West — even westward of the Altai — are settled under Chinese control in inner North China, in Shanhsi, Shantung provinces.

The record in question contains an interesting detail — an indirect information — as regards the localization of those original Karluks, which gave troops to *Ho-lu's* campaign. Namely, their two (left and right) *wings* are described — *i.e.* a military organization, like that of the tribal groups of the Western Turks, instead of a mere tribal division — by the names of their homelands: one of them originated from the Ötükän region, while the other from the neighbourhood of *Pei-t'ing*. That is to say, a part of them must have moved eastward (or: «slightly southward»), and thus Western Turks, represented and followed by the Karluks, could be present, in a significant number and vigour, in the entire Turk territory east of the Turk homeland in the Altai, at least till the middle of the 7th century. After their defeat and fatal «protection» by China in the 650's, they — *i.e.* the Karluks of the two above lands of their homelands — appeared in the Chinese borderlands only sporadically, and apparently with small forces. Having no chance against the T'ang military power, the tribal armies — armies of the already «three-tribe Karluks», as seen from later records — must have sought for another land to conquer and to tax.¹⁵

4. CONCLUSIVE SUPPOSITIONS FOR A EURASIAN ASPECT OF THE WESTERN TURK HISTORY IN THE 7TH CENTURY CHINA

It may be of interest to emphasize, especially in Hungary, that Chinese records and East Asian history can serve as a background of the steppe history as a whole, also in the time when the second wave of the rulers of the Avarian Empire appeared in the Carpathian Basin. If at any time in the 7th century, it could be possible and reasonable to suppose a Central Asian military movement and action just in the 660's — before 670, the second Avarian invasion, the disputed date being thus supported by the eastern events in question —, no matter how far this action could reach at all, pushing other peoples westward, but — a possibility to be considered — perhaps going as far as the Carpathian Basin. If so, it could be very similar to the events of the middle of the 6th century, when the 蠕蠕 *Juan-juan-s*, the so-called «Asian Avars» were defeated by the Turks in 551, and a part of them tried its fortune in North China and got «protection» in 554,¹⁶ while the first wave of Avars appeared in Eastern Europe in 558 A.D.

Budapest.

¹⁵ On the role of Karluks in the further history of the region of 北庭 *Pei-t'ing* see my paper *Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei-t'ing*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 17 (1964) 83—104 (esp. p. 85 sqq).

¹⁶ Cf. *Trade-and-war relations . . . Appendix I. 174—179.*

THE PAHLAVI TREATISE *AVDĒH U SAHĪKĒH Ī
SAKISTĀN* OR «WONDERS AND MAGNIFICENCE
OF SISTAN»

In a previous paper, entitled «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature as a source to the history of Central Asia»,¹ I have sketched something of the historical and pseudo-historical contents of four of the few extant non-religious Book Pahlavi works, namely *Šahristānihā ī Ērān* («Cities of Iran»), *Vičārišn ī čatrang* («The explanation of chess»), *Kārnāmak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān* («The chronicle of Artaxšēr, son of Pāpak») and *Ayyātkār ī Zarērān* («The memoir of the Zarēr family»). From a strictly historical point of view the contents of those works may be considered insignificant, but they can serve a purpose by turning our attention to the intricate blend of reflections of historical events, primordial myths and religious reconstructions which is peculiar to many of our sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.

Here follow a few comments on another work of a similar type: the short Pahlavi treatise known under the title *Avdēh u sahikēh ī Sakistān* or «Wonders and magnificence of Sistan». It is a sister text to those just mentioned, not only because it is similar in contents (especially so to the *Šahristānihā ī Ērān*), but also because it belongs to the same text tradition: that of Jamasp-Asana's famous Codex MK, dated 691 A.Y., corresponding to 1322 A.D. This comprehensive manuscript, which was published by Jamasp-Asana in his *Pahlavi Texts* (vol. I—II, Bombay 1897—1913), is our main and often only source for some thirty short but important Pahlavi works.²

Avdēh u sahikēh ī Sakistān is the third work in that collection, appearing already in the first volume of 1897. It occupies only two pages there (pp. 25—26), or 37 lines. It offers substantial problems, however, as the text is obviously corrupt in many places. In his edition, Jamasp-Asana gives a few variants from the manuscript designated JJ, dated 1136 A.Y., corresponding to 1767 A.D. (i.e. 445 years after MK), but that is of little avail, since that manuscript is a copy of Codex MK.

¹ Acta Ant. Hung. 24 (1976) 115—124; also publ. in J. HARMATTA (ed.): Studies in the sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. Budapest 1979. 119—128.

² Cf. my contribution to Monumentum H. S. Nyberg. Tehran—Liège, Acta Iranica, 1975, vol. II, pp. 399 f., and Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen, 37 (1976) 76.

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi published a transliteration of this text in Gujarati script with English and Gujarati translations and notes in Gujarati in his *Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān, Shatrōihā-i-Airān, and Afdiya va sahigiya-i-Sistān*, printed in Bombay in 1899 (pp. 123—127). Next in time, in the treatment of the text, comes a hand-written transliteration and translation by Edward W. West, published posthumously by A.V. Williams Jackson in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* of 1917.³

Heinrich Junker paraphrased the contents of the treatise in his comprehensive article «Mittelpers. *frašēmurv* 'Pfau'» in *Wörter und Sachen* of 1929,⁴ and at about the same time Ernst Herzfeld gave a translation of it in the second volume of his *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*.⁵ Finally, Harold Bailey adduced parts of it in an argument on the memorizing of texts, giving a translation of about half the treatise, in his *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*.⁶

These scholars generally agree on the comparatively recent origin of the text, putting its compilation to around the tenth century A.D., but their interpretations differ rather much from each other. Without doubt this is mainly due to the poor shape of the available text material. A number of problems still remain to be solved, but I shall venture to present a transcription and a tentative translation of the complete text, before taking up a few points of historical relevance for discussion.

It seems that the title of the treatise, *Avdēh u sahikēh ī Sakistān*, does not occur in the manuscripts. It has obviously been abstracted by Jamasp-Asana from the first line of the text. It is not unlikely, however, that the composition of this little piece is a reflection of the 'Ajā'ib, «Wonders» or «Marvels», genre, so common in Arabic and New Persian literature in later centuries, but known already from the fourth century A.H., i. e. the tenth century A.D., in the work 'Ajā'ib *ul-buldān*, «Wonders of the countries», written by the poet Abu'l-Mu'ayyad al-Balxī for the Samanid prince Nūh b. Manšūr.⁷ Incidentally, Junker's point of paraphrasing the contents of the treatise was to prove that there are no «Wundern» in it. He argues that *avd* should be translated «merk-würdig, sonderbar». His problem may have been connected more with German—English semantics than with Iranian.

³ Vol. 36. 115—121.

⁴ Vol. 12. 132—158 (this subject: 134).

⁵ Berlin 1930. 94.

⁶ Oxford 1943. 161.

⁷ It is also known as 'Ajā'ib-i *barr u baḥr*, «Wonders of land and sea»; v. F. TAUER in J. RYPKA (ed.), *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968. 461, and G. LAZARD in *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*. Praha 1967. 95—96. This work by al-Balxī seems to be lost but it obviously contained ample material on Sistan, as is shown by references in the 11th century work *Tāriḫ-i Sistān*, «History of Sistan» (ed. M. BAHĀR, Tehran 1314. 13; transl. L. P. SMIRNOVA, Moscow 1974. 30—31, 58).

Transcription (paragraph numbers are inserted according to the numbering in *Pahlavi Texts*):⁸

pat nām ī yazdān

1. *avdēh u sahiķēh ī zamīk ī sakistān hač apārik šahrihā ēt rād apērtar u vēh.*
2. *ēvak ēn kū rōi ī hētmand u var ī frazdān u zrēh ī kayānsē u gar [i] ušdā-(da?)štār⁹ andar zamīk ī sakist[ān].*
3. *zāyišn u parvarišn ī hu(r)šētar u hušētarmāh [u] s(ay)ōšāns ī zartuštān ī spitāmān u-š rist-āxēz kartan.*
4. *ēvak ēn kū patvand u tōhmak ī kayān dahyupātān (ī) pat ēn kišvar vizand aviš mat*
5. *hač frazandān ī frētōn: salm kē kišvar ī hrōm u tūž kē turkistān pat x^uatāyēh dāšt ērēč ērān dahyupāt būt u-š bē ōzat.*
6. *u hač frazandān [i] ērēč bē kanīk-ē an kas bē nē mānd.*
7. *u pas frētōn ō var [i] frazdān nayit¹⁰ u pat nihān dāšt tāy [da]hum¹¹ patvand ka hač hān kanīk pus zāyāt.*
8. *pas frētōn ō var [i] frazdān šut u-š hač artvišūr anāhūt āyaft x^uāst u pat apāč ārāstan [i] ērān-šahr u x^uarrah [i] kayān apārik yazdān hač andar sakistān gāh mahmānēh apartar āyaft vindūt apāk mānuščihr u ōyšān ērān āfrīn.*
9. *ēvak ēn kū vištāsp-šāh dēn pat var ī frazdān kart ravākēh fratom pat sakistān u pas pat apārik šahrihā.*
10. *u vištāsp-šāh pat hampursakēh ī zartušt u sēn [i] ahūmst[ūt]ān ī bustīk čigōn-iš hāvištān ī zartušt fratom pat sar-hāvištēh ōy būt hēnd.*
11. *dēn [i] sakistān ō čāšt ravāk dāštan rād nask nask¹² pat dūtak [i] vēhān frāč raft.*

⁸ As far as possible the original text of codes MK has been restored from the edition of JAMASP-ASANA; my additions to the text are given between square brackets [], while letters which I suggest to be excluded are put in parentheses (); emendations are marked with a plus + and are explained in foot-notes. The transcription system is, with some slight modifications, that employed by H. S. NYBERG in his *Manual of Pahlavi*, vols. I—II (Wiesbaden 1964—74); it must be stressed that it is purely conventional, representing the archaistic Pahlavi orthography as faithfully as possible while supplementing it with vowels and substituting Iranian equivalents for Aramaic «ideograms».

⁹ Both MK and JJ infix an unnecessary extra sign.

¹⁰ The ending is written with the ligature «-x₁» in MK and «-x₂» in JJ (JAMASP-ASANA substitutes -t); cf. my notes on these ligatures in *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen, 37 (1976) 96—99.

¹¹ The original text has only *hum*; both JAMASP-ASANA and WEST supplement *d(a)-*; this seems justified considering *Bundahišn XXXI: 11* (transl. WEST: SBE, vol. V, 133—134; *Ir. Bundahišn*, translit. & transl. ANKLESARIA, XXXV: 13, 294—295; facs. of MS. TD, Tehran 1348/1970. 197).

¹² Possibly to be read instead (*u*) 50 *u* 50, as by JAMASP-ASANA, MODI, HERZFELD and BAILEY.

12. *nask-ē + bagān-ič¹³ x^uānēnd čigōn sēn [u] burzmihr ī zartuštān pat virās-takēh ī hān būt (ī) + āšnāk.¹⁴*
13. *ka gizistak alaksandar ī hrōmā[y] ō ērān-šahr mat ōyšān kē pat brāh¹⁵ ī mōg-martēh raft grift ōzat.*
14. *mart u rētak ē-čand ō sakistān āmat hēnd.*
15. *nask-ē būt ī zanān būt (ī) apurnāyik-ē nask-ē + bagān-ič¹³ x^uast¹⁶ u varm kart ēstāt pat čē¹⁷ hān rāh¹⁸ dēn andar sakistān apāč gašt u ārāst u virāst nōk nōk (nōk) bē pat sakistān adak-iš¹⁹ apārik giyāk nē varm.*
16. *+avar²⁰ pat hān giyāk hamāk-dēn-ē yazēnd šātēh ī gōhrikānēh rād hātōxt-ē framāyēnd yaštan.²¹*

Colophon :

frazaft pat drōt [u] šātēh [u] rāmišn šāt u farrax^u u dēr-zivišn u pērōzkar u ahlav [u] kāmāk-hanjām bavāt kē nipišt kē x^uēš u kē x^uānēt. ašm.

Translation:

In the name of the gods

- (1) The wonders and magnificence of the land of Sakistān are greater and better than those of other lands for these reasons :
- (2) One [reason] is this that the river Hētmand and the lake Frazdān and the sea Kayānsē and the mountain Ušdāštār [are situated] in the land of Sakistān ;
- (3) [and] the birth and upbringing of Hušetar and Hušētarmāh [and] Sōšāns of the family of Zartušt Spitāmān and the resurrection [are] to occur from it.
- (4) One [reason] is this that the offspring and seed of the Kayān rulers are in this clime ; disaster came upon them (5) through the sons of Frētōn :

¹³ With the emendation proposed by BAILEY (*op. cit.*, 160, n. 4): *'RHY'-nc' with reference to *Dēnkart* (DkM 692, 15; WEST: SBE, vol. XXXVII, 34; the reference to *Frahang ī Pahlavik* I: 3, however, seems mistaken). MODI reads *dvāsirājo*, WEST *gвах-sēn-ico* («the witness is even Sēn»), HERZFELD *dvasaēna* («die beiden Sēn»), and JUNKER professes himself unable to read it.

¹⁴ With the emendation of BAILEY; the original text seems to have *aškān*, Arsacid (thus MODI), but is read *āyākān*, «the coming ones», by WEST; or *āškār*?

¹⁵ Or *brēh*, as BAILEY reads it, suggesting that it stands for *brahm*, «garment, manner».

¹⁶ Or *ōst*, «firm, reliable»; BAILEY emends *xuānēnd*.

¹⁷ Possibly for *-ič*, as read by BAILEY.

¹⁸ Possibly for *brēh* in the sense of *brahm*, as emended by BAILEY (cf. n. above) because the text has *l'h*, while *rāh* normally is written *l's*.

¹⁹ Text: *DYN-š; may also be read (with BAILEY) 'dyny' for 'yny' = *ēnyā*.

²⁰ Tentative emendation: *LPN(M)H, for the apparent *L MNW* = *man kē*, «me who», of the text which is difficult to reconcile with the context.

²¹ May also be read *SGYTWN* = *rav*, «go!» (in that case probably with the reading *man kē* in the beginning of the paragraph (cf. the preceding note).

Salm who [ruled] the clime of Rome and Tūž who ruled Turkistān, [while] Ērēč was the ruler of Ērān; and he was slain by them.

- (6) And of the children of Ērēč except one girl nobody else remained; (7) and then she was brought by Frētōn to Lake Frazdān and was held in concealment till the [ten]th generation, when a boy was to be born from that girl.
- (8) Then Frētōn went to Lake Frazdān, and he asked a boon from Artvīsūr Anāhīt, and for the restoration of Ērān-šahr and the Kayān *xuvarēnah* the other gods, through [this] dwelling-place in Sakistān, gained a superior boon with Mānuščihr, and their blessing was with Ērān (?).²²
- (9) One [reason] is this that King Vištāsp propagated the religion at Lake Frazdān, first in Sakistān then in other lands; (10) and King Vištāsp was in consultation with Zartušt and Sēn, son of Ahūms[tū]t, of Bust, as of the disciples of Zartušt he was the first in head-discipleship (?).²³
- (11) In order to keep the religion of Sakistān current for the teaching, *nask* after *nask* passed on in the families of the Zoroastrians,²⁴ (12) one *nask* [being] the one they call *Bagān²⁵ for the arrangement of which Sēn and Burzmihr, son of Zartušt, were well-known.
- (13) When the accursed Alexander, the Roman, came to Ērānšahr, those who went in the splendour²⁶ of the Magians were seized [and] slain.
- (14) A few men and boys came to Sakistān.
- (15) There was one *nask* which was among the women, [and] a child had been trained²⁷ and had memorized [this] one *nask*, that same *Bagān.²⁵ In such a way the religion returned in Sakistān, and it was ordered and arranged afresh. Except in Sakistān, then there was no memory of it in any other place.
- (16) Come(?), in that place they perform a complete religious ceremony [and] they order a Hādōxt to be recited for the happiness of the nobility(?).

The text ends with a standard colophon which unfortunately adds nothing to our knowledge of the background and origin of this treatise:

«Completed with benediction, happiness [and] satisfaction; may he be happy and fortunate and long-lived and victorious and righteous and successful who wrote [it], who owns [it] and who reads [it]. Ašəm.»²⁸

²² The somewhat uncertain syntax of this paragraph allows many variations in the order of words and phrases, but the general purport seems clear.

²³ The verb is formally in the plur., «they were», perhaps referring to both Sēn and his father Ahūmstūt, hardly to King Vištāsp.

²⁴ Or possibly: «a hundred in the families of the nobles went forth» (BAILEY, 161; cf., n. 12 above).

²⁵ I.e. «The gods»; cf. n. 13 above.

²⁶ Or «fate» or «garment, manner»; cf. n. 15 above.

²⁷ For *xuast* in this sense, v. NYBERG, Manual of Pahlavi, vol. II, 221, and *xuast* as «trampled path» in *Burhān-i qāfi*, ed. MURĪN, vol. III, 791. If *ōst* (cf., n. 16 above), translate: «had memorized firmly!»

²⁸ I.e. the Avestan *Aša*-prayer.

As marked by the introductory phrase *ēvak ēn kū*, the text falls into three parts: the three reasons for considering Sistan the most remarkable of lands. These reasons are derived from purely Zoroastrian traditions. It is noticeable that the not very much younger New Persian work *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, «History of Sistan», begins with an enumeration of the «excellencies» (*faḏā'il*) and «wonders» (*'ajā'ib*) of the same province.²⁹ None of these outstanding features, however, coincides with those mentioned here, in spite of the fact that the anonymous author of *Tārīx-i Sīstān* mentions the Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (in the form «Ibn Dahištī») as one of his sources for this passage.³⁰ According to the first pages of this *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, there should also have existed a work directly entitled *Faḏā'il-i Sīstān*, composed by an otherwise unknown Hilāl [ibn] Yūsuf Ūqī (Auqī?), a title mirrored in the later work *Faḏā'il-i Balx*, an anonymous Persian translation of a work first written in Arabic in the beginning of the 7th/13th century.³¹

The first reason for pre-eminence is geographical: Sistan is presented as the land of certain legendary topographic features, namely the holy river Hētmand (Av. *haētumant-*), the holy lake Kayānsē (Av. *kašaoya-*) and the holy mountain Ušdāštār (Av. *uši.darəna-* or *uši.dam-*).³² Without doubt, this implies the arena for Zoroaster's teaching of the religion. It may be considered an archetypal geographic trinity; for a parallel compare, e.g., Christ, the River Jordan, Lake Gennesaret and the Mount of Olives.³³ From a historiographical point of view, however, this information is rather trivial. The younger Zoroastrian tradition, in general, identifies Kayānsē with the lake Hāmūn, Ušdāštār with the mountain Kūh-i Xvājah and, naturally enough, Hētmand with the river Hilmand, all parts of the modern geography of Sistan.

It is not entirely correct, however, to describe this first reason as a «geographic trinity», because also a fourth name is mentioned, *var ī frazdān*, the identification of which is more uncertain. The list of lakes in Chapter XXII (XII) of the *Bundahišn* places it in Sistan,³⁴ and in §36 of the *Šahristān-nihā ī Ērān* it is mentioned in connection with Bust, which is situated in the eastern part of Sistan in its more narrow sense.³⁵ The tradition about Frazdān goes back to Yašt 5 : 108, according to which Kavi Vištāspa sacrificed a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen and ten thousand sheep in front of (?) *āp- frazdānu-*

²⁹ Ed. BAHAR, 9—18; transl. SMIRNOVA, 54—60.

³⁰ Ed. BAHAR, 16—17; transl. SMIRNOVA, 59—60; from the context in *Tārīx-i Sīstān* it might be inferred that *Bundahišn* was known to the author only through the intermediary of Abu'l-Mu'ayyad al-Balxī (cf. n. 7 above).

³¹ Cf. C. A. STOREY, *Persian literature*. Vol. I. London 1953. 1296—1297 (transl. & rev. by YU. Ė. BREGEL', Moscow 1972. Vol. II. 1053—1054).

³² Cf. Yašt 19 : 66.

³³ Cf. HERZFELD, *op. cit.*, 95.

³⁴ Transl. WEST, SBE, vol. V, 86 (XXII : 5); Ir. *Bundahišn*, translit. & transl. ANKLESARLA, 114—115 (XII : 6).

³⁵ Cf. my «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature», *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 118.

One of the difficulties in placing it in the geography of Sistan is to find a suitable lake (if *var* must be taken to mean exactly «lake»). Some modern scholars, like Ernst Herzfeld,³⁶ have cast their vote for Gaud-i Zirah, a huge marshy depression to the south-east of Lake Hāmūn. So does Gherardo Gnoli, who has elaborated the connections between legendary and Sistani geography in great detail, lately in his richly documented book *Zoroaster's time and homeland*.³⁷ In spite of the great ingenuity applied by Herzfeld, Gnoli and others to definite geographic identifications of topographic features figuring in Zoroastrian traditions, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that Frazdān, Kayānsē, Ušdāštār, etc. basically remain mythical places.³⁸

To this geographic section of the text is added a reference to the three eschatological saviours who are to be born of the water of Kayānsē from the seed of Zoroaster, i.e. *uxšyat.ərata-*, *uxšyat.nəmah-* and *saošyant-* (for *astvaṭ.ərata-*) of the Avesta.³⁹

The second reason for the pre-eminence of Sistan belongs to legendary Kayanian history, as incorporated into Zoroastrian tradition. This section mentions the role of Sistan, and especially Lake Frazdān, in securing the legitimate succession to the throne of Ērān-šahr after the fratricide among the sons of Frētōn (Av. *θraētaona-*). When the younger son Ērēč, who sat on the throne of Iran, was slain by his brothers, Salm of the western realm (Hrōm) and Tūž of the north-eastern (Turkistān), the succession of Mānuščihr to the throne of Iran and the passing of the *xuərənah* to him was achieved by hiding a daughter of Ērēč at Lake Frazdān.

Here we meet the eponymous heroes of the main peoples of the Iranian political universe, «roughly described as the Shem, Ham, and Japhet of the Iranian legend» by E. G. Browne.⁴⁰ These peoples are, in fact, only three out of five in the old list given in Yašt 13 : 143—144 (Av. *airya-*, *tūvrya-*, *sairima-*, *sāinu-*, *dāhi-*), but these three completely dominate in later traditions.⁴¹ There is, however, a certain discrepancy in the tradition concerning the succession to the Iranian throne after Ērēč. Originally (cf. Yašt 13 : 131), Mānuščihr (Av. *manuš.čidra-*) appears as the direct son of Ērēč (Av. *airyāva-*), but in later tradition he is often, as in the *Šāhnāmah*, presented as the son of the daugh

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 91.

³⁷ = Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di studi asiatici, Series minor, 7; Naples 1980; on Frazdān/Gaud-i Zirah, v. esp. 133.

³⁸ See, e.g., the conclusions drawn by J. KELLENS in his paper «L'Avesta comme source historique : la liste des kayanides», *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 37—49 (on geography, v. 41); repr. in J. HARMATTA (ed.): *Studies in the sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Budapest 1979. 41—53.

³⁹ Cf. Yašt 13 : 128—129, Yašt 19 : 92 and Vendidad 19 : 5 (where *kasaoya-* is placed in the east; east of what?).

⁴⁰ A literary history of Iran, vol. I, 1902, etc., 116.

⁴¹ On the formation of the eponyms, v. A. CHRISTENSEN: *Etudes sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse antique*. Copenhagen 1928. 23.

ter of Ērēc.⁴² The present text seems to suggest an extra retardation of ten generations, in relative concordance with the younger Zoroastrian tradition found in *Bundahišn* XXXI: 9—11 (cf. p. 261, n. 11 above). The most interesting piece of information in this passage of the *Avdēh u sahkēh ī Sakistān* is, however, the role given to Frazdān and Sakistān. They are not generally associated with these events in other sources, but it is interesting to notice that *Tārīx-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār, p. 6) writes that «Afridūn, up to the time of Manūčīhr(?), entrusted Manūčīhr to Narīman, until he went away and took revenge for his father Īraj». Narīman was the great-grandfather of Rustam and thus a hero of Sistan. — It is unfortunate that the text of § 8 seems too confused to yield more exact information on the relation between Artvisūr Anāhīt, «the other gods» and Sakistān.

The third and last reason for the pre-eminence of Sistan is directly related to central Zoroastrian traditions on the propagation and survival of the faith. The starting-point is once more the mysterious lake(?) of Frazdān and the activities of King Vištāsp. The latter is here presented as a prime propagator of the religion on a par with Zoroaster himself and Sēn (Av. *saēna-*, Yt. 13 : 97), the son of Ahūmstūt of Bust. The opaque syntax of § 10 makes it difficult to determine exactly what relationship is intended between these three heroes of the faith.⁴³

The following description of the restoration of the religion after the devastation brought about by Alexander has a little more verisimilitude than the legendary material presented so far. This restoration is said to have taken place in Sistan through the memorizing of one special *nask* of the Avesta, which possibly, with the emendation proposed by Bailey, could be identical with the *Bagān yašt* described in the 15th chapter of Book VIII of *Dēnkart* (cf. above). This must have been a part of the original Avesta giving particulars about the divinities, and obviously the circumstances of its transmission are far from the full story of the survival of the religion. Similarly the localization of this crucial memorizing must be taken both as symbolic and as relative to the ambitions of the author and his local tradition.

The final paragraph of the text, as it stands now (§ 16), is somewhat confusing. Even with the rather uncertain emendation suggested above, it is difficult to see what it is aiming at. Given the abruptness of this paragraph and the shortness of the preceding list of «wonders», in comparison, for instance, with the great number of ‘*ajā’ib*’ presented in the beginning of *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, one

⁴² Ed. MOHL (paper-back ed. Tehran), vol. I, 83—85; ed. BERTEL’s, vol. I, 107—110.

⁴³ On the various aspects of the complex figure of Vištāsp, v. J. MARKWART: A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr, ed. G. MESSINA, Rome 1931. 36—37, 51 (a water-god out of Indo-Iranian myth), and recent evaluations by J. KELLENS: *op. cit.*, 38—39, and GH. GNOLI: *op. cit.*, 3, 94—95 (with n. 15) et pass.

could suspect the present text of being only a fragment or just an improvisation. However this may be, there is something incidental about its form and message. It clearly had its origin in a narrowly religious environment and betrays no ambition of really presenting a portrait of Sistan. It is perhaps understandable that there is no reference to that great hero of Sistan, Rostam, who in § 37 of *Šahristānihā ī Ērān* is presented as *rōtastahm ī sakistān-šāh*,⁴⁴ but it is striking that there is no mention of the Karkōy fire, for instance. That fire-temple is not only mentioned in *Šahristānihā ī Ērān* (§ 38),⁴⁵ but even the Muslim *Tārīx-i Sīstān* devotes a substantial section to it.⁴⁶

Now, what we can glean from this text is not what we would expect a Sistani of the centuries after the Arab conquest to say on the marvels of his province, neither geographically nor historically. It is rather a few fragments of late Zoroastrian traditions with bearing on decisive moments in the history of this faith.

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⁴⁴ Cf. my «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature». *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 118.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴⁶ Ed. BAHĀR, 35–37; transl. SMIRNOVA, 69–70.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better life. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom.

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DIE XALAĞ IN DEN ARABISCHEN QUELLEN

Für die Akten dieser Tagung habe ich den zentral-asiatischen Teil der Weltkarte von al-Xwārizmī vorbereitet. Es bedeutete gewisse Schwierigkeiten, die Karte nach den Angaben des Textes zu zeichnen, aber hinter dieser Arbeit stecken im Stoff noch weitere, im engeren Sinne genommen nicht mehr geographische Probleme. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich kurz nur ein Beispiel, das Problem der Xalağ, anführen, und zwar hauptsächlich auf Grund der arabischen geographischen Schriften.

Die bekannteste Textstelle finden wir bei al-Iṣṭaxrī.

«Das Land al-Dāwar ist ein fruchtbares Gebiet, die Grenze von al-Ġūr, Baġnīn und Xalağ und Pišlang und Xāš . . . Baġnīn und Xalağ und Kābul und al-Ġūr und jene Distrikte nach diesen, haben den Islam angenommen . . . und die Xalağ sind eine Art der Türken, und in den uralten Zeiten sind sie nach diesem Land gekommen, das zwischen Indien und den Gegenden von Siġistān liegt, hinter den al-Ġūr. Sie besitzen Weidevieh, nach der Art der Türken, und so sind auch ihre Kleider und ihre Sprache.»¹

Muqaddasī, als er über die Flüsse von Siġistan spricht, läßt den Hilmand hinter den al-Ġūr (في ظهر الغور) entspringen. Auf diese Weise können wir die Xalağ um die Quellen des Hilmand lokalisieren.²

Ibn Ḥawqal³ wiederholt fast buchstäblich, was al-Iṣṭaxrī geschrieben hat. Die Quelle von al-Iṣṭaxrī scheint als Grundlage auch für al-Idrisī gedient zu haben, weil er auf die folgende Weise schrieb: «Wir sagen, daß der östliche Teil von Siġistān an al-Ġūr grenzt, und das nächste Distrikt nach den al-Ġūr al-Dāwar heißt. Es ist ein weites, reiches, fruchtbares Gebiet, es ist die Grenze von al-Ġūr und Baġnīn und Xalağ und Pišlang . . .» Und weiter: «Dieses Land wird von einem Stamm namens al-Xalağ bewohnt. Sie sind eine Art der Türke n, sie sind nach diesem Ort in uralten Zeiten gekommen. Ihre Wohnsitze grenzen

¹ Al-Iṣṭaxrī: Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1870. 244.

² Al-Muqaddasī: Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālim. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1877. 329.

³ Ibn Ḥawqal: Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1873. 302.

im Norden an Indien, (dann) an den Rücken von al-Ġūr und an einige Gebiete des östlichen Siġistān.»⁴

Dieselbe geographische Lage der al-Xalaġ lag auch dem Text von Mas'ūdī zu Grunde, der den Streifzug von 'Abdarrahmān Moḥammad al-Aš'aṭ geschildert hat.⁵

Der auffallende wörtliche Einklang zwischen den Worten der oben erwähnten geographischen Werken lassen uns daran denken, daß die Verfasser, obwohl sie die wirkliche Lage beschrieben haben, doch aus einer und derselben Quelle schöpften.

Es muß aber auch eine andere Quelle vorgelegen haben, die in der Regel in den verschiedenen Itinerarien belegt ist. Bei Ibn Xurradāqbeh finden wir z. B. die folgende Beschreibung des Weges: «Von Ṭarāz nach dem unteren Baršxān 3 Farsax, von dort nach Kesrā Bās 2 Farsax . . . dort sind die Wintersitze der Xarluxen, und in ihrer Nähe die Wintersitze der Xalaġ.»⁶

Al-Idrisī beschreibt denselben Weg, die Entfernungen werden aber in Meilen angegeben. Über die Xalaġ sprechend fügt er hinzu, daß sie eine Art (ein Zweig) der Türken sind.⁷

Die Xalaġ, die zwischen al-Dāwar und Ġaznīn lebten, sind von allen Schriftstellern einschlägig für Türken gehalten, und die Xalaġ, die im Norden im Ṭalas-Tal lebten, wurden von Al-Idrisī ebenso als Türken bezeichnet.

Die Xalaġ sind also in zwei Quellengruppen in zwei verschiedenen, von einander weit entfernten Gegenden erwähnt.

Es gibt aber eine dritte Art von Nachrichten. Moḥammad ibn Naġīb Bakrān schreibt in seinem persisch abgefaßten Werk, daß die Xalaġ ein türkisches Volk ist, daß sie von den Xarlux-Grenzen an die Grenzen von Zābulistān kamen, und in der Umgebung von Ġazna in der Steppe wohnten.⁸ Diese Nachricht kann natürlich wahr sein, sie scheint jedoch eine Kontamination der zwei oben erwähnten Quellen zu sein.

V. Minorsky vertrat die Meinung, daß die Texte der zwei Quellen einander widersprechen und deshalb sie wahrscheinlich verbessert werden sollten.⁹ Die Xalaġ-Gebiete um Ġazna sind von dem Ṭalas-Tal so entfernt, daß die Nachricht sicherlich unannehmbar ist.

⁴ Idrisi: *Opus geographicum*. Neapoli—Romae Brill 1974. Fasc. IV. 466.

⁵ Mas'ūdī: *Les prairies d'or*. Ed. C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD. Paris 1869. V. 302.

وقد كان الحجاج استعمل عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث على سجستان وبست والرخج فحارب من هناك من أمم الترك وهم انواع من الترك يقال لهم النور و الخليج.

⁶ Ibn Xurradāqbeh: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1889. 28.

⁷ Idrisi: *op. cit.* Neapoli—Romae, Brill 1976. Fasc. VI. 715.

⁸ Moḥammad ibn Naġīb Bakrān, *Ġihān nāme*. Moskva 1960. Ed. J. E. BORŠEVSKIJ. 17 b.

⁹ V. MINORSKY: *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*. Oxford 1937. 347—348.

Um diese Schwierigkeit zu beseitigen, müssen wir ihm gegenüber annehmen, daß sich diese zwei Quellen auf zwei verschiedene Gruppen der Xalağ beziehen.

Das Bild wird aber mehr verwickelt dadurch, daß Al-Kāšgarī die Xalağ für Oğuz-Türken hält, Al-Xwārizmī dagegen behauptet, daß sie Überreste der Hephthaliten sind.¹⁰

Diese zwei Behauptungen schließen einander nicht aus, aber die Erforschung der türkischen Sprache einer dritten Xalağ-Gruppe, die im heutigen Iran zwischen Hamadan und Qum lebt, führte zu dem Ergebnis, daß diese türkische Sprache einen selbständigen Zweig der Türk-Sprachen darstellt, sie ist also der Mundart der Oğuzen nicht unter-, sondern nebengeordnet.¹¹

Vorausgesetzt, daß der Name «Xalağ» in diesen drei Fällen drei verschiedene Gruppen *eines* Volkes bezeichnet, schließen die Ergebnisse der modernen Forschungen die Richtigkeit der Nachricht von Al-Kāšgarī aus. In diesem Fall könnte man die Worte Al-Kāšgarīs durch die Annahme erklären, daß die zweite Quelle die Xalağ auf dem von den Oğuzen bewohnten Gebiet erwähnte, und so konnte er sie für Oğuzen halten. Das ist aber nur eine Vermutung, die sich nicht beweisen läßt.

Einige Forscher haben angenommen, daß die arabischen Quellen nur in einem weiteren Sinne behaupten, daß die Xalağ Türken (صنف من الاتراك) sind. Die Kabğīna, die bei al-Xwārizmī zusammen mit den Xalağ als Überreste der Hephthaliten erwähnt sind, werden von den meisten Forschern nicht für Türken gehalten.¹² Das Wort würde in diesem Fall so viel bedeuten, wie «Nomaden». Die Quellen, die die Lebensführung der Xalağ schildern, beschreiben sie wirklich als Nomaden, die ihres Vieh in der Steppe zwischen al-Dāwar und Ġazna weiden.

Unter der oben genannten Voraussetzung müssen wir das Wort ترکی in bezug auf die Xalağ jedoch in engerem Sinne verstehen. Al-Iṣṭaxrī sagt nämlich ausdrücklich, daß die südlichen Xalağ sich einer türkischen Sprache bedienten, und nicht einmal Al-Kāšgarī kann voreilig einer so unverantwortlichen Behauptung verdächtigt werden, daß er die nicht existierende türkische Sprache der Xalağ in eine bestimmte Gruppe der türkischen Sprachen einordnete, ohne sie gehört zu haben, ohne etwas über sie zu wissen. Gleichzeitig stellen die heutige Existenz einer Xalağ-Gruppe und ihre türkische Sprache schwerwiegende Beweise dar.

Diese drei Umstände lassen uns also die Worte Al-Xwārizmīs im engeren Sinne verstehen, als er über die Al-Xalağ spricht.

¹⁰ C. E. BOSWORTH—G. CLOWSON: Al-Xwārizmī on the Peoples of Central Asia. JRAS 1965. 2—12. Kāšgarī: Divān luğat al-turk. III. 412—416.

¹¹ V. MINORSKY: The Turkish Dialect of Khaladj. BSOS 10 (1940) 417—437.

G. DOERFER: Khaladj. Language. Enc. of Islam IV. 918 mit Literatur.

¹² A. D. H. BIVAR: Hayāṭīla. Enc. of Islam III. 303 ff. mit Literatur.

Da die türkische Herkunft der Kabğina jedoch nur durch die Worte al-Xwārizmī unterstützt wird, so können wir nicht entscheiden, was die genaue Bedeutung des Wortes in bezug auf sie sei.

Die angenommene türkische Herkunft der Xalağ steht nicht im Widerspruch mit der Nachricht von al-Xwārizmī, die besagt, daß die Xalağ Überreste der Hephthaliten sind.¹³ Diese Behauptung bedarf aber einer Erklärung, die wir nur hypothetisch geben können. Es gibt nämlich eine Meinung unter den heutigen Forschern, die die Hephthaliten für Türken hält.¹⁴ In diesem Fall ist es natürlich, daß auch ihre Reste Türken sind.

Trifft jedoch diese Meinung nicht zu, selbst dann haben wir unsere Folgerung nicht zu verwerfen. Die Hephthaliten, wie die Nomaden immer, haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch andere Völker oder Teile von anderen Völkern in den Verband ihrer Stämme aufgenommen und auf ihre Wanderungen mitgenommen. Diese Annahme könnte erklären, wie einige Xalağ-Gruppen im Norden geblieben sind, während andere im Süden als Abkömmlinge der Hephthaliten galten. Diese Annahme gibt uns die Möglichkeit, alle Überreste der Hephthaliten für Nomaden zu halten, die teilweise türkischer Abstammung sein konnten, teilweise einer anderen Sprachgruppe angehören konnten.

Jedenfalls scheint es so, daß die angebliche hephthalitische Abstammung der Xalağ durch die ewig wiederkehrende Bemerkung unserer geographischen Schriftsteller, wonach die Xalağ in uralten Zeiten nach ihren südlichen Wohnsitzen kamen, indirekt unterstützt wird.

Die arabischen Quellen können also gewisse Fragen über die Xalağ beantworten, für andere Fragen geben jedoch nur eine hypothetische Lösung, die im Lichte anderer Quellen weiter untersucht werden soll.

Budapest.

¹³ AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ: *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*. Ed. V. VLOTEN. Lugduni-Batavorum. 1895. 119—120.

¹⁴ A. D. H. BIVAR: *Hayātila*.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE BACTRIAN FRAGMENT
IN MANICHEAN SCRIPT*

In June 1958, while cataloguing in Berlin the Iranian manuscripts written in Manichean script, Professor Mary Boyce made the remarkable discovery that one small fragment was inscribed on both sides in an unknown Iranian language. She was anxious to impart the news at once to Henning in London, in a manner that might enable him to identify language and contents. It would take time for the two sides of the fragment to be photographed. Therefore, as the Verso side was hard to read, the Recto less so, she transliterated the Recto only, posting the outcome without delay. It was an outcome never meant to be definitive. Some indistinct letters later proved to be different from what she at first thought. For some others she left gaps. But as a provisional first shot this initial revelation, private and to her teacher only, deserves nothing but praise.

The transliterated 19 lines reached Henning on 20 June 1958. They did make him sit up. He replied on the same day, having taken «at least a *full hour* (his underlining) to make up my mind on the language». It was a language, he explained, that stands between Parthian, Sogdian, and Pashto. Hence, he continued, it will be the language of the intervening area, Balx, presumably the same language, at a later stage, as the one in which the French had found an inscription at Surkh Kotal, perhaps also the same language as that of the so-called Hephthalite fragments.

In his letter, which consists of a single sheet written on both sides, Henning then proceeded to details. He had found translatable four sequences, of which I quote only the words he correctly translated from the spelling here reproduced as at the time it stood before him.

First sequence: *mwwl myg(d)yg 'wwd 'sp(r)gmyyg 'βyryynd o 'wd cgvwng 'ww w(š) 'wd . . . 'cyy 'β [] 'wd g''w lhyyh t'(')d pn'yyd p'yyg 'wd rwgn 'βy(r) [«roots (mūla) fruits and flowers produce; and as the (<hau) grass and . . . which to (<abi) [sheep] and cows you (?) give, then . . . cheese (-r ?) milk (payah-) and butter they produce».*

* (Paper delivered at the Conference «The Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia» in Budapest on 25 March, 1976.)

Second sequence: *š(.)g qyrdg'n wys'(p) 's l'(hw)'n (. .)jyd* «good (*širak* ?) action all from (?*as* < *ats*) gifts arise».

Third sequence: *ywg p(w.) hz'r pwnyng βrg (.)βyryyd 'wd wy(šp) nrh šwwhyd 'wd pwn pydrwβ[.]d y'wyd'njyg* «A single (*aivaka-*, Pashto *يو*) puṇya a thousand puṇya-fruits (Sogd. *βr'kw*) produces and wipes out (? cf. *krmšwhn*) all hells and . . . (? cf. Parth. *pdrwb-*) puṇyas eternally».

Fourth sequence: *('cy)yd šmn'n '(d)hn xwynynd* «whom Buddhist monks call arhant», postulating a dot over the *d* of *'dhn*. The word occurs once more on the Recto, again without visible dot over the *d*.

Of individual words Henning recognized in *lyynl(.)yg''n* the plural of the word meaning «an Electus, a *dēndār*», which in fact occurs in the singular, as *lynlyryg*, on the Verso; and he of course compared the noun *l'hw'n* with Parth. *d'hw'n*.

In addition his letter contains remarks on phonology. He noted the palatization of *s* in *wys'p*, expressed, as Professor Boyce had told him, by a special diacritic, two dots placed over the usual Manichean sign for *š*. The same diacritic placed over the *j* sign, in *y'wyd'njyg* for example, is used, he surmised, to indicate that thus marked the sign stands for *dz*. He pointed out the voicing after vowel of OIran. *k* and *t*; the change of *d* to *l*; the outcome *š* of *str* in *wš*; the prothetic vowel of *'cy* «which», with which he compared Sogd. *'cw*; the *s* of *'s* «from», from the *č* of OIran. *hačā*; and the interior *y* of *-aya-* present stems, exemplified by *xwyn-* «to call» and *'βyr-* «to bring, produce».

It was a rich communication, a tour de force achieved in one hour, with no Verso as yet to compare and from a transliteration not quite perfect. But this first pronouncement of Henning's on the fragment was also his last, because thereafter he was to communicate on it only with himself, to whom he stood in no need of imparting his thoughts in writing. It was his habit to think, and when he had finished thinking, to compose the final article at his typewriter, ready for the printer. This explains why Professor Boyce never received from him any further details about the text, despite its having been his intention to publish it under both their names in a joint article.

Her own share, however, of the planned article, Professor Boyce promptly brought to completion: on 12 July she posted to him a painstaking transliteration of both Recto and Verso, supplying an apparatus in which she discussed possible alternative readings and the spacing of gaps, and enclosing photographs. This was a great service rendered, by which she crowned her discovery of the fragment with the provision of every help possible that could be given from the distance. The next and final step it was for him to take. He never took it, in the eight and a half years still left to him.

In 1968, one year after Henning's death, Professor Boyce wrote to ask if I would care to take over what was to have been their joint publication. I replied that I was willing to try. Henning's dear wife, who unhappily one

year later was also to die, having agreed and the German Academy, through the good offices of Dr Sundermann, having kindly approved of the transfer, I received from Professor Boyce the letter from which I have quoted, from Mrs Henning her husband's file on the fragment, and from Dr Sundermann two enlarged photographs, one each of Recto and Verso.

Henning's file contained only one sheet written entirely in his hand, namely his own transliteration, and even that only of the 19 lines of the Recto, with a succinct apparatus. There was no translation, except indirectly of two words. One, restored by him as *p(rdyj)g*, he had glossed with NP *pālēz*. It occurs in the line preceding the first sequence quoted above. Against the other word, *xwβyc*, he had pencilled, with a question mark, Av. *x^vaēpaθya-*. Otherwise the file contained only Professor Boyce's two contributions: her first, provisional transliteration of the Recto, which had prodded him into the tour de force she by then had sent me and I had eagerly read; and her second, final transliteration of both sides of the sheet. This second contribution is of invaluable help for reading the difficult Verso written in a different hand from the Recto, and much more faded and smudged, requiring extensive restoration. Against a few of Professor Boyce's readings of the Verso Henning had jotted down in pencil alternative readings, thrice with a translation each of one word: «recalls» with a question mark, against *'βy's'd*; «that» against *kwđ*; and German «hiesig» against *ml'(m)'(n)g*. Moreover, against two of her readings left untouched by him, he had entered a translation, namely «*voũς*» against *lyn'ng fr*, and «he calls him» against *'wdyh xwvnyd*.

These are small crumbs from the table of one of the best-endowed brains that ever turned to Iranian studies. Whatever they were crumbs of, perished on 8 January 1967, together with that brain.

When I had taken stock of the position, my heart sank. It was of course clear that the Recto contained two Ruvānegān similes new to us, a vegetable one and an animal one. The laymen's gifts to the Elect produce puṇyas and salvation, as irrigation induces roots to produce fruits and flowers, as grass and water (*y'β*, to replace the three dots after *wš'wd* in the first sequence above) given to cattle produce meat (*p'ydyd*, to replace the five dots after *t'(')d*), cheese, milk and butter.

It was also clear, and not only from the «*voũς*» jotted down by Henning against *lyn'ng fr*, that the Verso was of eschatological purport. Quite a number of words even on the Verso make immediate sense, such as *'z 'γdym* «I have come», or *rštyg l'dβr wyspz'nyndyy* «the just all-knowing judge».

But the greater part of the Verso seemed to consist of words either unknown or illegible, or of whose reading there could be no certainty; and nowhere on the Verso was it clear how sentences, let alone periods, were to be construed. What, for example, did Henning think, what was I to think, of the mysterious *drwfr* in line 13 of the Verso, whose occurrence also as first word of

line 10 of the Recto he had recognized with uncanny perspicacity? What did he make of *yβw'g lyynl(yr)yg' 'n*, even though in the longer of these two words he had at once recognized, as we saw, the «Electi»? What did he think of the sequence *'wdyh' lwg nyst qyrd w(β)*, which is clearly a self-contained clause, seeing that it is followed by a sequence beginning with *'wdyh* and ending with a past participle? And what were the «Buddhist monks» doing in the three bottom lines of the Recto, with whom Henning had ingeniously grappled in his tour de force letter, but on the premise of a transliteration not wholly correct, and in any case with the beginning of all three lines lost in a hole? This śramaṇa passage is crucial in deciding whether or not the eschatological Verso, written in a different hand and deprived at the top of one or perhaps two lines, was at all the continuation of the Ruvānegān statement of the Recto, or constituted a new text under a new, lost headline.

To each of these vital questions Henning was bound to have given anxious thought. If clues to the answers occurred in Manichean texts in other languages, published or unpublished, nobody was better equipped than he to recognize them. Nor could there be any doubt that, having in 1960 revealed in a printed footnote that he was about to publish the fragment, and in the same year authorized Mary Boyce to reveal in her Catalogue his identification of its language as Bactrian, he would by all means have proceeded to publication with the urgent speed characteristic of all his major discoveries, if only he felt satisfied that he had the right answers to the above questions and to the many more which the text poses. The conclusion was inescapable: what had stopped him from publishing it was awareness that what he had written to Professor Boyce within the first hour, and anything that had occurred to him since, though it did go some way towards clarification, was as yet insufficient to warrant publication under his name.

The conviction that this had been the cause of his silence was to me, who knew very well his dread of posthumous publication, an insuperable bar to bringing into the open what had been entrusted to me of his. I had a right to bring it into the open only if I saw it lead to a breakthrough, which evidently it had not done even under his own, exceptionally high-powered care. As to myself, throughout the five years from 1968 to 1973, despite my time and again turning to the fragment, I could see no prospect of breaking through. Words which I recognized unaided by annotations of Henning's, such as *p'yid* for «meat» or *y'β* for «water», or *hβys'* of which as yet I saw no meaning but took for granted the identity with what in «Hepthalite» is written *vaβiso*, did not really further an overall understanding. It was unthinkable that such trifles of recognition had by-passed Henning, but clearly they did not drive him into print. They must therefore not drive into print me either, especially as the immediate sequel to *hβys'*, namely *(. .)ng pwwn drwfr*, with *(. .)ng* as a possible alternative to *(. .)ng*, remained, apart from the word for *pūṇya*, incomprehensible.

By 1973 I had no illusion as to what Henning would have wanted me to do: destroy everything I had of his. But this was ruled out by the trust Mary Boyce and the German Academy had shown me. Had they thought me capable of thus dealing with his notes, they would have made sure of keeping them safely out of my reach. I was caught in a conflict of loyalty, run aground in an impasse.

The fact is that, as the observations of Henning's which you have heard struck me as obvious from the moment I saw them, yet the fragment remained largely incomprehensible, I had come to underestimate his achievement. That achievement had been breath-taking at the time when he reported on it after one hour. But given a few days to think, let alone weeks months or years, almost any Iranianist, or so I began to think, would have achieved as much. The conclusion seemed obvious: if even Henning in years after the miraculous feat achieved no progress, or no significant progress — as his failure to publish left no doubt had been the case —, then the difficulties must simply be insoluble beyond the most elementary stage. Having drawn this conclusion by the time of the Budapest conference of 1973, if I had been able to attend it I would have been ready to declare in this very Kisterem, that I was giving up.

But some months later in 1973 I was able to attend the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris. And in Paris something happened which completely changed my outlook.

At one of the Iranological sessions a paper was delivered which included a wholly convincing demonstration that the Bactrian word for «wine» was *mal*. There followed a discussion. And in the course of the discussion, a declaration was made before the packed international audience that «no, it was not *mal*, it was *mul* as in Sogdian, seeing that the Bactrian word for wine occurs in the Berlin fragment, written *mwul*». The speaker evidently had in mind the first word of the first sequence quoted above.

I was too dumbfounded even to open my mouth. While others were challenging the speaker as to how on earth he had got hold of the Berlin fragment, I fell into a kind of trance, lost in mourning and nostalgic admiration for the unfailing greatness of the scholar it had been my supreme privilege to have as teacher.

Not once in the five years had it occurred to me, who am not unfamiliar with Sogdian, that the first word of the quoted sequence might mean «wine». The context precluded the very thought of such a thing. But then, I had never been in a position to try and unravel the context by myself. Straightway I was presented with Henning's tour de force letter, so that it was quite impossible for me to go wrong on *mwul* and its context when later the photographs arrived, but alas possible, in the light of the disappointment at Henning's notes offering help with so little else, to give him very much less than his

due for his immediate grasp of the first sequence's purport. It took the Paris uproar to shake me out of this unappreciativeness and make me realize what a horrible trap *mwwl* posed, and what a test this word constituted of the true quality of would-be decipherers. I had literally to hear the trap snap, to convince myself that it was not true that given days weeks months or years, others would also find out what Henning saw in the first hour.

And so, there and then in the Paris Kisterem, the realization took hold of me that if I were not to publish what I had from Henning, even though he never thought it worth bothering to put it into print by itself, years if not decades might pass sucking casualties into not only this trap, but also other traps equally insidious, which Henning with sure step had avoided.

I returned to Cambridge a reformed character, and at once set to work in the mood of one just emerged from an illness. I was no longer troubled by not understanding crucial passages and key-words of the Recto, and by my inability to construe even one period of the Verso. Henceforward I was going to be no more than an amanuensis. All I would do was to publish the text in the reading of Mary Boyce with the improvements Henning had entered here and there, and the addition of such alternative readings as here and there had come to seem to me worth considering. The text would be followed by the bits of translation and the few hints I had from Henning, and by a few self-evident trifles which had occurred to me in five years. I no longer felt it incumbent on me to achieve progress.

But no sooner had I begun to proceed in this strictly expository manner insouciant of progress, when progress no longer prayed for took to beckoning from all sides. It was as if the fragment, for so long a dead weight round my neck, had suddenly sprung to life. One day I saw that the key-word *drwfr* occurring, you will remember, once on the Recto and once on the Verso, would make good sense if it were a metathesized outcome of the Zoroastrian term *ratufrī*. We had not had this word before in Manicheism. It qualifies puṇya in the fragment, and thereby sheds new light on the Manichean doctrine of redemption, indeed on the very essence of the Ruvānegān institution. Surely no religion could survive which preached as sole duty of laymen the feeding of its Elect. Priority must be given at least in theory, to religious behaviour, puṇyas. But religious behaviour on the part of laymen, without their assiduously attending to gifts of food, would have exposed the poor Elect to starvation. Hence the clever invention of a rider: the puṇyas must be «ratu-pleasing», that is, inducing the ratus to grant forgiveness of sins; and what renders them ratu-pleasing is the giving of gifts of food to the Elect. The vegetable simile and the animal simile of the Recto thus emerge fraught with doctrinal subtlety: without roots there can be no fruit, without cows no milk or beef, without puṇyas no redemption. But roots will not give rise to fruits unless they are watered, cows will not yield milk or beef unless they are fed.

And puṇyas will not lead to redemption unless they secure ratu-pleasure, are RATified as it were, by the care taken of the Elect.

Once *drwfr* made sense, it became clear that the sequence *hβyś* (..)ng or *hβyś* (..)ng quoted above, is like *drwfr* a qualification of *pwwn*, or rather, qualifies *pwwn drwfr* taken together. A likely meaning of it will therefore be «of very many kinds», something on the lines of Sogd. *zngzng'n*, γrf *znq'nt*, *wyspw znk'n*, OP *vispazana-*, Aram. *wspzn*. As soon as one thus realizes that the context could do with the presence of a *z*, one actually sees that the traces preceding *ng* tally with *z*, and with nothing else. To account for *hβyś* (the «Hephthalite» *ναβισα*) expressing large quantity one may relate the word to Khot. *hambīsa*, Parth. and Pers. *ambīs* «heap». The base will be the *bai-* of Av. *baēvar-* «ten thousand», the suffix that of Av. *navasō* «by nines, nine times» and Sogd. *IIsu* (*δwasu*) «at the rate of two», the prefix that of Greek *ἅπας* «quite all, all possible» (as distinct from OIran. *hama-*, present in *hambīsa* and *ambīs*). Literally the adjective will thus mean «thoroughly-hugenumber-fold».

On another day the daringly primitive thought struck me that the puzzling *yβw'g* which precedes *lyynl(yr)yg'n*, seeing that in Parthian the Elect are often called *pw'g* «pure», might be the very same word preceded by the article after which its initial *p* would in this language have suffered voicing, as happens in Celtic with feminine nouns. In Welsh, for instance, «a pipe» is *pip*, but «the pipe» *y bib*, with soft mutation (and assimilation). Thereby also the existence of the article *i*, familiar from the Nokonzok inscription, would be assured for Manichean Bactrian.

From *yβw'g lyynl(yr)yg'n* meaning «the pure Electi» it would follow that the verb *pydrwβ-* corresponds only formally to Parth. *pdrwb-* «to render distraught» (cf. Skt *rūpyati*, Lat. *rumpo*), since in the fragment its meaning would have to be «to garner, reap», in agreement with the simple *rup-* in Sogdian.

Soon afterwards it was the Buddhist monks at the bottom of the Recto, and the Arhants, who fell into place, at least to the extent of no longer compelling the assumption that the eschatological Verso constitutes a separate text pursuing a different trend of thought from the Verso.

Of course each individual step forward was apt to require a reappraisal of the whole. Thus gradually the Verso came to unfold a growing number of meaningful stretches, until one day it at last dawned on me that my inability to construe periods had been due to nothing more alarming than the abandonment by the language of the oblique ending of nouns. It was then that at long last the meaning of the complete clause *'wdyh' lwg nyšt qyrd w(β)* emerged, and with it a remarkable Manichean doctrine hitherto missed, about the overriding role played by Beauty, with capital B, in the redemption of Man and indeed the World. When the evidence is in print,* it will be seen that the

* And already preliminarily, in a lecture which I gave in Budapest fifteen days later, on 9 April 1976, to the Society for Ancient Studies.

supremacy of Beauty also explains at last why the Ruvānegān, the alms-gifts, were called by that name. It is an explanation which could have been found ever since 1960, from the moment Mary Boyce published Henning's view that the Middle Persian name *xwšn* of the Living Soul meant «Beauty». But the opportunity was missed because this view failed to get credit, seeming to require independent confirmation. The Bactrian clause now provides it: «and he OF grain consigned-to-perdition the Beauty» (namely by eating the grain himself instead of giving it to the Electi). The word *wβ*, which had teased me, and no doubt Henning, for years, is nothing else but the Middle Bactrian outcome of OIran. *vafuš*, whose identity of form and meaning with Vedic *vapuṣ* was recognized by Andreas and Wackernagel half a century ago, and is now confirmed beyond all reasonable doubt by inter-Iranian Manichean evidence.

Naturally as a result of the fragment thus springing to life and revealing far-reaching novelties of Iranian Manichean thinking, it took me longer than I had foreseen on my return from Paris, to prepare it for publication. But by now it is possible to offer a connected translation of the Recto, and to grasp the hang and partially even the syntax of the Verso, although on that side the indifferent state of preservation will keep us reduced to guess-work on many details for so long as no parallel version in another language is found.

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ILYA GERSHEVITCH

BEAUTY AS THE LIVING SOUL
IN IRANIAN MANICHEISM*

The one burning concern which pervaded all Manichean thinking, was the catastrophe which befell the Light that had gone forth intending to defeat the Powers of Darkness, but instead was itself defeated and swallowed up.

It is true that plenty more Light was left in the Highest Heaven, the seat of the Father of Greatness. But the loss of Light had been of cosmic proportions, and the Highest Aeons can have no peace until the missing Light is restored to them, the Living Soul, the Anima Viva desperately longing for liberation from captivity in Darkness and for return home. The whole of Mani's highly elaborate system amounts to one gigantic rescue operation, of the Anima Viva suffering torture in this dismal domain of Hyle in which we live.

I must spare you to-night the Emanations, the cosmogony, the cosmology, the manufacture of Man, all the devices aimed at the rescue of the Living Soul. But we may join the Living Soul, or rather the particles of Light which constitute it, at the moment when, from edible plants, cucumbers for example, or the wheat of which bread is made, the particles of Light pass into the bodies of pure Manichean Electi engaged in eating cucumber or bread.

The Electi act as human filters for the particles of Light. As they eat and digest the foods containing Living Soul, the latter escapes through their bodies to the Column of Glory. Along that Column the particles of Light mount from Earth to Heaven, invisible to the human eye despite their ascent in column-formation, because they consist of nothing but light at its purest. Visibility intervenes only when at the upper end of the Column the Moon-ship arrives and, visibly to all of us, fills up, over a period of fifteen days, with particles of Light as they disembark from the Column and re-embark in the Moon-ship. When the Moon-ship is loaded, it takes its passenger-particles to the Sun-ship, for further, final conveyance to the Realm of everlasting Light.

Naturally the rearing of pure Electi was a crucial part of Mani's plan for the liberation of the Living Soul. For only Electi were capable of acting as

* Lecture delivered in Budapest on 9 April 1976 at a meeting of the Society for Ancient Studies, Professor J. HARMATTA in the chair.

filters for the Light. But of course no Electus was pure and could act as filter if he himself should in any way have hurt or harmed the Living Soul, for instance by cutting bread with a knife or, Heaven forbid, trampling on some cucumber in a field. In fact it was so risky to let him do anything to the Living Soul other than eat it, that the whole preparation of food, from cultivation of crops to the actual cooking of meals had to be left to the Auditores, the Manichean laymen.

These were not sufficiently pure to act as filters for the Living Soul. But they could nevertheless hope for salvation in the other world. Their impurity and their sins, including the dreadful one of hurting the Living Soul, would be forgiven them if they made sure that vegetarian food daily reached the mouths and bodies of the Elect, so as to maintain a constant upward stream of liberated Living Soul along the Column of Glory.

This duty which the Manichean Auditors had, of feeding the Elect, and incidentally also clothing them and providing them with shelter, was known under the term of alms-giving or gift-giving. One third of every Auditor's working-day had to be devoted to alms-giving pursuits, in fields, workshops or kitchens.

Of course also the Auditors ate. Their eating brought the Living Soul no direct benefit. But for obvious reasons it was not considered sinful for them to eat, provided that they did not eat portions which they should have made over to the Elect. If they did that, or indeed, if they fed Electi who *wrongly* claimed to be pure, they became guilty of grievous sin against the Living Soul, consigning it to perdition at the very moment when it had reason to expect to be at last about to be filtered.

It was necessary to dwell on these details, because in the only surviving Manichean fragment written in Bactrian language, which I am preparing for publication and on which I had the honour to report here in Budapest a fortnight ago at an International Conference convened by Professor Harmatta, the remarkable sentence occurs, «and of grain he consigned to perdition the beauty».

The Manichean text in question is a so-called Ruvānegān text, Ruvānegān being the *Iranian* Manichean term for the institution of alms-giving to the Electi on the part of Auditores. The statement I have quoted, «and of grain he consigned to perdition the beauty», appears to have as subject an Auditor who had been remiss in his Ruvānegān duties. What he consigned to perdition was therefore the Living Soul imprisoned in grain. But it is of quite unusual interest to find the Living Soul here being referred to under the simple name of «Beauty».

You may of course say that I am wrong, and that the Bactrian word *waβ* which I translate as «beauty», means something quite different. It is a Bactrian hapax. Most Bactrian words of any interest are hapaxes.

But *wafβ* is comfortably etymologized as corresponding to Rigvedic *vapuṣ* «shape, beautiful shape, beauty», which in Avestan occurs as *vafuṣ*. The Bactrian sentence therefore immediately reminds one of a suggestion offered by the late Professor Henning to Mary Boyce and published by her in 1960, to the effect that the Middle Persian name *xwšn* of the Living Soul meant «beauty». When after Henning's death in 1967 I enquired of Professor Boyce what reason other than etymological he had given her, she thought none, and even that subsequently Henning himself gave up the idea. But now that Bactrian *wafβ* seems to confirm its correctness, we have a more pressing incentive than Henning appears to have felt, to cast round our minds in search of even further confirmation, that with any luck might clinch the matter.

I believe such luck to have come my way, in the form of a reappraisal, forced on me by *wafβ*, of the meaning of the names which the Column of Glory bears in Parthian and Sogdian. In Parthian texts the Column is called *h'mcyhrq*, in Sogdian texts *ʷkršny*. Both names are compounds, each having as first term the Parthian, respectively Sogdian, outcome of Old Iranian *hāma-*, to which in Greek etymologically corresponds *δμο-*. The second compound-term, *cyhr* in Parthian, *kršn* in Sogdian, means «shape, form, μορφή». Accordingly it was thought until now that in both languages the literal meaning of the compound was «homomorphic», without any convincing explanation being available as to why «homomorphic» should have become a technical term for the Column of Glory. But you have now seen three distinct Iranian words for «shape, form»: the Old Iranian *vafuṣ* whose Vedic equivalent in addition to «shape» meant «beautiful shape», and Parthian *cyhr* as well as Sogdian *kršn*, adjectival derivatives of both of which mean «shapeLY, beautiful» by the same semantic evolution as from Latin *forma* produced *formosus*. The Column of Glory, as we saw, consists uniformly and exclusively of particles of Light which are *Viva Anima*. But if that Light, if that Living Soul, was also called «Beauty», then surely the *μορφή* of the term «homo-morphic» stands for «shapeLIness», and the name of the Column meant not incomprehensibly «homomorphic», but TRANSPARENTLY «that which evenly consists of Light», the term for «Light = Living Soul» here used being «Beauty».

We may now take it for granted, on the strength of Manichean writers in four distinct Iranian languages each applying to the Living Soul a term for «beautiful shape» peculiar to his own language, that really in Iranian Manicheism, and so far as the evidence goes only in Manicheism Iranian, the Living Soul was regarded as sheer and exclusive Beauty. But to recognize this as a fact means to reach the core of the problem. Why is the *Anima Viva* «Beauty», and why is she «Beauty» only in Manicheism Iranian?

There can be no doubt that the term «Living Soul» had been Mani's own, coined by him in the Aramaic language of Babylonia in which he first

formulated his doctrine. From there St. Augustine got his *Anima Viva*, as indeed also in Iranian Manicheism the Living Soul is often called, by Iranian terms meaning respectively «living» and «soul». But it is well known that when Mani, a Persian grown up in Babylonia, preached to Iranians, he often translated his own religious terminology into a quite different, typically Iranian way of thinking.

Bearing this in mind, if we wish to understand why Mani presented the Living Soul to Iranians as Beauty, we must not fail to ask if by any chance earlier, pre-Manichean, Iranian religious thinking could have served him as model for renaming the Living Soul. Many of you will by now have guessed what I am making for: the famous, age-old belief related in the *Haḏōxt Nask* of the Avesta, that every man has a *Daēnā*, a personification or live illustration of his soul in the other world, whom he will meet and see for the first time after death. A man who has lived a good life will encounter after death his *Daēnā* in the shape of a beautiful young woman. A man who has led an evil life will find that his *Daēnā* has the looks of an ugly old hag.

Men will meet their respective *Daēnās* only after death, when of each the sum of all stages of behaviour throughout life has been drawn and the total is, as it were, frozen, no longer alterable, reflected in a *Daēnā* immutably beautiful, or immutably ugly, or of appropriate intermediate looks likewise immutable. But it stands to reason that if it were possible for us to slip out from time to time into the other world while we are still alive, just to have a peep at how our *Daēnā* is faring, we might find her on certain days uglier or more beautiful than on other days, according as our balance of actions stood on the day in question. This is just how Dorian Gray was able stage by stage to observe the deterioration of his soul, by furtively mounting to the room he kept locked and watching the uglification of his portrait. I cannot help it thinking that Oscar Wilde must have drawn the inspiration for his «*Picture of Dorian Gray*» from the Zoroastrian story of the *Daēnā*.

But now, to convince you that we are not dealing with mere coincidences, but are on the track of something solid, grounded on age-old Iranian tradition, let me bring you face to face with the problem as yet unsolved, as to why the Manichean institution of alms-giving by Auditors to *Electi* is called in Iranian, and only in Iranian, *Ruvānegān*.

The word *ruvān*, which in Avestan has the form *urvan-*, is the pan-Iranian word for «soul», so that literally *Ruvānegān* means «that which has reference to the soul». Of course in religion almost anything has reference to the soul, but it has never been clear why a term so ostentatiously sporting the soul, should be the very one chosen to denote the pretty materialistic concern with the feeding, clothing and housing of Manichean monks. For it is not the Living Soul which was alluded to by the term *Ruvānegān*, seeing that in Iranian Manichean terminology the word used for the *anima* of *Anima Viva* is not *ruvān*,

but another word for «soul», *grīw*. Therefore all that Iranologists have so far been able to suggest is that the term Ruvānegān alludes to «the spiritual welfare and salvation» of the Auditor who conscientiously performs his alms-giving duties.

This definition of the implications of the term Ruvānegān is certainly not incorrect, but it does by-pass what to my mind is a pointer to a more exact definition. This pointer I would recognize in the epithet *hu-ruvān* which in Middle Persian Manichean texts is frequently bestowed on Auditors who excel in performing their religious duties. In his 1933 publications Henning translated *hu-ruvān* as «gut-seelig», referring to the Zoroastrian, already Avestan term *hurunya-* of which Bartholomae's explanation reads: «Gutseeligkeit», eigentlich Zustand eines **huruvan-*, «des Seele gut ist». Later, however, Henning noticed that the Sogdian Manichees translated the Middle Persian term *huruvān* as if to them it meant «soul-loving», which is why he himself in subsequent publications translated into English even Middle Persian *huruvān* as «soul-loving». Yet there can be no doubt that a compound of *hu-* and *ruvān* can strictly speaking mean only «he whose *ruvān* is *hu-*», never «he who is *hu-* towards his *ruvān*».

The catch, as I see it, lies in what has been done with *hu-* in this compound. Of course *hu-ruvān* can mean «des Seele gut ist». But if this was a term used already in Zoroastrian antiquity, in the same Avestan scripture which tells us that a man who is good, *hu-*, in this world, will find in the other world that his Daēnā is not good, ethically, but beautiful, aesthetically, visually attractive, then surely Avestan *hurunya-* is not the «Zustand» of one whose soul is good, which in any case would be a pretty meaningless Zustand, but the «Zustand» of one whose Daēnā in the other world, whose picture of Dorian Gray in the locked room, is beautiful. In Avestan usage *hu-* can have either meaning: the name Hutaosā, for instance, means not «she whose thighs are good», but «she who has beautiful thighs».

So we see that when Iranian Manichees, and quite likely Mani himself, describe dutiful Auditors as *huruvān*, they consciously or subconsciously followed an age-old Iranian tradition we already find in primitive Zoroastrianism, which translated ethical goodness into physical beauty, which loved goodness, so to speak, with eyes.

Those of you familiar with Zoroaster's Gathas, will remember that in certain verses the prophet uses the term *daēnā-* interchangeably with the term *urvan-*. It is in fact thanks to this partial interchangeability that we know that to him already the Daēnā was a kind of soul. It has of course long been noticed that etymologically *daēnā-* could very well belong to the root of Persian *dīdan* «to see», so that one might regard a man's Daēnā as a kind of Platonic idea of him in the other world, his visible soul-prototype, the word «idea» also belonging to a base meaning «to see», *vid-*.

I would go further, and suggest that the confusion in modern discussions of the term *daēnā*-, which from oldest times down to the present also served as general word for «religion», arises from there having existed in antiquity two homonyms *daēnā*-: one belonging to the base *dhi*- «to see» and denoting the visible outline of a man's soul; the other belonging to the base of Sanskrit *dyāti* «to bind», Greek *δέω*, with suffix *-inā*-, and therefore quite literally meaning «re-ligio».

And to cap it all, I would add that it is not for nothing that up to now no agreement has been reached as to what was the real original meaning of the pan-Iranian word for «soul», *urvan*-/*ruvān*-. We have been looking in the wrong direction, seeking explanations in the light of our own experience with *anima*, *spiritus*, *ψυχή*. But we are dealing with Iranians, who distinguished between the breathing soul as principle of life, and the soul whose SHAPE they would see in the other world. The most natural analysis of *ruvān* is that a suffix *-ān* was added to a base *rū*-. And if you want a base *rū*- with a meaning that fits what we have seen to be characteristic of the Iranian VIEW of the soul, well, Sanskrit has *rūpa* «shape, form» and «beautiful form», base *rū*- with suffix *-pa*.

Whether or not this etymology commends itself, there remains the fact that already to Zoroaster *urvan*- was a variant of *daēnā*-, so that it is safe to define the Manichean huruvān Auditors as laymen entitled to expect their souls, their *ruvāns*, to look attractive. Our gain from this definition is that at last we understand why to Iranians Mani presented the alms-giving institution under the name of *Ruvānegān*. The institution must have been a harsh one for new converts to swallow. Laymen asked to toil and sweat for the Elect might well say «but what do *we* get out of it, are not the beneficiaries only the theoretical Living *Grīw*, and the lazy Elect, fed clothed and sheltered at our expense?» Mani's answer would set them completely at rest: «Oh no, it is not only the far from theoretical Living *Grīw*, pure divine quintessence tortured in the grip of dread Darkness, nor the far from lazy Elect distilling themselves ascetically to Filters, who benefit from your forced labour within the *Ruvānegān* institution. Not for nothing its name is *Ruvānegān*: each of you safeguards his own *ruvān* by submitting to the institution's prescriptions and discipline. Just think, what CAN be more wonderful than union forever with a soul shaped by your own toil to breath-taking beauty, what CAN there be drearier than eternal union with her disfigured, allowed by your own neglect to grow ugly?»

But our now knowing, or at least believing that we know, why Mani called the alms-giving institution *Ruvānegān*, exposes us to the danger of incurring a fallacy in respect of the reason why he called the Living Soul «Beauty». Would it not be tempting to infer from this name that he had pressed to its last consequence the *Daēnā*-myth: a good man finds his soul in the other world beautiful; but no human being is so good that his soul's beauty will not have to put up with some imperfection; only God has goodness perfect;

ergo the soul that is Beauty, par excellence, can only be God's own. If we were to read such a reasoning into the wonderful name of the Anima Viva we have discovered, we should soon find ourselves drowning in vertiginous Living-Soul/God-Soul/World-Soul speculations on behalf of Mani.

The reason for not drawing such inferences lies partly in its being *grīw*, and not *dēn* (from *daēnā*-) or *ruvān*, which designates the Living Soul as «soul»; but chiefly the reason lies in the fact that the soul which is called «Beauty», the Living Soul, consists of Light. Up to now in this lecture we have been looking exclusively in the Living Soul's being a soul, for an explanation of her name «Beauty». Although we did find an explanation, it would be rash to close the inquiry without asking also if perchance within Iranian tradition the Anima Viva might not deserve the name «Beauty» on account of her being LIGHT.

We shall do well to remind ourselves why she is Light. The difference between Zoroaster's and Mani's dualism, to put it in a nutshell, is that Zoroaster opposes Right to Wrong, while Mani opposes Light to Darkness. Zoroaster's dualism is ethical, Mani's is optical. It is that by dint of his make-up, his genes, which even a prophet cannot escape. Mani's system is a cerebral elucubration, but its elucubrator was an artist, a visual artist. He did write books, but he also drew a picture book. In Persia, long after his writings were forgotten, wiped out by Islam, Mani remained a household word for an artist, the prophet survived as painter. Combining these two vocations of his we might call him the prophet of chiaroscuro, inexorably fated to translate Zoroaster's Right into Light.

Having so translated it, what prompted him to call the lost particles of Light, the ones swallowed up by Darkness, «the Living Soul»? There is no problem about «Living», *Viva*. The particles were alive, Darkness had swallowed them but not killed them. But why did Mani not call them «the Living Light», which surely would have been, indeed is, their truest definition?

If it is only to Iranians that Mani gave «Beauty» as name of the Living Soul, then he must have known that this name would spark off in their minds the recognition of a notion which the tradition of non-Iranians lacked. But Mani was himself an Iranian. The notion in question was therefore one with which he himself had grown up. Might then not this be the notion which impelled him, long before he turned to Iranians, while he was still addressing only Babylonians, to call the lost particles of Light not «the Living Light» but «the Living Soul»?

The fact is that the requisite notion makes its appearance centuries before Mani, in the Avesta. I dealt with it at some length years ago, in my Mithra book, totally unaware at the time of its relevance to Manicheism as disclosed by the Bactrian fragment. The Avestan notion is that light, more specifically daylight and the sun inasmuch as he *is* daylight, is «the most beautiful creature» and has «of (all) shapes the most beautiful shape».

Light is Beauty without further qualification, absolute Beauty. What notion can there be, more compellingly appealing to a prophet born painter. But the prophet in question, witness his use of the terms *huruvān* and *Ruvānegān*, was heir also to ANOTHER notion: the more dutiful the man, the more beautiful his soul. In the *Haḍōxt Nask* in fact the *Daēnā* meeting her deceased paragon of virtue is said to be «in shape of the same beauty as the most beautiful creature». The «most beautiful creature» in the *Avesta*, we have just learned, was Light. So an *Avestan Daēnā*, even though paired with a being no more than human, was not below vying with the unsurpassably ravishing beauty of Light itself!

Would not Mani have been familiar with the *Avestan* statements in point? And if *we* are reminded of them on seeing him call «Beauty» the lost particles of Light we were wondering why he calls «Soul», is this not because it was *he* who had in mind these very same statements when he decided to call the Light «soul»?

We have come round full circle. We started in astonishment at learning from the *Bactrian* fragment that Mani called the Living Soul, the lost particles of Light, «Beauty». We looked for a reason, and found one. But the reason boomeranged on us, and we end by discovering that it was BEAUTY which induced Mani to call the lost particles of Light «Living Soul»! What we took for effect has turned out to be cause: in Beauty Mani the painter saw the common denominator of Light and Soul, through Beauty he merged them.

Such aesthetics of course do not mar, how could they, the ethics which as a prophet Mani felt bound to uphold. They in fact greatly enhance their appeal. It is Mani at his most beguiling whom Lord Henry unwittingly mimics in his repartee: «I can't bear the idea», *Dorian Gray* tells him, «of my soul being hideous»; to which the perceptive Lord replies «A very charming artistic basis for ethics, *Dorian*.»

Cambridge.

PROBLEME DER INTERPRETATION
MANICHÄISCH-SOGHDISCHER BRIEFE*

Daß sich unter den soghdischen Turfantexten in manichäischer Schrift eine Reihe historisch bemerkenswerter Briefe befinden, hat als erster W. B. Henning vor mehr als vierzig Jahren mitgeteilt.¹ Henning machte auch eine knappe Inhaltsangabe der Schreiben, so wie er sie damals verstand, und hob ihre wichtigsten Punkte hervor. Eine Veröffentlichung der Briefe sollte das 5. Kapitel seines Buches «Sogdica», London 1940, bilden. Hennings Bearbeitung war offenbar so weit gediehen, daß die Briefe im Inhaltsverzeichnis angekündigt werden, aber nicht weit genug, um in den Text eines unter schwierigen Zeitumständen entstandenen Werkes noch rechtzeitig Eingang zu finden.² Stattdessen hatte I. Gershevitch die Möglichkeit, viele wichtige Wörter und Formen der Briefe in seinem Artikel «Sogdian Compounds», TPS 1945, S. 137

* In seiner gedruckten Form ist dieser Vortrag des Ergebnis einer berichtigenden und verbessernden Überarbeitung, in deren Verlauf ich Gelegenheit fand, die Originaltexte in der Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek — Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu studieren. Wertvolle Richtigstellungen, Hinweise und Anregungen verdanke ich Herrn Prof. D. N. MacKENZIE (im folgenden MK) und Herrn Dr. N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (im folgenden SW), sowie allen Fachkollegen, die meinen Vortrag am 2. 10. 1980 in Budapest hörten und zu ihm Stellung nahmen. Eine wertvolle Hilfe waren mir der Rat und Beistand meiner Kollegen Dr. TH. THILO und Dr. P. ZIEME, sowie meiner Frau. Ihnen allen, und mit ihnen Herrn Dr. D. GEORGE, dem Direktor der Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek, sei an dieser Stelle gedankt. [Vgl. auch Anhang II.]

¹ W. B. HENNING: Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus. ZDMG 90 (1936) S. 16 ff. Ein Verzeichnis der mutmaßlich zu dieser Textgruppe gehörenden Stücke bei M. BOYCE: A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection. Berlin 1960. S. 148. Die Zugehörigkeit von M 891 a erscheint mir fraglich. Ähnlichen Schriftcharakter haben u. a. die Fragmente M 5885—9 und T III D 271 k (nicht im Katalog). In ihrem Fall ist mit Zugehörigkeit zu Briefen zu rechnen. Auch das zutreffend als «school-exercise» charakterisierte Fragment M 7391 (Catalogue, S. 131) enthält Briefformeln. Das vermutliche Brieffragment M 858 a wird an den Zeilenenden ergänzt durch das von A. N. RAGOZA publizierte Leningrader Stück S I $\frac{\text{Kr IV}}{852}$ inv. No. 3599 (Sogdijskie fragmenty central'no-aziatskogo sobranija instituta vostokovedenija. Moskva 1980. S. 52 u. 152).

² Vgl. I. GERSHEVITCH in: W. B. Henning Memorial Volume. London 1970. S. XII.

ff., und in seiner «Grammar of Manichean Sogdian», Oxford 1954, zu klären. Was aber war mit Hennings Manuskript geschehen? Sein Schicksal ist mir unbekannt geblieben. Ich muß gestehen, daß ich auch nicht systematisch versucht habe, es aufzuklären, denn es erschien mir sowieso wenig sinnvoll, mich an eine Arbeit zu machen, die Henning ohne Zweifel bereits früher viel besser geleistet hatte.

Wenn ich mich nun doch entschlossen habe, an einem berufenen Ort meine Vorstellungen von den beiden größten und wichtigsten Fragmenten, deren Hauptstücke M 112 und M 119 sind,³ mitzuteilen, so 1. weil ich Gelegenheit finde, das Urteil der Fachleute zu hören, 2. weil das Schicksal des wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses Prof. Hennings nach wie vor unklar ist und die Existenz eines von ihm ausgearbeiteten Manuskripts zweifelhaft zu sein scheint, und 3. weil jüngst in einer Reihe erschienener und noch unpublizierter Arbeiten die Geschichte des Manichäismus in Zentralasien und China mit wertvollen neuen Resultaten untersucht wurde,⁴ für die auch die manichäisch-soghdischen Briefe, genauer gesagt: Hennings Angaben von 1936 über diese Schriften, eine gewisse Rolle spielen. Ich meine, daß man heute einiges mehr dazu sagen kann, und da ich Zugang zu den iranischen Turfantexten habe, fühle ich mich verpflichtet, es auch zu tun. Ich tue es nicht, ohne dankbar anzuerkennen, daß es vor allem die Resultate des wissenschaftlichen Lebenswerkes W. B. Hennings sind, die diesen Fortschritt ermöglichten. Henning und Gershevitch folgend bezeichne ich M 112 usw. als den ersten, M 119 usw. als den zweiten Brief.

Mit Henning betrachte ich die Schriftstücke als Briefe, wenngleich ihre Form dies nicht von vornherein erwarten läßt. Sie sind jedenfalls keine leicht erkennbaren Faltbriefe wie etwa die soghdischen Alten Briefe⁵ oder einige der Mugh-Dokumente, sondern einseitig beschriebene Rollen. Sie sind auch nicht in

³ Vgl. dazu M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 10.

⁴ P. ZIEME: Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich. In: *Researches in Altaic Languages*, Budapest 1975. S. 331 ff., Keng Shi-min (耿世民), 回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書初釋 (Notes on an Uigur Government Charter issued to a Manichaean Monastery), in: *Kaogu Xuebao* 4 [1978], S. 497 ff. (Eine neue Gesamtbearbeitung dieses wichtigen Textes wird gegenwärtig von mehreren Gelehrten vorbereitet.), S. N. C. LIEU: A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official in the Late Sung Dynasty (1265): a Study of the Ch'ung-Shou-Kung Chi by Huang Chen. In: *The John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 1977. S. 397 ff., ders.: The Religion of Light. An Introduction to the History of Manichaeism in China. Hong Kong 1979. Ders.: Polemics Against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China (A. D. c. 960 — c. 1200). In: *The John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 1979. S. 132 ff., ders.: Nestorians and Manichaeans on the South China Coast. In: *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980), S. 71 ff., bes. S. 75 mit Anm. 23 a, ders.: Precept and Practice in Manichaean Monasticism. In: *The Journal of Theological Studies* NS 32 (1981) S. 153 ff.

⁵ H. REICHELT: Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums. II. Heidelberg 1931. S. 5.

der geläufigen soghdischen Schrift zu Papier gebracht, sondern in einer vereinfachten Variante der sonst der sakralen Literatur vorbehaltenen manichäischen Schrift. Was für Hennings Auffassung spricht, ist ihr Inhalt, und die formalen Eigentümlichkeiten dürften sich so erklären, daß gewichtige und lange Schreiben an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten vorliegen. Da konnte man keinen alltäglichen Faltbrief schicken, sondern wählte die altehrwürdige Schriftrolle, und zwar nicht die Rückseite von chinesischen Texten sondern jungfräuliches Papier. Daher auch die Verwendung der manichäischen statt der soghdischen Kursivschrift.⁶ Die verfeinerte Form der Schreiben macht es auch unwahrscheinlich, daß sie lediglich Entwürfe oder zum Verbleib beim Absender bestimmte Abschriften darstellen. Man kann daher von der Annahme ausgehen, daß ihr wahrscheinlicher Fundort Qoço⁷ zugleich der Wohnort oder Amtssitz des Empfängers war und nicht umgekehrt der Ort des Absenders. Inhalt und Schrift sprechen auch für Hennings Charakterisierung der Briefe als Dokumente manichäischer Herkunft.⁸

Im folgenden gebe ich eine knappe Beschreibung dessen, was ich als Inhalt der beiden Briefe vermute und als Probleme erkenne. Meine Lesung und Übersetzung des Textes ist diesem Aufsatz als Anhang beigefügt.

⁶ Vergleichbar damit ist die an uigurischen Brieffragmenten gemachte Beobachtung, daß amtliche Schreiben an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten sorgfältiger ausgefertigt werden als Privatbriefe (S. TEZCAN u. P. ZIEME: Uigurische Brieffragmente. In: *Studia Turcica*. Budapest 1971. S. 451 ff.). Was die Art des Briefverschlusses betrifft, so nehmen die Bearbeiter für längere Schreiben die Rollenform an (S. 452).

⁷ Da sowohl M 112 wie M 119 alte, von F. W. K. MÜLLER gegebene M-Signaturen haben, müssen sie von der ersten Turfanexpedition (Nov. 1902 bis März 1903) in Qoço gefunden oder gekauft worden sein (BOYCE: *Catalogue* [s. Anm. 1], S. XXI) und mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit der Ruine α entstammen (BOYCE: ebd. Anm. 3). Diese Annahme wird für M 112 aber durch den Umstand in Frage gestellt, daß das zugehörige Fragment M 162 a (BOYCE: ebd., S. 13) die Fundsignatur T I D 51 trägt, was die Möglichkeit anderer Herkunft innerhalb Qoços offen läßt (BOYCE: ebd., S. XIII). Was M 119 betrifft, so konnte ich auf dem in der Staatsbibliothek in Westberlin befindlichen Original sehen, daß seine Rückseite die alte Signatur T I D I I α (so!), d. h. T I D, T I α , trägt. Das Stück muß also während der ersten Turfanexpedition in Qoço in der Ruine α geborgen worden sein. Damit stimmt überein, daß das zugehörige Fragment M 1225 die Signatur T I α (BOYCE: ebd., S. 69), das ebenfalls zugehörige Stück M 1867 die Signatur T I D (BOYCE: ebd., S. 82) trägt. Die dann naheliegende Annahme, daß das Gebäude α auch der Amts- und Wohnsitz jenes hohen manichäischen Geistlichen war, an den die Briefe gerichtet wurden, ist verlockend aber nicht sicher beweisbar. Sie ist unwahrscheinlich angesichts der Erklärung der Ruine als Rest eines buddhistischen Heiligtums (A. v. LECOQ: *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. Die manichäischen Miniaturen, Berlin 1923, S. 28 ff.).

⁸ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16 ff. Die einmal erwogene Alternativmöglichkeit, daß nestorianische Briefe vorliegen (M. BOYCE: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Bd. Iranistik, 2. Abschn. Literatur, Lieferung 1, Leiden Köln 1968, S. 73), trifft mit Sicherheit nicht zu.

Erster Brief

(Ein aus den nur teilweise zusammensetzbaren Stücken M 112, 146 a, 162 a, 336 a, 336 b und 336 c bestehender Briefrest in Rollenform, die Rückseite trägt einen uigurischen Text in spätem Duktus.⁹ Über die Lokalisierung der Teile läßt sich nur sagen, daß M 146 a und M 336 c im mir vorliegenden Text mit M 112 zusammengefügt sind und daß M 336 a in größerem Abstand M 112 usw. voranging. Wo M 336 b und M 162 a einzuordnen sind, ist unbekannt. In dieser Arbeit gehören die Zeilen /1—13/ zu M 336 a, /14—32/ zu M 112 + 146 a + 336 c, /33—37/ zu M 336 b und /38—40/ zu M 162 a.

Die geschichtlich bedeutsamste Aussage dieses Schreibens, von Henning bereits bekanntgemacht,¹⁰ ist die Erwähnung der beiden Parteien der syrisch-manichäischen Kirche, der myhry'nd (Zeile 5) und mkl'sykt (Zeile 10), im arabischen Text des Fihrist *mihriya* und *miqlāšiya*.¹¹ Es scheint, daß der soghdische Verfasser eines ihrer Worte — in mp. Sprache — zitiert, dessen unvollständiger Erhaltungszustand sehr zu bedauern ist. Es lautet in Zeile 3: 'yg hm'g dyn 'm'h hwm «der ganzen Religion/Kirche sind wir». Danach dürften die Syrer, vielleicht insbesondere die in Zeile 5 genannten *Mihryänd*, als Sachwalter oder Sprecher der manichäischen Gesamtkirche aufgetreten sein, was insofern verständlich ist, als die *Mihriya* jene Partei der manichäischen Kirche Mesopotamiens darstellte, von der die *Miqlāšiya* sich abgespaltete und deren Oberhaupt in Babylon seinen Sitz hatte. Da in Zeile 10 dann noch die *Miklāsikt* in unklarem Zusammenhang genannt sind, so scheint es, daß Anhänger beider Parteien sich damals in Zentralasien befanden. Der Briefschreiber dürfte aber wenig Unterschiede zwischen ihnen bemerkt und beide Gruppen mit derselben Geringschätzung betrachtet haben. Seine Bemerkung in den Zeilen 11—12 «denn von einem Gesetz und einem Ursprung . . . sind sie» läßt sich jedenfalls so deuten. Hennings allgemein akzeptierte Annahme, der Briefschreiber habe allein gegen die *Mihriya* polemisiert,¹² ist nicht widerlegbar. Der Inhalt des zweiten Briefes spricht aber nicht für diese Auffassung (vgl. S. 297).

Von den zuvor genannten Syrern ist dann gewiß auch im folgenden erhaltenen Hauptteil des Briefes die Rede. Was zunächst gegen diese gedankliche Einheit des Gesamtschreibens zu sprechen scheint, ist die Tatsache, daß das Oberhaupt der kritisierten Gemeinschaft den persischen Namen *Mihr-*

⁹ M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1], S. 10.

¹⁰ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16 ff.

¹¹ G. FLÜGEL: Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Leipzig 1862. S. 68. Z. 1., der Pl. *al-maqāliša* S. 68. Zeile 13 u. 15. vgl. Kitāb al-Fihrist I. ed. G. FLÜGEL, Leipzig 1871. S. 335, Z. 19, 27, 29. The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, ed. B. DODGE, Bd. II. New York, London 1970. S. 793. Über die beiden Religionsparteien vgl. FLÜGEL: Mani, S. 66 ff., 97 ff., Kitāb al-Fihrist I. S. 334, Z. 3 ff., DODGE: S. 792 ff.

¹² Neue Materialien (s. Anm. 1), S. 17.

pādār führt und daß die Electae dieser Gemeinschaft ebenso *dēnāvarānē* (Sg.) genannt werden, wie die Erwählten-Schwestern der zentralasiatischen *Dēnāvariya*-Gemeinde. Aber beide Einwände sind nicht zwingend. Ein syrischer Manichäer konnte ebensowohl *Mihr-pādār* heißen wie der Begründer der *Mihrīya*-Partei den persischen Namen *Mihr* führte und der eigentliche Begründer der *Miqlāšiya Zād-Hormezd* hieß. Und Begriffe wie *dēnāwar* und *dēnāwarīft* haben die zentralasiatischen Manichäer offenbar nicht zur Abgrenzung von ihren westlichen Glaubensbrüdern benützt und daher ihrer eigenen Gemeinschaft vorbehalten. Wenn sie diese bezeichnen wollten, so sprachen sie von der Kirche von Churasan.¹³

Unter der Voraussetzung also, daß die Zeilen 14 ff. von den zuvor genannten Syrern handeln, nehme ich an, daß der Briefschreiber nunmehr die hohen Ansprüche der Fremden kritisch an ihrem Glaubenswandel und diesen an den Forderungen der fünf für die Elekten geltenden Gebote mißt. Ihre Taten werden gewogen und zu leicht befunden.

Als erstes kommt das Zeile 13 genannte Gebot der «Wahrhaftigkeit» (*ršty'k exš'pδδ*), also des Bekenntnisses der manichäischen Glaubenslehren, zur Sprache, doch das dazu Gesagte ist leider ganz verlorengegangen, was um so bedauerlicher ist, als es für eine genauere Kenntnis der Auffassungen von *Mihrīya* und *Miqlāšiya* ohne Zweifel sehr bedeutsam gewesen wäre. Mit Zeile 14 ff. setzt der Text des Briefes wieder mitten im Zweiten Gebot, *pw'zrmy'h* «das Nichtverletzen», ein, in dem Taten einer oder mehrerer Erwählten-Schwestern der angeklagten Gemeinde beschrieben werden, die der in den irdischen Elementen und Organismen verstreuten *viva anima* Leid und Schaden bereiten und die eigentlich nur von Hörern hätten verrichtet werden dürfen. Für alle Beschuldigungen werden Augenzeugen genannt, so daß die ungeliebten fremden Glaubensbrüder längere Zeit kritisch beobachtet worden sein dürften. Da hat jemand gesehen, daß jemand pflanzliche Produkte abhieb und daraus etwas nähte (Zeilen 15–16). Ein anderes Mal hat ihre Erwählten-Schwester mit einem Grabegerät den Boden bearbeitet (Zeile 18). Auch wurde von den Beklagten Mehl gemahlen und Holz geschnitten (Zeilen 19–20). Großen Raum (Zeilen 20–22) nimmt die skandalöse Beobachtung ein, daß ihre Erwählten-Schwester einmal «Blut nahm» (*xwrnyy 'syyskwn*, Zeile 21), was wohl dasselbe bedeutet wie np. *xūn gereftan*, wtl. «Blut nehmen», nämlich

¹³ Dyn 'y *xwr's'n* u. ä. in M 4 (f) /R/10–11/, M 82 /V/18–19/, M 83 /I/V/17/, M 190 /4/, M 235 /I/R/9/, M 494/3(?), M 1368 /4/, M 1863 /14/. Dagegen finde ich parth. *dyn'wryft* nur ein einziges Mal belegt in M 6020 /3/, publ. bei HENNING: A Grain of Mustard. AION-L 1965, S. 30 f. HENNING erklärte seine dort gegebene Übersetzung «the man who is in the *Dēnāvariyya*» überzeugend als Hörer der «(Eastern) Manichaeen church». Diese Selbstbezeichnung ist aber gewiß nicht als Parteienname zu verstehen, der die eigene Gemeinschaft vom Rest der manichäischen Kirche abgrenzen sollte. Wenn überhaupt, so mochte sie der Abgrenzung gegen Christen, Buddhisten und andere dienen.

zu Heilzwecken Blut schröpfen oder zur Ader lassen.¹⁴ Dies habe sie getan und dann verwerflicherweise en "py 'pryw km' sn'yyskwn, «mit Wasser das km' gewaschen». Leider ist km' ein Hapax legomenon unbekannter Bedeutung. Man erwartet, daß es entweder ein von Blut beschmiertes chirurgisches Messer oder das Schröpfinstrument oder die bei der Blutentnahme entstandene Wunde, vielleicht auch ein Reinigungstuch¹⁵ ist. Das Abwaschen des Blutes mußte dann das Wasser verunreinigen, und eben dies wurde der Heilpraktikerin vorgeworfen. Die Anklage stimmt überein mit dem, was wir aus anderen Quellen über die Hochachtung und Reinhaltung des Wassers bei den Manichäern wissen.¹⁶

¹⁴ J. A. RUBINČIK: *Persidsko-russkij slovar'*. I. Moskva 1970. S. 589 *xūn gereftan med.* «puskat' krov'». Das kann sowohl «zur Ader lassen» wie «schröpfen» bedeuten. So erklärt M. MO'IN: *A Persian Dictionary I*. Teheran 1963. S. 1464 *xūn-gīr* als *rag-zan*, *faššād* «Aderlasser», *haššām* «Aderlasser, Schröpfer». Im vorliegenden Text dürfte das Zeile 25 ff. beschriebene dreifache «Blut-Nehmen» aber eher ein Schröpfen als ein Aderlaß gewesen sein. Das Schröpfen (*hešāmat*) wird in Mo'ins Wörterbuch, S. 1341, so beschrieben: «Dem Körper wird so Blut entzogen, daß eine besondere Klinge ein Stück Haut zwischen den Schulterknochen aufschneidet und mit einem besonderen Instrument (dem 'Schröpfhorn') die aufgeschnittenen Hautteile abgesaugt und die genügende Menge Blut dem Körper entzogen wird.» Zu «Schröpfhorn» (*šāh-e hešāmat*) sagt Mo'in: «Das Endstück eines Rindshornes, dessen Inneres ausgehöhlt worden ist.» Beide Formen des Blutentzuges haben in den Heilkunden des Orients eine alte Tradition. Für Indien vgl. J. JOLLY in: *Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*. 3. Bd., Heft 10, Medizin. Straßburg 1901. S. 35, für die islamische Welt: M. ULLMANN: *Die Medizin im Islam*. In: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 1. Abt., Ergbd. 6, 1. Abschn. Leiden, Köln 1970. S. 16. Auch in Zentralasien muß der Blutentzug praktiziert worden sein, wie aus türkischen Texten hervorgeht (vgl. R. MÜLLER: *Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien* (Turfan). In: *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 15 (1923) S. 21 ff., G. R. RACHEMATI: *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*. II. SPAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 1932. XXII. Berlin 1932. S. 419).

¹⁵ Darf in diesem Fall np. *kaṃā* «a sleeve; old cloth sewed together, whereon bread is laid to be baked in the oven» (F. STEINGASS: *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1963. S. 1046) verglichen werden?

¹⁶ Die «große griechische Abschwörungsformel» sagt den Manichäern das Verbot nach, «ihren Schmutz mit Wasser abzuwaschen, damit nicht, wie sie sagen, das Wasser befleckt wird» (Die Gnosis III, *Der Manichäismus*, unter Mitwirkung von J. P. ASMUSSEN ed. v. A. BÖHLIG. Zürich, München 1980. S. 299, Text bei A. ADAM: *Texte zum Manichäismus*. Berlin 1954. S. 100, 114 f.). Daß der Besuch der öffentlichen Bäder den Manichäern grundsätzlich als verwerflich galt, folgt auch aus Augustins Beschuldigung: «Multi in vino et carnibus, multi lavantes in balneis inventi sunt» (De Mor. Man., Kap. 19, 68, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus, ser. latina prior*. Bd. 32, Paris 1861. Sp. 1374). Umgekehrt verleiht die erörterte Briefstelle einer Mitteilung Li Chao's (李肇) in seinem *Tang guo shi bu* (唐國史補) (I. Ht. des 9. Jh.) Gewicht, wonach die Manichäer das Wasser «verehrten», vgl. ED. CHAVANNES und P. PELLLOT: *Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine* (deuxième partie), in: JA 1913, S. 268. Die Richtigkeit von 敬 «ils respectent» hatten die Autoren wenn nicht zurückgewiesen, so doch in Zweifel gezogen und gemeint, daß der Text ursprünglich «sie trinken» gehabt habe (ebd., S. 274 Anm. 3). Vgl. auch S. 349 Anm. 2.

Wenn die Fremden ihre Electa mit der Entschuldigung verteidigen, sie habe Brunnenwasser genommen und dies sei tot, d. h. wohl, es enthalte nichts von der Lebendigen Seele, so wurde dies in Mittelasien zweifellos als Beweis für die Laxheit der Moral der Syrer aufgefaßt. Uns erinnert es aber auch an die wichtige Scheidung zwischen stehendem und fließendem Wasser beim Taufritual der Mandäer,¹⁷ so daß sich in dieser Haltung der beschuldigten Erwählten-Schwester vielleicht eine altererbe, unter den mesopotamischen Täufern verbreitete Auffassung kundtut. Eine Verletzung des Zweiten Gebotes ist es auch, wenn Heilpflanzen zerstoßen und Feuer gelöscht(?) werden (Zeilen 22—23).

Die Zeilen 24 ff. bis zum Ende des Fragments behandeln Verstöße der Syrer gegen das Dritte Gebot, *dyncyhryft* *cxš'pδδ*, «Religionsmäßiges Verhalten», d. h. keuscher, ja streng enthaltsamer Lebenswandel in sexuellen Dingen. Was der Briefschreiber hier vorzubringen hat, sind Klatsch- und Tratschgeschichten reinsten Wassers, deren Wichtigkeit für den Manichäer strikter Observanz aber durch chinesische Nachrichten über die radikale Trennung der Geschlechter bei den manichäischen Klerikern verdeutlicht wird.¹⁸ Unser Briefschreiber nun weiß von *Mihr-pādār*, dem Oberhaupt (s'r'r) der inkriminierten Gemeinde (Zeile 25), zu berichten, daß er eine Lohnmagd (*z'k'nc kr'y'nc*) zu sich kommen ließ und mit ihr hinter verschlossener Tür alleine blieb, damit sie sein Fußleiden durch Blutentzug, d. h. wohl Schröpfen, heile. Die eigenen Electi *Yazd-Aryāmān*, *Drist-Rōšn*, *Mihr-Wahman* und *Wahman-šāh* stellten darauf das Mädchen zur Rede, das sich aber nicht bußfertig zeigte, sondern sogar erwiderte, sie müsse noch ein weiteres Mal zu *Mihr-pādār* gehen (Zeilen 25—29).

Eines anderen Verstoßes gegen das Dritte Gebot machte *Mihr-pādār* sich schuldig, als er einen heftigen Streit zwischen einer Dienerin und einer Erwählten-Schwester seiner Gemeinde dadurch gewaltsam schlichtete, daß er die Dienerin am Arm packte und somit körperlich berührte (Zeilen 29—31).

Bedenken wir, daß noch das Vierte und das Fünfte Gebot behandelt worden sein dürften, so muß der Brief ein sehr umfangreiches Sündenregister enthalten haben, aus dem hervorging, daß eine tiefe Diskrepanz zwischen den hohen Ansprüchen der Syrer und ihrem Glaubenswandel bestand.

¹⁷ K. RUDOLPH: *Iconography of Religions XXI. Mandaeism*. Leiden 1978. S. 8.

¹⁸ Vgl. besonders, was *Lu Yu* (1125—1209) in seinem *Lao xue ang bi ji* (老學菴筆記) als Meinung der Anhänger der «Religion des Lichts» (d. h. der Manichäer) in Fu-Kien zu dieser Frage mitteilt: «Qu'hommes et femmes ne soient pas séparés, voilà ce qui est démoniaque; qu'hommes et femmes ne se donnent rien en se touchant la main, voilà la [règle de la] religion de la lumière» (CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité II*. [s. Anm. 16], S. 342 mit Anm. 2, Text S. 343). Vgl. auch ebd., S. 353 f., 362, LIEU: *Polemics against Manichaeism* [s. Anm. 4], S. 153.

Zweiter Brief

(Ein aus den Stücken M 119, 119 a, 119 b, 1225, 1867 a und 1867 b bestehendes, einseitig beschriebenes Rollenfragment,¹⁹ dessen Zeilen sich wie folgt zusammensetzen: /1—4/: M 1225, /4—6/: M 119 a, /5—19/: M 119, /18—19/: M 1867 b, /19—21/: M 1867 a, /19—20/: M 119 b. Denselben Duktus und Zeilenabstand hat ein kleines, drei Zeilenreste umfassendes Fragment T III D 271 K, das nicht im Katalog von M. Boyce erscheint, hier M 119 c genannt. Seine zweite Zeile lautet βγγšty[y] krj w(rz. . .). Im Gegensatz zu anderen Stücken des zweiten Briefes trägt M 119 c auf seiner Rückseite uigurischen Text, doch schließt dies Zugehörigkeit nicht aus. Nur ein Teil des Briefes könnte ja zur Wiederbeschriftung verwendet worden sein.

Als Sprecher einer von Zwistigkeiten zerrissenen Gemeinde wenden sich der oder die Schreiber des zweiten Briefes an eine hochgestellte, nur xypδ'wnd «Herrscher» genannte (Zeilen 5, 14), höflich βγ «Herr» angeredete (Zeile 5) Persönlichkeit. Die Schwierigkeiten sind offenbar so groß geworden, daß sie der Beachtung der angerufenen Autorität anempfohlen werden, damit sie Schlimmeres verhindere (Zeile 7, 17).²⁰

Für wen der Briefschreiber sich verwendet, wird in den Zeilen 10, 11 und 12 gesagt. Es sind m'x xwyštrt «unsere Oberen» und 'skwncykt xwyštrt

¹⁹ Vgl. M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 10.

²⁰ Frm'y 'ms' 'ktyy bzw. 'ms' frm'y 'krtyy. HENNING hatte zuvor den Sinn des Satzes dahingehend zusammengefaßt, daß «der Erzbischof» die Missetäter verwarnen und ihnen anbefehlen solle, «den früher in diesem Lande so angesehenen religiösen Oberhäuptern die gebührende Achtung entgegenzubringen (Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16), hatte frm'y also im üblichen Sinne als «befehlen» verstanden. Eine Bedeutung «Gehorsam, Gefolgschaft» für 'ms' vorausgesetzt, erschien mir diese Auffassung sinnvoller als jene von I. GERSHEVITCH, der «please, pay obedience» übersetzte (A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian. Oxford 1961. § 1682). Ich war daher Henning in der ursprünglichen Fassung dieser Arbeit gefolgt. MK und SW belehren mich jedoch mit Recht, daß 'ms' tatsächlich «Beobachtung, Aufmerksamkeit» bedeutet, MK u. a. mit Hinweis auf A. N. RAGOZAS Sogdijskie fragmenty [vgl. Anm. 1], Nr. 37, Z. 18, SW u. a. mit Hinweis auf HENNINGS richtigstellende Übersetzung bei J. P. ASMUSSEN: X^aästvānift. Studia in Manichaeism. Copenhagen 1965. S. 238, Anm. 6. Die zutreffende Bedeutung von chr.-soghd. 'ms' wn- «faire attention, observer» dürfte E. BENVENISTE als erster festgestellt haben (JA 239 [1951], S. 118), der das Wort mit parth. pdms- «verstehen» und pdm's «Verstand, Urteils» verglich. Die von MK erwogene Herleitung von *ā+mq-sko- ist damit gut vereinbar. Zur Etymologie von 'ms' vgl. weiterhin D. WEBER: Die Stellung der sog. Inchoativa im Mitteliranischen. Göttingen 1970. S. 102 f. Wenn aber in den fraglichen Briefstellen zur Aufmerksamkeit aufgefordert wird und nicht zum Gehorsam, so gewinnt die von GERSHEVITCH vertretene Auffassung von frm'y als einer höflichen Bitte sehr an Wahrscheinlichkeit und ist mit MK und SW gewiß zu bevorzugen. Daß sie im Soghdischen nicht unbelegt ist, betont SW mit Hinweis auf VJ, Z. 179, M 617 /I/V/8/ in GMS §§ 733 und 927 und auf C 2/13. V 15 in seiner noch ungedruckten Arbeit über diese Handschrift, wo frm'(y) qty «please do (it)» syr. s'wr «do (it)» entspricht.

«die gegenwärtigen Oberen». Offenbar wird ihr Schicksal mit dem einiger früherer Lehrer und anderer *Electi* verglichen, von denen es heißt, daß ihnen Lehrer und Bischöfe der angeklagten Partei «auf den Kopf gestiegen» seien (pr ... sry ... stty, Zeile 18, [prw] ... sryy ... st'nd, Zeile 19–20). Hier liegt wohl eine idiomatische Wendung vor. Wenn ein Vergleich mit np. *bar sar āmadan* «superare; incementum afferre, augere; elevari»,²¹ wtl. «auf den Kopf kommen», erlaubt ist, so könnte dies bedeuten, daß die Vertreter der Gegenpartei jenen der eigenen an die Seite getreten sind, sie vielleicht auch überwunden, bedrängt oder verdrängt haben, ihnen jedenfalls mancherlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben. Daß mehrere Lehrer der eigenen Partei erwähnt werden, darunter ein *Nēwānzādag* (Zeile 19), verdient Hervorhebung.

Wer ist die Gegenpartei, die zum Gehorsam gebracht werden soll? Die Zeilen 15 ff. nennen und bewerten sie. Es heißt da: «Dieser schmutzigen und gemeinen Syrer Brauch und Kunst ist so: in Spaltung und Streit sind sie erfahren [und] geübt, denn 'geistige Spaltung' herrscht hier.» Die wesentlichen Teile dieser wichtigen Stelle hatte Henning schon 1936 bekanntgemacht.²² Sie lassen erkennen, daß es Glaubensgenossen fremder Nationalität, Syrer, d. h. Manichäer aus Mesopotamien, waren, die Unruhe stiftend bei ihren zentralasiatischen Glaubensbrüdern auftraten. Daß tatsächlich die als Gegner der eigenen Geistlichen genannten Persönlichkeiten Syrer gewesen sein können, wird durch den syr. Namen *Gavryav* (Zeile 19, auch bereits Zeile 3) bestätigt. Auch der Bischof *ktwn'* könnte einen syrischen Namen getragen haben (Zeile 20). Dagegen führten die Lehrer *Saxtōē* (Zeile 20)²³ und *Māhdād* (Zeile 18) persische Namen. Die den Syrern pauschal vorgeworfene Streitsucht bezieht sich wohl auf die Auseinandersetzung zwischen *Mihriya* und *Miqlašīa*, deren Parteien der erste Brief nennt. Es scheint also, daß die wegen ihres laxen Glaubenslebens angeklagten Gegner des ersten Briefes derselben Herkunft sind wie die Unruhestifter des zweiten Schreibens. Ich habe auch den Eindruck, daß beide Briefautoren den Parteiungen der syrischen Glaubensbrüder mit gleicher Distanz gegenüberstehen (vgl. S. 292). Sie sind nicht *Mihryānd* und *Miklāsikt*, ihre Partei ist eben die Kirche von Churasan, die die westlichen Manichäer als *Dēnāwarīya* bezeichneten. Den Gegnern schreibt der zweite Brief die ängstliche Behauptung zu: «Die Oberhäupter steigen ein wenig empor, und dann steigen sie wieder hinab...» (Zeilen 16–17). Problematisch ist an diesem Satz fast alles. 'yw p'zky' wurde bisher m. W. nicht belegt.²⁴ Was aber bedeuten «hinauf-» und «hinabsteigen»? Mein Erklärungsversuch

²¹ J. A. VULLERS: *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*. I. Bonn 1855. S. 51.

²² Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16.

²³ Zu diesem Namen vgl. F. JUSTI: *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg 1895. S. 280 s. v. *Saxtūyeh*.

²⁴ Vgl. Anm. 47 zum Anhang I.

setzt voraus, daß beide Verben eine Art Wechselbewegung bezeichnen, und ferner, daß sie die den manichäischen Elekten vorgeschriebenen beständigen Reisen im Dienste ihrer Religion,²⁵ ihr Kommen und Gehen von Ort zu Ort, zum Gegenstand haben. Chinesische Quellen bezeugen sie für China ausdrücklich und sprechen von einem Kommen aus der Fremde und einer Rückkehr in den Heimatort.²⁶ In Zentralasien dürfte es nicht anders gewesen sein. Aber Auf- und Absteigen ist nicht Kommen und Gehen. Beide Bewegungen könnten nur unter der Bedingung identisch sein, daß das Reiseziel hoch über dem Ausgangspunkt der Reise lag oder eine idiomatische Verwendung der Worte nachweisbar ist. Es lassen sich verschiedene Situationen denken, in denen dies zutrifft, z. B.: wenn die Reise vor der Seidenstraße im Einzugsgebiet des Tarim aus über den Tien-Schan in das Uigurische Steppenreich führte. Die Turfan-oase etwa liegt 154 m unter dem Meeresspiegel, während die höchsten Gebirgsgipfel bei Urumtschi die 5000 m-Grenze übersteigen. Eine Reise in dieser Richtung ist in der Tat ein «Hinaufsteigen».²⁷ Aber es könnte auch anders gewesen sein, wenn «hinaufsteigen» z. B. das Gehen in eine Metropole bezeichnete. Sollte eine derartige idiomatische Wendung in dem manichäischen Brief voraussetzen sein, so würde das Aufsteigen der Syrer ihre Ankunft in der Hauptstadt des Uigurischen Steppenreiches oder in Qoço oder in der Hauptstadt eines anderen Kleinstaates an der Seidenstraße, ja vielleicht sogar Chinas bedeuten. Wie Th. Thilo mir mitteilt, ist es im Chinesischen üblich, das Gehen in die Hauptstadt als «Hinaufgehen» zu bezeichnen, das Gehen aufs Land als «Hinabgehen». In der meinem Vortrag folgenden Diskussion bestätigten mir auch J. Harmatta und I. Gershevitch, daß Bewegungen nach und von Budapest, bzw. in englische Universitätsstädte oder aus ihnen fort in analoger Weise bezeichnet werden, und es ließen sich gewiß noch weitere Beispiele in anderen Sprachen finden.

²⁵ Vgl. ED. CHAVANNES u. P. PELLIOT: Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine. JA 1911. S. 572 f.

²⁶ Vgl. den Kommentar des *Hu Sanxing* (胡三省) zum *Zi zhi tong jian* (資治通鑑) (1285): «Les grands [religieux] manichéens . . . ne font la voyage qu'une fois en plusieurs années pour venir de leur pays d'origine ou y retourner; les petits [religieux] alternent chaque année» (CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: Traité II [s. Anm. 16], S. 266 mit Anm. 2, Text S. 267). Seine Quelle, Li Chao's *Tang guo shi bu* (vgl. Anm. 16) wird so zitiert: «Les grands [religieux] manichéens . . . ne se remplacent qu'au bout de plusieurs années, allant dans le royaume de Milieu et en revenant; les petits [religieux] alternent chaque année.» Vgl. auch LIEU: Polemics against Manichaeism [s. Anm. 4], S. 145 f.

²⁷ Vgl. A. v. LECOQ (in entgegengesetzter Richtung reisend): «Nachdem wir das Gebirge [bei Urumtschi] durchquert hatten, stiegen wir in die merkwürdige Niederung von Turfan herab, . . .» (Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Leipzig 1926. S. 35). Zu soghd. sn- «besteigen» vgl. z. B. C 87 = T III B 61⁴/5/ [qw] (γ)rys'r snnt en zyryny pyd'[r] «auf den Berg steigen sie des Goldes wegen».

Welche Sachverhalte wir auch immer hinter den Worten des Briefes vermuten mögen, daß «herauf-» und «hinabsteigen» in diesem Fall dasselbe wie «kommen» und «gehen» bedeutet, ist sehr wahrscheinlich, und der fragliche Satz könnte besagen, daß die syrischen Gäste zur Beruhigung der Gemüter behaupteten, sie würden, gewissermaßen ihrem ambulanten Lebensstil verpflichtet, nicht für immer bleiben, und sie kämen in der besten Absicht, das Wohl der Kirche zu mehren (Zeile 16—18). Es überrascht freilich nicht, daß der Verfasser des zweiten Briefes ihnen mißtraut. «Dies Wort ist ganz verderblich», sagt er (Zeile 17). Er befürchtet also, daß die unverträglichen Syrer sich für die Dauer in der Gemeinde einnisten und sogar die Gewalt an sich reißen werden. Dies sagt er offenbar in den Zeilen 9 ff.: «Sie steigen empor und vermischen sich mit uns, und es wird einige Jahre dauern, . . . , nach(?) dem Willen der gegenwärtigen Oberen wird es sein, . . . ungesetzlicher und unzeitiger Befehl wird zu den gegenwärtigen Oberen emporkommen. . . [Jene], die ihre Spione waren,²⁸ werden fest an die Stelle unserer Oberen treten und unser . . . Und sie werden die Hart-Bedrängten in ihrem Selbst zerbrechen und den Oberen große Not bereiten und im Bl[ut . . . ihre Hände(?)] waschen. . . ». Als ein schlechtes Beispiel, das Schlimmeres befürchten läßt, scheint sodann in mir unklarem Zusammenhang das Wirken eines gewissen Yazd-Mäh genannt worden zu sein (Zeile 14).

Diese Syrer also waren dabei, durch aufsässige Streitsucht die Autorität eines zuvor etablierten Gemeindeglerus zu untergraben. Was sie behaupteten, muß im verlorenen Anfang des Briefes gestanden haben. In den erhaltenen Teilen ist, wenn meine Textergänzungen zutreffen, lediglich von w'xšt ekštyt «häßlichen Worten» (Zeile 7) die Rede. Ein wenig wissen wir von deren Inhalt, wenn die Behauptung auf einem dem Fragment M 119 a zugefügten Etikett zutrifft,²⁹ daß dies die rechte Ecke von M 119 bilde, und zwar offenbar so, daß M 119 a /2/ den Anfang der ersten Zeile von M 119 darstellt. In diesem Fall hätte jemand behauptet: nwm pδk' mn(?) I mγwn xcy «das Gesetz ist mir ebenso.»³⁰

²⁸ Meine Übersetzung folgt GERSHEVITCH: Grammar [s. Anm. 20] § 1679.

²⁹ Vgl. M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1], S. 10.

³⁰ I mγwn zu man.-soghd. 'yw mγwn, das von GERSHEVITCH: Grammar [s. Anm. 20] § 1317 «altogether» übersetzt wird, dazu buddh.-soghd. 'yw mγ'wn (E. BENVENISTE: JA 1936. S. 218) und christl.-soghd. 'yw mγwn, als dessen Bedeutung N. SIMS-WILLIAMS in seiner noch unpublizierten Edition der Sammelhandschrift C 2 «like» nachweisen konnte (Anm. zu p. 65 /V/27/). Die Bedeutung des Ausdruckes ist gleichwohl fraglich. SW erwägt «The law is the same for me (as for you)». Sollte aber eine der Sonderbedeutung des deutschen «gleich» im Sinne von «egal, gleichgültig» entsprechende Entwicklung auch für das soghdische Wort angenommen werden dürfen, so ergäbe sich die provokatorische Feststellung «Das Gesetz ist mir egal» [Vgl. aber S. 309, Anm. 31.].

Nach dieser Beschreibung der Gegenpartei läßt sich das über die eigenen Oberen Gesagte noch etwas konkretisieren. Sie waren keine Syrer sondern offenbar Iraner, Soghder oder Perser, wie mindestens aus dem Namen *Nēwān-zādag* (Zeile 19) hervorzugehen scheint.

Man wird dem Verfasser des zweiten Briefes Betroffenheit von einem schwerwiegenden gesellschaftlichen Problem nicht absprechen, wie immer man seinen Standpunkt beurteilen mag. Aus dem ersten Brief läßt dieser Eindruck sich nicht unmittelbar gewinnen. Im übrigen aber haben beide Schreiben so viele Gemeinsamkeiten, daß die Annahme, sie seien gleichen Alters und handelten auf ihre Weise von denselben Dingen, gestattet ist. Die noch offenen Fragen, wann, von wem und an wen die Briefe geschrieben wurden, sollten daher für beide Dokumente im Zusammenhang zu beantworten versucht werden.

Wann wurden die Briefe geschrieben? Zweifellos, wie bereits Henning betonte, nach der Entstehung der *Mihriya*- und *Miqlašiya*-Parteien der mesopotamischen Manichäer, d. h. nach dem Zeugnis des Fihrist allerfrühestens in der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts.³¹ Ein *terminus ad quem* läßt sich weniger leicht gewinnen. Für Henning war er durch die Rückkehr der *Miqlašiya* zur *Mihriya* gegeben, die etwa 880 erfolgte.³² Henning selbst betonte jedoch die Unsicherheit einer solchen Zeitbestimmung. Die Möglichkeit fortdauernder Parteienkämpfe, zumal im fernen Zentralasien, ließ sich ja nicht ausschließen.³³ Epigraphische Gründe sprechen nach Henning für eine Entstehung der Schreiben frühestens um die Mitte des 9. Jh.³⁴ Mir selbst erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang der rein iranische Charakter der Briefe hervorhebenswert. Ihre Sprache ist soghdisch, nicht türkisch. Die genannten Personen tragen iranische oder syrische Namen. Nirgendwo stößt man auf einen türkischen Namen oder ein türkisches Wort. Die geläufige Sprache mindestens des Adressaten in Qočo, vielleicht auch des Absenders, wahrscheinlich aber jene des Briefschreibers dürfte also die soghdische gewesen sein.

Bedenkt man, daß die Vernichtung des Uigurischen Steppenreiches durch die Kirgisen im Jahre 840 zur Auswanderung uigurischer Stämme nach *Gaochang*, *Ganzhou* und in andere Gegenden Chinesisch Turkistans führte und damit zur schließlichen Turkisierung dieser Gebiete,³⁵ so erscheint eine Datierung der Briefe vor Mitte des 9. Jh. oder doch nicht viel später sehr wohl möglich.

Der Schriftduktus widerspricht nicht dieser Möglichkeit. Als Briefe mochten sie in einem vereinfachten Stil geschrieben worden sein, neben dem

³¹ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17.

³² Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17.

³³ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17 Anm. 4.

³⁴ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17 Anm. 4.

³⁵ Vgl. A. v. GABAIN: Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo, Wiesbaden 1973. S. 19, CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 307.

die ornamentale Schreibform üblich war und blieb. Daß beide Stile längere Zeit nebeneinander beherrscht wurden, ist jedenfalls wahrscheinlicher als daß sie einander einfach ablösten.

An wen sind die Briefe gerichtet? An eine hochgestellte Persönlichkeit von Kompetenz und Autorität in geistlichen Dingen, also eher an einen Kleriker als an einen weltlichen Herren. Daß er im zweiten Brief $xyp\delta'wnd$ «Herrscher» genannt wird, spricht nicht dagegen. Das Fragment M 7440 stellt die Anschrift eines Briefes dar und nennt den Adressaten in der Form $'t' \beta\gamma'n \ 'n\gamma wn \ p's\acute{c}n \ xyp\delta'wnd \ mzyx \ \delta\eta nmyc \ sr\delta ng$ «An den göttergleichen (oder: An *Vayān-anyōn*?), den ehrwürdigen Herrscher, das große Oberhaupt der Kirche».

Henning vermutete im Adressaten der Briefe den Lehrer, der vielleicht als Oberhaupt der manichäischen Kirchenprovinz Churasan in Qočo residierte und dessen Würde er vergleichend als die eines Erzbischofs beschrieb.³⁶ Ich halte dies für richtig. Allerdings sind wir über die hierarchische Gliederung der manichäischen Kirche Zentralasiens kaum unterrichtet. Aber es ist ja denkbar, daß der mutmaßlich in Qočo residierende Lehrer als «Lehrer der Provinz Churasan» und «Oberhaupt von *Čahār-Tuyristān*», bzw. als «Großer Lehrer von **Tört-Tuyri*» die Stellung eines Primas aller Kleriker der *Dēnāwarīya*-Gemeinschaft, mindestens aber des *Čahār-Tuyri*-Landes einnahm.³⁷ Die Frage ist nur, ob ein solcher Würdenträger bereits für die Zeit vor Begründung des uigurischen Reiches von Qočo angenommen werden darf. Möglich ist das durchaus doch bisher nicht beweisbar. Der Zeugenwert eines uigurischen Textes zugunsten dieser Annahme hängt von der Frage ab, ob der *Buyuy-qayan* des Textes mit dem *Bögü-qayan*, der den Manichäismus im uigurischen Reich einführte, gleichgesetzt werden darf.³⁸

Gewiß aber war Qočo Metropole des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus in der Zeit nach Begründung des uigurischen Reiches von Qočo, also seit Mitte des 9. Jh.³⁹

Was wissen wir von den Absendern der Briefe? Ihre Namen und Wohnorte sind uns unbekannt. Unter den oben gemachten Voraussetzungen sollte ihre Heimat aber die Diözese des «Erzbischofs» von Qočo gewesen sein, also vorzugsweise das *Čahār-Tuyri*-Land, vielleicht aber auch das Uigurische Steppenreich oder China. Vom Verfasser des zweiten Briefes läßt sich vermuten, daß er nicht der höheren Geistlichkeit angehörte, da er sich fürbittend für die Gemeindeoberen verwendet. Er könnte sogar ein Vertreter des Laienstandes

³⁶ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 15 Anm. 2.

³⁷ W. B. HENNING: Argi and the «Tokharians». BSOS 9 (1938) 551 f.

³⁸ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 15 Anm. 2. Der Text wurde veröffentlicht von A. v. LECOQ in der Festsehrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig 1912. S. 147, 149 ff.

³⁹ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 196 f.

der Hörer gewesen sein. Die manichäische Schrift hätte er dann zwar schwerlich beherrscht, doch könnte er seinen Brief ja diktiert haben. Der erste Brief dürfte durchaus demselben Milieu entstammen. Mehrfach ist in ihm von *Electi* und *Electae* die Rede, ohne daß der Verfasser sich ausdrücklich einer dieser Gruppen zurechnet.

Die hier behandelten Dokumente sind «Privatbriefe» genannt worden.⁴⁰ Das trifft insofern zu, als sie keine Staatsschreiben darstellen. Im übrigen handeln sie aber von Gemeindeangelegenheiten öffentlichen Charakters.

Worin liegt die Bedeutung der Briefe für die Geschichte des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus? Zweifellos in der Bezeugung syrischer Manichäer in Zentralasien, in den Informationen über sie und über ihr Zusammenleben mit Angehörigen der zentralasiatischen *Dēnāwarīya*-Gemeinde. Syrer werden sie im zweiten Brief genannt, von den *Mihryānd* und *Miklāsikt*, die in Mesopotamien zu Hause waren, spricht der erste. Aber dies bedeutet wohl mehr, daß man es mit Fremdlingen aus *Sūristān*, d. h. Mesopotamien, zu tun hatte. Die Namen der gegenerischen Partei sind weitgehend persisch (vgl. S. 297). Persisch sind aber auch die zitierten Worte der Gegner, und schließlich haben sich literarische Nachweise einer Präsenz manichäischer Syrer in der Turfan-oase bisher nicht gefunden. Der schon Flügel aufgefallene beträchtliche Anteil iranischer Manichäer am Parteienkampf der mesopotamischen Kirche dürfte hier eine Bestätigung finden.⁴¹

Bisweilen wird das Erscheinen syrischer Manichäer in Zentralasien auf Manichäerverfolgungen im islamischen Gebiet zurückgeführt.⁴² Dem Fihrist zufolge geschah in nachsasanidischer Zeit die erste große Flucht der Manichäer aus Mesopotamien nach Churasan unter dem Druck der Verfolgungen *al-Muqtadirs* zu Anfang des 10. Jh.⁴³ Es liegt nahe, das Vordringen der manichäischen Syrer nach Zentralasien dann mit diesem Ereignis zu verbinden und in das 10. Jh. zu datieren. Sprache und Inhalt der Briefe sind damit aber nicht vereinbar, die wie oben gezeigt, ein höheres Alter erfordern.

Tatsächlich hat G. Vajda eine lange *Zanādiqa*-Verfolgung, die auch Manichäer erfaßte, in der Zeit von 163 d. H. (779/80) bis 179 (795/96) und auch noch in den folgenden Jahren nachgewiesen.⁴⁴ Mit den oben gemachten Datierungsversuchen ist dieses Ereignis als Auslöser der Flucht von Manichäern besser vereinbar als die Verfolgungen unter *Muqtadir*.

⁴⁰ M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 148. Handbuch der Orientalistik (s. Anm. 8). S. 73.

⁴¹ Mani [s. Anm. 11]. S. 322.

⁴² LIEU: Nestorians and Manichaeans (s. Anm. 4). S. 75.

⁴³ FLÜGEL: Mani [s. Anm. 11]. S. 77, 105 f., Kitāb al-Fihrist I [s. Anm. 11]. S. 337.

⁴⁴ Die Zindiqs im Gebiet des Islam zu Beginn der Abbasidenzeit, in: Der Manichäismus. Ed. G. WIDENGREN. Darmstadt 1977. S. 426.

Daß die syrischen Manichäer im Gebiet der ihnen entfremdeten oder fernstehenden *Dēnāwarīya*-Gemeinde Zuflucht suchten, könnte aber auch durch die folgenschwere Bekehrung des Chans des Uigurischen Steppenreiches *Bögü-qayan* in Lo-yang im Jahre 762/63 zum manichäischen Glauben motiviert gewesen sein.⁴⁵ Sie führte nachweislich zu einer Reihe von Missionsreisen manichäischer Geistlicher durch die uigurischen Lande, von denen die Zeilen 8 bis 10 der chinesischen Version der Inschrift von Qara-Balgasun (um 810)⁴⁶ in der Übersetzung von Ed. Chavannes und P. Pelliot folgendermaßen berichten: «[Le qaghan] emmena quatre religieux, dont 睿息 *Jouei-si*, et les introduisit dans son royaume; ils développaient et exaltaient les deux sacrifices⁴⁷ et pénétraient profondément les trois moments. D'ailleurs le maître de la Loi était merveilleusement instruit dans la doctrine de la Lumière et comprenait parfaitement les sept ouvrages. Ces capacités étaient plus hautes que le pic maritime; son éloquence était comme une cascade. C'est pourquoi il put initier les Ouigours à la vraie religion... Le roi de la religion, ayant appris que [les Ouigours] avaient accepté la vraie religion, loua fort leur respectueuse... [vertu], conduisant des religieux et des religieuses, entra dans le royaume pour y répandre et y exalter [la religion]. Ensuite la foule des disciples du *mou-chō* parcourut les pays en tous sens de l'Est à l'Ouest et alla et vint en prêchant la religion.»⁴⁸

Danach mußten mehrfach, mindestens drei Mal, verschiedene Gruppen manichäischer Glaubensboten in das uigurische Reich gekommen sein: 1. vier Missionare, die Bögü bei seiner Rückkehr aus Lo-yang begleiteten. In unklarem Zusammenhang mit ihrer Reise wird das Wirken eines «maître de la Loi» erwähnt, 2. ein «roi de la religion» mit *Electi* und *Electae*, 3. viele Schüler eines «Lehrers», die von Ost nach West das uigurische Reich durchdrangen. In dem «roi de la religion» (*法王 fa-wang*) sahen Chavannes und Pelliot «le chef suprême de la religion manichéenne», der lange in Babylon residierte.⁴⁹ Sollte dies zutreffen, so hätten wir den Beweis in der Hand, daß die Bekehrung des Uigurenchans und seines Volkes zum Erscheinen manichäischer Missionare aus Mesopotamien in Zentralasien führte.

⁴⁵ Vgl. z. B. A. v. GABAIN: Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850—1250. SDAW, Kl. f. Sprachen, Lit. u. Kunst 1961 Nr. 5. Berlin 1961. S. 24.

⁴⁶ L. BAZIN in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II. Ed. L. BAZIN u. a. Wiesbaden 1964. S. 205.

⁴⁷ Dazu s. CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 190 Anm. 2. LIÉU: *Polemics against Manichaeism* [s. Anm. 4]. S. 156 Anm. 5.

⁴⁸ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 190 ff. Der ganze Text bei G. SCHLEGEL: *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgasun*. Helsingfors 1896. S. 43 ff.

⁴⁹ Vgl. CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 195 Anm. 1.

Aber dies ist nicht mehr als eine Hypothese. Daß der «roi de la religion» der Archegos der manichäischen Kirche in Babylon sei, geht aus dem chinesischen Text selbst nicht hervor. Man könnte in ihm auch den Lehrer der Kirche von Churasan in Qočo oder einen anderen Lehrer vermuten. Nichteinmal die Richtigkeit der Lesung *fa-wang* (法王) «roi de la religion» darf als völlig sicher gelten. Eine Lesung *fa-zhu* (法主) «chef de la Loi» würde fast gleich geschrieben.⁵⁰ Sollte *fa-wang* im Text stehen, so wäre nach seiner genauen Bedeutung als manichäischer Terminus zu fragen. Daß der Begriff nicht ohne Kenntnis seiner Verwendung im buddhistischen Sprachgebrauch, nämlich als Äquivalent von aind. *dharmarāja* und Bezeichnung Buddhas⁵¹, gebraucht wurde, ist sicher. Als ein manichäischer Kleriker dürfte der *fa-wang* etwa das sein, was die soghdischen Manichäer mzyx dynmyc srđng «das große Oberhaupt der Kirche» nannten. Wir wissen aber nicht, ob dies der Titel eines bestimmten Würdenträgers war oder ob er von vielen geteilt wurde.

Auf Grund der hier vorgetragenen Erwägungen halte ich es für möglich, daß die soghdischen Briefe die folgenden historischen Situationen voraussetzen: Entweder: Die Bekehrung der Uiguren zum Manichäismus führte dazu, daß am Ende des 8. und zu Beginn des 9. Jh. soghdische Manichäer in das Uigurische Steppenreich zogen, um die heidnischen Türken zu bekehren und eine manichäische Kirche zu begründen. Manichäer aus Mesopotamien, die in ihrer Heimat Verfolgungen ausgesetzt waren, folgten ihnen, um am Werk und seinen Früchten teilzuhaben. Sie gerieten bald mit ihren soghdischen Glaubensbrüdern in Konflikt. Diese riefen den Beistand des Lehrers in Qočo an. Oder: Die Existenz eines manichäisch-ugurischen Staatswesens in Qočo zog in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jh. manichäische Geistliche aus Mesopotamien an, die sich in den Hauptorten der kleinen Staaten an der Seidenstraße niederließen und mit der ansässigen, noch soghdischen Geistlichkeit in Konflikt gerieten. Der Lehrer von Qočo als Primas des manichäischen Klerus in Zentralasien wurde von den Soghdiern um Beistand angerufen.

Berlin.

⁵⁰ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 192 Anm. 1 und *Traité* I (s. Anm. 25). S. 581 Anm. 4.

⁵¹ Vgl. SCHLEGEL [s. Anm. 48]. S. 64.

ANHANG I

EDITION DER BRIEFE 1 und 2

Erster Brief

/1/ []nd(s)kwn w(n)[]/2/ []' kww δstw δ[]
 /3/ [] 'yg hm'g dyn 'm'h hwm /4/ [](c) m'x βγrw'n mwj'(k)
 /5/ [](w)m't'nd myšnd (my)hry'nd krtrty(?)¹ /6/ []m'x
 sγtm'n δyn'βrt 'ty 'wrδp(?)[r]/7/ []δy]nδ'ry' cxš'pδδ t'pyy /8/ []
 m'γzym nyxy' 'ty /9/ [](.)dyy 'ty xwp m'xtysyy /10/ [](.)
 kyy cn mkl'syktyy /11/ [](.) p'rtty I pδkyy I 'wstnyy /12/ []
 (x)nd o p'rtty prw nmw pr cxš'pδδ /13/ []'f](tmww)² prw ršty'k cxš'pδδ

(Lücke von unbestimmter Weite)

(14/ []wyy δyn'βr(?)] /15/ [3—5](c)[10—15 δyn']-
 (β)[r']nc['p](r)[y](w)(?)³ wyynt kt wyš'ndy [δyn'βr'nc]/16/[2—4]p'xw'y
 ('t)[y 8—10](.)šwmδ'rt⁴ o tym m'x δyn'βr'nc wyynt kt wyš'ndy⁵ /17/
 [δyn'](βr')nc xwšyc⁶ 5—7 p]rsm'skwn(?) o ms 'z'd dwxt (xypδ) [8—
 —12] /18/ [2—4 pw] (ry)št(?)⁷ w'nw wyn'nd kt wy[š'ndy]⁸ δyn'βr'nc tšycq
 ny'tyy 'ty z'y kn('sk)[wn] /19/ [12—16](rwrt)t⁹ nxw'(y)[yn](ds)kwn o
 'ty ms δ'rwk 'ty p'št' t'šnds(kwn) /20/ pww peqwyr o tym ms m'x δyn'βr'št
 w'nw wyn'nd kt c'nw wyš'ndy δyn'βr'nc /21/ xwrnyy 'syyskwn cn 'pyy
 'pryw km' sn'yyskwn 'ty m'x δyn'βr'št nxrysndskw(n) /22/ wyš'nd w'nw
 p'teγnyy kwn'nd kt c'tyk 'p mwrtyy xeyy m'yδδ p'e'ytt o 'ty ms /23/ rwr'
 x(w)tyy(?) nxw'y'ndskwn 'ty 't(r) xwtyy 'wst'ndskwn o 'tyšn prywyδ
 w'xš γw'(n)['ty] /24/ kmbwnny ny šm'r'ndskwn o o'rtty tym
 dyncyhryft cxš'pδδyy w'xš xeyy /25/ xwycq 'ty pww šf'r o p'rttyšn [s](?)r'r
 kyy myhr p'd'r¹⁰ xeyy xwycn'k wm't 'ty šy /26/ c's'r pδyk r'f wm't 'ty I (z)-

¹ GERSHEVITCH las krtrtyy (GMS § 249 Anm. 1). Vom letzten Buchstaben ist nur ein oberer Rand erhalten, der zu einem y oder ' gehören könnte. Ein ' würde den am Zeilenende zur Verfügung stehenden Raum besser füllen als ein y.

² Spitze eines t, oberer Rand des m und obere Teile der letzten Buchstaben erhalten.

³ Punkt über dem r erhalten, w durch Riß im Papier zerstört.

⁴ Der dem š vorangehende Buchstabe könnte ein w gewesen sein, also '(w)šwmδ'rt?

⁵ Meine Ergänzung modifizierte inen Vorschlag von SW, δyn'βr'št wyn'nd kt] zu lesen, mit dem Ziel, das erwartbare Possessivpronomen wyš'ndy in der vorhandenen Lücke unterzubringen.

⁶ Die GMS § 1012 erwogene Möglichkeit, xwšycq zu lesen, wird durch den erhaltenen Text ausgeschlossen, der die Form des finalen c deutlich bewahrt.

⁷ Kopf und Punkt des r erhalten, y versehrt, auch w möglich.

⁸ So wahrscheinlicher als wyš'nd (SW).

⁹ Nur rtt sicher erkennbar.

¹⁰ In /25/ wie mw'r p'd'r geschrieben, in /30/ deutlich myhr, so daß das, was in /25/ wie der Aufstrich eines w aussieht, in Wirklichkeit das linke untere Ende eines m ist.

[°](k)'nc kr'y'nc wnyy s'r tys 'ty ʔyrtr nyjty m[°x] /27/ sʔtm'nyy δβn' ptyy'p
 c'nw xwnyy kr'y'nc nyjtyy 'ty δynδ'rt nyxy' kwn(°)nd 'ty /28/ kr'y'nc kww
 yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwn myhr whmn 'ty whmnš'h s'r w'nw wʔtwδ'(r)[t] /29/ kt
 II prwrtyy pšyy δβry' xwrnyy 'stww¹¹ o 'ty tym I prwrtyy 'smk'm o ms
 myš(n)[dy]¹² /30/ xypδ I 'sp'skr'nc δn I δyn'βr'nc 'pryw y'r 'δwβ pδwβ
 [w](β)¹³ 'ty myhr p'δ'(r)¹⁴ /31/ s'r'r wnyy 'sp'skr'nc β'z' nyy's 'ty cn y'ryy
 wyxnš o ms xz'ny 'tyh /32/ ()

(Zeilenfragmente unbekannter Zugehörigkeit) /33/ [](.)[]

/34/ [](cw)xt [1—2](.β)[] /35/ [] pyrm
 prw xyp(δ)[] /36/ [](.)rt kwnyskwn (w')[]
 /37/ [](s)ty o ty(.)[2—4](.)'d[]

(Zeilenfragmente unbekannter Zugehörigkeit) /38/ δyn'β(r)[]

/39/ nwmpδk'[] /40/ [1—3](ps' '')[]

Erster Brief (Übersetzung)

/1/ [] zur Hand [] der ganzen Kirche sind wir. []
 unser *glaubensstarker¹⁵ Lehrer /5/ [] waren diese Anhänger *Mihrs*

¹¹ Nicht 'stw (GMS § 690).

¹² Ergänzt gemäß GMS § 1396 (Hinweis von SW).

¹³ In GMS § 453 pδwβ(s)'. Das Wortende ist durch ein Loch im Papier zerstört, das breiter ist als ein s. Von dem so gelesenen Buchstaben ist nur die linke obere Spitze erhalten. Daß sie spitz ausläuft und nicht rund ist, spricht aber für β statt s.

¹⁴ Vgl. Anm. 10.

¹⁵ βʔrw'n in /4/ und im zweiten Brief /18/ ist unpubliziert wiederholt belegt: M 635 /I/V/6—7/ 'rty 'yδ βʔrw'n pr[n](x)wndyy wm't kyy «Und dieser glückselige β. war (es), der . . .», M 4436 /15/ βʔrw'n 'ft'(δ)[°n] «der β. Bischof» oder «Bischof β.», M 6673 /5/]ynyy βʔrw'(n) «dieser β.». Ist *vayruwān* appellatives Attribut oder Eigenname? Ich halte die erstere Möglichkeit für die wahrscheinlichere, da man ungern einen namensgleichen Bischof und Lehrer annehmen wird, während andererseits dieser Name nicht sicher bezeugt zu sein scheint. Daß die Wortstellung m'x β. mwj'k statt m'x mwj'k β. oder β. m'x mwj'k gegen die Annahme eines Eigennamens spricht, betont mir gegenüber SW. *Vayruwān* läßt sich entweder als «eine Gottessele (habend)» (d. h. «göttlich»?) verstehen oder «eine Seele (wie der Gott) Vay (habend)» oder als Zusammensetzung mit der unbezeugten soghd. Entsprechung des mp. belegten Wortes βg «*sicher» (Mir. Man. II, S. 338), womit auch parth. (und mp.) 'bg «*uneasy, nervous» (HENNING, BSOS 9 [1937], S. 80) verbunden wird und wozu H. W. BAILEY *chot.-sak. bagalagvā* «gallants» (?), oss. *bāgu* «surely» usw. (Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, S. 264) stellt. Zugunsten der Übersetzung «eine Gottessele habend» ließe sich auf die Bedeutung des soghd. Personennamens βʔyfrn, βʔyprnw «God-luck» (I. GERSHEVITCH, TSP 1945, S. 139, D. WEBER, IF 77 [1972], S. 196) hinweisen. Die letztgenannte Möglichkeit erscheint mir aber doch etwas überzeugender, wenn man β. als Appellativum und nicht als Eigennamen auffaßt. Jedenfalls verbinden sicher deutbare Komposita mit *ruwān* als Zweitbestandteil dieses Wort m. W. mit Adjektiven oder gleichwertigen Präfixen: mp. *anōšruwān* «mit unsterblicher Seele», d. h. «selig verschieden», *huruwān* «gutselig», d. h. «fromm», parthT. *dužruwānīst* «Übelseeligkeit», d. h. «Schlechtigkeit, Gottlosigkeit». (Eine Verkürzung von *Anōšruwān* ist nach PH. GIGNOUX, Parole de l'Orient 6—7 [1975—76], S. 522 syr. *Širuwān.*) Unter dieser Voraussetzung sollte auch im Fall von βʔrw'n Zusammensetzung mit einem Adjektiv erwartet werden.

*Tätig[keit(?)¹⁶] all unsere Erwählten und darüberhinaus []
 Erwähltschaft, Gesetz, Siegel [] wir begannen *Nachforschung¹⁷
 und [] und gut ? ¹⁸ /10/ [] die von den Anhängern des *Miglāš* []
 denn von einem Gesetz und einem Ursprung [] sind sie. Denn in Gesetz und Gebot []
 Als erstes: Gegen das Gebot der Wahrhaftigkeit [sündigen sie]

(Lücke)

[]/15/ zusammen mit der Electa sah, daß ihre [Electa]
 abhieb und []nähte. Wiederum [sah] unsere Elec[ta, daß ihre]
 Electa ? [p]reßte.¹⁹ Ferner sahen die jungfräulichen(?) [Töchter]
 der *Āzād-duxt*, daß ihre Electa eine *Hacke²⁰ nahm und Erde ausgrub. []

¹⁶ Krtrty' in /5/. Zur Lesung vgl. Anm. 1. GERSHEVITCH übersetzte «insidious, cunning» (GMS § 249 Anm. 1). Für die Bedeutung des Wortes als ein negatives Adjektiv sprechen die Parallelen M 133 /R/i/18–19/ ʾrʾf qrtʾr βjyqʾ nyzβ'nyyt «many cunning, sinful passions» (GMS § 1658) und M 5912/3/ qrtʾr βywt «listige Dämonen». Damit unvereinbar ist aber die Verwendung desselben Wortes in dem christl.-soghd. Text C 3 = T II B 35 + T II B 14 c /R/13–15/ s't wyšnt byy ptry nbnteq qrtʾr 'nt'št 't fryštyt krwbyt w sr'pyt 't s't (s)p'dy'nt qy sqwnt sm'ny sqys'r «alle diese bei Gott dem Vater befindlichen k. Scharen und Engel, die Cherubim und Seraphim und alle Heerscharen, die über dem Himmel weilen». Hier liegt eine Übersetzung «mächtig, stark, aktiv, lebhaft» nahe, die für gute und böse Wesen zutreffen kann. Dies vorausgesetzt, betrachtet SW qtrt als soghd. Entsprechung von parth. kyrdyr, mp. krtyr usw. «If these derive from *k(a)rtrya- (with SZEMERÉNYI) there is probably no phonetical problem, cf. wytr (3 sg. impf.) < *wi-a-tryat». Zu soghd. -ʾr < -rya vgl. generell GMS § 185. Wie Prof. HUMBACH am 2. 10. 1980 in Budapest mitteilte, konnte er den Namen krt'yr in einer der soghd. Shatial-Bridge-Inschriften lesen. Beide Schreibungen, krtr und krt'yr, sind unter der Voraussetzung vereinbar, daß sie für *kartr* stehen.

¹⁷ Nyxy' in /8/ und /27/. HENNINGS Übersetzung «Sorgsamkeit, Aufmerksamkeit» (BB, S. 86 zu 727, S. 104 zu f. 56) erfaßt gewiß jene Bedeutung des Wortes, die der im vorliegenden Text vermuteten Wiedergabe durch «Untersuchung, Nachforschung» zugrunde liegt.

¹⁸ M'xtysyy in /9/ ist, wie die Verlängerung der unterzeiligen Horizontalen des x unter die folgenden Buchstaben erkennen läßt, ein Wort. Seine Bedeutung «Mondeingang» o. ä. und seine Form (Obl. ?, -aka — Erweiterung ?) sind unklar. Sollte der astrologische Eigenname einer Person vorliegen? (Etwa: geboren zur Zeit des Eintrittes des Mondes in sein «Haus», oder: zur Zeit des Eintrittes des Mondes in seine Planetenstunde.) Besteht vielleicht sogar eine Verbindung mit dem etymologisch nicht ganz klaren persischen Frauennamen *Mahsatī* o. ä. (vgl. F. MEIER: Die schöne Mahsatī I. Wiesbaden 1963. S. 43 ff.) ?

¹⁹ Die Ergänzung «sah» und die für das Verständnis des ganzen Satzes entscheidende Beziehung von [p]rsm'skwn auf «ihre Electa» statt auf «unsere» verdanke ich SW.

²⁰ Tšyycq in /18/ wurde von HENNING ursprünglich «spade» übersetzt (GMS § 1012), später von ihm aber, worauf MK mich hinwies, mit chwār. tšyckyk «axe» verglichen (Z. V. Togan'a Armağan, Istanbul 1956, S. 435). Wie MK mir weiterhin aus seiner Kenntnis des Chwār. mitteilt, entspricht np. *qadūm*, *tēša* «adze». Er folgert: «If the Khwār. is a diminutive in -'k, the Sogd. word — a tool for digging, rather than cutting — will be a ‚mattock, Hacke'». Bestätigend kann auf das etymologisch verwandte np. *tēša* hingewiesen werden, das «Beil» und «Hacke» bedeutet (STEINGASS: S. 342). Dazu gehört aber auch paschtu *tīyāš* «plough-share», das G. MORGENSTIERNE: An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto. Oslo 1927, von **tašyā-* ableitet und mit np. *tēša* vergleicht, sowie wakhi *tīš* «železnyj nakonečnik pachotnogo orudija, kovanyj sošnik, lemech» (A. L. GRJUNBERG—I. M. STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ: Vachanskij jazyk. Moskva 1976. S. 473). Angesichts der Ähnlichkeit von primitivem Holzpflug («Hackenpflug») und Hacke (vgl.

Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie und schneiden auch ohne Scheu Holz und *Gerät.²¹ /20/ Ferner sahen unsere Electae auch, wie ihre Electa Blut *schröpfte²² (und mit Wasser das ?²³ wusch. Und unsere Electae tadelten sie, sie gaben zur Antwort: «Brunnenwasser ist tot, so ist es gestattet.» Und auch Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie selbst, und das Feuer löschen sie selbst(?).²⁴ Und sie sehen in dieser Sache nicht Sünde noch Mangel. — Und ferner: Zum Gebot des religionsmäßigen Verhaltens ist da eine Sache, /25/ offenbar und schamlos.²⁵ Denn ihr Oberhaupt, welches *Mihr-pādār*²⁶ ist, war krank, er hatte ein Leiden unter dem Fuß, und ein gemietetes Mädchen²⁷ trat bei ihm ein, und später ging sie hinaus. Uns alle ergriff Verdacht,²⁸ als jene Lohndienerin²⁷ herausging,

A. NEUBURGER: Die Technik des Altertums. Leipzig 1919. S. 86) überrascht es nicht, daß Hacke und Pflugschar mit etymologisch verwandten Begriffen bezeichnet werden, Daß die Electa sich also einer Hacke bediente, dürfte MK mit Recht annehmen. Wenn die mit dem Gerät ausgeführte Arbeit ein regelrechtes Graben war (*kan-*), so läßt sich an eine «Grabhacke» (*ketman*) der Art denken, wie sie bis in unsere Zeit in Chinesisch-Turkistan beim Ausschachten der Erde in Gebrauch sind (vgl. L. GOLOMB: Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkistan. Posieux, Freiburg/Schweiz 1959. S. 61, 63.). Die Electa könnte die Hacke dann etwa für Arbeiten an einem Bewässerungskanal verwendet haben. Sollte *kan-* hier aber in freierer Verwendung nur eine Lockerung des Bodens bedeuten, so wäre eher an eine Spitzhacke zu denken (GOLOMB: aaO., S. 63).

²¹ P'št' in /19/, vgl. GMS §§ 973, 1268, ein hölzernes Gerät nicht genau bestimmbarer Bedeutung, zu buddh.-soghd. p'styt (Pl), vgl. HENNING: BSOAS 11 [1946] S. 728.

²² Oder: zur Ader ließ. Zur Bedeutung vgl. Textanmerkung 14.

²³ Km' in /21/, vgl. dazu Textanmerkung 15.

²⁴ ''tr ... 'wst'ndskwn in /23/, wtl. «sie setzen das Feuer». Zur Bedeutung vgl. das np. *āteš nešāndan* «to extinguish a fire», wtl. «Feuer setzen», vgl. STEINGASS: S. 13. SW gibt aber zu bedenken, daß ''tr ... 'wst- im Soghd. vielleicht auch «light a fire» bedeuten könne, denn «this may have been regarded as an improper activity for electi, since it would cause pain to the fuel». Ich meine, daß auch diese Möglichkeit in Betracht gezogen werden muß, zumal für die Manichäer das Feuer eine aus einem guten und einem bösen Element bestehende Erscheinung war.

²⁵ SW schlägt vor: «In the matter of the commandment *dyncyhryft* it (= the Syr. community) is open and shameless. Wenn, wie SW mit Recht betont, pww šf'r nur «schamlos» bedeuten kann, so erinnert die Begriffsverbindung xwyeq 'ty pww šf'r an pw šf'r r'zyh in Or. 8212/83, Zeile 6 (bei N. SIMS-WILLIAMS: IJ 18 (1976), S. 49), das SW zweifelnd so gelesen und «without shame (or) secrecy» übersetzt hat (aaO. S. 50 Anm. 33). Xwyeq 'ty pww šf'r durfte also in positiver Wendung dasselbe besagen und damit für die Richtigkeit der Lesung von SW sprechen.

²⁶ Je nachdem, ob man *pādār* als Ableitung eines nomen actoris von *pādan* «schützen» oder *pādan* «verweilen, warten» auffaßt (MACKENZIE: S. 62), ließe der Name *Mihr-pādār* (in /25/ und /30/) sich sinnvoll als «Beschützer der Freundschaft, Liebe/ des Vertrages» oder als «(wie/in/durch) Mithras beständig», vielleicht, falls *pādār* auch «Diener» sein konnte, als «Diener des Mithras» auffassen. Kaum denkbar ist «Beschützer der Mithras». Wenn Mihr selbst Name ist, so wäre zu fragen, ob hier eine Gottheit gemeint ist (mpT. *spiritus vivens*, parthT. der *legatus tertius* als Sonnengott) oder der Begründer der *Mihrīya*-Partei der mesopotamischen Manichäer, der auch *Mihr* hieß (vgl. S. 292).

²⁷ Z'k'ne kr'y'ne in /26/, kr'y'ne in /27/ und /28/. Kr'y'ne ist gewiß nicht von np. *kerāye* «hire, price paid for labour, fare, rent» (STEINGASS: S. 1020) zu trennen, das allerdings m. W. nie die gemietete oder entlohnte Person bezeichnet. Das Verhältnis zwischen np. *kerāye* und soghd. kr'y'ne dürfte daher dasselbe wie etwa zwischen einem Ortsnamen (**Kāš* «Kaschghar») und einem fem. Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv (*q'š'nc* «Kaschgarierne») sein, vgl. GMS § 1048. Danach ließe sich auch eine mask. Adjektivbildung *kr'y'ny «gemietet, entlohnt» vorstellen.

²⁸ špn' hier eher «Verdacht» als lediglich «Mißtrauen», wie SW mir gegenüber mit Hinweis auf HENNING in BSOAS 11 [1946], S. 719 und seine eigene, noch unpublizierte Arbeit über die christl.-soghd. Handschrift C 2 betont.

und die Electi stellten eine *Nachforschung¹⁷ an. Und die Lohndienerin sprach so zu *Yazd-Aryāmān*, *Drist-Rōšn*, *Mihr-Wahman* und *Wahman-šāh*: «Zweimal habe ich hinter der Tür²⁹ Blut *geschröpft,³⁰ und noch einmal werde ich *schröpfen.» Auch zettelte /30/ eine ihrer Dienerinnen mit einer Electa einen Streit an. Und *Mihr-pādār*,²⁶ (ihr) Oberhaupt, ergriff den Arm jener Dienerin und schuf Befreiung vom Streit. Auch im *Herbst und []

(Lücke)

[]
/35/ [] vor im eigen [] tue []

(Lücke)

/38/ Elect[] Gesetz []

Zweiter Brief

/1/ []y(x)ʹpδ δ(ʹ)r(y)[] /2/[]ʹr)t[y]βγ (mysʹndy .)
[] /3/ [](6—9 mʹx) gβry[hβ] /4/ (20—25
kʹm(?) .s 15—20) [] /5/ (wʹn)w wγt-
wδʹrt nwm pδkʹ mn(ʹ)³¹ I mγwn xcy y o ʹrtyβγ xypδ(ʹ)wn(d)[]
/6/ [](wʹ rwc prwstyy wβyy mysʹndy xyp)δ³² rwʹn g(ryw ʹ)
[] /7/ [](γʹt) wʹnw frmʹy ʹʹ(ms)ʹ ʹktyy (cndn(?)³³ wʹxšt

²⁹ Pšyy δβryʹ in /29/. GERSHEVITCH übersetzte in GMS § 373 «*backdoor», gewiß weil pšyy keine regelrechte Präposition sein kann. Als solche hätte sie unbedingt die Postposition sʹr nach sich ziehen müssen. Andererseits erscheint pšyy δβryʹ auch nicht unter den GMS § 1143 aufgezählten regelrechten Komposita, wahrscheinlich, weil man in diesem Fall eher *pšʹδβr(y) erwarten würde. Es verbleiben dann die Möglichkeiten, in pšyy δβryʹ eine altertümliche, erstarrte idiomatische Wendung mit dem Nomen im Lokativ zu sehen oder vielleicht ein «open compound» (GERSHEVITCH: Compounds. S. 148 f.), im Deutschen durch «hintertürs» nachbildbar. Da das Skandalöse der Beschuldigung des Briefes darin besteht, daß ein manichäischer Kleriker eine Zeit lang, hinter verschlossener Tür mit einer Frau allein blieb, so wird der Sinn des Ausdrucks eher «hinter der Tür» als «an der Hintertür» sein. Damit läßt sich das von GERSHEVITCH zitierte osset. *faesduar* «behind the door» (GMS Add. 1143), in weiteren Sinne etwa np. *pāytaxt* «Hauptstadt», wtl. «(Ort) zu Füßen des Thrones» vergleichen.

³⁰ Oder: zweimal habe ich hinter der Tür zur Ader gelassen, und nocheinmal werde ich zur Ader lassen, vgl. Textanmerkung 14.

³¹ SW teilt mir mn(d) I mγwn als Lesung von I. GERSHEVITCH mit. Da am Rande eines Risses im Papier sowohl eine rechte obere wie eine linke untere Ecke erhalten ist, so betrachte ich mn(ʹ) als die wahrscheinlichere Lesung. [Vgl. aber S. 299, ³Ann. 30.]

³² Ergänzt gemäß GMS §§ 1396 und 1435 (Hinweis von SW). In seinem heutigen Zustand, d. h. nach Abtrennung des Fragments M 119 a von M 119, ist dieser Text nicht in vollem Umfange lesbar. Mit Hilfe der Originalschriften hatte ich lediglich prwstyy sicher erkennen können. Angesichts der unmotivierten Verwendung von pers. rwc für soghd. myδ «Tag» muß aber auch gefragt werden, mit welcher Sicherheit die ergänzten Textteile vor dem Krieg tatsächlich lesbar waren.

³³ Alle Buchstaben versehrt, nur -nd und ein vorangehendes c sicher. Cndn las auch GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 1609.

ckštyt[] /8/ ckštyt 'skwnd s't ryj wδyy cynd(r)p'r 'styy w'nw
 wβ't xw'n (.) [] /9/ (sn'nd 'rty m'x 'pryw) wryδ'nt 'rty I c'f srδyt
 skw'mndyy wβ('t .) [] /10/ (k'm prm(?) ryj 'skwnicykt³⁴ xwyšt)rtyy
 (w)β't 'rty myš'nd (ms)[] /11/ (n' pδkcy)q 'ty (n') kry'cy(q) frm'n
 (sn't kww 's(kwnicyqt³⁵ x)wyštrty (s'r)[(?)] /12/ (my)š'ndyy
 γwšytt kyy wβ'nd m'x xwyštrt(yy) šxww p'ekrt 'wš(t)'ndk'm 'ty (m'x m)
 [] /13/ (')ty (nyz)'r p(y)štytyy prw γryw 'wsyndndk('m 'ty (xwyš)-
 trty γr'n (t)fsnwk kwn'ndk'm 'ty prw xw(r)[nyy³⁶] /14/ ('sn'ynd)-
 k'm³⁷ m'yδδ c'nw rymnyt yzd m'h n'my jw'(n)wtr 'krtwδ'rt xwtyy xyδ
 n'y'myy xypδ(')[wnd] /15/ wm'tyš p(')rty (m)yš'nd rymnyt kmbyt
 swryktyy 'ndyk ps'k (m)'yδ xeyy pr βxtwnyy 'ty p(c'w)' (y)w(x)t(yt)[
 'rty] /16/ (fs)γtyt xnd p'rtyy (w')xš(yg) bxtgyy mδyy 'xšyt skwn o 'rty cw
 w'nw wβ'nd skwn kt srδ(ng)t pr 'yw p'zky' sn'(nd) /17/[r]ty δβtyk 'w(x)z('nd
 δymyδ w'xš I p'ryk n's xeyy 'rty w'nw n(y)x 'ms' frm'y 'krtyy kyy³⁸ pyr-
 mstr st'nd /18/ [cndn(?)] (wr'³⁹ 'ty firtry)' 'krtwδ'rnd p'rty (pr(?) β)γrw'n
 myh(..⁴⁰ mwj)'kyy sryy m'hd'd mwj'k sttyy cn(w(?) pr)[w 2-4 δyn] /19/
 (δ)'rty 'ty p(r)w nyw'nz'dg mwj'kyy s(ryy) gbryhb (3-5 s)n('..)[]
 (..) [](+7) /20/ s(r)yy sxt(w)yy (mwj)'k 'ty ktwn' (')-
 ft'δ'[n] (st'n(d ...)[] /21/ sryy rym(ny)y f(rw)x'(y) 'ywšt(yy)
 []

Zweiter Brief (Übersetzung)

/1/ [] und, o Herr, diese []
 Gavryav [] /5/ sprach so: «Das Gesetz ist mir gleich(?)»⁴¹ Und,
 o Herr, Herrscher, [] der Tag mag sich gewendet haben(??),⁴² ihre
 eigene Seele (und) das Selbst [] so geruhe zu beachten,⁴³ wieviel
 häßliche Worte [] häßlich sind, alles Verlangen ist darinnen. So wird
 sein der Tisch(?) [] sie steigen empor und vermischen sich mit

³⁴ Alle Buchstaben durch Riß im Papier sehr stark versehrt. Statt prm auch pno möglich.

³⁵ GERSHEVITCH las 'skwnicyk (GMS § 1248), Hinweis von SW. 'skwnicykt ist aus Raumgründen wahrscheinlicher als die Singularform.

³⁶ SW weist mich darauf hin, daß GERSHEVITCH offenbar noch xwrnyy (unversehrt?) lesen konnte (GMS § 1168 Anm. 1).

³⁷ GERSHEVITCH las überzeugend sn'ynd k'm (GMS § 756, Hinweis von SW). Vor dem s ist aber noch ein nach links oben geführter Aufstrich erkennbar, so daß ich 'sn'yndk'm für wahrscheinlicher halte.

³⁸ Nicht ky (GMS § 1682).

³⁹ So GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 973, Hinweis von SW. Ich kann aber nur die oberen Ränder der Buchstaben und einen diakritischen Punkt erkennen.

⁴⁰ Auf h dürfte ein b oder β folgen, danach k oder x. Myhr- erscheint nicht möglich. [Vgl. S. 315.]

⁴¹ Zur Bedeutung vgl. Textanmerkung 30.

⁴² Ganz unsicher, vgl. Anm. 32.

⁴³ Vgl. Textanmerkung 20.

uns, und es wird einige⁴⁴ Jahre dauern []/10/ nach(?) dem Willen der gegenwärtigen Oberen wird es sein, und diese [] ungesetzlicher und unzeitiger Befehl wird zu den gegenwärtigen Oberen emporkommen [] die ihre *Spione waren,⁴⁵ werden fest an die Stelle unserer Oberen treten und unser[] und sie werden die Hart-Bedrängten in ihrem Selbst zerbrechen und den Oberen große Not bereiten und im Bl[ut] werden sie [ihre Hände(?)] waschen, so wie ? ? ?⁴⁶ Selbst zu dieser Stunde, o Herr, []/15/ warst du, denn dieser schmutzigen, gemeinen Syrer Brauch und Kunst ist so: in Spaltung und Streit sind sie erfahren [und] geübt, denn «geistige Spaltung» herrscht hier. Und wenn sie sagen: «Die Oberhäupter steigen ein wenig(?)⁴⁷ empor, und dann steigen sie wieder hinab»,⁴⁸ so ist dies Wort ganz verderblich. Und so geruhe auf jene sorgfältig achtzugeben,⁴³ die früher emporgestiegen sind,⁴⁹ wieviel Gewinn und Förderung sie bewirkten.⁵⁰ Denn über den *glaubensstarken¹⁵ Lehrer *Mih..* ist der Lehrer *Māhdād* gekommen, wie(?)⁵¹ über [] die Electi und über den Lehrer *Nēwānzādag* der *Gavryav* []/20/ über []

⁴⁴ I c'f in /9/ überträgt wörtlich in ST I, S. 8, Z. 15 syr. ḥd km' «wievielmehr» und muß daher andere Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten dieser Wendung nicht ausschließen. Ich verstehe I c'f im Sinne des gleichbedeutenden np. *yek-čand* «somewhat; a little» (STEINGASS: S. 1533), mp. *ēw čand* «some, a few» (MacKenzie, S. 31).

⁴⁵ Meine Übersetzung folgt GMS § 1679.

⁴⁶ Der ganze Satzteil c'nw rymnyt yzd m'h n'my jw'nwtr 'krtwδ'rt in /14/ ist mir unklar und scheint ohne Annahme eines Fehlers (rymnyt für rymny oder 'krtwδ'rt für 'krtwδ'rint) nicht übersetzbar. Was bedeutet jw'nwtr? Sicher eine negative Eigenschaft, Person oder Gruppe. Darf an den Komparativ (-tr) eines von 'nwt «Beistand» abgeleiteten Adjektivs *jw-anut* < **duž-anut* «der üblen Beistand hat» (vgl. GMS § 287) gedacht werden?

⁴⁷ P'zky', bisher unbelegt, betrachte ich in Verbindung mit 'yw als Nominalableitung von man.-soghd. 'yw p'zyy, I p'zyy. P'zyy bedeutet HENNING zufolge in diesem Zusammenhang «Teilehen; ein wenig, bißchen» (BB, S. 81 zu 674). Der Sinn der Behauptung wäre dann, daß die Syrer nur in geringer Zahl, für kurze Zeit oder nach und nach zu kommen beabsichtigten. Eine sehr einleuchtende Alternativlösung erwägt jedoch SW: «If 'yw p'zky' is a compound its basis need not be p'zyy 'bit' but can equally well be p'z 'face, front', whence a bahuvrihi **yw-p'zyy* with **-aka-* as compound-suffix (cf. NP *yak-rūya* beside *yak-rū(y)*), abstract '*yw-p'zky*'. The meaning of NP *yak-rū'i*, unanimity, sincerity, conciliation, friendship' would fit very well here.»

⁴⁸ Zu diesem Satz vgl. S. 298 f.

⁴⁹ GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 1682, stellte hier die Übersetzungen «who were before» und «those who are foremost» zur Diskussion, räumte aber auch die Möglichkeit ein, daß im Prädikat eine Ableitung von sn- «rise» vorliegen könne (GMS § 780). Die Tatsache, daß von Empor- und Herabsteigen bereits in den Zeilen 16–17 die Rede ist, spricht aber dafür, eine entsprechende Bedeutung auch im vorliegenden Fall anzunehmen. Bestätigend weist SW darauf hin, daß neben st'nd die Formen 'styy «ist» in /8/ und stty «stieg auf» in /18/ auch für die im Text stehende Übersetzung sprechen.

⁵⁰ Meine Übersetzung folgt weitgehend einem Vorschlag von SW: «Please note carefully [whether] (those) who came up previously brought about profit and improvement.» Lediglich folgt aus Kenntnis des Originaltextes, daß die von SW vorgeschlagene Ergänzung cwty nicht möglich ist, da in diesem Falle am Textrand der Aufstrich eines t erhalten sein müßte.

⁵¹ Cnw Fehler für c'nw (vgl. BST I, ed. O. HANSEN, Zeile 116)?

der Lehrer *Saxtōē* und der Bischof Ktwn', über [] der schmutzige, *zerstörungssüchtige⁵² []

ANHANG II

Es ist mir eine ehrenvolle Pflicht, in den Kreis der Gelehrten, die durch ihre kritische Hilfe zur Verbesserung meiner Arbeit beigetragen haben und denen ich tiefen Dank schulde, auch Dr. Gershevitch (IG) einzuschließen. Er stellte mir auf das großzügigste seine eigenen Bemerkungen zu den Briefen wie auch Aufzeichnungen der ihm mündlich mitgeteilten Interpretationsvorschläge Hennings (H) zur Verfügung (Schreiben vom 15.1.1981 und 9.6.1982) und gestattete mir ihre Verwendung trotz der Bedenken, die Dr. Gershevitch prinzipiell gegen jede von Henning «deplored and dreaded unauthorized publication of great men's titibits» hegt, denn Henning selbst war ja «a staunch defender of a scholar's right to be judged by posterity exclusively on the strength of what he had personally approved for printing» (vgl. I. Gershevitch: Walter Bruno Henning 1908—1967. In: W. B. Henning Memorial Volume. London 1970. S. xxiii, und: Proceedings of the British Academy. London, Vol. 65 (1979) [erschienen 1981], S. 717). Wenn ich diese Bemerkungen auch nicht mehr in den Text meines Artikels einfügen konnte, so gab mir Prof. Harmatta doch die Möglichkeit, als einen zweiten Anhang zu meiner Arbeit in knapper Form jene Bemerkungen mitzuteilen, die ich akzeptiere oder zur Diskussion stellen möchte. Ich hoffe zugleich, auf diese Weise deutlicher werden zu lassen, zu welchen Resultaten die Edition der soghdischen Briefe geführt hätte, wenn es Henning vergönnt gewesen wäre, sie zu besorgen.

I,4, II,18: Auch H. betrachtete βγrw'n als Titel, IG betont die Problematik aller Übersetzungsversuche. Neben anderen Möglichkeiten erwägt er «'der gottselige' in the sense of 'the late, le feu', cf. MP 'nwšlwb'n ?!».

I,5: Die Lesung krtrtyy vorausgesetzt, leitet IG das Wort provisorisch von *kartara- ab, das er mit chot. *kāḍara* «sword» verbindet und «cutting» übersetzt. Im übertragenen Sinn könnte das Wort vielleicht als Bezeichnung göttlicher Mächte «incorruptible, safe, erlöst» bedeuten, als Bezeichnung von Dämonen «irredeemable». In M 133 sei qrtr vielleicht Adverb und könnte «irredeemably (sinful passions)» bezeichnen.

I,6: 'wrδp'r «dortig, being there».

I,9: M'xtysyy — ein Wort, für das H. eine eindrucksvolle Erklärung gefunden hat: arab. Maqdisi «a man from Jerusalem», d. h. «a man who had

⁵² Frwx'y 'ywštyy in /21/: in frwx'y sehe ich Infinitiv eines sonst frxw'y-, frxwst geschriebenen Verbs «zerstückeln» (BB, S. 59), zur Metathese von -zw- zu -ux- s. GMS § 417. Frwx'y 'ywštyy wäre dann wörtlich «vom/zum Zerstückeln erregt», was man vielleicht als «zerstörungswütig» oder «spaltungssüchtig» deuten könnte. Sollte jedoch Inversion eines eigentlich *'ywšt frwx'y lautenden Kompositums vorliegen (vgl. GERSHEVITCH: Compounds, S. 147), so ließe sich einfach «Zerstörung erregend» übersetzen.

lived in Aramaic surroundings». X wäre dann als Versuch zu betrachten, arab. q wiederzugeben, während später in manichäisch geschriebenen np. Texten hierfür das aus dem Türkischen vertraute Zeichen q verwendet wurde. Während ich m'xtysy als Eigennamen ansehe, betonte IG mir gegenüber die Möglichkeit, daß auch ein Appellativum vorliegen könne.

I,11: 'wstnyy kann auch als Part. Präs. aufgefaßt werden (GMS § 892). In diesem Fall wäre zu übersetzen «of the law there is one establisher».

I,12: p'rtý ... cxš'pδδ: H übersetzte «for, as regards (the fulfilment) of the law (in general) [they are weak] in (observing the) commandments».

I,14:]wyy für n]wyy «neu»?

I,15—16: δyn'βr'nc ... šwmδ'rt: H übersetzte «our nun saw that their nun cut [a garment] and sewed (it)».

I,16—17: tym m'x δyn'βr'[nc]...[p]rsm'skwn: gegen meine Übersetzung wendet IG ein: «Introduced by *tym*, one expects to see a report of yet another misdemeanour of nuns». Er deutet daher prsm- «massieren» als «tappen» und in freierer und idiomatischer Verwendung «ertappen, erwischen». In xwšyc vermutet IG ein großes, tönernes (*xuš°* aus **xurms°*) Wassergefäß. In ihm habe die «erwischte» Nonne gebadet, und dies sei ihre Sünde gewesen.

I,17: Im letzten erkennbaren, von mir (xypδ) gelesenen Wort, dessen δ wirklich sehr zweifelhaft ist, sieht IG vielmehr einen weiteren, Āzādduxt folgenden Namen.

I,19:]rwrtr bereits in GMS § 492. Die Lesung geht auf H zurück.

I,19: δ'rwk 'ty p'st' nach IG eher «blocks of wood» und «chips of wood splitt off a block», mit Hinweis auf die Anhang I, Anm. 21 zitierte Erklärung Hennings.

I,23: 'tr ... 'wst'ndskwn eher «lay (aufschichten) a fire» wie englisch «to lay a fire» und in Anbetracht der Überlegung, daß gewiß eher Anlaß bestand, ein Feuer zu entfachen als zu löschen (IG).

I,24—25: 'rtý tym ... pww šf'r: Henning übersetzte «And as regards the third commandment, it is loose and shameless (with them)». IG erklärt, daß H offenbar w'xš als «Sache» verstand und mit vorangehendem dyncyhyrft cxš'pδyy verband, «(in) the matter of the third commandment».

I, 26: IG wendet gegen meine Übersetzung von c's'r pδyk r'f als «ein Leiden unter dem Fuß» ein, daß soghd. «Fuß» *pād* und nicht *pad* sei. H habe daher aw. *pada-* «place, spot» verglichen und übersetzt «a lower-part illness», wahrscheinlich im Sinne von «eine Unterleibskrankheit». Es sei dann ferner naheliegend, pšyy δβry' als «backdoor» zu übersetzen, wie GMS geschehen (vgl. Anh. I, Anm. 29), und dies als einen Euphemismus für «anus» zu erklären. Schließlich sei statt pšyy δβry' auch pšyyδ βry' als Lesemöglichkeit erwogen worden, was mir nicht ganz unmöglich erscheint. Allerdings ist das δ mit dem β zusammengeschrieben. Für c's'r «downwards» (GMS § 459) müßte mit nicht korrekter Verwendung im Sinne von «unten, unterhalb» gerechnet werden, was

aber nicht unmöglich ist, vgl. christl.-soghd. *cyns'* «innerhalb» statt «hinein» in ST II, c 3 /9/.

I,26: *z'k'nc kr'y'nc*: H verglich *kr'wr'n* und *kw'r'ynk*, «suggesting that the *z'k'nc* may have been a girl from Kroraina».

I,27—29: *'ty δynd'rt ... 'smk'm*: H übersetzte «they [die Electi] paid attention (= heard) that ('ty) she told four persons (viz. Yazd Aryaman etc., all of them, as Henning stessed, bearing Persian names) that twice I took blood...». Erklärend führt IG dazu ferner aus, daß die vier Personen nicht notwendigerweise verhörende Electi waren sondern vielleicht lediglich Bekannte der Heilpraktikerin, denen sie von ihren Taten berichtete, ohne zu ahnen, daß sie belauscht wurde.

I,34: Statt meines [(cw)xt las IG 'wzxt (ebensowohl möglich), statt [(.)β[:](w)β[.

I,37: Statt *ty(.)* : *ty*[m (naheliegend, da ein Interpunktionszeichen vorausgeht), statt [(.)'d :]'r (ich sehe keinen r-Punkt).

II,3: vor *m'x*: [(st' 'ty) (IG konnte *st' 'ty* lesen).

II,4: IG konnte seinerzeit]mt 'skw'm 'ty rwšn mwj'k lesen, d. h. «ich bin und der Lehrer Rōšn» (kaum «der lichte Lehrer», weil in diesem Fall wohl ein soghd. Wort verwendet worden wäre).

II,5: Wenn *mnd I mγwn* zu lesen ist, dann ergeben sich mit Henning die möglichen Übersetzungen 1. «it is altogether in accord with the religious law» (*mnd* = mimetic affixation of MP -mand to the Sogdian open compound *nwm-pδk'*), 2. «the (observance of the) law is ceasing» (*mnd* = privative prefix). Es könnte aber auch, wenn *I mγwn* mit SW «like» bedeutet, *mand-ēwma-γōn* «unlike, different» oder «incompatible» sein.

II,6: IG konnte lesen: ... *t w' rwc prwstyy wβyy myš'ndyy xypδ rw'n γryw* ']. Er erklärt *rwc prwstyy* als ein adjektivisches offenes Kompositum in der Bedeutung «one for whom destiny has turned» (Lehnübersetzung eines pers. **rōz-bargašte*, vgl. np. *roz bargard-/bargašt*, Wolff, S. 447 unter Nr. 43) oder einfach «unfortunate, desperate, abandoned» (Hinweis auf Np. *bargašte-rōzγār*, bei Johnson, Steingass, Haim). Das vorangehende *w'* ist IG zufolge Elativpräfix. Für die Zeilen 5—7 schlägt IG als Übersetzung vor: «And O Lord [in order not only to save ourselves, but also to prevent that] their own soul's self become so-very-much ill-fated [as a result of their Laxity,] it is necessary to order that etc.».

II,7 u. 8: Falls man statt *ckštyt cštyt* lesen darf (in beiden Fällen finden sich Punkte über dem š, die man vielleicht auf das vorangehende *k* beziehen kann), so liegt vielleicht ein Part. Prät. *čaxšt-* «received» vor, das neben *čayt-* existierte (IG, vgl. GMS § 551 (c)).

II,8: Für *xw'n* schlägt IG Ableitung von aw. **hu-āna-* «gutes Atmen während» > «wohlbehaglich» vor und verweist auf Bartholomae's Übersetzung von aw. *x^Lāθra-* als «(gutes Atmen sva) Wohlbehagen».

II,9: Statt «es wird einige Jahre dauern» übersetzte H «there is staying (= they stay) for several years».

II,10: Statt prm las IG pnc und übersetzte «five desires shall be to the present teachers», auch das vorangehende k'm verstand H als «desire».

II,12: Statt kww las IG ky (wenn richtig, so für kyy), meine durch kww angeregte Ergänzung der letzten Schriftspuren dieser Zeile als s'r hat IG folglich nicht.

II,12: Neben der von IG mitgeteilten, auf H zurückgehenden Übersetzung im Text erwog H die Möglichkeit, daß in diesem Fall auch «Hörer», also Angehörige des Laienstandes der Kirche, gemeint sein könnten. Ich halte das unter der Voraussetzung für denkbar, daß der Briefschreiber hier die «Hörer» der feindlichen Partei absichtlich herabsetzt und verspottet, sie also sozusagen «Horcher» statt «Hörer» nennt.

II,13: nyz'r . . . 'wsyndndk'm : H übersetzte «they shall break down on the body those who are (already) broken by Elend». «On the body» erklärt IG als «physically».

II,13–14: H ergänzte: 'ty prw xwrn[yy xypδ γryw] sn'yndk'm «and they shall wash themselves in blood». Weder Hs noch meine Textergänzung (xypδ δst') würden das Zeilenende normalerweise ganz füllen, so daß mit mindestens einem weiteren Wort zu rechnen ist.

II,14: Wie IG mitteilt, betrachtete H rymnyt als Fehler für rymny, so wie ich dies in Anhang I, Anm. 46 auch vermutet habe. Er sah in jw'nrw einen Titel unbekannter Bedeutung. Yzd m'h n'my erklärt IG überzeugend als Bahuvrihi-Kompositum «. . . whose-name-is Yazdmāh».

II,14 f.: H übersetzte und ergänzte «At that time (viz. the time of Yazdmāh) you yourself, o Lord, were (bishop?)».

II,16: Statt w'xš(yg) bxtgyy las IG w'xš 'y bxtgyy, was H «the spirit of schism» übersetzte. In seinem heutigen Zustand gestattet der Text eine solche Lesung aber nicht mehr.

II,17: Statt [r]ty am Zeilenanfang ergänzte IG überzeugender [r]ty, zumal andernfalls ein r-Punkt erhalten sein sollte. Ebenso dürfte II,15 am Ende mit IG 'ty zu lesen sein.

II,18 Anfang: Statt [cndn] ergänzte IG c(w) «what». In seinem heutigen Zustand gestattet das Manuskript beide Möglichkeiten, wenn man breite Schreibung des c annimmt.

II,18–21: In diesen letzten erhaltenen Zeilen des Briefes, die heute aus vier voneinander getrennten Stücken bestehen, konnten H und IG einst weitaus mehr lesen als dies heute möglich ist.

II,18: Statt myh(. . mwj)'kyy: myhr['n mw](j)'kyy. Damit wäre der Name des dort angeführten Lehrers der eigenen Partei als Mihrān wiederherstellbar. In seinem heutigen Zustand gestatten allerdings weder das Photo, mit dem ich arbeite, noch der Originaltext eine solche Ergänzung (vgl. Anhang I, Anm. 40).

II,18—19: Statt $cn(w?) (pr)[w\ 2-4\ \delta yn] / (\delta)'rty \dots$: $endn\ f[rtry' \ 'krtw] / \delta'rt$ «wieviel Besserung hat er bewirkt?» Diese einleuchtende Lesung dürfte grundsätzlich den Vorzug verdienen. Insbesondere $endn$ ist möglich, wenn man annimmt, daß das finale n mit dem linken Ende des c -Bogens zusammenfiel. Für $f[rtry' \ 'krtw]$ reicht das Ende von 18 kaum hin. IGs Ergänzung scheint mir aber doch möglich, wenn man sie etwas verkürzt; etwa: $(pr)[w'k \ 'krtw] / (\delta)'rt$ «er hat verleumdet».

II,19: Nach $gbryhb$ konnte IG zweifelsfrei $'ft'\delta'n$ lesen und danach $[s]tty$ (Prät.) statt meines sn' (Imperf.) ergänzen. $Gavryav$ war also ein Bischof! Die folgenden Worte, von denen ich gar nichts zu lesen vermochte, waren offenbar ebenfalls weniger zerstört als heute, doch auch seinerzeit nur zweifelhaft deutbar. IG hat mir gestattet, seinen folgenden, sehr zweifelhaften Rekonstruktionsversuch dessen, was er glaubt, einst mit H gelesen zu haben, mitzuteilen: $[s]tty\ endn\ \beta n' ? \dots (p/\beta\gamma)t[w]\delta[']rt [prw\ NN\ mwj'kyy]$. Ergänzend teilt er mir mit, daß $\beta n'$ immer ganz unklar war und daß das Verb von H als «he has given away as a present» übersetzt, also als $\beta\gamma tw\delta'rt$ verstanden wurde.

II,20: Nach $st'nd$: $cnd[n$ «wie viel», heute nicht mehr erkennbar.

II,21: Statt $frwx'y$: $frwx'n$, dazu die Übersetzung «the dirty Farruxān the agitator (or: 'the disturber of the happy ones')». Eine einleuchtende und daher wohl richtige Lesung. Ich kann aber nur wiederholen, daß das, was ich zu sehen vermag, als $f(rw)x'(y)$ erscheint. Der letzte Buchstabe ähnelt am meisten einem in der Mitte versehrten y .

Anhang I, Anm. 44: IG verweist mich noch auf paschtu $yau\ co$ «several» mit Bezugnahme auf *GMS* S. 251, zu 1586. Leider hatte ich versäumt, in meiner Anmerkung auch § 1586 selbst zu zitieren.

Anfang 1982 erhielt ich dank freundlicher Vermittlung von Dr. N. Sims-Williams durch Herrn Dr. G. Gropp aus der Photosammlung des Seminars für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orient der Universität Hamburg ein ausgezeichnetes Photo, das den Hauptteil des zweiten Briefes (Zeilen 1—19) in seinem weniger versehrten Vorkriegszustand zeigt. Beiden Herren danke ich an dieser Stelle für ihre Hilfe, die um so größer ist, als sie eine Reihe problematischer Lesungen definitiv entscheidet, und zwar:

II,5: $mn(d) I\ m\gamma wn$ (so IG),

II,6: $](ty\ w' rw)c\ pr(w)styy\ w\beta yy\ m(y\check{s})'ndyy\ xyp\delta\ rw'n\ gryw\ (')[$ (so IG),

II,7: $]\gamma wt\ w'nw$ (so IG),

II,9 (erste Stelle): $(')ty$ statt (rty) ,

II,10: $'$ statt prm eher pnc (so IG),

II,16: $w'x\check{s}'y\ bxtgyy$ (so IG),

II,19 nach $gbryhb$: $[\quad](.)tyy\ (c)ndn\ \beta'n(w.)[$, nicht $sn'!$

M. MARÓTH

PTOLEMAIC ELEMENTS AND GEOGRAPHICAL
ACTUALITY IN AL-ḤUWĀRIZMĪ'S DESCRIPTION
OF CENTRAL ASIA

INTRODUCTION

The geographical knowledge and geographical science of the Arabs, as shown by J. H. Kramers,¹ have developed in several stages until they attained the high level known to us. This development had several factors. One of its earliest components is the practical knowledge of nomadic people wandering in the desert about their own country, the Arab peninsula.² The poetry of the ḡāhiliyya has preserved a few practical directions and descriptions showing how to get from one place to another. Later on, these simple items of knowledge were summarized by the lexicographers on a higher level. At this time geography was not a separate science, but it represented already part of scientific knowledge. These items of practical knowledge were included in their alphabetically compiled works. One of the earliest products of this trend was al-Asma'ī's work dated from the 8th century that, beside the Arabic vocabulary, also contained the geographical names of the Arab peninsula. Of the works known to us most useful are al-Bakrī's work entitled «Geographical dictionary» and Yāqūt's «Kitāb mu'ḡam al-buldān». Beside the old geographical names, both contain also the toponyms of the newly conquered territories.

It was an important achievement, when the Arabs got acquainted with theoretical geography. The first signs of this can also be gathered already from the Koran. That knowledge, however, can be ascribed to foreign influence.³ Much more significant than these modest beginnings was the fact that the Arabs adopted the achievements of the theoretical geography of the Greeks, reaching them in three routes. It came via India in the form of the so called Sind-Hind literature, and through Iran in the form of the Zīg literature. The known world maps of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb came into existence as a result of direct Graeco-Arab relations (although this word «direct» does not mean that we would forget about the intermediary activity of the Syrians). The map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is very important because it came into existence early, in the first half of the 8th century. The cartographical activity of the Arabs cannot be understood without the knowledge of the work of Ptolemy

¹ J. H. KRAMERS: *Djuḡhrāfiya*. EI Supplementumband. 62.

² F. BUEHL: *Das Leben Muhameds*. Leipzig 1930. 61.

³ EI. Leiden 1965. II. 5575—5578.

entitled *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*. In fact, the activity of the Arabs was closely connected with this work. In a short time even three Arabic versions of it were prepared. The work contains the detailed description of the world, thus it could serve as the framework of the activities of the Arab cartographers, in which the changes taken place since Ptolemy had only to be inserted as well as those items of knowledge that were acquired by the Arabs on the basis of informations more accurate than those of Ptolemy. Unfortunately, neither of the three translations mentioned above has been preserved, thus we do not know whether they were simple translations or rewritings.

The third group of sources is represented by the geographical writers. The geographical writers of the 9th and 10th centuries borrowed from several sources. Their activity, on the one hand, was the continuation of the earlier Persian geographical science, and on the other hand they also borrowed from the Faḍā'il and Ḥadīṭ literatures, from the practical knowledge of the travellers and post-officials, as well as from the data of different itineraries. The geographical writers can be divided into two groups. The first group is the so called Iraqi school. Members of this are Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, Qudāma, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī, etc. The other is the so called Balḥi school, its famous representatives are al-Iṣṭaḥrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Muqaddasī.⁴

In the work following here I shall examine the part of al-Ḥuwārizmī's work, the Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ, relating to Central Asia. It meant a help that several scholars already made similar investigations earlier, and at the same time, even the limits of my works are determined by their research work. In the West I started my investigations at the territory elaborated by J. Eckmann.⁵ I finished it in the East at the same line with the elaboration of H. Mžik, at the border of the Ptolemaic *Scythia extra Imaum*.⁶ The southern border was meant all along by India. The mountain range stretching between India and Central Asia is slightly ascending towards the East. Therefore, if I wanted to represent the cities of Central Asia in the West, it could not be avoided to put the northernmost parts of India on the map. The examination of these territories, however, was not my aim, therefore the formations of the surface to be found there were taken into consideration only if they helped me to determine the formations of the surface in the territory examined.

The primary aim of my study is the reconstruction of al-Ḥuwārizmī's lost map. Besides, after drawing the map, I tried to examine the points represented. In the course of this work I compared al-Ḥuwārizmī's map with the

⁴ Cf. notes 1 and 3.

⁵ J. ECKMANN: Keleteurópa és Nyugatázsia a legrégeb arab térképeken (Eastern Europe and Western Asia on the Oldest Arabic Maps). Földrajzi Közlemények 57 (1929) No. 6—7. Pp. 91—105.

⁶ H. MŽIK: Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien. Beiträge zur historischen Geographie usw. Festschrift für E. Oberhummer. Ed. H. MŽIK 1929. 172—202.

corresponding parts of Ptolemy's map, as well as with other Arabic maps, notably with that of Suhrāb that similarly had to be reconstructed first. Finally, if it was possible, I tried to reason out to what the map — prepared with more primitive means than those of today and therefore frequently deformed — corresponds in reality according to our present knowledge.

In the course of the work first I translated and corrected al-Ḥuwārizmī's text frequently preserved in a distorted form. Thereafter follows the identification and objective commenting of the cities, mountains, names of countries and rivers. The results of the research could be drawn only after these.⁷

AL-ḤUWĀRIZMĪ ON CENTRAL ASIA

1. Cities

Climate V

(398) Ušrūsanat	91°10'	36°40'
(399) Ḥoğanda ¹	92°30'	37°10'
(400) Banākath ²	94°30'	38°30'
(401) Aḥsikath ³	96°30'	36°40'
(402) Ṭāraband	96°30'	36°40'
(403) Isbiğāb ⁴	98°10'	39°50'
(404) al-Ṭarāz, city of the merchants ⁵	100°30'	40°24'

⁷ My research started out from the following works of fundamental importance: Das Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ des Abū Ğa'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī. Ed. H. v. MŽIK. Leipzig 1926.

Das Kitāb 'Ağā'ib al-Aḳālīm as-Sab'a des Suhrāb. Ed. H. v. MŽIK. Leipzig 1930.

Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia. Ed. C. F. A. NOBBE. Leipzig 1898.

Tabulae in Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiam. Ed. C. MÜLLER. Parisiis 1901.

¹ In al-Ḥuwārizmī, in the figure denoting longitude, the dot is missing from the ب. In Suhrāb the figure occurs in its correct form: صبل. In the latitude, on the other hand, Suhrāb omitted a dot from the ر, while this was correctly written by al-Ḥuwārizmī as لزی.

² In al-Ḥuwārizmī the latitudinal datum appears incorrectly in the form لجل. This ought to be read as 33°30'. At the same place in Suhrāb we find لجل, this however, has to be interpreted as 38°30'. On the basis of the situation as compared with each other and the system of the cities, Suhrāb's datum has to be accepted as correct, accordingly al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected.

³ Differing from al-Ḥuwārizmī, in Suhrāb the longitudinal co-ordinate is 94°30'.

⁴ The second member of the figure representing the longitudinal co-ordinate of the city in al-Ḥuwārizmī is ج, and in Suhrāb ح. Starting out from the system formed by the cities, surely we have to accept Suhrāb's datum as correct, accordingly al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected.

⁵ In al-Ḥuwārizmī the longitude is indicated by ق, and in Suhrāb by ف. Suhrāb's datum has to be corrected according to the other, apparently correct datum.

(405) al-Tubbat ⁶	130°	38°
(406) Aṭrāqārā ⁷	149°10'	37°50'
(407) City beside a mountain and a spring ⁸	149°15'	39°

Climate VI

(467) Ḥwārizm ⁹	91°50'	42°10'
(468) al-Ḥazar ¹⁰	93°	45°
(469) Nawākath ¹¹	104°	44°
(470) City ¹²	110°	44°45'
(471) City ¹³	112°45'	42°

Climate VII

(497) Sinistān	148°10'	46°44'
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Climate VIII

(536) ما ياسو مع الجبل ¹⁴	131°	58°10'
(537) ما نامو مع جبل ¹⁵	141°30'	51°20'

⁶ In the case of the longitudinal data in connection with the مل both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb two dots were left out from the ق. Al-Ḥuwārizmī's defective latitudinal datum — لـج — must be interpreted by all means as 38°, because in Suhrāb we find 40°.

⁷ In the case of the latitudinal data Suhrāb writes لرن. This has to be corrected according to al-Ḥuwārizmī's correct لرن.

⁸ In the case of this and also of the previous point in the longitudinal co-ordinates from the ق the two dots were left out both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb.

⁹ Both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb the ب to be found in the latitudinal data has to be completed with one dot. The correct form of the figure is صبى.

¹⁰ Both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb one dot is missing from the figure صح denoting the longitude. The longitude of the city is definitely 93° and not 98°, because the conditions given at the description of the direction of the course of the Syr-Darya are performed only by this interpretation of the figure. The correct form of the figure is صح.

¹¹ According to Suhrāb the datum of al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected into قد.

¹² The correct form of the longitudinal datum is قى. Above the ق the two dots are missing with both al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb.

¹³ The ambiguous figure (صب مه) representing the longitudinal co-ordinate can be established correctly so that we take into consideration Suhrāb's map. In his work, here several cities appear after the city given in point 471, and the longitudinal datum of each of them is unambiguously smaller than 150. Thus, the ambiguous figure has to be corrected into قيب مه.

¹⁴ A name of uncertain reading.

¹⁵ A name of uncertain reading.

(867—868)	Mountain				
	117°50'	45°30'	122°20'	41°50'	
	direction of peaks : South		colour : concentrated red		
(869—870)	Mount Asfaṭāfā ¹⁹				
	124°55'	49°50'	134°40'	43°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : yellow		
(871—872)	Mount Qāsiyā ²⁰				
	141°	41°10'	147°45'	47°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : red		

Climate VII

(885—886)	Mountain ²¹				
	96°	45°55'	100°50'	49°50'	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pale yellow		
(887—888)	Mountain ²²				
	102°	47°	107°20'	47°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pink		

After Climate VII

(927—928)	Mount Rūmīqā ²³				
	88°	57°	93°25'	55°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pink		

¹⁹ The minutes belonging to the western longitude can be interpreted accurately according to Suhrāb's text. The ح of the eastern latitude stands without punctuation both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, thus it represents number 8. Still on the basis of comparison with Ptolemy (*Askatagkas*. VI. 13—14; 14—13), correctly it has to be interpreted as eastern latitude 43° instead of 48°, both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb a dot must be put into the ح. The correct form is ° مع.

²⁰ In the longitude East in al-Ḥuwārizmī we find و, but this has to be corrected according to Suhrāb's ج, because this figure is closer to Ptolemy (*Kasia*. VI. 15-2). Very likely al-Ḥuwārizmī's و is only clerical error. With Suhrāb the western longitude is 141°5' and the eastern latitude is 47°5'.

²¹ Contrary to al-Ḥuwārizmī, the co-ordinates of the western extreme point in Suhrāb are 96°5' and 45°45'.

²² Suhrāb's western co-ordinates are 102°5' and 47°5', the eastern latitude with him is 47°5'. The differences do not render the correction of al-Ḥuwārizmī's text necessary. In his work, however, in the case of the western latitude and the eastern longitude and latitude the dot must be put on the letters و, because their correct form is ج. (Thus مزه , قزك).

²³ In Suhrāb the two latitudes are 57°5' and 55°5', respectively. It is important that in his work in the case of the data of the eastern longitude there is a dot in the ح, thus it renders sure the value 93°25'. This dot must be put there also in the case of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(929—930)	Mountain ²⁴	89°35'	61°	94°50'	61°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent	sky-blue
(931—932)	Mount Arsānā	95°40'	55°10'	100°50'	59°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent	yellow
(933—934)	Mountain ²⁵	102°	60°20'	108°20'	59°30'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent iron	colour
(935—936)	Mountain, begins from the fore-part of previous mountain ²⁶	97°20'	67°30'	102°	60°30'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : pink	
(937—938)	Mount Asqāsiyā ²⁷	104°25'	56°40'	108°40'	52°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : sky-blue	
(939—940)	Alān-mountain	107°45'	62°25'	114°35'	62°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : yellow	
(941—942)	Ṭafūrā-mountain	109°20'	55°45'	115°40'	51°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : olive	
(943—944)	Sūnyā-mountain ²⁸	114°15'	58°20'	124°	63°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : concentrated	red

²⁴ In Suhrāb the latitude is 61°5'.

²⁵ In Suhrāb the western longitude is 102°5'. The value of the eastern longitude is dubious. It is written as قح ك, in the ح there is no dot either in Suhrāb or in al-Ĥuwārizmī. There is no Ptolemaic material for comparison, thus I interpreted the ح as 8.

²⁶ Suhrāb's data differ from al-Ĥuwārizmī's values at two points. With him the western latitude is 60°30', and the eastern longitude is 102°5'. In the western longitude the ى is incorrect. The dot has been omitted from it both in Suhrāb and al-Ĥuwārizmī. Correctly written it is حى ك.

²⁷ In al-Ĥuwārizmī the eastern longitude, erroneously, is punctuated so that it ought to be interpreted as 103°. On the basis of comparison with Ptolemy (*Aspisia ore* VI. 14-6), we have to accept Suhrāb's 103° as correct. Thus, al-Ĥuwārizmī's text correctly is قح ك.

²⁸ The eastern longitude in Suhrāb, in contrast to al-Ĥuwārizmī, is 124°5'. In al-Ĥuwārizmī the western longitude is punctuated. With the help of this the ى to be found with Suhrāb can be corrected into ى. In the case of the eastern latitude, however, the datum of al-Ĥuwārizmī can be corrected into حى ك on the basis of Suhrāb's text. In fact, this value can also be proved on the basis of Ptolemy's text (*Sueba ore* VI. 14-8).

(945—946)	Mountain connecting with this ²⁹				
	118°	67°45'	125°	63°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : sky-blue		
(947—948)	Anāzāyā mountain range				
	122°10'	59°10'	128°40'	54°25'	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : sky-blue		
(949—950)	Mountain ³⁰				
	126°45'	61°30'	135°20'	57°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : indifferent yellow		
(951—952)	Mount Awzaqiyūn ³¹				
	141°40'	51°20'	148°50'	58°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : indifferent iron colour		
(953—954)	Mount Lanātīti ³²				
	147°40'	65°	155°55'	60°10'	

3. Names of Countries

- 1585 Country of Šāš and Ṭāraband, its middle longitude : 98° latitude : 42°
 1600 Country of Osqōniyā, land of the Turks, its middle longitude : 114°
 latitude : 59°30'
 1601 Country of Osqōthiyā, country of the Toğuzguz, its middle longitude :
 143° latitude : 59°30'

4. Rivers

River Bāṭis

Its beginning is a spring at longitude : 146° and latitude : (2046)
 39°40'. From here it flows to longitude : 153° and latitude : 40°10'... (2048)
 A spring meets this river, its beginning is at longitude : 147°20' and
 latitude : 45°20'. It meets the river at longitude : 149° and latitude
 41°30'. (2051)

Another spring also meets river Bāṭis, its beginning is between two
 cities and a mountain at longitude : 149°30' and latitude : 38°40'. (2052)
 It meets the river at longitude : 153° and latitude : 40°. (2053)

²⁹ In the case of the eastern latitude the punctuation is omitted both in al-Ḥuwā-rizmī and Suhrāb. On the basis of the text it had to be adjusted to the previous point, viz. point 944. In accordance with this the latitudinal figure has to be corrected into ج in both Arab authors.

³⁰ In Suhrāb both latitudes are different. The western latitude is 71°45' and the eastern 57°5'.

³¹ In Suhrāb the eastern longitude is 153°50'. The collation with Ptolemy (*Auxakia ore*. VI. 15-2) justifies the latitudinal datum established here.

³² In Suhrāb the western latitude is 65°5'.

River Balḥ

- Its beginning is a lake at longitude: 100° and latitude: 48° . (2196)
- The dimension of the river is one part. It flows to the corner of the mountain at longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° . (2197)
- From there it turns back to the point at longitude: $96^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$, and then from there it flows to longitude: $96^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 42° . (2198)
- Thereafter it comes and crosses the city of Ḥwārizm, flowing out from there it reaches the point longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. (2199)
- It flows along in the vicinity of the city of Balḥ and meets the Baṭīḥa at longitude: 88° and latitude: $39^{\circ}10'$. (2200)
- From River Balḥ flows a river, its beginning is at longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. (2201)
- It flows, and then it crosses a long mountain, it passes along the cities of Uṣrūsana and Ḥoḡanda and arrives at a place at longitude: $92^{\circ}30'$ and $34^{\circ}40'$. (2206)
- A spring flows out from the mountain at longitude: $99^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: 39° . (2207)
- It flows along in the vicinity of the city of merchants to the place at longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2211)
- It flows farther and meets River Balḥ at longitude: $96^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$. (2212)
- Into this river flows a river rising from a spring, its beginning is at longitude: $101^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}20'$. (2213)
- It flows touching the city of merchants and meets the river rising from a spring at longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2214)
- A river rising from mountains falls in (the water) of the first spring. Its beginning is at longitude: $104^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $47^{\circ}5'$. (2215)
- It flows into the river originating from a spring at longitude: $97^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}5'$. (2216)
- (2217)

Long river

- Its beginning is a spring at longitude: $129^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 46° . (Suhrāb mentions $41^{\circ}5'$). (2218)
- It flows to longitude: 118° and latitude: $46^{\circ}5'$. (2219)
- From there it flows to longitude: $107^{\circ}5'$ and latitude $50^{\circ}30'$. (2220)
- Then from there it makes for longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 51° . (2221)
- It passes by the city of the Khazars and between the sea and the city of Ḥwārizm, its water flows into the lake of River Balḥ at longitude: $90^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2222)

- Into this river flows a river from the mountain of Arsānā, its beginning is at longitude: 99° and latitude: $57^\circ 30'$. (With Suhrāb longitude: $99^\circ 5'$.) (2223)
- It flows into the big river at longitude: $92^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $45^\circ 5'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $44^\circ 5'$.) (2224)
- A river coming from Mount Arsānā also flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: 100° and latitude: $59^\circ 5'$. (Suhrāb: longitude: $100^\circ 40'$.) (2225)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $94^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $46^\circ 5'$. (2226)
- A river flows into the big river from Mount Asqāsiyā, its beginning is at longitude: $104^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $56^\circ 5'$. (2227)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $100^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 5'$. (2228)
- A river from Mount Asqāsiyā similarly flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: $106^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $54^\circ 5'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $54^\circ 40'$.) (2229)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $104^\circ 30'$ and latitude: 51° . (With Suhrāb latitude: $51^\circ 5'$.) (2230)
- Another river from Mount Asqāsiyā also flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: $108^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $52^\circ 30'$. (2231)
- Its mouth at the big river at longitude: $107^\circ 20'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 30'$. (2232)
- Three rivers from a mountain also flow into the big river.
- The source of the first river is at longitude: 103° and latitude: $48^\circ 30'$. (2233)
- It flows into the big river at longitude: $103^\circ 10'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 30'$. (2234)
- The source of the second one is at longitude: $103^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $47^\circ 30'$. (2235)
- Its mouth at the big river is at longitude: $104^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 40'$. (2236)
- The source of the third one is at longitude: $104^\circ 45'$ and latitude: $48^\circ 5'$. (2237)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $106^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 20'$. (2238)
- Three rivers from Mount Taghūrā similarly flow into the big river, the source of the first one is at longitude: 112° and latitude: $58^\circ 10'$. (2239)
- (With Suhrāb longitude: $112^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $53^\circ 5'$.)
- Its mouth into the river is at longitude: $109^\circ 20'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 5'$. (2240)
- The source of the second one is at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $52^\circ 5'$. (2241)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $49^\circ 30'$. (2242)
- The source of the third one is at longitude: $115^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 30'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $51^\circ 20'$.) (2243)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $48^\circ 30'$. (2244)
- Into this big river flows a spring, its source is at longitude: $119^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $44^\circ 30'$ (With Suhrāb longitude: $119^\circ 5'$.) (2245)
- Its mouth at the river is at longitude: $118^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $46^\circ 5'$.

- (With Suhrāb longitude: 118°40'.) (2246)
 A spring flows similarly into the big river, its source is at longitude : 124°30' and latitude : 49°5'. (With Suhrāb longitude: 124°5'.) (2247)
 It flows into the river at longitude : 123° and latitude : 46°20'. (With Suhrāb latitude: 123°5'.) (2248)

River Yūhardīs

- Its source is a spring, at longitude : 145°30' and latitude : 47°. (2249)
 From there it flows to longitude : 152°30' and latitude : 51°30'. (2250)
 . . . Into this river flows a spring, its source is at longitude : 147°30' and latitude : 52°30'. (2257)
 It flows into the river at longitude : 152°40' and latitude : 51°30'. (2258)
 . . . Into this river flows a river from the mountain, its source is at longitude : 92°30' and latitude : 61°. (2389)
 Its mouth into the river is at longitude : 81°30' and latitude : 58°30'. (2390)
 . . . Into the former river flows a river from Mount Rūmīqā, its source is at longitude : 91° and latitude : 56°5'. (2399)
 It flows into the river at longitude : 88° and latitude : 54°. (2400)
 A river from Mount Arsānā also flows into the former river, its source is at longitude : 97° and latitude : 56°. (2401)
 It flows into the first river at longitude : 87°20' and latitude : 53°. (3402)

II. EXPLANATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL POINTS

(398) اشروسنة longitude: 91°10' and latitude: 36°40'. The co-ordinates given by al-Ḥuwārizmī accurately tally with those of Suhrāb. The name اشروسنة denotes a province.¹ Its name occurs also in the forms Sutrūsana and Šūrūsana.² The name of the capital of the province was Bunġikath.³ اشروسنة can be identified with the surroundings of present-day Ura-Tūbe.⁴ Al-Ḥuwārizmī in his work, however, denotes by the name اشروسنة not the province, but its capital. Therefore by the point given Bunġikath must be understood. The one time city can be identified with the ruins of the medieval Šahristān.⁵

(399) حجنده longitude: 92°30' and latitude: 37°10'. Suhrāb also gives exactly these co-ordinates. The city was situated at the border of the

¹ ما اشروسنة فانه اسم الاقليم كما ان السغد اسم الاقليم وليس بها مدينة بهذا : Ibn Ḥawqal, 379 : *Iṣṭahṛī*: فاما اشروسنة فاسم الاقليم كما ان السغد اسم الاقليم وليس مدينة بهذا الاسم . الاسم

² HA. 354.

³ At each of the places quoted so far.

⁴ Turkestan, 164—166.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 166—167. A. N. NEGMATOV—S. G. HMELNITSKI: 191—197.

province Farghāna, but it belonged still to Šāš.⁶ It can be found beside the Ptolemaic Alexandria Eschate, but their names have nothing to do with each other.⁷ Ibn Rusta, in contrast to al-Ḥuwārizmī, places the city not in Climate V, but in Climate IV together with the cities of Ošrōsana and Farghāna.⁸ On its place we can find today the city named Ḥoğend.⁹

(400) بناکت longitude: 94°10' and latitude: 38°30'. The city can be found also in Suhrāb, but at longitude: 94°55'. In the Arab geographic literature its name occurs also in the form بناکت, but Barthold remarked that the form بناکت is correct.¹⁰ It occurs in this form also in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb. Besides the variant mentioned above the form فناکت is also known.¹¹ The city was situated in the one-time province of Ilāq at the bank of River Angren, near its mouth into the Syr-Darya. Its one-time existence is witnessed by the present-day Šarkiya ruins.¹²

(401) اخسيكت longitude: 96°30' and latitude: 36°40'. With Suhrāb the city can be found at longitude: 94°30' and latitude: 36°30'. It was the capital of province Farghāna, therefore in the Arabic itineraries it is frequently mentioned like this: مدينة فرغانة.¹³ The city is described by the Arab authors differently in regard to its size. It was situated in the territory of the present-day villages Aḥsi and Šāhand.¹⁴ In contrast to al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, Ibn Rusta places it into Climate IV.¹⁵

(402) طاربنده longitude: 96°30' and latitude: 39°35'. We find the same data also with Suhrāb. The city is also mentioned by the names طاربنده and مدينة الشاش.¹⁶ The latter name originates from the circumstance that for a time it was the capital of province Šāš. This name can also be found with the historians, al-Ṭabarī and al-Balāḍūrī. With the exception of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, the other geographical writers mention بنکت as capital of Šāš.¹⁷

⁶ HA. 355. The opposite is said by Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, p. 30.

⁷ THOMSON: 126. J. MARKWART: Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios. *Orientalia* 15 (1946) 125.

⁸ Ibn Rusta, 97: فيمربيلاد التبت ثم على خراسان فيكون فيها من المدن الاقليم الرابع... فرغانة وخجندة واسروشنة.

⁹ Turkestan, 164.

¹⁰ EI. II. 671.

¹¹ V. MINORSKY: Addenda to the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*. BSOAS 17 (1955) 262.

¹² Not this city was the capital of Ilāq, but Tunkat. Cf. Iṣṭaḥrī, 331.

¹³ Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, 30. Qudāma, 208. Iṣṭaḥrī, 333. Ya'qūbī, 294. The latter uses the expression مدينة فرغانة التي ينزلها الملك يقال لها: كاسان.

¹⁴ Turkestan, 161—162. EI. I. 247.

¹⁵ Ibn Rusta, 97.

¹⁶ The طاربنده occurs with the historians. Balāḍūrī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Leiden, 1866. 421. Ṭabarī: *Ta'rīḥ al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*. II. 1571. مدينة الشاش can be found in the itineraries.

¹⁷ Muqaddasī, 276, and also with others.

The reason of the difference is very likely that the cartographers, in contrast to the other geographical writers, recorded the older conditions in their works. In Barthold we find the name Birkath instead of Binkat.¹⁸ Yāqūt in his work accepts the co-ordinates known from al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, and writes that the city is also known by the names Ṭurāraband, Ṭurār and Oṭrār. On the basis of this text Ṭāraband can be identified with present-day Otrar.¹⁹

(403) اسبيجاب longitude: 98°10' and latitude: 39°50'. In Suhrāb the latitude is 39°07'. In Ya'qūbī the name of the city can be found in the form اسبيشاب.²⁰ The name equally denoted the city and the province situated around it, whose capital it was.²¹ It was situated in the valley of River Aris, in the neighbourhood of Čimkent. It can be identified with present-day Sayram.²² According to Iṣṭahrī it was a small town.²³

(404) الطراز longitude: 100°30' and latitude: 40°24'. In Suhrāb the latitude is 40°25'. It is mentioned by the Chinese sources as a famous commercial city.²⁴ It is also mentioned by al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb like this: مدينة التجار. It was situated in the valley of River Talas, near present-day Auliya-Ata.²⁵

(405) التبت longitude: 130' and latitude: 38°. In Suhrāb the latitude is 40°25'. It is also known from the Arabic itineraries. C. A. Nallino identifies it with Tibet.²⁶ Very likely, also here as already in several cases, al-Ḥuwārizmī indicates by the name of the province its capital. At this time Tibet had no permanent capital, its place was always changing. The changing places of the capital, however, can always be found in the region of present-day Lhassa.²⁷ The name of Lhassa can also be found in the HA.²⁸ Ibn Rusta places also this city into Climate IV.²⁹

(406) اطراقارا longitude: 149°10' and latitude: 37°50'. In Suhrāb the longitude is 149°50'. The city can be identified with the city Ὀπτοροκόρρα to be found in Ptolemy, exactly on the basis of the similarity of name and the site. According to Mžik, the transliteration of the name of the city points

¹⁸ EI. IV. 745.

¹⁹ Yāqūt: Kitāb Mu'ğam al-Buldān. Leipzig 1866—1873. III. 524.

²⁰ Ya'qūbī, 295.

²¹ Muqaddasī, 262.

²² HA. 357—358. Turkestan. 175—179.

²³ Iṣṭahrī, 333.

²⁴ K. CZEGLÉDY: Die Karte der Donaulandschaftgruppe nach al-Ḥuwārizmī. Acta Orient. Hung. 1 (1950) 51.

²⁵ HA. 119. 357—358. EI. IV. 720.

²⁶ C. A. NALLINO: Al-Ḥuwārizmī e il suo refacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo. Raccolta di Scritti editi e inediti. Vol. V. 514.

²⁷ I know this on the basis of G. URAY's verbal communication.

²⁸ HA. 93.

²⁹ Ibn Rusta, 97.

to Syrian mediation.³⁰ Thomson regards this point in Ptolemy as a fabulous element,³¹ but Berthelot identifies it with the Chinese Sung-Pan.³²

(407) مدينة على جبل وعين longitude: $149^{\circ}15'$ and latitude: 39° . It can also be found in Suhrāb, but the longitude given by him is $149^{\circ}50'$. Unfortunately, al-Ḥuwārizmī did not give any name, and the city is situated outside the territories well-known by the Arabic itineraries. We tried to identify the city on the basis of its place occupied by it on our map. In the HA we can find a city,³³ about which we can read: «It is . . . close to the mountains». In his explanation V. Minorsky adds that the city was situated on the bank of a small river, southeast of this. It can be identified very likely with this city.

(467) مدينة خوارزم longitude: $91^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $42^{\circ}10'$. In Suhrāb the longitude is $91^{\circ}4'$. Just as above, the city bearing the name of the province means the capital also here. On the basis of the itineraries it seems that the capital of Ḥwārizm was Kāth.³⁴ This view is supported also by Barthold.³⁵ Today only the remainders of the city can be found, and they are known under the name Šāh 'Abbās Walī. Ibn Rusta places this city into Climate V.³⁶

(468) مدينة الخزر longitude: 93° and latitude: 45° . Suhrāb's data agree with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. The reports on the city of the Khazars can also be found in the Arabic itineraries. Ibn Ḥurradāḡbeh calls the Khazar city Khamliḡ.³⁷ It was situated at the lower course of the Volga. V. Minorsky proposes the reading Khamliḡ.³⁸

(469) نواكث longitude: 104° and latitude: 44° . Suhrāb gives 42° as latitude. It is one of the important stations of the route leading towards China, according to Qudāma it was a big city.³⁹ The route led from here to Baršhān to be found at the border of China, on the northern bank of the Issik-Köl.⁴⁰ The name of the city was pronounced Nawīkat, al-Ḥuwārizmī and the Arab geographers transcribed the long «ī» with alif mamdūda.⁴¹

(470) مدينة longitude: 110° and latitude: $44^{\circ}45'$. The city is characterized with these data also in Suhrāb. It was situated between Nawīkat and

³⁰ H. MŽIK: Afrika nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* des Claudius Ptolemaeus von Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥwārizmī. Wien 1917. IX.

³¹ THOMSON: 310—311.

³² A. BERTHELOT, Carte de l'Asie Centrale. L'Asie Centrale Ancienne. 224—225.

³³ HA. 85. 232.

³⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, 351. Maqdisī, 287. Iṣṭahri, 300.

³⁵ Turkestan. 144—145, 150. EI. II. 974.

³⁶ Ibn Rusta, 98.

³⁷ Ibn Ḥurradāḡbeh, 124. Against this Iṣṭahri, 220: ائل, Ibn Ḥawqal, 365: اتل,

Ibn Rusta, 139: سارعش.

³⁸ HA. 450—454.

³⁹ Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁰ HA. 289.

⁴¹ HA. 290.

Barshān, thus it was situated on the northern route of the three routes leading to Barshān, north of the Issik—Köl. This is shown also by the circumstance that on our map it can be found by $2^{\circ}45'$ more to the north than Barshān situated on its southern shore. Reading the itineraries we find that it is the most important station of the northern route that appears in every enumeration, it was the city of كَبال.⁴² Very likely, at this point this city was also represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī.⁴³

(471) longitude: $112^{\circ}45'$ and latitude: 42° . The same data are given also by Suhrāb, but unfortunately he does not mention the name of the city either. Examining the itineraries of Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh and Qudāma, however, we can be sure that this city was نوشجان,⁴⁴ and its name has to be read correctly Barshān.⁴⁵ This city was situated at the border of China,⁴⁶ and was the final point of the itineraries. From the territory reviewed here one could get here on three routes. One of the routes led from Nawīkat on the northern bank along the Issik-Köl. The second route starting out from Tumkat ran on the southern bank of the Issik-Köl, while the third one led through the cities Qūbā, Ōš and Uzkan from the south to the north.⁴⁷ This is the final station of each route, from here the route leads already in foreign territory. The city of Barshān was situated on the bank of the Issik-Köl in the vicinity of present-day Prževalsk.⁴⁸ From here one could get further to China, to the land of the Toḡuzguz, to Sinistān.⁴⁹

(497) longitude: $148^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $46^{\circ}45'$. Suhrāb's data accurately tally with these. The city does not occur in Ptolemy. It can be found in the land of the Toḡuzguz, near the border of China. On the basis of the different data and of the comparison of names it can be identified with Čināngkāth of the HA, the winter capital of the Toḡuzguz.⁵⁰ The city is mentioned by other sources by other names. It is known by the Chinese under the name Kao-ch'ang, and by the Turks under the name Qočo. Today beside the place of the city the ruins of Idiquť-šahri are situated.

(536) longitude: 131° and latitude: $58^{\circ}10'$. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. In writing Suhrāb gives the form نِهاسو to the name of the city, thus to some extent he differs from al-Ḥuwārizmī. In

⁴² Qudāma, 206. Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, 29.

⁴³ Identification see HA. 291.

⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, 29. Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁵ HA. 292, note 3.

⁴⁶ Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁷ HA. 289. Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, 30. Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁸ Qudāma, 262. J. DE GOEJE: *De Muur van Gog en Magog*, reviewed by TOMASCHKE in WZKM 1889. HA. 293.

⁴⁹ Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh. 30.

⁵⁰ HA. 271. M. P. PELLISOT: Kao-tch'ang, Qočo, Houo-tcheou et Qarā-Khodja: JA (1912) 579—603. A. STEIN: *Innermost Asia*. Oxford 1928. 566—609.

absence of punctuation, however, the name is illegible with both of them, it is also difficult to identify it. On the map this city can be found in the region of اسقوثيا, country of the تغزغز. In the itineraries we can read that the people named كيمالك was living there.⁵¹ According to the HA, there was a city in the Kīmāk region, in agreement with our text beyond Climate VII, its name was بلد ياسو or يفسون ياسو. Comparing these data we find that the two cities correspond to each other.⁵²

(537) ناسامومع جبل longitude: 141°30' and latitude: 51°20'. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, but he gives the name in the form ناسامو. On account of the absence of punctuation, the reading of the name is uncertain. It is difficult to identify, because it has been preserved in a very distorted form. The difference is significant even between the forms of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb. On the basis of our map that much is certain that the city was situated in the Toğuzğuz territory. Paṅğikāth, the summer capital was the second most important city after Čināṅgkāth. According to the HA these two cities were separated from each other by a mountain.⁵³ The representation of al-Ḥuwārizmī meets this requirement. The Chinese name of the tribe living in the vicinity was *Pa-si-mi* (= Basuzil). It appears that this name can also be restored from the city name of al-Ḥuwārizmī that differs considerably from Paṅğikāth mentioned in the HA as well as from the Turkish name of the city, viz. from Bišbaliq.⁵⁴

II. 2. Mountains

(817—818) جبل longitude: 88° and latitude: 36° — longitude: 106° and latitude: 39°20'. The direction of the peaks is North. On the basis of its site, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic Παροπάνισος and the τὰ Σάριφα ὄρη. On the basis of Hermann's identification, the present-day Hindukush mountain corresponds to the one-time Paropanisos, while the Kaitu mountain and the Safid-kūh correspond to the Sariphos.¹

(819—820) جبل longitude: 106° and latitude: 39°20' — longitude: 124°35' and latitude: 39°45'. The direction of the peaks is north. On the basis of its site, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic Καννάσιον ὄρος. According to Hermann² and Berthelot³ the mountain between the Amu-Darya and the Indus can be regarded as the Καννάσιον ὄρος. As compared

⁵¹ Ibn Ḥurradāḡbeh, 31.

⁵² HA. 94. 469. 471—474.

⁵³ HA. 309.

⁵⁴ HA. 272.

¹ RE 18/3. 1778—1779, 11/1. 2514—2515.

² RE. 11. 60.

³ A. BERTHELOT: 265.

with the reality, the mountain to be found on the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is disproportionately elongated. The reason of this will be discussed in the Conclusions.

(821—822) جبل longitude: $127^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}50'$ — longitude: $139^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb gives also the name of the mountain, viz.: انماوس. Taking into consideration this name and the site of the mountain, we find that it can be identified with *Ἰμαον ὄρος* of Ptolemy. The name of the mountain also occurs in Syrian geographical literature. The spelling انماوس to be found there is the accurate transliteration of the Greek form.⁴ It seems that the Arabic variant of the name of the mountain originates from the misreading of the Syrian variant.

(823—824) جبل longitude: 137° and latitude: 72° — longitude: $139^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is West. Suhrāb's co-ordinates differ from the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. Suhrāb gives the name of the mountain also in this case, viz.: انماوس. Thus, on the basis of its site and its name, also this mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ἰμαον ὄρος*, exactly with its long branch of N-S direction.

(825—826) جبل ممزن longitude: $140^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 37° — longitude: $149^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is North. With Suhrāb the name appears in the form حمزن. On the basis of the better form of the name and on the basis of the site, the mountain can be identified with the mountain *Ἡμωδὰ ὄρη* occurring with Ptolemy. The last three mountains in reality can be identified with the mountain system of the Himalayas.⁵

(865—866) برج حجارة longitude: $101^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}5'$ — longitude: $101^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $42^{\circ}15'$. The direction of the peaks is East. It does not occur in Suhrāb. It can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ἀθίωος Πύργος*, although according to the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī it is situated much more to the West than that. Earlier it was regarded by the researchers as the equivalent of Taškurgan,⁶ but as a result of the more recent investigations, Treidler,⁷ Markwart⁸ and Thomson⁹ represent the unific view that it can be found on the Alai plateau, in the vicinity of present-day Darautkurgan. The mountain was of great significance from the viewpoint of travels, because the route to China led through this.

(867—868) جبل longitude: $117^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $45^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $122^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}50'$. The direction of the peaks is South. Suhrāb's

⁴ A. HJELT: *Études sur l'Hexameron de Jacques d'Edesse*. Helsingfors 1892. Pp. XXXVIII., XLI.

⁵ RE. 10. 2261—2263. 5. 2502—2504. 9. 5214. 9. 2542.

⁶ THOMSON: 309.

⁷ RE. 24. 33—46.

⁸ J. MARKWART: *Wehrot und Arang*. Leiden 1938. 39—65.

⁹ THOMSON: 308.

data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, but neither of them gives the name. On the basis of its site, it can be identified with Ptolemy's *Κωμηδῶν ὄρεινή*. In the form *کومید*, the name also occurs in with Ibn Rusta.¹⁰ In reality the Alai mountain system corresponds to this mountain. Kretschmer¹¹ and Markwart¹² share this opinion.

(869—870) *جبل اسفطا فا* longitude: 124°55' and latitude: 49°50' — longitude: 135°40' and latitude: 43°. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, there is a small difference only in the form of name given by him: it appears in the spelling *سفا طا فا*. On the basis of its site and name the mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ἀσκατάγκας ὄρη*. The identification has been done by Tomaschek.¹³ According to him the mountain range consisting of the Usun-tau, the Kogart-tau and the Karakol-tau corresponds to this mountain, indeed.

(871—872) *جبل قاسيا* longitude: 141° and latitude: 41°10' — longitude: 147°45' and latitude: 47°. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name of the mountain appears in the form *ماسنا*. The co-ordinates at two points do not agree with the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī. The mountain, on the basis of its name and site, corresponds to the Ptolemaic mountain. The direct predecessor of the Arabic name is very likely the Syrian spelling *ساقا*.¹⁴ It can be identified with the present-day Karakorum mountain, otherwise called Mus-tag mountain.¹⁵

(885—886) *جبل* longitude: 96° and latitude: 45°55' — longitude: 100°50' and latitude: 49°50'. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb slightly differs from the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site the mountain can be identified with the *᾽Οξεία ὄρη* known from Ptolemy. According to Hermann today the Hissar mountain corresponds to this.¹⁶

(887—888) *جبل* longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° — longitude: 107°20' and latitude: 47°. The direction of the peaks is North. There is a smaller, insignificant difference between the co-ordinates of Suhrāb and those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site the mountain can be identified with the *Σόγδια ὄρη* to be found also in Ptolemy. In reality the mountainous district situated between river *Baskatis* and river *Demos* corresponds to this mountain.¹⁷

¹⁰ HA. 361—363.

¹¹ RE. 2/3. 788—791.

¹² MARKWART: *op. cit.* 59—65.

¹³ RE. 2. 1614—1615. W. TOMASCHEK: Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden. II. 51.

¹⁴ Jacob of Edessa, 38.

¹⁵ HA. 199.

¹⁶ RE. 18. 2003.

¹⁷ RE. 263. 789.

(927—928) جبل روميقا longitude: 88° and latitude: 57° — longitude: $93^{\circ}25'$ and latitude: 55° . The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data slightly differ from the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site and name the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic *Ῥυμμικὰ ὄρη*. According to Eckman,¹⁸ Berthelot¹⁹ and Hermann²⁰ equally the Ural corresponds to the جبل روميقا.

(929—930) جبل longitude: $89^{\circ}36'$ and latitude: 61° — longitude: $94^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: 61° . The direction of the peaks is North. In the co-ordinates there is only one smaller difference between Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī. Neither of them mentions the name of the mountain. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the *Ῥπερβόρεια ὄρη* of Ptolemy, and in reality the Ural corresponds to it.²¹

(931—932) جبل ارسانا longitude: $95^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $55^{\circ}10'$ — longitude: $100^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. The data of Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī completely tally with each other. On the basis of the site and the similarity of name, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic *Νόροσσον ὄρος*. This corresponds to the hilly country joining the Ural from the south. In this respect there is a complete identity of views among the researchers.²²

(933—934) جبل longitude: 102° and latitude: $60^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: $108^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}30'$. The direction of the peaks is North. The mountain has no name either in al-Ḥuwārizmī or in Suhrāb. The mountain cannot be found in Ptolemy, and it has no trace in the Syrian geographical literature either. This is a new material on the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī. It is situated between the Arsānā and Alan mountains. The former mountain represents the hilly country connecting with the Ural. About the Alan mountains we can give the same statement below. Accordingly, the mountain situated between the two can also be regarded only as a hilly country of the Ural.

(935—936) جبل longitude: $97^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $67^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $102^{\circ}60'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}30'$. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the direction of the range of the mountain differs from that represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī. This mountain also represents a new material just like the former one. The sites of both are also similar, thus it can also be regarded only as the southern hilly country of the Ural. Accordingly, just like the *Ῥπερβόρεια ὄρη*, described by Ptolemy as one mountain, was regarded by al-Ḥuwārizmī as three nameless mountains, similarly the *Νόροσσον ὄρος*, con-

¹⁸ J. ECKMANN: *op. cit.* 99.

¹⁹ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁰ RE. 2/l. 1884—1885.

²¹ J. ECKMANN: *op. cit.* 99.

²² *Op. cit.* 98. BERTHELOT: 224. RE 17. 1048.

sisting in Ptolemy of one range, was represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī as a system consisting of three mountains.

(937—938) جبل اسقا سيا longitude: $104^{\circ}25'$ and latitude: $56^{\circ}40'$ — longitude: $108^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data tally with those given above. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with the Ἀσπλοια ὄρη of Ptolemy. The form of the Arabic name clearly shows that the direct source was not Greek, because the errors of the transliteration point to Syrian mediation. In Jacob of Edessa this name can be found in the form ܐܣܩܐܣܝܐ .²³ In the variants of the manuscript the spelling ܐܣܩܐܣܝܐ also occurs. Thus, it is easily understood that the ܥ was read as ܥ (= ܩ). And the transliteration of the long ܝ is in Arabic alif mamdūda.²⁴ From among all scholars who dealt with the identification of the mountain, Hermann's solution is most likely. He sees its real equivalent in the Karatau.²⁵

(939—940) جبل الان longitude: $107^{\circ}45'$ and latitude: $62^{\circ}25'$ — longitude: $114^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $62^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data completely tally with the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of the identity of the name and the site it can be identified with the mountain Ἀλανὰ ὄρη of Ptolemy. According to Berthelot²⁶ and Tomaschek²⁷ this mountain also corresponded to the hilly country connecting with the southern part of the Ural.

(941—942) جبل طفورا longitude: $109^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $55^{\circ}45'$ — longitude: $115^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data completely tally with the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with the Τάπυρα ὄρη of Ptolemy. According to Hermann's identification in reality this corresponds to the Alexander range.²⁸

(943—944) جبل سونيا longitude: $114^{\circ}15'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: 124° and latitude: 63° . The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name is given erroneously as سونتا. The data of the longitude are different. On the basis of the site and the similarity of the name of the mountain, it can be identified with the Σωνήβα ὄρη of Ptolemy. The Arabic spelling of the name of the mountain points to Syrian mediation.²⁹ The distortion of the name results from the erroneous punctuation of the correctly written letter forms.

²³ Jacob of Edessa, 38.

²⁴ C. BROCKELMANN: Syrische Grammatik. Leipzig 1960, 6—7.

²⁵ RE. 2/4. 2272—2273. RE. 2. 1736—1737. Kritik, II. 51.

²⁶ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁷ RE. 1. 1281.

²⁸ RE. 2/4. 2272—2273.

²⁹ About this in greater detail H. MŽIK: Afrika, II. VI—VIII.

(945—946) جبل longitude: 118° and latitude: $67^{\circ}45'$ — longitude: 125° and latitude: 63° . The direction of the peaks is North. The mountain is nameless both in Suhrāb and in al-Ḥuwārizmī. According to both of them it connects with the former mountain. Very likely, it forms a unit with that one, and therefore it did not receive a separate name either. The two mountain ranges form one unit, just as we have already seen an example for this in the case of the *Νόρσοσον ὄρος* and the *Ὶπερβόρεια ὄρη*. The complex consisting of these two mountains corresponds to the ranges of the Ala-tau. Their common name correctly written is: سویا.³⁰

(947—948) جبل انا زایا longitude: $122^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}10'$ — longitude: $128^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $54^{\circ}25'$. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the data agree with the above ones, but the form of the name has further deteriorated, viz.: انا نانا. On the basis of its site and name the mountain corresponds to Ptolemy's *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη*. The Arabic transliteration shows that the Greek name was taken over with Syrian mediation.³¹ According to Tomaschek the mountain can be identified with the western foothills of the Tien-Shan.³²

(949—950) جبل longitude: $126^{\circ}45'$ and latitude: $61^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $135^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 57° . The direction of the peaks is North. There is a difference between Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī in the latitudinal data. This mountain is also nameless in both of them. No Ptolemaic antecedents can be traced and it is not known by the Syrians either. We can find also this first in al-Ḥuwārizmī. In all probability, it can be regarded as a more easterly range of the *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη*. Thus, together with that, it can be identified with part of the Tien-shan. This is also shown by the fact that it is situated between the *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη* and the *Ὶννιβα ὄρη*, and as we shall see, the *Ὶννιβα ὄρη* are identified by the research with the eastern range of the Tien-shan.

(951—952) جبل او رقیون longitude: $141^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: $148^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: 58° . The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name, apart from the *ن* at the end of the word, is not punctuated, while in al-Ḥuwārizmī the dot is missing only from the *ر*. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ὶνξάνια ὄρη*. It stretches from the Karakorum mountain to the eastern foothills of the Tien-shan, and thus it corresponds to the present-day Altyn-tag.

(953—954) جبل لنا تیتی longitude: $147^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: 65° — longitude: $155^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}10'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's co-ordinates and those to be found in al-Ḥuwārizmī slightly differ from each

³⁰ Jacob of Edessa, 37: it stands in the form *سویا*

³¹ H. MŽIK: Afrika, loc. cit.

³² RE. I. 2063.

³³ RE. I. 2258—2259.

other. In Suhrāb we find the name of the mountain in the form انا نینی. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the Ἄννιβα δρη of Ptolemy. Tomaschek (in RE) identifies it with the eastern part of the Tien-shan, mentioning especially the Qarašar and Turfan mountains.

II. 3. Names of countries

(1585) بلاد الشاش وطار بند longitude: 98° and latitude: 42° . The name cannot be found in Ptolemy, it belongs to the new acquisitions of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(1600) اسقونيا longitude: 114° and latitude: $57^{\circ}30'$. In Ptolemy the territory corresponds to the Σκνθίας τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰμάου ὄρους θέσεις. The Syrian variant of the word is ܣܩܘܢܝܐ.¹ The Arabic form came into existence on the basis of the latter one.

(1601) اسقونيا longitude: 143° and latitude: $57^{\circ}30'$. The territory corresponds to Ptolemy's Σκνθίας τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἰμάου ὄρους θέσεις. This word through the Syrian transliteration ܣܩܘܢܝܐ can be traced back to the Greek word Σκνθία.

II. 4. Rivers

River بلخ. (2196—2201) Its beginning is a lake at the longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 48° . It reaches the corner of a mountain at the longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° . It turns back to the longitude: $96^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$. It flows to the longitude: $96^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 42° . Crossing the city of Ḥwārizm it arrives at longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. It flows farther in the vicinity of Balḥ, until at longitude: 88° and latitude: $39^{\circ}10'$ it flows into Lake Aral. Looking at the map we see that of the two big river systems the branch described now represents the main course of the southern river system. The southern river system clearly corresponds to river Ὠξος to be found in Ptolemy and to its tributaries, while the northern water system is nothing else than the Ptolemaic Ἰαξάστης and its branches. Today the Ὠξος corresponds to the Amu-Darya, and the Ἰαξάστης to the Syr-Darya.

Comparing the Oxus-course described by al-Ḥuwārizmī with the description to be found in Ptolemy, we can find several differences. One of the differences is that in al-Ḥuwārizmī the نهر بلخ flows into Lake Aral, while in Ptolemy it flows into the Caspian Sea. In this respect, in accordance with reality, al-Ḥuwārizmī has corrected Ptolemy.¹ The other difference is that in Ptolemy the

¹ L. Jacob of Edessa, 38.

¹ On the mouth of the Oxus see W. BARTHOLD: Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-darja von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1910.

direction of the course is South-North, while in al-Ḥuwārizmī it is North-South, or exactly the reverse of it. Examining the actual circumstances, we can see that the river-heads of the Amu-Darya (Oxus) and the Indus flank the mountainous district of the Hindukush, by its ancient name *Κανκάσιον ὄρος*, as referred to by us already while discussing the mountains.² Examining the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī, we find that also in him there is a river that with the river-head of the Indus flanks the *Κανκάσιον ὄρος*. He describes this river as follows.

(2211—2213) It comes out from the mountains at longitude: 99° and latitude: 39° , it flows on along the City of merchants up to the point with the co-ordinates longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$, then it flows into the *نهر بلخ* at the longitude: $46^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$. According to the conditions mentioned above this river corresponds to the main course of the Ptolemaic Oxus, the present-day Amu-Darya. This view is supported also by the fact that also another river flows into this river not much after its source.

(2214—2215) It is the tributary of the former river. Its source can be found at the longitude: $101^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}20'$. It flows beside the City of merchants and at the longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$ it flows into the Amu-Darya. This river can be identified with the Murgāb to be found at the river-head of the Amu-Darya. The Murgāb in reality takes its source from the Pamir mountain, on our map from the Paropanisos mountain. This is the most important tributary of the upper course of the Amu-Darya, to such an extent that *Iṣṭahrī* takes this as the main branch, and regards the main course as a tributary of the Murgāb.³

After these it has to be clarified that if these two rivers represent the main branch of the Amu-Darya, then to what does the river correspond that is shown by al-Ḥuwārizmī as the Amu-Darya? We get the answer, if we take three factors into consideration. The first is the North-South direction of the course of the river. The second is that the source of the river is a lake (2196). The third is that in al-Ḥuwārizmī one river is missing that can be found in Ptolemy. This missing river is the *Πολυτίμητος* which can be identified with the Zarafšan.⁴ The direction of the course of the river in question in general outlines corresponds to that of the Zarafšan, and on the other hand, in the Middle Ages it was believed that the Zarafšan took its source in a lake, in fact in Lake Iskandar. Thus, the lake described under point 2196 corresponds to the Iskandar-köl,⁵ and the river in question to the Zarafšan. Thus, on the one hand, at this point al-Ḥuwārizmī corrected Ptolemy, who represented the *Πολυτίμητος* so that it flew into the Caspian Sea, and on the other hand, in the course of the correction

² BERTHELOT: 265.

³ *Iṣṭahrī*, 296.

⁴ W. TOMASCHKE: *Centralasiatische Studien. I. Sogdiana*. Wien 1877. 14—22.

⁵ HA. 73. 211. J. MARKWART: *Wehrot und Arang*, 84.

he also fell victim to an error, because he mixed up the Zarafšan with the Amu-Darya. According to the sources, however, this was a traditional error, it cannot be put down to his account.⁶ Besides, it is also an evidence in favour of the view just expounded that in Ptolemy the co-ordinates of the river-head of the Oxus are longitude: $119^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 39° . Comparing these data with the data of the river of al-Ḥuwārizmī taking its source in the *Kaukasion oros*, we can see that the latitudinal data exactly tally with each other, while in the longitude we find a difference of 20° . This, however, can be attributed to the general displacement of the longitudinal degrees. This question will be discussed in the Conclusions.

The Amu-Darya received its present name from the city of Āmul situated on its bank.⁷ On the basis of a similar consideration, al-Ḥuwārizmī called it نهر بلخ, because in fact, the river before flowing into Lake Aral, flew along by the city of Balḥ. Suhrāb mentions in his book that its most widespread name in Arabic scientific literature is جیحون. In Pahlavi literature the river was also called Weh-rōt.⁸ The Greek variant of its name is $\text{᾽}\Omega\xi\omicron\varsigma$. This name was derived from the one-time name of the river to be discussed below.

(2216—2217) A tributary from the right bank flows into the Amu-Darya. Its source can be found at the longitude: $97^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}50'$, and its mouth at the longitude: $104^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 46° . It flows into the Amu-Darya. This can be identified with present-day river Waḥš, the biggest and at the same time most important tributary of the Amu-Darya.⁹ At its middle course it is called Surḥāb and at its upper course Kizil-su. The $\text{᾽}\Omega\xi\omicron\varsigma$ is derived from the name *Waḥš*, and this name was applied later on not to this tributary, but to the main river, the Amu-Darya.¹⁰

(2206—2207) It is a tributary of the river نهر بلخ on the left bank. Its co-ordinates are longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. In Ptolemy we find here the river named *Margos*, this flows through the province of Margiana. The province, at the same time, received its name from it. The present-day Murghab¹¹ corresponds to this river, but in reality, in contradiction to al-Ḥuwārizmī's map, it does not reach the Amu-Darya. Al-Ḥuwārizmī does not give the name of this river, therefore the river can be identified with the *Margos*-Murḡāb only on the basis of Ptolemy. In this area geographical tradition takes note also of another river, the name of that is $\text{᾽}\Omega\xi\omicron\varsigma$ in Greek sources, today it can be found under the name Herirud-Taḡand. In reality this river does not reach the Amu-Darya

⁶ J. MARKWART: *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*. Berlin 1901. 150. Wehrot. 77.

⁷ BARTHOLD: *op. cit.* 35. This name occurs also in Suhrāb.

⁸ MARKWART: *op. cit.* 34.

⁹ HA. 209. Iṣṭahrī 295. Ibn Ḥawqal, 398.

¹⁰ MARKWART: *op. cit.* 34.

¹¹ MARKWART: *loc. cit.*

either.¹² In Ptolemy we can also find a river named $\text{᾽}\Omega\xi\omicron\varsigma$. This flows, however, according to him first into the $\Delta\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$, and then the $\Delta\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ falls into the Amu-Darya. The $\text{᾽}\Omega\xi\omicron\varsigma$ and the $\Delta\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ to be found in Ptolemy can be identified with the Qunduz and its tributary,¹³ but these tributaries were not represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(2218—2222) نهر طویل. The river has its source at the longitude: $129^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 46° , finally at the longitude: $90^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$ it flows into Lake Aral. It can be identified with Ptolemy's $\text{᾽}\text{Ia}\xi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$. The name is of Iranian origin, the original form *Hasart*¹⁴ can be found in the HA. There have already been attempts to explain the origin of the name.¹⁵ In Suhrāb we find it, beside the نهر طویل to be found in al-Ḥuwārizmī, also under the name سيمون widespread in Arabic scientific literature. Sometimes we find it under the name نهرالشاش, thus also in Ibn Ḥawqal. Today it is called Syr-Darya. This section of the river that stretches from point 2218 to point 2246, can be identified with present-day River Narin. This appears in the HA under the name *Ḥatlam*.¹⁶ Barthold also mentions this branch as the biggest among the sources of the Syr-Darya.¹⁷ In harmony with al-Ḥuwārizmī, Suhrāb also regards this branch as the main stream. As we shall see below, this view was not of general validity.

(2245—2246) The source of the river is longitude: $119^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$. It flows into the Long River at the longitude: $118^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $46^{\circ}5'$. This river can be identified with the present-day Kara-Darya. It occurs in the HA under the name Uzgand. In the Middle Ages the geographers, as well as the major part of the population even today, regard this as the main course. The HA is also of this opinion.¹⁸

(2247—2248) Nameless river, it flows into the Syr-Darya. Its source is the longitude: $124^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $49^{\circ}5'$. Its mouth is at longitude: 123° and latitude: $46^{\circ}20'$. On the basis of its site the river can be identified with the Kara-su.

Three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya from the Tapura mountain. All the three are nameless both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

(2239—2240) longitude: 112° and latitude: $53^{\circ}10'$. It flows into the Syr-Darya at the longitude: $109^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $50^{\circ}5'$. It can be found also

¹² BERTHELOT: 176. MARKWART: *op. cit.* 4-4. In Ptolemy the *Margos* is described in VI. 10-1.

¹³ MARKWART: *op. cit.* 27.

¹⁴ HA. 116. TOMASCHEK: *Kritik*, 250. II. 50.

¹⁵ HA. 210.

¹⁶ HA. 73. 210.

¹⁷ *Turkestan*, 155.

¹⁸ *Turkestan*, 155. HA. 211. This view is rejected by ibn Ḥawqal, 392: نهرالشاش و ... هو نهر يعظم بانهار تجمع اليها ... اوزكند، خرشاب، قبا، جد غل ...

in Suhrāb, but with him the data of the river-head are different. On the basis of its site, it can be identified with the river Bossu.¹⁹

(2241—2242) The river-head is at the longitude: $114^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $49^{\circ}30'$. It can also be found in Suhrāb, and the longitudinal and latitudinal data given there completely tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the river Parak mentioned in the HA,²⁰ as well as with the river Čirčik according to Barthold.²¹ The province of Šāš is situated in the valley of the river.

(2243—2244) The co-ordinates of the river-head are longitude: $115^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}30'$, and those of the mouth are longitude: $114^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $48^{\circ}30'$. The river is also mentioned by Barthold.²² It can be identified with the present-day Angren. The province of Īlāq was situated in the valley of this river.

From Mount اسقا similarly three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya. All the three are nameless both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

(2231—2232) The co-ordinates of the source are longitude: $108^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}30'$, and those of the mouth longitude: $107^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $50^{\circ}30'$. The river can also be found in Suhrāb, and the co-ordinates given by him completely tally with those given here. It can be identified with the present-day Aris. The course of this was described by Barthold.²³

(2229—2230) The river-head is at longitude: $106^{\circ}30'$ and $54^{\circ}5'$, and the mouth at longitude: $104^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 51° . The latitudes of the river-head and the mouth of the river are equally different in Suhrāb. On the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī, from the اسقاسيا mountain, three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya. In reality from the mountain corresponding to the اسقاسيا similarly three major rivers are heading for the main river. Of these the first one was the Aris and the middle one was the Bugun. The river in question can be identified with this.

(2227—2228) The co-ordinates of the river-head are at longitude: $104^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $56^{\circ}5'$. Those of the mouth are at longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}5'$. In Suhrāb we can find exactly those co-ordinate data as in al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of the consideration expounded in the previous point, this can be identified with the present-day river Iničke.

From the *Norosson* mountain two rivers are heading for the Syr-Darya. In al-Ḥuwārizmī both are nameless.

(2223—2224) The river takes its source in the ارسانا mountain at longitude: 99° and latitude: $57^{\circ}30'$. It flows into the Syr-Darya at longitude:

¹⁹ Turkestan, 173.

²⁰ HA. 73. 211.

²¹ Turkestan, 169.

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ Turkestan, 176.

92°5' and latitude: 45°5'. In al-Ḥuwārizmī, differing from Ptolemy, the Daix takes its source in the *Rhymmika* mountains, thus in the *Norosson oros* there remains place only for the Ἰάστρης. On the basis of these, this river can be identified with the Ptolemaic Ἰάστρης, and that is identical with the present-day Emba.²⁴

(2225—2226) It takes its source in the ارسا mountain at longitude: 100° and latitude: 59°5', and it flows into the Syr-Darya at the longitude: 94°5' and latitude: 46°5'. This river has no equivalent in Ptolemy. Examining the map carefully, we see that beside the Emba-Iastes, only one river flows from the hilly country connecting with the Ural corresponding to the *Norosson oros* towards the Syr-Darya and this is the Sari-su. In reality this does not reach the catchment river either, just like the Emba, or the Murghab that does not reach the Amu-Darya. North of the Syr-Darya we can still find another significant river, this is the Ču. The site of this, however, completely differs from that represented in al-Ḥuwārizmī. Thus, this river cannot be anything else than the Sari-su.²⁵

(2233—2234) The source of the river can be found at longitude: 103° and latitude: 48°30'. Its mouth is at the longitude: 103°10' and latitude: 51°30'. In al-Ḥuwārizmī the Syr-Darya has three tributaries on the left side. This river is the most westerly of them. In Ptolemy, the Iaxartes has only two tributaries on the left side, these are the Δῆμος and the Βασκατῆς. All the three tributaries mentioned by al-Ḥuwārizmī are nameless. Similarly, in the HA we can find three rivers here, the names of all the three can also be found. The river characterized by al-Ḥuwārizmī with the above co-ordinates corresponds to the Qūbā, because this is the most westerly of the three. According to Barthold's description, we do not know with which of the small brooks flowing in the territory in question it can be identified, with the Aravan, the Abšura, or the Isfayram.²⁶ In Suhrāb this river does not occur.

(2235—2236) The source of the river is at longitude: 103°30' and latitude: 47°30', and its mouth at longitude: 104°30' and latitude: 50°40'. Of the rivers on the left side the middle one corresponds to the Ōš indicated in the HA. This was identified by Barthold with the Aqbura.²⁷ This river does not appear in Suhrāb.

(2237—2238) The source of the river is at longitude: 104°45' and latitude: 48°5', and its mouth is at longitude: 106°5' and latitude: 50°20'. It is the most easterly tributary on the left side. It corresponds to the Ḥuršab in the

²⁴ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁵ RE. 9. 1178—1179.

²⁶ Turkestan. 159. HA. 72. 211.

²⁷ HA. *loc. cit.* Turkestan. *loc. cit.*

HA. This is the name of the river even today. W. Tomaschek identified it with Ptolemy's *Δῆμος*.²⁸ This river does not appear in Suhrāb.

(2046—2048) نهر باطس. Its source is longitude: 146° and latitude: 39°10'. Through longitude: 149° and latitude: 41°30' it flows to the longitude: 153° and latitude: 40°10'. On the basis of its name and site it can be identified with Ptolemy's *Βαύρισος*. Tomaschek identified it with the present-day Hoang-ho.²⁹

(2050—2051) It is the tributary of the نهر باطس. Its source is at longitude: 147°20' and latitude: 45°20'. Its mouth is at longitude: 149°30' and latitude: 38°40'. Tomaschek identified it with the Hoang-sui.³⁰

(2052—2053) Similarly, it is a tributary of the نهر باطس. Its source is at longitude: 149°30' and latitude: 38°40', and its mouth at longitude: 153° and latitude: 40°. Tomaschek identified it with the Tar-ho.³¹ The entire system of river باطس, unlike the نهر بلخ and the نهر طویل, completely agrees with the Ptolemaic picture. The tributaries of the باطس can be identified with the tributaries of the *Βαύρισος*.

(2249—2258) نهر نوحدیس. Its beginning is at longitude: 145°30' and latitude: 47°. From here it flows to the longitude: 152°30' and latitude: 51°30'. On the basis of its name and site it corresponds to Ptolemy's *Οιχάρδης*. A. Hermann identified it with the river Tarim.³²

The beginning of its tributary is at longitude: 147°30' and latitude: 52°30'. It is the tributary of the Tarim. Hermann identified it with the Tsung-ling.³³ The system of this river is identical both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

The rivers taking their source in Mount Rūmiqā have already been discussed by J. Eckmann.

CONCLUSIONS

In the interpretation of al-Ḥuwārizmī's text and in the drawing of his map the first difficulty is the interpretation of the Arabic letter-numerals. H. Mžik has already corrected the misinterpretations and a great part of the errors, when he published the work of al-Ḥuwārizmī entitled «Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard», but of course, he was not immersed in the investigation of the territories

²⁸ RE. 5. 154. RE II/3. 789.

²⁹ RE. II. 175—176.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² RE. 17. 2101—2102. In Ptolemy the river flows into the Eastern Sea. According to HERMANN this represents Lake Lop Nor. He identifies its branch taking its source in the *Auzakia ore* with the Tsung-ling and that taking its source in the *Kasia* with the *Yu-tien* (Khotan).

³³ Cf. note 32.

of Central Asia represented here. Thus he has left some questions open, and he did not notice a few hidden mistakes. Although the number of these errors is insignificant, the work had still to be started with the clarification of these mistakes, exactly on the basis of the hints of Mžik himself.¹

In the case of the letter-numerals one of the possible sources of misunderstanding is that in the case of several Arabic letters the tracing is identical, the differentiating mark is indicated by the dots applied. If the dots are omitted, then sometimes several interpretations are possible. It is true that the meaning of the numeral is unambiguous and clear in many cases even in absence of dots, exactly because one of the two possible interpretations is a figure of place value one, and the other is a figure of place value ten, and the unpunctuated form in question is on place value one. We have to do with such a case in point 399, where ب (صبل) can be found. This there can only represent «2», because ب = 2, ن = 50.

I could establish the correct value with the help of other criteria, there, where there was no such obvious evidence. I should like to mention only a few cases by way of example. Most of the difficulties were connected with the writing of the ج and the ح. The separation of the ن and ع was similarly difficult, if they stood in the middle or in the beginning of the group of letters signifying a figure (*e.g.* points 865, 866, 471, etc.). The ق also presented an opportunity for misunderstanding, if two dots were missing from it. This happened in the case of 469, where the form given can equally mean 84 and '104. It did not create misunderstanding, however, in the case of point 470, where it is clear even without dots that the ق can only be interpreted as 110.

In the case of the rivers it could not be decided, whether the mark ̄ is not a clerical error in place of the ˆ? Suhrāb gave the same form in each case, when in al-Ḥuwārizmī it stood like this, but at the same time there was no Ptolemaic evidence available because of the major changes taking place in the representation of the rivers. I deemed it correct that because of the mere assumption of a clerical error it is still not worth while to correct the text in reality. In these cases I have left the 5' unchanged everywhere.

I have also found such hidden errors which resulted from the erroneous writing of two letter-numerals similar in form. In point 821 ڤ stood instead of ڤ, and in point 872 ڤ stood instead of ڤ.

Examining the drawn map itself, we can make some interesting observations.

If we examine the cities represented on the map, we find that besides the eastern Ottorokorra we do not find any other Ptolemaic point. It has also been established by Mžik that the most changing layer of Ptolemy's rewriting by

¹These general hints are contained in the preface attached to the publication of the text.

al-Ḥuwārizmī is represented by the cities.² The great changes in Central Asia have two reasons. One of them is that during the about one thousand years that have elapsed between Ptolemy and al-Ḥuwārizmī certain peoples disappeared and new ones came in their place. The other reason is that the Arabs conquered a great part of these territories, and could gather more accurate knowledge.³ The question of the cities has already been clarified by K. Czeglédy.⁴ The cities represented on the map mean the main points of the routes given by the itineraries. Viewing the map, we can also discover three routes. In the North there is the route Ušrūsanat-Ḥoğanda-Banākath — Ṭāraband — Isbīğāb — Ṭarāz-Nawīkath — Barshān, in the south the route Ušrūsanat — Ḥoğanda — Aḥsikath — al-Tubbat, and towards the North the route Ḥuwārizm — City of the Khazars. It strikes the eye at the first glance that the cities situated in reality on the banks of the Syr-Darya, are on the map south of the place due to them. The reason of this shift is very likely that as from Antiquity the Yaxartes was mixed up with the Tanais.⁵ It also points to this that on our map the City of the Khazars is on the bank of the Syr-Darya, although, as generally known, it was situated on the bank of the Volga. Of course, this could only happen as a result of a further error, in fact so that the Arabs sometimes mistook the Don for the Volga. Ibn Ḥurradābeh writes that Ḥamliḥ is situated on the bank of the river that comes from the land of the Slavs and flows into the sea of Gurğāni.⁶ (This is the present-day Caspian Sea). Comparing with the HA, it can be established without any doubt that the river coming from the land of the Slavs is the Don.⁷ The mistakes made in the identification of the rivers resulted, of course, in new errors. Not only the City of the Khazars but all cities have shifted in southern direction. A result of this was that the برج حجارة, an important place from the view-point of the itineraries, has also shifted. This is a serious mistake, because it disturbs the system of mountains, although it was taken over by al-Ḥuwārizmī from Ptolemy almost without any change. As regards the number of degrees, the significant shifting of the برج حجارة has without doubt also other reasons, because such a great displacement can only be explained by the joint effect of several reasons. The other reason will be mentioned later on. At any rate, in order to preserve the harmony with the itinera-

² H. MŽIK: *Parageographische Elemente*, 175.

³ The considerable change of the names of cities is also explained by the fact that part of the points represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī did not yet exist in the age of Ptolemy. It is written by BARTHOLD in the EI. II. 64—69, under the entry Fergāna that this name is mentioned for the first time in the 5th century. The name of Ṭarāz occurs also in a Greek source, in 568 A. D.

⁴ K. CZEGLÉDY: *Die Karte*, 51.

⁵ J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*. Leipzig 1939.

⁶ Ibn Ḥurradābeh, 124.

⁷ HA. 75. 216.

ries, the برج حجارة had to occupy a different place on al-Ḥuwārizmī's map in contrast to the Ptolemaic map. This meant such an insoluble problem and the observation of different view-points necessary in such a degree (its situation as compared with the itineraries — its situation as compared with the other mountains, etc.) that Suhrāb found it better to disregard its representation.

The mountains represented are without exception of Ptolemaic origin. The mountains tally with the Ptolemaic system also in regard to their sites. We can still find a few minor differences. Al-Ḥuwārizmī differs from the Ptolemaic pattern on three occasions, in fact in the case of the *Arsānā*, *Syeba* and *Anarea* mountains. He represented all the three in a more differentiated form. It is, however, important to observe that all the amplifications were made so that they do not disturb the Ptolemaic internal order already formed, each change modifies the edge of the map.

Very likely, the knowledge regarding the mountains of Central Asia did not come in possession of the Arabs directly from the Greeks, but with Syrian mediation. The Arabic writing of the names of mountains shows that we must presume Syrian variants in the course of the transmission. The intermediate Syrian forms can be inferred from two phenomena. One of them is the transliteration of the original Greek name into Arabic — according to Syrian orthography. In this case I tried to point to the Syrian orthographic rules concealed behind the Arabic script on the basis of the hints of Mžik. The transliteration of the names of the Anarea and Syeba mountains belongs to this group. The other phenomenon is the distortion of the names. The name transliterated into Syrian, as a result of the similarity of the Syrian letters, was misread when the Arabic rewriting was prepared, and the Arabic form, as a result of its distortion characteristic of Syrian, betrays its origin. The following names belong to this group: *Imaos*, *Emoda ore*, *Askatagkas*, *Aspisia ore*, etc. Although Al-Ḥuwārizmī follows Ptolemy almost accurately in the representation of the system of mountains, he does not take over names of mountains from the *Geographike Hyphegesis* together with the mountains in several cases. Such mountains taken over without names are the *Paropanisos*, the *Saripha ore*, the *Kaukasion oros*, the *Oxeia ore* and the *Sogdia ore*. In connection with this it is interesting to note that these mountains do not occur in the geographical chapter of the *Hexameron* of Jacob of Edessa either. Thus, very likely this also confirms the Greek-Syrian-Arab route of the names of the former mountains.

If we take a glance at the map drawn on the basis of al-Ḥuwārizmī's data, it immediately strikes the eye that in the East, the rivers situated in *Serike* completely correspond to the Ptolemaic pattern, while the two rivers to be found in the West, the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya, slightly differ from it.

The most important change — and this reflects at the same time the changed circumstances, as well as the fundamental principle of al-Ḥuwārizmī's rewriting (where he has more accurate knowledge, there he does not take over

Ptolemy's data without criticism) — is that with him these two rivers do not flow into the Caspian Sea, but into Lake Aral. The course of the Zarafšan similarly bears witness to a better knowledge. The *Polytimetos* corresponding to the Zarafšan flows into the Caspian Sea. In al-Ḥuwārizmī this river flows already into the Amu-Darya. A similarly striking change is the E—W direction of the course of the Syr-Darya. Ptolemy's *Iaxartes* flows first from the South to the North, then later on it turns to the west. Ptolemy's error is traced back by A. Hermann to two erroneous conceptions. According to the one the Greeks believed that the Iaxartes separates the Sogdians from the Sakas, while according to the other conception the Sogdians lived at the border of India. As a result of the linking of these two ideas, Ptolemy placed the source of the *Iaxartes* as far to the South as he could.

Al-Ḥuwārizmī represented the system of the Oxus in many respects differently from Ptolemy. He did not represent the system of tributaries on the left side consisting of the rivers *Artamis* and *Zariaspis* as well as the *Ochos* and the *Dargamanes*, but we can find with him the course of the Murgāb, mentioned by Ptolemy under the name *Margos*. In Ptolemy we do not find the river Waḥš, this belongs to al-Ḥuwārizmī's new knowledge. At this point he further developed the inherited knowledge. We know this river also from the HA. There, however, several tributaries of the Amu-Darya are also mentioned, but very likely al-Ḥuwārizmī held these insignificant, therefore, he did not mention them in his work. In this respect he included the Ptolemaic material into his work after a certain scening, just like the material of the Arabic itineraries that was recorded by him only after a very strict selection. This was also characteristic of his working method.

In the representation of the system of the Syr-Darya, al-Ḥuwārizmī is more accurate than Ptolemy, who mentions *e.g.* that from the *Norossos* mountain several rivers flow into the *Iaxartes*. Al-Ḥuwārizmī gives also the accurate co-ordinates of these rivers. There is a difference also in the question of the left side tributaries between the two of them. In the *Geographike Hyphegesis* we can read only about two tributaries, while in al-Ḥuwārizmī we can read about three. The HA also discusses three tributaries. This renders likely that al-Ḥuwārizmī and the author of the HA used common sources. The three tributaries on the left side on al-Ḥuwārizmī's map do not flow into the Kara-Darya but into the Syr-Darya. The reason for this representation is very likely that these rivers were also important from the view-point of the itineraries (one of the routes leading to Baršhān went along here), and with the displacement of the cities these also shifted towards the West.

On the map the general shifting of the degrees can also be observed. Attention was drawn to this on several occasions also by H. Mžik, who studied

⁸ H. MŽIK: *op. cit.* 175.

the eastern territories described by al-Ḥuwārizmī equally condensed the Ptolemaic material in order to ensure place to the new material in the territories of Central Asia. He also had to make place for the Syr-Darya, because the direction of the course of this in al-Ḥuwārizmī is more elongated in the E—W direction than in Ptolemy. This disputable procedure has brought about several detrimental consequences. Of these we can mention first that the *Kaukasios oros* and the *Paropanisos* were unproportionately elongated, and the river-heads of the Amu-Darya and the Indus situated very close to each other, differently from reality, shifted very far from each other. Add to this al-Ḥuwārizmī's error mentioned above resulting in an even more westerly shifting of the cities which had been pressed to the West even without this. Thus, a large empty space has come about in the middle. These two reasons jointly explain that the برج حجارة in al-Ḥuwārizmī has shifted with 34° as compared with the Ptolemaic localization.

However, it has to be noted that for the filling of the empty space in the middle al-Ḥuwārizmī did not elongate all surface forms. In his work, e.g., جبل الان is shorter than in Ptolemy. The reason for this is that the *Norossos* and *Syeba* mountains situated on its two sides were represented by him in a more differentiated form and on a larger area. In the southern territories, on the other hand, the shifting as compared with the Ptolemaic data is greater than in the northern territories.

It is not sure, however, whether all these errors have to be attributed to al-Ḥuwārizmī's activity. Studying his work, we can observe that he used several kinds of sources. He had such sources (e.g. Ptolemy) that were not known to him first hand. He has taken over not only the positive knowledge but also the errors of these sources, and the linking up and adjusting of these sources were not always successful either.

As it could be seen already in the Introduction, on the basis of different references we can presume the existence of even three Ptolemy translations. In the beginning of his work, Ibn Ḥurradābeh mentions⁹ that he translated Ptolemy's work in question. He wrote this book in 846, thus he had completed the translation earlier. We know that al-Ḥuwārizmī's work came into existence in these years. Thus it can be imagined that, eventually, he could already use this translation. According to the evidence of the *Fihrist*¹⁰ a Ptolemy translation is also connected with the name of al-Kindī, this, however, was bad. It is not known exactly when was the translation prepared, but in all probability it could already be known also by al-Ḥuwārizmī. The third translation was prepared by Thābit ibn Qurra. He was born in 836, and thus it is not likely that

⁹ Ibn Ḥurradābeh, 3.

¹⁰ Al-Nadīm: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. Leipzig 1871—1872. See in the chapter entitled Geography.

his translation could have come to the hands of al-Ḥuwārizmī before the writing of his work. Thus, a bad Arabic translation and eventually another Arabic translation was at al-Ḥuwārizmī's disposal, but we are not informed about the value of the latter. Similarly, according to the *Fihrist*, Ptolemy's work also had a Syrian translation.

The Syrian translation of Ptolemy's work was in all probability known by al-Ḥuwārizmī, since as it was already pointed out above, we saw in connection with the names of the mountains that from the writing of the Arabic forms of names we can frequently make conclusions to an intermediary Syrian variant. The question arises spontaneously that there, where al-Ḥuwārizmī does not give the names of the mountains and we do not find any reference to the names either in Jacob of Edessa or in Suhrāb, what brings about this deficiency as compared with the other cases? The names of the *Kaukasion oros* and the *Paropanisos* situated in the South (where the shifting is greater than in the North) are known *e.g.* only from Ptolemy's Greek text. If we examine these mountains more thoroughly, we find that in their representation al-Ḥuwārizmī differs considerably from the Ptolemaic traditions. In the co-ordinates of these, the difference of degrees is even greater than in the case of the others. In the description of these mountains, where al-Ḥuwārizmī also otherwise relied upon Ptolemy in the highest degree, he probably drew first of all on the Syrian translation, while in the elaboration of the mountains separating India and Central Asia he could use another source. This could be either one of the two Arabic sources just mentioned, or an earlier Arabic map. Unfortunately, we do not know, whether the two Arabic translations were prepared as literal translations, or they were already rewritings.

About the representation of the rivers it can be established that the rivers to be found in *Serike* tally with the picture to be found in Ptolemy. In Central Asia, however, the hydrographic map differs from the known patterns. In the representation of the rivers flowing in *Serike*, al-Ḥuwārizmī very likely used the Syrian translation, because in fact, the orthography used in the transliteration of the names of rivers does not contradict to this assumption. In the drawing of the waters of Central Asia, however, his main source could already be an Arabic rewriting. Besides, very likely, he also used the data originating from the Arabic itineraries, because on the map we do not find only corrected Ptolemaic elements, but also several new rivers. The description of these rivers can also be read in the books belonging to the *Masālik wa Mamālik* literature of geographical writers living in the period after al-Ḥuwārizmī.

The description of the cities completely differs from the representation to be found on Ptolemy's map. With the exception of the distant city of Ottorokorra, all elements are new. All the cities of Central Asia without exception can be found in the enumerations of the itineraries, which were the main sources of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

In the case of the names of countries we also find a duality. The names اسقونيا and اسقوثيا are clearly of Greek origin, they can be traced back to *Scythia extra Imaum* and *Scythia infra Imaum*. On the basis of the correct writing we can conclude that this name also got into the Arabic with Syrian mediation, where on account of the error in the punctuation the form of the name further deteriorated. For the time being it cannot be decided, whether this error in the punctuation was made by al-Ḥuwārizmī himself, or he took it over already in such a defective form. The country name بلاد الشاش و طار بند is similarly of Arabic origin.

Suhrāb also prepared his own world map using the work of al-Ḥuwārizmī. Examining this map, it immediately strikes the eye that it is much more schematic than that of al-Ḥuwārizmī. This can be observed in the representation of the mountain separating India and Central Asia, as well as in the drawing of the system of the Indus. The description of the rivers is more or less identical in both works. The greatest difference can be observed in the case of the cities. Beside the material to be found in al-Ḥuwārizmī, Suhrāb included also new elements in his work. The مدينة الصغد and the الدبوسية also belong here.¹¹ The insertion of the new material of knowledge was not successful. Comparing the localization of the مدينة الصغد with the cities represented, we find that it is too far to the North, while the الدبوسية is too far to the East, beyond the Pamir. The new material did not become an organic part of the map, it remained a foreign body. The fiasco of the insertion, however, is not due to Suhrāb alone. The map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is also concerned in this in a great degree. After all, the مدينة الصغد drawn in a situation comparatively well adjusted to the surface forms is not in harmony with the system of cities taken over in a defective form, without correction.

If we make some statistics, it will become clear how Suhrāb took over al-Ḥuwārizmī's data. On our map al-Ḥuwārizmī represented 17 cities. Of these 12 can easily be identified, the preserved text is unambiguous and clear. In the case of 5 cities, on account of the absence of names or uncertain reading, the identification is difficult.¹² In the first group the given co-ordinates in the majority of the cases slightly differ in Suhrāb from those of al-Ḥuwārizmī (in 7 cases they differ, while in 5 cases they are identical). As regards the cities belonging to the other group, their situation was probably not clear to Suhrāb himself. He took over al-Ḥuwārizmī's data without hesitation, in the form he found them. This is shown by the fact that he does not deviate from al-Ḥuwārizmī's data even in a single case.

¹¹ Both cities occur in the HA, pp. 551—552.

¹² The cities belonging in the first group are: Uṣrūsanat, Ḥoḡanda, Banākath, Aḥsikath, Tāraband, Isbīḡāb, al-Ṭarāz, al-Tubbat, Atrāqārā, Ḥwārizm, Madīnat al-Ḥazar, Nawikath. The second group contains: Madīnat (470) madīnat (471) Sinistān, ما نا مو، نا نا سو.

A significant difference between them is that in Suhrāb we cannot find the *برج حجارة*, as well as the Ptolemaic *Demos* and *Baskatis*.

It can be mentioned as an influence of al-Ḥuwārizmī that a city named *سينستان* can also be found in Idrisī.

Budapest.

APPENDIX

Beside the mountains drawn on the map, Suhrāb in his work indicates the following:

Mountain. Longitude: $128^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $128^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}5'$.

Mountain. Longitude: $132^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}5'$ — longitude: $132^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}5'$, here it meets another one: at longitude: $129^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}30'$ this is met by a mountain, at longitude: 141° and latitude: $55^{\circ}30'$ it ends.

These mountains were described by Suhrāb somewhat confusedly, but that much is still sure that on the map they cannot be represented. Mżik also formed the same opinion. According to him Suhrāb did not take over these data from Ptolemy, but from some other work. Disregarding the inconsistency of his different sources, he wrote down everything. At the drawing of Suhrāb's map the above data had to be disregarded by me.

ABBREVIATIONS

- W. BARTHOLD: *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*. London 1958. (Turkestan)
 A. BERTHELOT: *L'Asie Ancienne Centrale et Sud-Orientale d'après Ptolémée*. Paris 1930. (BERTHELOT)
 V. MINORSKY: *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*. Oxford 1937. (HA)
 J. O. THOMSON: *History of Ancient Geography*. Cambridge 1948. (THOMSON)
 Al-Iṣṭahri: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugd. Batavorum* 1870.
 Ibn Ḥawqal: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugd. Batavorum* 1873.
 Al-Maqdisi: *Aḥsan al-taqāsim fi ma'rifat al-aqālim*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugd. Batavorum* 1877.
 Ibn Rusta: *Al-I'lāq al-nafīsa*. *Lugd. Batavorum* 1877.
 Al-Ja'qūbi: *Kitāb al-buldān*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugd. Batavorum* 1892.
 Ibn Khurradābeh: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugduni Batavorum* 1889.
 Qudāma ibn Ġa'far: *Kitāb al-Ḥarāğ*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. *Lugduni Batavorum* 1889.



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